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Ancient Portraits of Poets: Communities, Canons, Receptions

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Abstract

This thesis examines the ancient sculptural portraits of poets in relation to the literary reception of their works by investigating a range of contexts for, and interactions with, these objects. Contemporary scholarship has found it productive to examine biographical material relating to ancient poets as evidence for early reception. This thesis explores how the ancient portraits of poets take part in the constructions of these authors, and how they are integrated into the reception of ancient poetry.

Recent scholarship has cast doubts over the methodologies conventionally used to relate portraits to the biographical reception of their subjects: there are strong arguments that an individualistic character-based approach to these objects can mislead us about how they were perceived in their various ancient contexts. This thesis takes a different approach by considering the archaeological contexts and literary interactions in which we find these objects, from fourth-century BC Athens to sixteenth-century AD Ferrara.

I show how, through these contexts and interactions, the sculptural portraits of poets can engage in keys ways with the literary reception of their subjects: Hellenistic communities use portraits to strengthen their connections to prestigious poets; Roman aristocrats use portraits of poets to signal engagement with Greek culture and therefore elite status; poets are positioned within literary histories and canons through programmatic assemblages; later poets focus on portraits in order to explore their relationships to their predecessors; finally, early modern writers present these portraits as offering an engagement with an absent poet that complements reading the poet's works. These, then, are the three main concerns of this thesis: communities, canons, and receptions.

The case studies examined in this thesis show that the portraits of poets have been engaged in literary reception from antiquity to the present, and that they have raised persistent questions about presence and absence in literary encounters.

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Conventions for Names and Translations

Greek and Roman authors and individuals are referred to by their Latin or English names. Modern and early modern authors and individuals are referred to by their native language names, with the exceptions of Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca), Justus Lipsius (Joost Lips), and Achilles Statius (Aquiles Estaço), who are conventionally known by their Latin or English names.

Ancient works are referred to by English names with the exception of some names conventionally not translated.
Modern and early modern works are referred to by their original titles or abbreviations thereof.

Portrait types, individual objects, and ancient sites that have established conventional names are referred to by those names.

Modern cities are referred to by their English names.
Museums and collections are referred to by their native language names.

Translations are either my own, or are quoted from other scholars, in which case the source of the translation is noted. Many are taken from the Loeb Classical Library, in which case the translator's name is noted alongside the abbreviation "LCL".

Statement of Copyright

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I thank my colleagues in the postgraduate communities in Durham and Cornell. Time spent with these friends has been perennially refreshing and their companionship has been a great boon. Likewise, I am grateful to my friends and family beyond academia for their support and their consistent curiosity in (or perhaps patient bemusement at) my subject area—what some insist on describing as "Roman garden gnomes." I have been exceedingly lucky in all my friends and they have my sincerest thanks. For their patience and support, this thesis is dedicated to Helen Simpkiss and my parents, Pippa and Jonathan.

Introduction

This thesis examines the ancient sculptural portraits of poets in relation to the literary reception of their works. I approach this question by investigating a range of contexts for, and interactions with, these objects. My focus is on how different communities and individuals use or interpret the portraits in ways that reflect or shape their reception of the poets depicted. I consider these portraits in the contexts of the late Classical and Hellenistic city, the milieu of the Roman private villa, and the Roman public institutions that featured portraiture. Finally, I consider early modern approaches to these portraits that were highly influential in shaping more recent attitudes to ancient portraiture: sixteenth-century portrait-books and decorated libraries are at the heart of my concluding chapter.

Contemporary scholarship has found it productive to examine biographical material relating to ancient poets as evidence for how different readers have reacted to their works, and therefore as evidence for early reception.[1] This thesis explores how the ancient portraits of poets take part in the constructions of these authors, and how they are integrated into the reception of ancient poetry in a range of contexts, from fourth-century BC Athens to sixteenth-century AD Ferrara.

In some situations the ancient portraits of philosophers work similarly to those of poets, and some scholars have examined them together as a group of portraits of intellectuals.[2] As Paul Zanker acknowledges in his influential study, however, the 'intellectual' is not a category defined as such in antiquity,[3] and there are in fact key differences in how the portraits of poets and philosophers are interpreted in certain contexts. Ancient philosophers, for example, were often closely associated with certain ways of life that could be followed by their adherents; this is not so much the case for ancient poets. Similarly, while different philosophical schools were often explicitly antagonistic toward one another and remained so over long periods of time, this was less often the case for different poetic schools or genres. The portrait of a philosopher, therefore, could far more

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[1] See below, 15.

[2] Most influentially, Paul Zanker's study of the portraits of intellectuals considers these categories together: Zanker 1995.

[3] Zanker 1995, 2.

straightforwardly relate to intellectual identity and way of life than the portrait of a poet. There are, conversely, modes of using the portraits of poets that are not shared with the portraits of philosophers: most particularly (and discussed at length in chapter four) ancient poets could explore their relationships to earlier poets through epigrams and other poems written on the subject of the material culture (including portraits) connected to their predecessors. Due to these differences, I focus particularly on the ancient portraits of poets in this thesis in order to concentrate on how they were used: I consider, in doing so, both those modes that they share with the portraits of philosophers and other intellectuals, and those that are more particular to the portraits of poets.

Portraiture is often referred to in studies of literary reception,[4] but there has been no sustained study of how portraiture of poets can contribute to the study of reception and, more specifically, to biography as a form of literary reception.[5] Scholars of portraiture often make passing reference to how poet portraits may reflect literary reception, but on the whole seem reluctant to stray beyond disciplinary boundaries.[6] Some studies of individual portraits consider how they might relate to literary reception, but these are isolated cases that address one portrait at a time.[7] Furthermore, many studies that do attempt to make connections between portraits of poets and the reception of their works have been criticised for their problematic methodologies, including various kinds of biographical fallacy, as described below.[8]

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[4] The studies listed below (nn. 6, 7) all make some reference to extant or reported portraits in relation to literary reception, but this is rarely at any length. Slightly more focussed studies in this respect are offered by Scodel 2007 and Hanink 2014.

[5] Although not relating to portraiture, material culture has been studied in relation to literary reception in the cases of the illustration of literary scenes in art. Recent studies that take this approach include: Squire 2010(a); Squire 2011; Nervegna 2013(b).

[6] This is most in evidence in Zanker 1995, who frequently touches upon issues of literary reception without fully exploring how the relationship between portraiture and literary reception must work. Others who touch on issues of poetic reception within large-scale studies of ancient portraiture include Dillon 2006. Karl Schefold's short book dedicated to the portraits of poets often reflects briefly on how a portrait does or does not represent a poet's individual character or relate to his works, but the majority of this text is a chronological survey of poet portraits, focussing on formal, stylistic, and iconographical analysis (as well as proposing some typologies for poet-portraits): Schefold 1965.

[7] See for example the various studies of the portraits of Pindar and Anacreon. On images of Anacreon see below 115 n. 117. On images of Pindar: Bergemann 1991; Hofter 2005.

[8] See below, 16-23.

This thesis offers a sustained analysis of how the relationship between portrait and literary reception worked in antiquity, without engaging in biographical or character-focused visual analyses. Instead, it investigates the contexts and interactions that imbue these objects with meaning through a case-study approach that focuses on a range of these contexts and interactions: civic contexts (such as institutions and cities); social contexts (such as elite domestic sculpture); context within sculptural assemblages (in particular, other portraits with which poet portraits were displayed); and literary interactions (by poets and scholars in the ancient and early modern worlds). By considering how the portraits of poets acquire different meanings depending on the company they keep, this thesis shows how fully these objects are part of the literary reception of the poets. First, however, I consider what I see as the key methodological issues at the heart of this thesis.

Methodology: Negotiating Absence and Presence

Ancient biographical sources and portraits have in common that to the modern reader and viewer they seem to promise us an opportunity to explore the personalities and lives of the great poets of antiquity: they seem to be able make a poet present before us for examination and engagement. Portraits in particular seem to have an ability to offer us a direct encounter with the subject presented: it is this perceived capacity for presence that was part of their appeal in antiquity. One founding story of ancient portraiture casts it precisely as a way of substituting an object for an otherwise missing person: it makes the absent present. Pliny describes how a certain Butades created a clay relief portrait from a silhouette his daughter had drawn in a wall of her lover, before he was to depart.[9] As observed by others, the detail that the lover was going abroad is key to the significance of this tale: the portrait is not merely a replication, but will serve as a substitution, and will allow Butades' daughter to indulge in the consoling fantasy of her lover's presence despite his absence.[10] Even where the sense of substitution is less salient, we find portraits proposed as a mode by which to discover the personality of the depicted figure. Elsewhere in the same

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[9] Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 35.151.
[10] Bettini 1999, 7-9; Steiner 2001, 3-5.

book of the *Natural History*, Pliny offers an interesting aside on the appeal of portraiture. It expresses the key idea that a portrait can allow us to assess the personality of a figure just as we might if we met them in real life. Pliny moreover suggests that, from the point of view of the dead author, there is no greater pleasure than the prospect of future readers wanting to know what kind of man the author was. When discussing the new fashion of placing author portraits in libraries, and the desire that readers have for encountering them face-to-face, Pliny makes this remark that dwells (as noted by Froma Zeitlin) on the capacity of the portrait to transform a library from merely 'a place for reading books' to 'a privileged location where one might commune with 'the immortal spirits' of their authors, who *speak* to us':[11]

> Non est praetereundum et nouicium inuentum, siquidem non ex auro argentoue, at certe ex aere in bibliothecis dicantur illis, quorum inmortales animae in locis iisdem locuntur, quin immo etiam quae non sunt finguntur, pariuntque desideria non traditos uultus, sicut in Homero euenit. quo maius, ut equidem arbitror, nullum est felicitatis specimen quam semper omnes scire cupere, qualis fuerit aliquis. Asini Pollionis hoc Romae inuentum, qui primus bibliothecam dicando ingenia hominum rem publicam fecit.[12]

> Rackham translation (LCL): 'We must not pass over a novelty that has also been

> Rackham translation removed to maintain "fair use" quotation extent.

The biographical study of ancient poets and the study of portraits may suggest a personal encounter, but we need to face up to the fact that the materials that we have (ancient biographical sources, and ancient portraits) often fail to satisfy the desire of readers and the posthumous desire of authors (as Pliny would have it). Ancient biographical sources relating to poets have been shown to be unreliable, and modern scholarship on ancient portraiture has re-evaluated the relationship between portraiture and biography.[13] We can no longer indulge in a naïve approach to these objects and lives as veridical representations

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[11] Zeitlin 2001, 212.
[12] Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 35.2.9-10.
[13] Most importantly in Lefkowitz 1981. See also below, 15-23.

of a deceased poet. Their subjects, far from being made present, are in fact irredeemably absent. However, as I describe below, exciting new lines of inquiry have arisen from this realisation and they are central to my thesis' approach to ancient portraits.

Biography

How a scholar can or should approach biographical sources relating to an ancient poet is a question that has undergone important developments in recent decades. In 1981 Mary Lefkowitz published a study that rigorously deconstructed the many lives and biographical anecdotes that ancient Greek and Roman sources record in relation to ancient Greek poets. She showed that most of these biographies or biographical fragments derived directly or indirectly from readings of those poets' works. As she puts it, 'virtually all the material in all the lives is fiction.'[14] The idea that many if not all ancient ideas relating to poets have little or no relation to the historical reality of the lives of the poets in question may constrain certain types of literary history, as Lefkowitz herself was keen to point out.

However, it has since become clear that ancient biographical approaches to poets reflect how the poetry was *read* and therefore a large corpus of textual and material culture can be interpreted as evidence for literary reception. Barbara Graziosi's 2002 study on the early reception of Homer pioneered this approach. Graziosi describes the potential for early Homeric biographical sources as reception thus:

> 'Precisely because they are fictional, early speculations about the author of the Homeric poems must ultimately derive from an encounter between the poems and their ancient audiences. For this reason they constitute evidence concerning the reception of the Homeric poems at a time in which their reputation was still in the making.'[15]

Studies of other poets' biographical sources in this light have since followed,[16] and it has proved a productive way in which to approach this material. Recently, a large collaborative research project, "Living Poets," (of which this thesis is part) has worked to

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[14] Lefkowitz 1981, viii.

[15] Graziosi 2002, 3.

[16] Studies that take the same, or a related approach, include: Hanink 2008; Graziosi 2010; Haubold 2010; Koning 2010 (with a particular focus on how the poet's *persona* is constructed through the processes of "Cultural Memory"); Beecroft 2010; Beecroft 2011; Nervegna 2013(a).

gather and organise the biographical sources relating to ancient poets (and provide guides to them), in such a way that they can be useful to readers hoping to approach both textual and material representations of the poets as aspects of the reception of their works.[17]

Ultimately, the biographies of poets cannot be read as reliable and factual accounts of their subjects' lives, and as such they cannot reveal to us anything about the real poet, or make him present before us for our examination. Instead of abandoning these biographies as worthless, scholars have reappraised them as evidence for early receptions of the poets' works, and as creative reactions to these works. In coming to terms with the fact that the biographies cannot make the ancient poets present and acknowledging the irredeemable absence of these authors, scholars have discovered that instead the ancient biographies bring us into contact with ancient poetry's early readers and admirers, and that this approach can produce a range of valuable insights.

Portraits

Just as for ancient biographies, so too for ancient portraits the apparently straightforward, intuitive, or naïve approach that they represent real and recognisable people has been found to have serious limitations, and just as for ancient biographies, scholars have developed different methodologies that are highly productive. Perhaps contrary to expectation, modern methodologies are in fact ideally suited to the purpose of this study: the investigation of ancient portraits of poets in the light of literary reception.

No contemporary scholar advocates looking at portraits in order to derive facts or impressions about the historical personalities of poets (although many indulge in this approach as casual viewers). Ancient portraits have long been regarded as more likely to reflect and contribute to ancient *perceptions* of their subjects, than to work as clues to the real-life natures of the figures they represent. This basic observation is prompted in particular by the fact that many portraits (as clear from archaeology and acknowledged in ancient texts) were created long after the deaths of their subjects,[18] and several depicted subjects of questionable historicity (the most obvious example being Homer). In these cases it is highly

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[17] The resource this project has created can be found online, at "livingpoets.dur.ac.uk".

[18] The classic passage that describes this is Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 35.10.

unlikely (and often impossible) that the portrait could transmit any element of the subject's likeness, let alone any reliable impressions of the figure's character. Instead, nearly all modern scholarship has focussed on how these objects can be said to reflect the views of their makers and commissioners.

The problem that scholars of portraiture have consistently encountered is that much ancient portraiture appears to address a different set of concerns from what modern viewers expect. Instead of offering a close psychological insight into an individual character, many ancient portraits (in particular, though not exclusively, those from the fifth and fourth centuries BC) offer us generalised images that seem to say more about social role than anything idiosyncratic or unique. For example, many fifth- and fourth-century portraits scarcely depart from the generalised types found on architectural sculpture and grave reliefs.[19] Jeremy Tanner (whose exposition of this debate and its history is particularly useful) describes the consequences of this lack of individuality clearly:

> 'Understanding a portrait… is not so much a subjective encounter with and exploration of a sitter's individuality, as an objective decoding of a culturally specific iconography, which tells us less about what a specific individual's character 'really was' than how he was classified or evaluated within his society and culture as an exemplar of a particular social category or role, such as that of 'intellectual' or 'statesman'.'[20]

The social roles depicted in these portraits could carry extensive ethical weight, be it the nobility of the statesman, the sophistication of the symposiast (as in the case of the apparently fifth-century type, the *Borghese Anacreon*, fig. 25),[21] or the dignity of the mature or elderly citizen (as in the cases of the *Epimenides Type Homer*, fig. 1, or the *Striding Poet*, fig. 2).[22] Paul Zanker in particular has emphasised how many fifth- and fourth-century portraits of intellectuals depict their subjects as 'good citizens,' thus applying important ethical

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[19] Dillon 2006, 78-79; Bergemann 2007.

[20] Tanner 2006, 101. For a less Hellenocentric account of the "psychological portrait," see Breckenridge 1968, where generalising (or role-focused) portraiture is discussed in the light of the wider concept of portraiture.

[21] This is particularly emphasised in the interpretations of Zanker and Shapiro: Zanker 1995, 22-31; Shapiro 2012.

[22] On the *Epimenides Type Homer* see: Esdaile 1912; Boehringer and Boehringer 1939, 19-41; Richter 1965, 47-48; Richter and Smith 1984, 140-141; Zanker 1995, 14-22; Schefold and Bayard 1997, 92-93. On the *Striding Poet* see: Richter 1965 pp. 69-70; Richter and Smith 1984, 81; Schefold and Bayard 1997 pp. 94-5.

characteristics to the figures.[23] These portraits do not lack character, but the character they *do* have is not individualising or highly specific. This concurs with the terms in which contemporary texts describe and discuss character, *ēthos*. Both Xenophon and Aristotle, for example, describe *ēthos* in terms of highly generalised oppositions of good and bad elements of character.[24] Characterisations in contemporary rhetoric have also been observed to be non-specific, featuring polarised ethical types.[25]
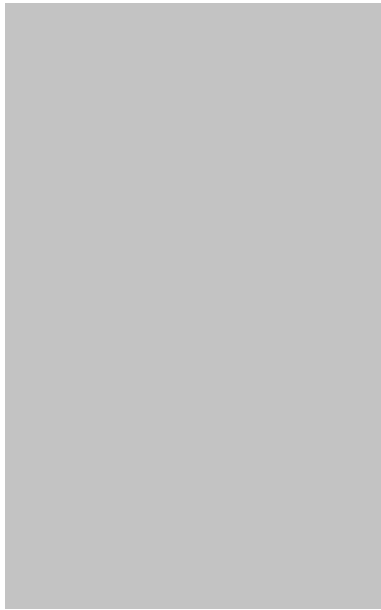
Figure 1: *Epimenides Type Homer*. Munich, Glyptothek, room 10 (Saal des Alexander), inv. 273.

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[23] Zanker 1995.

[24] Xenophon *Memorabilia* 3.10. On this passage, see: Pollitt 1972, 44; Rouveret 1989, 133-135; Pollitt 1990, 155; Stewart 1990, 83; Steiner 2001, 33-34; Halliwell 2002, 122-124. The key passage in Aristotle is *Poetics* 1448a1-6. On this passage, see: Halliwell 1987, 73-77; Rouveret 1989, 129-135; Pollitt 1990, 230-231; Zanker 2000; Schultz 2007, 181-182.

[25] As, for example, described by Russell 1990, 198: 'the personalities we find in the orators are normally recognized types, not individuals seen in the round.' See also: Gill 1990; Halliwell 1990, 45-57; Pelling 1990.
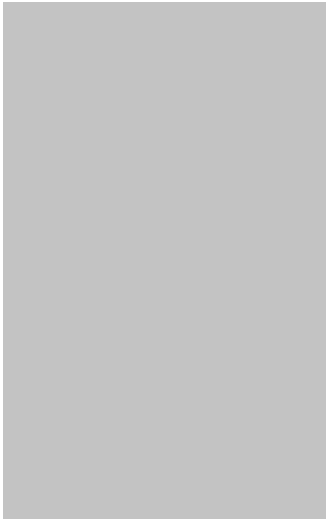
Figure 2: *Striding Poet*. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. Ma 588.

Various solutions have been adopted to navigate the fact that many ancient portraits seem to be only minimally concerned with the individuation of their subjects. Some scholars simply excise the least individual images from the genre of portraiture altogether. John Boardman, for example, dismisses the Tyrannicides, the portrait of Pericles,[26] and the *Borghese Anacreon* as not being "true" portraits due to their lack of specificities of appearance or characterisation.[27] Others are more content to call these objects portraits, but make a distinction between portraits that reflect "role" and portraits that reflect "psychology". Jerome Pollitt coined the phrase "role portrait" for apparently non-individualising portraiture. How "role portraits" are complemented by their inscriptions to create social or political meanings has been a fruitful area of study.[28] These "role portraits" are joined (according to Pollitt's useful terminology) by "psychological portraits" from the late fourth century onwards that exhibit far more vivid expressions and far more idiosyncratic features, the development of which he regards as a great achievement of ancient art.[29] There is literary evidence that suggests that this distinction between "role portraits" and "psychological portraits" is not entirely etic,[30] and that the emergence of a style of portraiture less interested

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[26] Boardman 1985, 206: 'The head is not a true portrait, and any individuality of features reflects the artist's style rather than the subject's appearance.'

[27] Boardman 1985, 239: 'Harmodius and Aristogeiton, Kresilas' Pericles and Anakreon were no portraits.'

[28] See in particular Ma 2013, and from a more art historical perspective, Platt 2007.

[29] Pollitt 1986, 63. This statement seems to receive the support of e.g. Stewart 1990 pp. 198-199.

[30] That is, it is not a mode of describing the cultural phenomenon that would be wholly unfamiliar to those who were engaged in that culture.

in social role or sculptural type and more interested in individual likeness and character was a development perceived by contemporary Hellenistic viewers as well as by modern scholars.[31]

Many portraits considered in this thesis fall within Pollitt's category of "role portraits," and seem only to reflect highly generalised ethical attributes. Furthermore, even where portraits *do* appear to be highly or subtly characterised, the interpretation of character is not straightforward. First, facial expression, body language, and the depiction of character are at least partly culturally contingent, and it is therefore not altogether straightforward to analyse these in objects and sculptural types two millennia old.[32] More generally, the interpretation of character in portraits is highly subjective. In fact, interpretations of portraits that examine individual character in support of biographical interests have frequently turned out to be highly misleading. R. R. R. Smith and Sheila Dillon have attacked what they call the "biographical fallacy," by which they mean primarily iconographic interpretation (often relying heavily on impressions of character) of unidentified portraits in order to fit them with particular identities and biographies. The folly of this process is eloquently demonstrated by the many identifications made on this basis that have since turned out to be drastically incorrect. Both Smith and Dillon point to the case of the portrait of Pindar that until recently was identified (on the basis of the character evident to some modern viewers of the portrait) as the Spartan general Pausanias.[33]

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[31] Posidippus AB 63 (discussed below, 175-187) is particularly revealing in this respect, and is discussed from this viewpoint in two complementary pieces by Andrew Stewart: Stewart 2005; Stewart 2007.

[32] The work of anthropologist Paul Ekman has shown that a limited range of emotional expressions seem to be universal. A critical review of Ekman's works, and his response in consecutive issues of *Psychological Bulletin* highlight the points of contention, and describe the principal studies on which this conclusion is based: Russell 1994; Ekman 1994; Russell 1995. One exploration of the cultural contingency of facial expressions in the *ancient* world is Clarke 2005.

[33] Smith 1993, 204; Dillon 2006, 5 quotes Richter 1965, 100-101 on the character in this portrait: 'a commanding personality, far-sighted, resolute, enterprising, personally ambitious, and not reliable'.
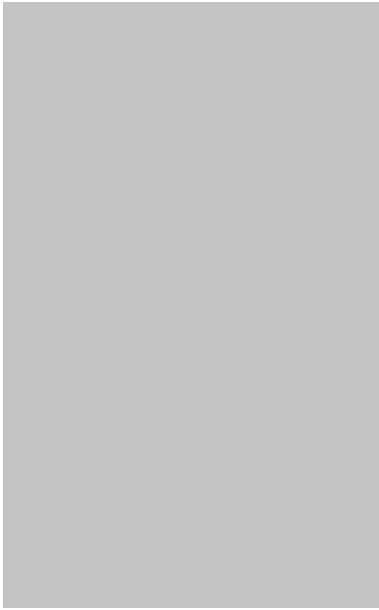
Figure 3: Pindar. Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 6144.

Second, Smith and Dillon criticise interpretations of portraits of known individuals that are too heavily reliant on the biographies of these individuals. Often, they argue, iconographical features can be interpreted as reflecting elements of that figure's biography when they might have an altogether different meaning, and iconographical subtleties that do not immediately relate to biography can be overlooked.[34] Ultimately, biography-based interpretations of ancient portraiture, and interpretations based too heavily on the character depicted in portraits as perceived by the modern viewer turn out to be highly fallible. In the face of these methodological problems, the scholar of portraiture must be cautious with all character-based interpretations, and is on far surer ground interpreting portraits through reference to iconographical conventions and established sculptural typologies, as well as the institutional habits of honorific and votive sculpture. Contrasting these to the various subjective, biographical approaches just described, Tanner concludes that such typologies, conventions, and institutional trends are 'the *only* evidence that is *objectively* accessible to the modern scholar for analysis and critical evaluation.'[35]

Several scholars have had great success interpreting portraits in the light of this more objective, less biographically-focused evidence. In recent years Jeremy Tanner and John Ma have been influential in their explorations of Greek honorific portraiture as expressions of

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[34] Smith 1998.
[35] Tanner 2006, 103 (my emphases).

civic institutions and normative civic values rather than as expressions of an interest in individual psychology, achievement, and biography.[36] Smith, Dillon, and (most boldly) Othmar Jaeggi all approach the analysis of portraits from a non-individualistic, anti-biographical perspective.[37] Iconography is decoded as a set of objectively interpretable signs and types that, on the whole, relate to social and civic roles and their associated *ēthē* (character types).

It may seem that these methodological concerns could cause major problems for a study of ancient portraiture with a view to how it relates or contributes to literary reception. In *The Mask of Socrates* (1995), Paul Zanker attempted a compromise by analysing the portraits of poets using objectively observable iconographic motifs and types. However, several of his interpretations have been criticised for being misdirected by biographical concerns. In particular, his influential interpretations of the portraits of Anacreon and Menander (both of which relied heavily on literary biographical sources) have been deconstructed thoroughly and convincingly.[38] Similar criticisms could be levelled at a group of isolated analyses by others scholars whose interpretations of poet portraits proceed largely from biographical concerns.[39] Despite the fact that several important analyses in *The Mask of Socrates* have been found to be problematic, many of Zanker's observations on the iconography and role of poet portraits in Greek and Roman societies (and the impact of those roles on their iconography) have endured and they are a frequent point of reference in this study.

In order to avoid the well-studied pitfalls of biographically-focussed iconographical analysis, this thesis takes a different approach. Instead of exploring the relationship between portraits of poets and literary reception through subjective, visual, character-analyses of the objects themselves, I consider the *contexts* in which these portraits are found and the *interactions* that they inspire and how these imbue the portraits with different meanings, be

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[36] Gauthier 1985; Tanner 1992; Tanner 2006, 97-140; Ma 2007; Ma 2013.

[37] Jaeggi 2008, esp. 35-6, where the different methodological approaches are starkly contrasted.

[38] Zanker 1995, 22-31, 77-89. On Anacreon, see Ridgway 1998; on Menander, see Schmidt 2007; Ma 2013, 273-279; Ma 2015.

[39] Some recent examples that (often creatively and excitingly) interpret the iconography of portraits from a highly biographical point of view include: Hofter 2005; Palagia 2005; Corso 2007; Shapiro 2012; Tsantsanoglou 2012. A consistent problem with such analyses is the failure to consider the context and institutional strictures of honorific portraiture in the Greek cities (on which, see: Tanner 2006, 97-140; Ma 2013).

they the human communities and social groups that set the portraits up, the sculptural assemblages among which the portraits were placed, the poetic interactions with the portraits as images of predecessors, or the scholarly interactions investigating and debating the utility of these objects in the Renaissance. Although modern methodological concerns relating to portraiture seem to problematize any interpretation with an eye to biography and literary reception, by looking *around* these objects as well as at the objects themselves we can explore how different contexts and interactions integrated the portraits into their understanding of literature.

Greek and/or Roman Objects

Crucially, by focussing on contexts and interactions, this approach does not bypass but instead addresses head-on one of the most enduring methodological problems in the study of ancient sculpture: the relationship between Greek and Roman sculptural objects and types. A long-running debate has explored the relationship between the Roman objects that make up the vast majority of portraits of Greeks, and any Greek sculptures that might have formed models or prototypes for them. Is it always, ever, or only sometimes valid to transpose these Roman objects into reconstructed Greek contexts, and *if* we do, what are the criteria we need to establish in undertaking the process?

For much of the history of the study of Roman sculpture an assumption has been made that much of it (in particular so-called *Idealplastik* and portraiture) reproduces Greek masterpieces. This idea, and the methodologies that arose from it (*Kopienkritik* and *Meisterforschung*), have always been controversial and have been severely criticised in recent decades from a variety of angles. The most fundamental criticism is that there is often no direct evidence that a Roman sculptural type *ever* had a Greek prototype: where once a fifth-century style for an object was considered sufficient evidence that an object reproduced a fifth-century original, we now know that late Hellenistic and Roman sculptors creating "original" works could resort to a wide range of retrospective styles, and even *large* series of replicas need not have depended upon a famous prototype (let alone a famous *Greek* prototype). The bibliography exploring the consequences of this idea is now large, but the studies of Brunilde Ridgway, Miranda Marvin, Ellen Perry, Rachel Kousser, and those

collected by Elaine Gazda, Jaś Elsner, and Jennifer Trimble are central to the debate.[40] The upshot of this scholarship is that when deciding whether a Roman object is an original Roman emulative creation or a Roman *replication* of an earlier Greek original, the burden of proof lies firmly with those who wish to postulate a Greek original.

For many Roman portrait types of poets, there is little or no proof that they derive from Greek originals. However, we know from literary and epigraphical evidence that portrait statues of poets were prominent in late Classical and Hellenistic culture. Whether or not they inspired any Roman adaptations, there were plenty of portraits of poets and intellectuals that *could* have formed models, and many of these were displayed conspicuously in major Greek cities. Furthermore, we know that replication and close adaptation of certain Greek sculptures did occur. There is both material and literary evidence for the direct replication of famous objects.[41] Although modern scholarship has quite rightly cautioned us not to search for a Greek original every time we encounter a Roman statue type in a Classical or Hellenistic style, it is nevertheless the case that certain objects did derive from earlier objects that were first made in a Greek context.

In the case of *portraiture* there is a particularly strong motivation for the accurate replication of earlier statue types. Portraiture is a genre that relies fundamentally (if not straightforwardly) on the idea of likeness, and this is reflected in the vocabulary used to describe portraits from the fifth century onwards: the *eikōn*, or 'likeness'.[42] Unlike generic "*Idealplastik*" for which no specific resemblance to a model is *necessarily* intended, portraiture was valued for its close replication of its ultimate model (the depicted individual), and there is therefore far more motivation for accurate adaptation than for much Roman sculpture. This alone is not a strong enough argument in support of the view that *all* Roman portrait types of Greek subjects had Greek prototypes: a sculptor might well have invented a portrait

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[40] Gazda 1995; Hallett 1995 (who tries to find a middle way); Fullerton 1998; studies in Gazda 2002(a) (including: Gazda 2002(b); Koortbojian 2002; Marvin 2002; Mattusch 2002; Taylor 2002; Weisberg 2002); Perry 2005; Trimble and Elsner 2006 (and the essays collected in that volume, including Varner 2006); Kousser 2008 (who also tries to find a middle way, though not by the same arguments as Hallett); Marvin 2008; Hallett 2015, and other essays in Daehner and Lapatin 2015.

[41] Various pieces of literary and material evidence that demonstrate the direct replication of famous Greek objects are mentioned in Mattusch 2015, 116-119.

[42] From the fifth century onwards, as discussed by Jeremy Tanner, there was a class of object, the *eikōn*, that at least in theory were distinguished by their relationship of likeness to a *particular* human model: Tanner 2006, 97-109, esp. 104-109. The concept of "likeness" is explored in greater depth in Platt 2014.

type where no Greek model was at hand, simply to satisfy a patron with particular or unusual demands.

However, in certain cases further evidence and arguments combine such that the balance of probability is that the Roman replica series did indeed derive from a Greek prototype. In particular, the argument that a particular portrait type derives from a specific object in a specific Greek context is considerably more convincing when there is only one secure portrait type of an individual, only one attested Greek context for a portrait of that poet, and when that context is in a prestigious or well-known location. The portrait type of Menander, for example, is likely to derive from the object that once stood on the base that has been recovered from (and re-erected in) the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens. First, the reconstructed Roman examples closely fit the surviving statue base.[43] Second, where there was such a conspicuously displayed portrait in such an important city, the balance of probability is tilted towards this institutionally sanctioned image against an unrelated Roman creation. A similar argument can be made for the portrait type of the *Lateran Type Sophocles* that has likewise been convincingly connected to the portrait that once stood in the same theatre. Other cases (such as that of the *Borghese Anacreon*, or the portraits of Homer) are far less clear, and have caused much debate.[44] Some scholars of the portraiture of poets and intellectuals have proceeded (with varying degrees of caution) under the assumption that most if not all Roman portrait types of Greeks derive from Greek originals.[45] Though in many cases not unlikely as already explained, there is often little or no proof of this (and little or no effort to gather evidence). In this thesis I proceed conservatively, and only where there is sufficient evidence do I use Roman objects in order to make observations about specific Greek sculptures in specific contexts.

Beyond the existence (or otherwise) of a Greek model, a more important point needs to be made at the outset. Even where it is known (or likely) that a Greek prototype did exist, many Roman versions appear to do more than merely attempt to imitate as closely as possible: the images of poets and other intellectuals could be radically adapted to suit the

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[43] Fittschen 1991.

[44] Ridgway 1998.

[45] Zanker 1995, for example, rarely seems seriously to question this. Despite his more circumspect attitude in Schefold and Bayard 1997, Karl Schefold similarly proceeds by and large on the basis that the Roman objects reflect Greek originals in Schefold 1965.

tastes of the Roman market. Most obviously, portrait heads are disembodied and repurposed for the requirements of the elite Roman viewer.[46] But it is not only through format that these objects differ from any putative Greek original: the comparison of different examples of the same type also demonstrates how different the same portrait type can appear in the hands of different sculptors working in different periods. The portrait of Menander, for example, has been studied in relation to how it is developed by sculptors for the Roman market of different periods, so that it variously exhibits quiet classicism, intense thoughtfulness, or captivating late antique presence.[47] The study of how Roman sculptors and patrons adapted and re-contextualised portrait types for their own requirements, and thus turned them into *Roman* objects has been highly rewarding for many scholars.[48]

By approaching poet portraits through their contexts and interactions, the human, literary, and sculptural settings in which we find them, this thesis engages extensively with the Roman histories of many of these objects. As is described below, the Roman uses and contexts of these objects are various and creative, and often closely integrated with Roman receptions of poetry. Although Roman objects are at times used in order to illustrate the roles of probable models in Greek contexts (on the basis of arguments from probability outlined above), they are more often interpreted in relation to their known Roman contexts.

Portraits and Presence: A Persistent Problem

Portraits and biographies both seem to offer us the opportunity to engage with the historical personality of poets in a way that supplements and complements the encounter imagined in the reading of their verse. The ability of biographies and portraits to make poets present is consistently promoted by ancient and early modern readers and viewers as key to the appeal of these texts and objects. In some respects, the methodological developments in the study of biographies and portraits of poets can be described as a process of coming to terms with the ultimate absence of the author and, indeed, the independence of his works.

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[46] A thorough survey of the formats in which portraits were made for Roman contexts is given by Dillon 2006, 30-37.

[47] See e.g. Zanker 1995, 13; Bassett 2008.

[48] Useful studies of the portraiture of Greeks within Roman contexts include: Neudecker 1988; Zanker 1995, esp. 198-217; Perry 2005; Dillon 2006. For further bibliography and discussion, see chapter two.

The desire for presence is, in other words, triggered by the reality of absence, or even what Barthes would call 'the death of the author' in the reception of the work.[49] Moreover, the tension between the illusion of presence and the acknowledgment of absence is one that was probed and examined both in antiquity and when these texts and objects were first consistently analysed in the early modern period: ancient and early modern reflections on presence and absence are my core concern in the last two chapters of this thesis.[50]

The texts and objects I consider may disappoint with regard to offering us close encounters with their subjects, but they can be productively examined as ancient expressions of the biographical constructions made by the readers of ancient poetry. On the whole, texts do not offer veridical information about actual poets, while portraits resist character-based analysis, and raise complex questions about their Greek and Roman context. This thesis therefore looks *around* the portraits—at the individuals, groups, sculptures, and poets who interact with and contextualise them. By considering the different contexts and interactions with these objects, this study can analyse how the poet portraits are integrated into the reception of poetry, and how they reflect and contribute to the responses to ancient literature.

Chapter Outline

This thesis comprises five chapters. Each addresses a different type of context or interaction with the portraits of poets and how these help to define the *poets*: as it were, the contexts of the portraits contextualise the poets. The chapters do not aim to compile comprehensive surveys of relevant materials, but rather offer detailed case studies. Much of the evidence relating to the portraits of poets is diffuse and fragmentary, and a comprehensive approach would therefore be thwarted by the patchy nature of the source material. A case-study approach allows me to focus on a range of cases where there is sufficient evidence to make substantive observations. The first four chapters balance Greek and Roman contexts, and proceed from considering civic and social receptions of poets,

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[49] Barthes 1977 (1967).
[50] See below, 171-278.

through general literary historical receptions, to highly individual literary responses the poets depicted in portraits. As such, the thesis progressively "zooms in" from political and sociological modes by which the portraits are integrated into literary reception, to individual and personal ways in which the portraits of poets take part in literary reception. The final chapter represents a conclusion and a bridge: it discusses the first modern context in which ancient portraits began to be discussed and looks forward to the modern reception of literature and study of archaeology.

Chapter one explores how ancient civic communities, Greek cities and citizens from the fourth century BC onwards, capitalised on their connections to ancient poets in order to support the self-presentation of those communities and the prestige that came with such connections. The use of poets for civic esteem was widespread, and this chapter explores how sculptural portraiture and its proxies (in particular coinage) were integrated into this effort to appropriate poetry for purposes of civic prestige. First, the chapter draws from recent scholarship that explores the extent to which honorific portraiture is related to the development of a civic identity: the proliferation of ethically charged iconographical citizen types and motifs has long been noted, and several scholars have observed how the portraits of contemporary or near-contemporary poets generally conform to these. The poets are set up as exemplars of replicable, civically commendable virtues. It has been pointed out that for non-contemporary, long-dead poets, the iconographical conventions of honorific portraiture seem not to apply, though none of the reasons adduced by others seem to me satisfactory,[51] and I make a suggestion as to a possible reason for this difference between contemporary and long-dead poets.

Although late Classical and Hellenistic portraits of long-dead poets do not conform to the iconographical conventions of contemporary honorific portraiture, this by no means implies that they are not involved in the civic self-presentation of those communities that set them up. What it does imply is that they are not positioned as exemplars of replicable, civically-commendable virtues. In the second part of this chapter, I examine the case study of Homer, and how his portrait was used and disseminated during the Hellenistic period by communities in Chios, Colophon, and Smyrna. These cities received and used Homer's poems as a mode of civic self-promotion and self-presentation, and the portraits (as has been

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[51] Zanker 1995, 146-173.

observed often, if only in general terms) are recruited into this particular reception of the poets. I look in detail at a selection of texts and material culture produced by these communities to explore how the portraits of Homer are integrated into these cities' projects to promote a specific vision of the poet as a local figure—and yet one that cannot belong to one community alone. The interactions with and contexts of the portraits within Hellenistic cities thus use the poets to create geographical and civic identity and prestige.

Poets could also be used to cultivate identity and status within *social* structures through the display of their portraits within elite private settings. Chapter two examines the reception of ancient poets in Roman private contexts, where portraits of poets are displayed by Roman elites. Just as in Hellenistic communities a key reception of ancient poets was as cultural icons by which the communities could promote a certain self-image, so too in the culture of Roman aristocracy during the first century BC to the second century AD, poets could be received as cultural capital by which an elite could display and perform their privileged education or *paideia*. I consider two cases where the portraits of poets form a clear part of this effort. First, the *Villa dei Papiri* at Herculaneum, which is as famous for its sculptural collection as for its eponymous papyri: a small number of poet portraits found at this site form part of a large assemblage of sculpture that, as many have argued, is involved in the projection of a learned and literary self-image for the villa's owner. I consider the interpretations of the assemblage and villa as a whole, how the portraits of poets might fit within this group, and how the poets and their portraits are thus received as part of a Roman elite's self-presentation and performance of *paideia*.

In the second part of chapter two, I consider the case of the *Villa dei Bruttii Praesentes* in Sabina. This second-century AD villa also contains a large sculptural assemblage. Two of the best known ancient poet portraits come from this villa: the *Borghese Anacreon* and the *Seated Poet*. I examine these portraits as a case of sculptural *comparatio* or *synkrisis*. Material embodiments of this rhetorical exercise, which was one of the primary drills of Greek rhetorical *paideia*, have often been observed in Roman villa sculpture. Indeed, there survive epigraphic *comparationes* from (now lost) pairs of poet portraits. I consider what would be the implications of the *comparatio* invited by the pair of poet portraits found at the *Villa dei Bruttii Praesentes*. These objects enrol the poets (and crucially their *portraits*) in the viewer's self-presentation as a well-educated Roman. Here too we find that the portraits are fully

integrated into a specific mode of reception: they materialise and advertise the *poets* as figures associated with élite identity and status. The portraits considered from the *Villa dei Bruttii Praesentes*, however, also seem to invite a literary historical comparison of the figures represented, and it is how portraits can position poets within literary history that I consider in the next chapter.

Chapter three focuses more closely on specific literary interpretations of the objects, and considers how ancient portraits of poets were assembled in such a way that they asserted a specific literary historical view-point, or at least invited its discussion. The context of a poet portrait within an assemblage of other poet portraits positions the represented poet within a particular scheme of literary history. First, I consider a famous case from fourth-century Athens: that of the statues of poets in the Theatre of Dionysus. This site and its portraits have been the subject of productive research in recent years. The central group of sculptures is the famous "Lycurgan" group of tragedians. It has often been observed that these objects materially institute the Classical "canon" of three that had been developing during the late fifth and fourth centuries. I explore the details of this case with an eye to how this particularly well-known case reflects the wider capability of material culture to be fully integrated into literary reception. I also examine how these portraits appear to attract further portraits of poets: three such canonical poets elevate their site to one of literary exclusivity and particular quality. The proliferation of poet portraits around the tragedians, I argue, reflects how groups of portraits of poets can strongly imply membership of a poetic group, indeed in this case a canon. Through the *grouping* of portraits of poets, material culture can assert viewpoints in literary history, even to the extent of a poet being declared (through the erection of his portrait) a member of an elite poetic group that included the three tragedians.

The second part of chapter three considers assemblages of portraits of poets in Roman public contexts. First, I briefly review the various anecdotes that describe groups of portraits of dead poets. I then focus on the network of sources that describe groups of portraits set up in Roman public libraries, and in particular the Imperial libraries of Rome itself. As several scholars have observed, the inclusion and exclusion of portraits of poets from these libraries was understood in antiquity to constitute official statements about the canonicity and value of particular works. Particularly evident in the anecdotes relating to these libraries are the controversial inclusions of rather recondite poets, and the

controversial exclusions of conventionally central poets. What previous scholars have *not* noted is how this practice is part of a long history of the portraits of poets being deeply integrated into literary reception and the formation of literary history.

Chapter four zooms in even more closely to explore how specific *living* poets interacted with portraits of earlier poets. Two issues recur in many of the examples this chapter considers: first, several poets use the portraits to assert their own literary lineage, and thus to position both dead and living poets in relation to each other; second, several of the sources discussed grapple with the fundamental issue mentioned in my methodological discussion above, namely that while the portraits appear to be capable of making the dead poets present, they often turn out to be unreliable or dissatisfactory for this purpose. The first part of this chapter considers several ecphrastic epigrams. An important feature of many of these epigrams is how the character of the portrait matches the character of the poetry, therefore allowing the portrait to become a periphrastic mode of describing and engaging with the poetry itself. In those cases where the relationship between the living poet and the portrait is addressed, the poems thereby become a mode for the living poets to position themselves in relation to their forbears. In several cases, however, these poems also seem to problematize the relationship between the portrait, the poet it depicts, and that poet's works. The examination of illusionistic art and its relationship to its models is a recurring theme of ecphrastic poetry in general. However in this set of poems (particularly those by Theocritus) it gains particular significance: the epigrams question the relationship between both the portrait of the poet and the poet himself, and the relationship between the portrait of the poet and his works. In this way, the epigrams raise many of the concerns addressed by modern scholars: how far can a portrait make the poet present or tell us about him; how far can the historical personality of the poet really inform us about that poet's verse; to what extent can art substitute for poetry?

The second part of chapter four considers a pair of texts that are not conventionally considered together: a letter by Pliny the Younger that describes Silius Italicus' relationship with the portrait of Virgil, and a dialogue spuriously attributed to Lucian in which a pompous poet named Thersagoras describes how his relationship with Homer is mediated through the dead poet's portrait. Both these texts deal with the same issue, though in rather different ways. They address the question of how appropriate a portrait is as an object

through which to indulge and explore one's relationship with a poet of the past. The Hellenistic poems discussed earlier in chapter four offer the contrast between indulgent, credulous approaches to portraits, and sceptical or critical attitudes. These two texts both offer examples of poets who express devotion towards portraits of dead poets. In both these cases the living poets integrate the portraits of dead poets thoroughly into their literary receptions of their works. Also, in both cases (more subtly in Pliny than in Ps.-Lucian) the living poets are presented in somewhat sceptical terms. Their use of the portraits to engage face-to-face with the dead poets and to express their devotion is presented as the over-zealous effort of the amateur. Here too then we find portraits being used by living poets in order to engage closely with dead poets, and here too we find that attitude being questioned. The "biographical fallacy" criticised by so many modern scholars was an idea or at least an unease that was felt by ancient writers also. This chapter thus explores how the interactions between living poets and the portraits of earlier poets positions both the living and dead poets in relation to one another, and simultaneously reveals how ancient writers problematized this.

Chapter five considers how early modern scholars and viewers interacted with ancient portraits of poets and how these portraits were incorporated into the literary reception of the poets depicted. Central once again is the tension between these objects' apparent capability to make their subjects present and available for face-to-face engagement, and the scholarly acknowledgement that too many factors militate against an uncritical assent to this illusion. Chapter five examines a time and place where this question was first critically examined for the newly discovered ancient portraits of poets: sixteenth-century Italy. As portraits of ancient authors were being excavated in greater numbers than ever, scholars and viewers expressed their excitement at these objects' ability to engage readers face-to-face. Textual and material engagement with ancient authors were frequently presented as complementary. I consider two case studies. I begin with the collection and publications associated with a figure commonly referred to as the 'father of iconography': Fulvio Orsini. I examine the illustrations and framing texts in these publications (including texts by the poet Lorenzo Gambara, and the engraver Theodoor Galle, as well as Orsini himself), and observe how contrasting attitudes to the portraits are expressed: some of the

texts indulge wholeheartedly in the portraits' capability to conjure up the ancient poets before us, others are critical and cautious, emphasising the fallibility of images.

Secondly, chapter five examines the library designed by Pirro Ligorio for the Castello Estense in Ferrara, in which he proposed that ancient poets and philosophers be displayed alongside their works. Here we find another example of a scholar apparently indulging in the illusion of presence. However, Ligorio's own methodology is intriguing and illuminating: I observe that he insists on portraits that are plausible, rather than portraits that are true. That is, Ligorio understands that many of these portraits do not transmit the image of a real ancient personality, but he also appreciates that as long as they are plausible images they can nevertheless provide the viewer with this impression. Here, therefore, the tension between absence and presence is left unspoken: even though Ligorio is aware that the portraits cannot transmit authorial presence, he nevertheless promotes their use in this manner for architectural, decorative, and indeed literary expedience. The scholarly community of sixteenth-century Italy contextualises these portraits by presenting them as the ideal material complement to literary engagement with the depicted figures. However, just as for the poets of Hellenistic Greece and Imperial Rome as described in chapter four, and just as for modern-day scholars as described earlier in this Introduction, this early modern intellectual community had to negotiate the fundamental tension regarding portraits: that however much they appear to offer us real presence, and a real insight into the historical personality of the poet, they are inevitably (like all illusionistic art) frustrating in this respect.

Portraiture is implicated in many forms of literary reception, from the accumulation of civic prestige and the display of elite status, to the formation of canons, to the definition of literary genealogies, to the illusionistic assertion of presence. This thesis shows how the *contexts* of the portraits *contextualise* the poets they represent. I argue that the relationship between poetry and portraiture has *always* been controversial, and that there are important points of contact between contemporary methodological problems, as outlined above, early modern responses as presented in the final chapter, and ancient engagements with the portraits of poets, which are at the heart of this thesis.

1. Greek Cities and Citizens: Poet Portraits and Identity

Greek portraiture of poets is today almost exclusively experienced within the institution of the archaeological museum or the art museum. In this context, we prepare ourselves to ask particular questions of the objects before us. For portraiture these questions are often formalistic and psychological: how does this object look, and what character do we perceive in the representation? There were contexts in the ancient world where art was approached in a similar way, but the institutions within which these objects were understood were far more diverse than today. In this chapter I consider how portraits of poets might have been approached within some of the most important and widespread sculptural institutions of the ancient world: honorific and cultic statues in Greece.

In particular, I consider how portraits relate to cultural identity—both the self-definition of the individuals and communities that set up the portraits, and (reflexively) the cultural definition of the poet depicted in a portrait. Focusing on Homer, I show that the iconography of poets is a key tool for communities that wish to establish and advertise a connection to an ancient poet. I look at literary and numismatic evidence from the Ionian cities of Chios, Colophon, and Smyrna. I then show how a connection to these poets, disseminated and institutionalised through iconography, could in some places have become a key part of a community's self-definition.

1.1 Portrait Institutions

In this chapter, I explore how portraits of poets could be used to help define the relationship between a poet and his community. To do this I examine how Ionian cities used Homer's portrait to express their relationship with the poet. Homer, however, is rather exceptional in the extent of his fame and importance, and in the conflict surrounding his place of origin. This conflict makes Homer an ideal case study because the contention over his origin makes the discourse far more explicit about the use of portraits to claim him. It is

useful, however, to show that the observations I make about Homer are relevant to the broader practice of the erection of honorific and cult portraiture in the Hellenistic world. I therefore briefly describe the use of honorific and cult portraiture in the Hellenistic period and consider some examples of poet portraits that illustrate how they are used to express a community's relationship with its poets. Before embarking on my case study, I also explore some studies and schools of thought that relate honorific portraiture and hero cult to the construction of a city's civic identity, through the material expression of civic ideology, and through the construction of "social" or "cultural memory". These observations are particularly relevant to the final part of this chapter, where I explore how Smyrna's use of Homer can be understood as part of an effort to construct a civic identity for the city.

Honorific Portraits of Contemporary Poets: Civic Ideology

Hellenistic honorific portraits have been interpreted as material expressions of civic ideology.[1] Although (as I explain below) the roles of honorific portraiture for contemporary (and near-contemporary) poets was different to honorific and cult portraiture for long-dead poets,[2] these two sculptural "institutions" are closely related. Contemporary poets wrote of their desire to be honoured in portraits through reference to hero cults to long-dead poets,[3] and Hellenistic epigrammatists would adapt established epigraphical formulae for contemporary honorifics to describe portraits of long-dead poets.[4] This suggests that in the Hellenistic period honorific portraiture of contemporary poets offered a useful context alongside which to understand honorific and cult portraiture of long-dead poets.

Recent studies have approached Hellenistic portraiture as a material expression of civic ideology. John Ma, in particular, has explored the extent and forms of civic control over public honorific statues. The politics of honorific portrait sculpture has been understood as a

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[1] See, most recently, Tanner 1992; Ma 2006; Tanner 2006, 97-140; Ma 2013.

[2] See below, 35-52.

[3] Posidippus AB 118. Posidippus imagines a statue erected in the agora of Pella (his home town) of himself unrolling a book-roll, and wishes for comparable honours to Archilochus, who was famously honoured in a hero cult on Paros (on which, see Clay 2004, and below, 47-49).

[4] Four epigrams by Theocritus focus on portraits of long-dead poets, of which two adapt the epigraphic formulae familiar from contemporary honorific portraiture: Gow-Page 16-17 = Theocritus 18, 22 = *Palatine Anthology* 9. 598, 600. See below, 187-200.

negotiation between private interests and civic ideology, with the balance of power shifting over time. Ma investigates the grammar of honorific formulae in order to explore how they frame the relationship between the community and the individual: most often the community is the subject that honours the object-honorand, and thus asserts some degree of control over both the honorific process and (at least symbolically) the individual honoured.[5] If the community exercised some degree of control over honorific portraiture, to what end did it do so? The motive behind honorific sculpture is most often understood to be the valorisation of exemplary behaviour and the promotion of replication of such behaviour.

Honorific statues of non-royal figures adhered to various visual and epigraphic formulae. Males were generally shown as mature, (most often) standing figures, draped in *himatia* (mantles) and sometimes *chitōnes* (tunics).[6] Females were represented as young women whose faces, hair, and clothes were arranged within a narrow vocabulary of styles.[7] The details of posture and composition vary, but the fundamental elements of these portraits are stable and recognisable. Exemplarity relies on replication: something cannot be an exemplar if it cannot be replicated. The replication in great numbers of familiar sculptural types must have reinforced the promotion of the replication of familiar citizen virtues and therefore reinforced their exemplary function.[8] Much the same can be said of the epigraphic formulae used in public honorific portraits. These took two broadly adaptable forms: in the first, the city or people dedicate a statue of the honorand to a god or gods; in the second the city or people honour the honorand. Both of these are often followed by a ἕνεκα ('on account of') clause that named some of the reasons the subject was so honoured.

It is in the context of this honorific institution, with its familiar sculptural types and familiar epigraphical formulae that we should think about the honorific portraiture of contemporary poets. However, the portraiture of poets sometimes seems to diverge from the strictest interpretation of this model. The famous portrait of the poet Menander has been used by Paul Zanker in order to suggest how poet portraiture began in the late fourth century to deviate from the standards of honorific sculpture, and therefore reflected different concerns. In the late 290s BC, one hundred years after the first public honorific

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[5] Ma 2007; Ma 2013, 15-63.

[6] Ma 2013, 267-273.

[7] Dillon 2010. For an exploration of Roman replications of similar types, see Trimble 2011.

[8] See, for example, Ma 2006 on the rhetorical power of replication.

portraits were set up in the Athenian Agora, the New Comic poet Menander died at around

the age of fifty. During his lifetime the Theatre of Dionysus had slowly begun to feature

portraits of poets, both recent poets who had been victorious in theatrical contests (such as

Astydamas),[9] and retrospective portraits of the great poets of Athenian theatre in the fifth

century (most famously the portraits of Sophocles, Euripides and Aeschylus).[10] Around the

time of his death (before or after is unknown, though shortly after is most likely)[11] a portrait

statue was set up for Menander in the Theatre of Dionysus, in close proximity to the

portraits of the three tragedians (figs. 4 and 5).[12]

Although for a long time it was thought that only heads of this portrait type

survived, in the late '80s and early '90s Klaus Fittschen discovered that the clothing visible at

the bottom of many of the busts of Menander precisely matched the pattern of clothing on

seven examples of a seated body type, none of which had their original heads. Using plaster

casts, Fittschen joined a head from Athens (now in the Seminario Patriarcale of Santa Maria

della Salute, in Venice) to a body from the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli. The

reconstruction (fig. 4) is therefore a composite of two Roman-period adaptations. The other

surviving Menander heads vary widely, and it is inevitable that certain stylistic features of

this head have at their root the interests and motivations of Roman sculptors making

adaptations of this portrait type at least three centuries later than the sculptors named on the

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[9] IGII[2] 2320; Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers* 2.5 "Socrates" = 2.43-44; Photius *Bibliotheca* 502.21-503.7. See Easterling 1997, 214-216; Goette 1999; Scodel 2007, 147-149; Papastamati-von Moock 2014, 23-33. See below, 152-160.

[10] Reported in Pausanias *Description of Greece* 1.21.1-2. On this ensemble see Zanker 1995, 43-56, and more recently: Scodel 2007; Papastamati-von Moock 2007; Hanink 2010; Hanink 2014, 60-125; Papastamati-von Moock 2014. See below, 137-152.

[11] There is uncertainty as to whether the portrait of Menander is contemporary or immediately posthumous. We know from the *floruit*s of Cephisodotus and Timarchus that it is likely to have been erected in the 290s BC. Pliny reports that Cephisodotus (the Younger) and Timarchus flourished in the 121st Olympiad, 295-2 BC (Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 34.51).

[12] At *least* seventy-three examples of the Menander head type are recorded (Fittschen lists seventy-one copies, to which Liana Brent adds two further (that have emerged between 1991 and 2014). Fittschen 1991, 244-253. Brent 2016 (forthcoming)), and at least seven examples of what has been identified as the portrait type's body ((a)-(g) in Fittschen 1991). The base for the Athenian portrait of Menander was discovered in what is perhaps its original location, in the eastern *parodos*, as recorded by Ernst Ziller in 1863, whose plans have been re-examined most recently in Papastamati-von Moock 2007. It is inscribed both with the poet's name, and with the names of the sculptors: Μένανδρος. // Κηφισόδοτος Τίμαρχος ἐπόησαν ('Menander. // Cephisodotus and Timarchus made it.'). IGII[2] 3777. As well as this archaeological evidence, we also have Pausanias' autopsy of the portrait in the second century AD: Pausanias *Description of Greece* 1.21.1.

original statue base: Cephisodotus (the Younger) and Timarchus. Nevertheless, this reconstruction gives us a compelling impression of how, in broad terms, the portrait might have looked.
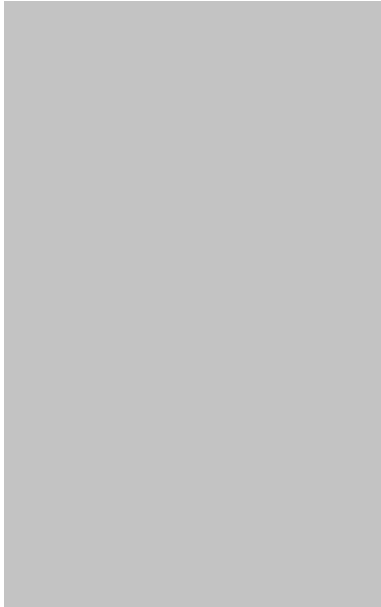
Figure 4: Portrait of Menander, Göttingen, Archäologisches Institut der Universität Göttingen, inv. A1497a.

Paul Zanker and Olga Palagia have attempted to interpret various elements of this portrait as evidence that it reflected concerns that were different from conventional honorific portraiture. His beardlessness is for them a sign of Macedonian sympathies, or even "pathic" sexual habits; his voluminous *chitōn* and *himation* are interpreted as signs of effete luxury; his *klismos* chair recalls the domestic scenes of fourth-century funerary reliefs. Ultimately Zanker and Palagia read this portrait as an image of political disengagement (ἀπραγμοσύνη) and delicacy (τρυφή).[13] These analyses draw heavily on a much later, Roman source about Menander in Phaedrus' *Fables* where the fabulist describes Menander's introduction to Demetrius of Phalerum. According to Phaedrus, Menander was accompanied by fellow men 'sequentes otium' ('living a life of leisure'), and Demetrius takes the poet to be a 'kinaidos' ('"pathic" homosexual') on account of his perfume and deportment.[14] This use of Phaedrus has been criticised as anachronistic and uncritical,[15] and

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[13] Zanker 1995, 77-89; Palagia 2005.
[14] Phaedrus *Fables* 5.1.
[15] For example Pollitt 1997; Smith 1999.

it has long been recognised that later biographical anecdotes about poets are often derived from the reading and reception of their works, or indeed other representations including portraiture, rather than having any basis in historical truth.[16]

Stefan Schmidt and John Ma have offered alternative readings of this portrait that seem to me far more convincing. Schmidt points out that beardlessness is consistently related to the appearance of actors and theatre professionals,[17] and thus provides a more probable explanation for this feature of the portrait than Palagia's insistence on its association with *kinaidoi*. Similarly, there is a more probable interpretation of the use of a *klinthos* chair in this portrait. It has been suggested that this chair recalls the *klinthoi* arrayed in the front row of the Theatre of Dionysus, the *prohedria*, and specially reserved for honoured citizens and victorious playwrights. Although (as noted by Zanker) such chairs are also seen frequently on funerary reliefs, in the context of the theatre's *parodos* (where Menander's statue was set up) the reference to the front row seats must have been quite clear. As such, Menander's seated position can be understood not as a *rejection* of the standard honorific mode, but as a direct visual allusion to a specific theatrical honour that could be bestowed by the city. Moreover, although seated portraits of civic benefactors seem to have been less common, they were not the sole preserve of poets and thinkers. Ma suggests that in civic portraiture they evoked the image of a seated magistrate.[18] Even the smaller details of the portrait reveal an image that, far from being a wholesale rejection of contemporary values in favour of some ancient version of artistic, bohemian characterisation, fits within general representational patterns for honorific portraiture. Menander's "crow's feet" (lines radiating from the corners of his eyes), and "Venus rings" (horizontal wrinkles encircling the neck), are standard elements in the representation of maturity (and—with other features—part of the iconography of old age), and are to be found on other more conventionally posed honorific statues of the early third century.[19]

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[16] This point was conclusively demonstrated in Lefkowitz 1981.

[17] Comparanda (such as the *Lyme Park Relief,* and the *Piraeus Actors Relief*) are found in various studies: Webster 1951; Slater 1985; Himmelmann 1992; Scholl 1996.

[18] Ma 2013, 271-2, where he discusses a funerary epigram from Kalindoia that describes a seated honorific statue of one Philotas.

[19] Ma 2013, 278.

Figure 5: Bronze, under-life-sized Roman bust of Menander. Malibu CA, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 72.AB.108.

These subtler iconographical readings of the portrait can be combined with a subtler reading of Menander's own works: Susan Lape has argued in recent years that Menander's plays are not in fact dramas of disengaged domestic life, but consistently address the key political questions of identity and membership of the citizen body.[20] Ma sums up this alternative reading succinctly: 'The statue of Menander… fits within a civic context… not as the disengaged poet of private life, but as the author of civic texts engaged with democratic issues and problems of participation, status, and citizenship.'[21] The analyses of Lape, Schmidt, and Ma work together to suggest that this portrait, that *had* been interpreted as a conspicuous aberration from honorific vocabulary, should in fact be understood within the context of the honorific sculptural institution and as an expression (however subtle) of civic ideology. Ultimately this example demonstrates that portraits of poets are most convincingly

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[20] Lape 2004.
[21] Ma 2013, 278.

and fruitfully understood within the context of honorific sculpture more generally, rather than as a class of portraiture with entirely different concerns.

Besides Menander, the remaining examples of types that we know for sure to be derived from third-century portraits of near-contemporary poets demonstrate this observation well (figs. 6 and 7). They display a lightly-worn realism, and facial features are never characterised with excessive intensity.

Figure 6: Posidippus Comicus, Fittschen restoration. Göttingen, Archäologisches Institut der Universität Göttingen, inv. A628a.

Figure 7: Philitas of Cos. Bust from private collection in Crest (southern France).

As ingeniously reconstructed by Klaus Fittschen, Posidippus Comicus is seen sitting upon a large cushion on a *klinthos* chair.[22] He wears a frown that is somewhat more intense than we might find in contemporary honorific portraiture, which Zanker interprets (rightly I think) as a depiction of the efforts of poetic composition.[23] Although the characterisation is more individualised than in much honorific portraiture, there is no depiction of passionate inspiration, or pained composition in this image. At most, we see quiet concentration. Likewise, the portrait of Philitas of Cos, uncovered recently in a private French collection by Évelyne Prioux, does not depart drastically from the standard vocabulary of honorific portraiture.[24] Since the body type of this portrait does not survive, we cannot judge whether or not this would have conformed to sculptural norms for honorific portraiture. Evelyn Prioux suggests that this raised shoulder might reflect some disease or deformation that the

[22] Fittschen 1992. There is some disagreement as to which Posidippus this statue represents, see: Dickie 1994.

[23] Zanker 1995, 136-142.

[24] Prioux 2008. An attempt has been made to identify this head of Philitas with the so-called *Seated Poet* portrait in Copenhagen (see below, 118-133): Tsantsanoglou 2012. This attempt fails on the basis that there is no resemblance between the head-types whatsoever, and Philitas' head lacks the poetic fillet that is a key feature of the *Seated Poet* type.

poet had.[25] More likely is that the poet was depicted holding an object in his right hand, or seated with his arm resting on part of the chair, both of which are attested in Hellenistic portraiture,[26] and both of which could require this unusual shoulder position. What we have therefore is a bearded poet, lacking a poetic fillet, depicted as a late classical mature male, though with particularly dignified and detailed hair, and a thoughtful expression. The portraits do exhibit features we would not expect to see in the *most* typical contemporary honorific portraits for non-poets (the seated pose, an overweight appearance, and a raised right arm), but as observed in the case of Menander, they fit broadly within the range of styles and types used more widely for honorific portraits of non-poets.

We know from literary and epigraphical sources that honorific portraits were erected to recently deceased poets during the late classical and Hellenistic periods, and those portraits that have been identified as fourth- and third-century poets appear to have adhered, in broad terms, to the stylistic and typological norms for honorific portraiture. This suggests that the role of contemporary and near-contemporary poet portraits was closely related to that of honorific portraiture more generally, namely the rewarding of commendable citizen behaviour, and the materialisation of civic ideology through sculptures and inscriptions that depict good *ēthē* (characters) and describe good deeds. This line of interpretation has been argued successfully in recent years by a range of scholars.[27] More contentious is the interpretation of the portraits of long-dead poets that appear to diverge far more dramatically from conventional representational modes. It is to these that I turn now.

Honorific and Cult Portraits of long-dead Poets: Civic Prestige and Identity

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[25] Prioux 2008, 69.

[26] For example in the Ps.-Menander portrait (Museo Pio Clementino, Galleria delle Statue 390, inv. 588) where the figure is shown with his arm over the back of a chair. For which see Fittschen 1992. A similar shoulder position (though with a more vividly realistic body) is found on the seated torso from Claros, now in İzmir, Turkey. This torso has large holes along its left side (the side on which it has a raised shoulder) which it has been plausibly suggested were for the attachment of a lyre of some sort. See Renaud 1999; Dillon 2006, 123.

[27] Tanner 1992; Ma 2006; Tanner 2006, 97-140; Ma 2013.

Images like those of Menander, Posidippus, and Philitas have been contrasted with a group of portraits that depict poets in a far more expressive manner, both in terms of facial characteristics and expression, and in terms of bodily characteristics (where they survive). These images diverge drastically in *ēthos*, *pathos*, and style from honorific portraits of contemporary Greeks. Paul Zanker first observed that portraits known to be of near-contemporary poets were depicted with a subtler naturalism and within a narrower expressive range, never exhibiting more than moderate concentration, whereas portraits thought to be of long-dead poets are depicted in a far more vivid style, and with a greater range of facial and bodily expression. For Zanker these 'character portraits' come about because in the case of long-dead poets, sculptors and their commissioners are 'freed from the bourgeois conventions of contemporary life,' and allowed to reimagine these culture heroes as they wished.[28] This idea is taken up also by Sheila Dillon, who expresses it unequivocally: 'They usually have powerfully lined, realist portrait faces that, though decrepit with age, are infused with a visionary inspiration.'[29]

Not unusually for ancient portraits, few of these are positively identified. One portrait type about which there is no debate (despite the lack of external evidence) is the *Hellenistic Blind Type Homer*, which exemplifies the heightened drama that seems to have been available for retrospective portraits of long-dead poets.

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[28] Zanker 1995, 147-197, esp. 180.
[29] Dillon 2006, 124. Another scholar who concurs is Clay 2004, 58-60.

Figure 8: *Hellenistic Blind Type Homer* Rome, Musei Capitolini, Stanza dei Filosofi no. 40.

The *Hellenistic Blind Type*, though the extent of characterisation varies between copies, has been described as 'abstracted', 'inspired',[30] 'decrepit', 'frail', 'agonizing' and 'painful'.[31] A group of as yet unidentified portraits depict their subjects with a similar degree of intensity. Although their subjects cannot be known for certain, it is now uncontested that they depict long-dead rather than contemporary or near contemporary poets. Further appropriate examples from this group are shown in figs. 8, 9, and 10.

[30] Richter 1965, 52.
[31] Zanker 1995, 168.

Figure 9: Reconstruction of *Seated Poet*. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. IN1563.

Figure 10: Bearded poet herm. Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme, inv. 107503.

Zanker's explanation for the difference in styles here, though not wrong, is rather too vague ('freed from… bourgeois conventions').[32] I suggest a more specific justification, namely that this difference in style is because portraits of long-dead poets are *not* erected as exemplars of commendable and replicable citizen behaviour. Portraits of near-contemporary poets worked within an established institution of honorific portraiture that had an established visual language, based upon the representation of exemplary virtues. Although the portraits of long-dead poets might have been presented by their epigraphy simply as long-overdue honorifics (if we look, for example at the literary epigrams for long-dead poets),[33] the subjects depicted were from too distant a time, and were often of too disreputable character (e.g. Archilochus, or Hipponax), to be relevant as citizen exemplars. Less constricted by any exemplary role, the portraits of long-dead poets could be depicted with a far more exuberant and expressive style, which could reflect the specific characters of the poems. Another important consideration is that poets of the past were identified and understood in relation to other such poets, and characterisation helped to differentiate between them. Honorific sculpture, by contrast, commemorated the *same* socially approved characteristics, as argued above.

The cult of Archilochus on Paros is a useful example of how, though elements of a poet's behaviour may still be commended, cults to long-dead poets did not necessarily depict their subjects as wholly exemplary figures. Archilochus was famous for his bad behaviour, as described by a fragment from the late fifth-century Athenian aristocrat Critias:

> εἰ γὰρ μή, φησίν, ἐκεῖνος τοιαύτην δόξαν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας
> ἐξήνεγκεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐπυθόμεθα ἡμεῖς οὔτε ὅτι Ἐνιποῦς υἱὸς ἦν τῆς δούλης οὔθ'
> ὅτι καταλιπὼν Πάρον διὰ πενίαν καὶ ἀπορίαν ἦλθεν εἰς Θάσον οὔθ' ὅτι ἐλθὼν
> τοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἐχθρὸς ἐγένετο οὐδὲ μὴν ὅτι ὁμοίως τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς
> ἐχθροὺς κακῶς ἔλεγε. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ἦ δ' ὅς, οὔτε ὅτι μοιχὸς ἦν, ᾔδειμεν ἄν,
> εἰ μὴ παρ' αὐτοῦ μαθόντες, οὔτε ὅτι λάγνος καὶ ὑβριστής, καὶ τὸ ἔτι τούτων
> αἴσχιστον, ὅτι τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀπέβαλεν. οὐκ ἀγαθὸς ἄρα ἦν ὁ Ἀρχίλοχος μάρτυς
> ἑαυτῶι τοιοῦτον κλέος ἀπολιπὼν καὶ τοιαύτην ἑαυτῶι φήμην.[34]

> 'For, they say, if this man had not disclosed that story about himself to the Greeks,
> we should not have learnt either that he was the son of Enipo the slave, nor that,
> leaving Paros due to poverty and need, he came to Thasos, nor that when he had
> gone there he was at odds with those there, nor that he spoke badly of friends and

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[32] Zanker 1995, 180.
[33] See below, 187-200.
[34] Aelianus *Historical Miscellany* 10.13 = Critias fragment 44.

enemies equally. What's more, had we not learnt it from him, we should not have known that he was an adulterer, nor that he was lustful and proud, and of these yet the most shameful, that he threw away his shield. So it seems Archilochus was not a good witness of himself, leaving this sort of reputation for himself, and this sort of rumour.'

It is unlikely that a community's honours for such a problematic figure could be based on exemplarity. Diskin Clay explores some evidence that the cult institution on Paros was keen to mitigate this negative tradition by emphasising Archilochus' patriotism and valour in battle (against the tenor of claims made in his own poetry, and in much of his biographical tradition).[35] Paul Zanker also subscribes to this view, and when he considers a first-century BC coin that is thought to feature Archilochus he describes him thus: 'His one-time reputation for slander and dubious citizen conduct was long forgotten, and all that remained was his fame as a great poet.'[36]

Figure 11: First-century BC coin from Paros, possibly featuring Archilochus.

Although Sosthenes' and Mnesiepes' inscriptions on Paros did attempt to endow Archilochus with an exemplary war record,[37] he could never be a straightforward exemplary figure. Clay points out that neither this Parian coin nor the Mnesiepes inscription attempt to disassociate Archilochus from Dionysus, from whose cult Archilochus was said to have introduced the offensive and blasphemous poetic form of iambus. The Mnesiepes inscription appears to describe Archilochus' scandalous introduction of iambus in block E_1III,[38] and

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[35] Clay 2004, 23-24, where he discusses the final column of the *Mnesiepes Inscription*, which was set up on the occasion of the foundation or expansion in the third century BC of a cult to Archilochus on Paros. In the *Sosthenes Inscription* also Archilochus makes amends for his ill-deeds through valour in battle. See Clay 2004, 110-118.

[36] Zanker 1995, 163.

[37] Clay 2004, 23-24, on the relevant columns of these inscriptions.

[38] Clay 2004, 16-23.

Dionysus is the god represented on the obverse of the coin (fig. 11) that depicts Archilochus. As Clay puts it, 'One might have expected Apollo, who was intimately concerned with Archilochus' poetry and death. Instead we have Dionysus, who… was intimately involved with the scandal of the new poetry Archilochus introduced to Paros.'[39]

Archaic poets could not be relied upon to be wholly exemplary subjects. This idea is at the heart of a fragment of Alcidamas, the fourth-century sophist, quoted by Aristotle:

> καὶ ὡς Ἀλκιδάμας, ὅτι πάντες τοὺς σοφοὺς τιμῶσιν· "Πάριοι γοῦν Ἀρχίλοχον καίπερ βλάσφημον ὄντα τετιμήκασι, καὶ Χῖοι Ὅμηρον οὐκ ὄντα πολίτην, καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι Σαπφῶ καίπερ γυναῖκα οὖσαν..." [40]

> 'Indeed [it is] just as Alcidamas describes how everyone honours the wise: 'For the Parians have honoured Archilochus, though he is a blasphemer; and the Chians have honoured Homer, who is not a citizen of theirs; the Mytileneans have honoured Sappho, though she is a woman...'

The repetition of καίπερ ('although') in this passage is what most emphatically signals that these figures are all honoured *despite* something. In the cases of Archilochus and Sappho, they were honoured despite what are perceived as negative qualities (blasphemy, womanhood). Moreover, these specific negative qualities were what differentiated these figures from other poets. Although the wisdom and skill of these figures may be exemplary, they are not ideal figures when considered holistically, and they could not be used to promote the replication of commendable citizen behaviour.

If the honorific and cult portraits of long-dead poets were not *exemplary* in the same way that honorific portraits for contemporary poets were, what motivated communities to set up these portraits and the cult foundations in which they were sometimes housed? The reason most often given by ancient text is that honorific portraits and cults were set up for long-dead poets through sheer esteem for the poets honoured, and that this action was in some cases prompted by the gods through oracles.[41] However another motivation was the appropriation of a poet's prestige and the use of the poet to help form civic identity.[42] As

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[39] Clay 2004, 62.

[40] Aristotle *Art of Rhetoric* 1398b ll. 10-15 (=2.13.11.11-16).

[41] Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 260-267.

[42] This is how Clay interprets the dispute over Homer between Greek cities: 'The real motive for the rivalry of the seven cities over Homer is the crucial importance of hero cult to the prestige of a Greek city.' Clay 2004, 74-75. See also 62 where he makes a similar point about the Parian silver coins that possibly feature Archilochus.

Flore Kimmel-Clauzet puts it, 'Le caractère patriotique des cultes des poètes s'avère être un élément essentiel d'explication: les cultes des poètes sont un moyen pour leur cité de s'attirer la gloire du grand homme mais aussi de manifester sa participation à la culture grecque.'[43] ('The patriotic character of the poet cults proves to be an essential part of their explanation: the poet cults are a method for their city to attach itself to the prestige of the famous man, but also to express its participation in Greek culture.') This role is evidenced by the lengths to which some communities went to advertise their relationships with poets and poet-heroes. My examination of the case study of Homer cults and honorifics in Ionian cities demonstrates how central the portraiture of poets was to this effort.

Poet cults (and honorific portraits to long-dead poets) are not remotely unusual in being used for civic self-presentation and for the construction of a civic identity. The use of a community's history (or a key personality from that history) for self-definition and self-presentation is a well-studied phenomenon. Many studies have been thoroughly successful in exploring this idea without recourse to the construction of a theory.[44] However, some of the modern approaches to this practice are considered part of a discipline known as "memory studies," and have developed a theoretical framework with which to approach the subject. Particularly influential within this school of thought are Maurice Halbwachs' theory of 'collective memory', and Jan and Aleida Assman's closely related theory of 'cultural memory'.[45] In the study of Hellenistic communities, these theories have been particularly well applied by Susan Alcock, whose work, among others, exemplifies how a focus on collective and cultural memory can be usefully applied to the study of ancient material culture.[46] For the purposes of the remainder of this chapter, I will approach the idea of 'cultural memory' as the process whereby a community (i.e. its members) constructed an identity for itself (parameters with which to define themselves both to other communities

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[43] Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 271.

[44] Studies of and sources on the uses of history for the construction of civic identity include: Alcock 1991; Alcock 1997; Clarke 2008, esp. 313-346; Lloyd-Jones 1999 (particularly relevant for poets); Mitchell 2010; Price 2005; Price 2012 (2008); Scheer 2005; Wickersham 1991.

[45] Halbwachs 1992 (1952); Assmann 2011 (1992); Assmann 2011 (1999).

[46] In particular see Alcock 1997, and Alcock 2002. See also Gehrke 2001, and most recently Ma 2009. Koning 2010 addresses the question of how a poet's literary reception is shaped by the processes of "cultural memory" with particular methodological rigour. However, Koning does not focus on the sort of localism discussed in this chapter, and therefore his study is only of tangential relevance.

and internally) through the curation of elements of their shared history and culture. This idea is of particular utility when examining the case of Smyrna below.[47]

Some have observed that poets were key players in the formation of cultural memories.[48] However, not only are *poets* important figures in the curation of cultural memory, several scholars have also explored how material culture also takes a key role in this process. Steven Rutledge, for example, takes his lead from studies of modern museums and collections to analyse how the visual culture of Rome helps to construct memory and identity in both public and private contexts.[49] Regarding the Greek world, Susan Alcock makes a thorough case that material culture and landscape are essential elements in the formation of cultural memories.[50]

Aleida Assmann makes a distinction between "storage memory" and "functional memory." In short, the former is the historiography (in media such as literary texts, oral texts, inscriptions, and material culture) that is not directly engaged with the creation of a particular narrative of individual or communal history or identity (though it may support the materials that are involved in that process, or at some other time itself become involved in it); the latter is those materials that are *functionally* involved in creating shared history and memory, through their positioning within particular narratives concerned with community definition or through ritual or repetitive engagement with these materials.[51] The relevance of this distinction is explored in relation to ancient poets' *tombs* by Verity Platt, and her discussion is useful here.[52] She describes how the material of tombs and their inscriptions reify and fix the bodies and texts of poets within a geographical and political framework: they work as storehouses for memory that lie 'dormant,' waiting to be engaged with and folded into the narratives and practices of functional cultural memory. Moreover, Platt points out that the inscriptions on tombs (and perhaps even more so the epigrams that pose

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[47] See below, 69-81.

[48] Schepens 2001 suggests that poets were responsible for the earliest local histories in Ancient Greece. Assmann 2011 (1999), 23-33, dwells on the importance of oral poetry as a vessel for history and memory in pre-literary periods—an importance that persisted even after the advent of writing, and the eventual emergence of prose history. Koning 2010 explores how a poet's reception can be shaped within cultural memory.

[49] Rutledge 2012. Rutledge's introduction (esp. 15-29) also serves as a thorough and concise overview of the history of 'memory studies' and how they interact with studies of museums and collecting.

[50] Alcock 2002, esp. 23-32.

[51] Assmann 2011 (1999), 119-134.

[52] Platt 2016 (forthcoming).

as funerary inscriptions) keenly anticipate the 'activation' of these 'dormant' memory stores through reading and ritual engagement, that reactivate the social role of the poet (often himself a guardian of memory and history as mentioned above) as part of a community's collective memory and identity.

The remainder of this chapter looks not only at those cases where we find portraits (or rather evidence of their ancient presence) lying 'dormant,' waiting to be engaged in narratives of cultural memory and community identity, but focuses on those examples where we find these objects (or memory stores) 'reactivated': where sculptural portraits were roped into disputes about the origin of Homer, where they were mobilised and disseminated in poetry and coinage, where they formed the focus for active civic institutions such as *gymnasia* and temples. Ultimately, this chapter focuses on those cases where the portraits were used functionally and instrumentally to contribute to cultural memory, in order to show how they contributed to functional or instrumental appropriations and receptions of the works of the poets they represent.

1.2 Portraits of Homer in Ionian Cities

Nearly all ancient poets were securely associated with the cities in which they were born, or in which they worked, and it was therefore obvious which community might honour which poet (and benefit from his reflected prestige, and from the sense of civic identity that might have formed about the poet). In some cases multiple cities honoured the same poet due to travel during that poet's career (e.g. Pindar was primarily honoured in Thebes, but also had a statue—probably in the sanctuary of Ares—in the Athenian agora;[53] Anacreon was honoured in his home town of Teos,[54] but was also depicted in a statue on the Athenian acropolis;[55] Aeschylus was honoured both in his home town Athens,[56] and on

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[53] Pindar's statue in the Athenian agora is mentioned at Pausanias 1.8.4. Possibly the same, and possibly a different statue is described in Ps.-Aeschines *Letters* 4.3 as being near the *Basileios Stoa*, made of bronze, and featuring a lyre and an unrolled scroll upon his knee. Flore Kimmel-Clauzet's brief discussion is useful, and likewise strongly suggests that this statue was a late fourth-century dedication at the earliest, and most probably later still: Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 235-7.

[54] He appears in several coin types from Teos: Schefold and Bayard 1997, 410-411.

[55] Pausanias 1.25.1.

[56] Most famously through a statue in the Theatre of Dionysus. See below, 137-152.

Sicily, where he lived in later life).[57] Although more than one city might honour a poet, in most cases that poet's place of birth, death, and home are relatively stable. By contrast, these details were an open question in the case of Homer.

Seven cities *conventionally* laid claim to being Homer's birthplace (this number increased over time).[58] Several more claimed an association with Homer through being his place of death, a connection with those cities already associated with Homer,[59] or through claims to be centres of Homeric learning.[60] The closeness of association with Homer that these communities strove to express also varies: some instituted cults, with associated buildings, iconography and rituals; others simply erected portrait monuments. In many cases the surviving evidence does not allow us to determine where on this spectrum a city lay.[61]

Some of these cities seem to have instituted cult or honorific rituals for the poet by the fourth century at least,[62] and it is clear that the third and second centuries BC saw a great proliferation of cities instituting honours to the poet (as part of a contemporary trend for the foundation of honorific institutions for poets of the past in communities across the Greek world).[63] These honours and cult institutions, from the most extensive *gymnasium*-temple complexes, to relatively simple public honorific statuary, have been studied closely in recent years. Ritual activity as part of a cult institution must have taken a variety of forms: there is evidence of birth and death anniversary rituals for Homer at Ios;[64] daily sacrifices are

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[57] *Life of Aeschylus* 11. Text available in Burges-Watson 2013.

[58] By late antiquity, as many as twenty places made claims to be Homer's birthplace (Bassino 2013(b)), including Athens, Argos, Chios, Colophon, Cyme, Egypt, Ios, Ithaca, Mycenae, Pharsalus (Phthia), Pylos, Rhodes, Salamis (on Cyprus), and Smyrna. Many of these cities are cited by the epigrams that playfully explore the rivalry between these cities. A group of such epigrams survive in the *Planudean Anthology* 295-299. Thomas Allen tabulated the various claims to Homer's origin, life, travel and works in Allen 1924, facing 32.

[59] As in the case of Paphlagonian Amastris. See Clay 2004, 139 (Homer: T8).

[60] A putative motivation for Alexandria's Homer cult.

[61] The difficulty of finding precision in many of the terms used to describe posthumous civic honours and cult institutions is explored in Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 187-200.

[62] The best known evidence for early civic association with Homer is the long series of coins issued in Ios that feature a head of Homer in profile. See Esdaile 1912, 315-317; Richter 1965 55-56; Zanker 1995, 164; Clay 2004, 82, 141-142 (Homer: T17-18); Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 307. There is also literary evidence for honorific rituals for Homer, though its interpretation is somewhat difficult. See *Contest of Homer and Hesiod* ll. 302-308 on Argive honours for Homer (Bassino 2013(a)).

[63] Clay 2004, 63-98; Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 255-281.

[64] A discussion of the Homer cult on Ios is found in Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 205-7. The two important sources discussed by Kimmel-Clauzet are as follows: Varro (quoted in Aulus Gellius *Attic Nights*

attested (though the quality of the evidence is hard to ascertain) at Argos;[65] and the association of a Homer cult with civic institutions and buildings such as *gymnasia* and *stoae* (e.g. at Colophon, Chios and Smyrna) might mean that elements of the poet cult were involved in the rituals of the *gymnasium*.[66] In some cases there is evidence that an image of the poet was involved in cult rituals (such as Alexandria,[67] Argos,[68] Colophon,[69] and Smyrna),[70] and it is likely that this was the case at many honorific sites.[71] A mythologised rendering of cult activity involving an image of Homer is presented on the *Archelaus of Priene Relief* which depicts an enthroned Homer as the object of devotion to a crowd of personified genres.[72]

Chios

A useful and revealing starting point is an epigram recorded in the *Palatine Anthology* that voices a Chian complaint about a statue of Homer at Salamis on Cyprus:

> Οὐδ᾽ εἴ με χρύσειον ἀπὸ ῥαιστῆρος Ὅμηρον
> στήσητε φλογέαις ἐν Διὸς ἀστεροπαῖς,
> οὐκ εἴμ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἔσομαι Σαλαμίνιος, οὐδ᾽ ὁ Μέλητος

3.11.6-7) asserts that regular sacrifices take place for Homer on Ios, and a third-century AD inscribed tablet suggests that sacrifices were made on the Homer's anniversary of death, the sixteenth of the month *Pyanepsiōn*, which for the purposes of the cult was referred to as *Homēreōn*.

[65] See *Contest of Homer and Hesiod* ll. 302-308 on Argive honours for Homer (Bassino 2013(a)). The date of the text is Hadrianic, but much of it seems to derive from a fourth-century source (probably the *Mouseion* of Alcidamas. Its account of the honours to Homer at Argos *might* therefore derive from a practice that was contemporary with Alcidamas, and on which he could therefore write authoritatively. However, they might equally have no basis in historical Argive practice. For a detailed discussion, see Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 207-209; Clay 2004, 74-75.

[66] The use of the cult sanctuaries for councils and other civic institutions is discussed briefly in Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 203. The evidence for these uses are conveniently presented in Kimmel-Clauzet's "Annexe I: Corpus des Documents": *s.v.* "Homère": 302, no. 39 (see also, Gauthier 2006, 492); 303. no. 41 (see also, Peek 1976); 315, no. 57 (see also, Petzl 1982, vol. 1, 79, no. 214).

[67] On the statue at Alexandria, see Aelian *Historical Miscellany* 13.22. See also an epigram found in a late third-century BC school-book: Clay 2004, 139 (Homer: T7); Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 300-301 (Homer: 36).

[68] On the statue at Argos, see *Contest of Homer and Hesiod*, ll. 302-308. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 207-209; Clay 2004 74-75.

[69] On the statue at Colophon, see Ps.-Plutarch *Life of Homer* 1.4 (text hyperlinked to Bassino 2013(b)).

[70] On the statue at Smyrna, see Strabo *Geography* 14.1.37.

[71] Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 210-213.

[72] On the *Archelaus of Priene Relief*, see: Pinkwart 1965; Richter 1965, 54; Zanker 1995, 159-162; Schefold and Bayard 1997, 336-337; Zeitlin 2001, 197-200; Clay 2004, 55, 88; Newby 2007.

Δμησαγόρου·[73] μὴ ταῦτ᾽ ὄμμασιν Ἑλλὰς ἴδοι.
ἄλλον ποιητὴν βασανίζετε· τὰμὰ δέ, Μοῦσαι
καὶ Χίος, Ἑλλήνων παισὶν ἀείσετ᾽ ἔπη.[74]

"Not even if you set up me, Homer, in beaten gold, in the flaming lightening of
Zeus; I am not, nor will ever be a Salaminian, nor will Meles' son [Homer] have
been born of Dmesagoras; may Greece never see *that* with her eyes! Try out your
gold on some other poet; but, Muses and Chios, you shall sing my poems to the
children of the Greeks."

This epigram has been attributed to various poets, and although no attribution has
inspired confidence or accord, none have disputed a third-century date.[75] In a
straightforward reading, the epigram appears to claim that no amount of honouring or
iconography can override one community or another's historical claim to be Homer's origin.
In this argument the statue of gold, described in the terms of heavenly fire to make its lustre
all the more vivid, stands as a zenith of potential honours that a community could bestow.[76]
Even a golden statue (were one to be set up – in this context the aorist *subjunctive* στήσητε
implies a discrete but not necessarily completed action) would not make Homer a
Salaminian. "Homer's" emphatic denial of this only emphasises the opposite (unvoiced)
view to which the epigrammatist is responding: that by honouring Homer with a

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[73] The name Dmēsagoras is a correction from Dēmagoras (as it is written in both manuscripts), on account of the fact that the latter is unattested as a name for Homer's father. Dmasagoras is claimed as Homer's father by one Alexander of Paphos mentioned in Eustathius *Commentary on the Odyssey of Homer* 1713.19-28 (=476). For a detailed discussion, see Gow and Page 1965, vol. 2, 27.

[74] *Palatine Anthology* 7.5 = Gow-Page: Alcaeus 22.

[75] This epigram is attributed to Alcaeus of Mytilene by the Lemmatist of the *Palatine Anthology*. This attribution is rejected by modern editors, who tentatively suggest that it may be attributed to Alcaeus of Messene or Dioscorides. Rubensohn 1893, 707 doubts the ascription to Alcaeus of Messene on stylistic grounds: 'Wegen der Häufung von Elisionen möchte man zweifeln, ob das Gedicht wirklich von Alkaios von Messene stamme (der Mitylenäer kommt überhaupt nicht in betracht).' At 734, he records Stadtmüller's private speculation that the poem may be by Dioscorides. This idea is dismissed by Gow-Page as a "guess", and is not to be found in the Stadtmüller's critical edition: Stadtmüller 1899, 7. Waltz 1938, 58, n. 1 rejects the ascription to Alcaeus of Mytilene, as do Gow and Page, who are cautious about the poem's ascription to Alcaeus of Messene: 'There is little for, and little against, the ascription [to Alcaeus of Messene].' Gow and Page 1965, vol. 1, 10, vol. 2 26-27. Most editors thus seem happy, if not convinced, by a late third-century date for this epigram.

[76] Gold (or more accurately, gilt) statues seem to have been uncommon for mortals in the Hellenistic period. The trend through the Roman Empire seems to have been for a slow increase, though (as observed in the scholars cited here) Roman emperors attempted to regulate their use. A recent select bibliography on the use of gold statues for honorific purposes in the Greek world can be found in a note in Ma 2013, 253-254, n. 76. A concise survey of ancient gilding techniques is given in Oddy et al. 1990. Alan Cameron explores how mock-apologies for not being able to offer a gold statue to an honorand became a trope in late antique epigram: Cameron 1973, 214-222.

hypothetical golden statue, Salamis might well convince visitors that Homer originated from there. A straightforward reading of this epigram therefore confirms the observation that iconography was a particularly important part of civic strategies for claiming associations with heroes.

The epigram goes beyond merely rejecting the validity of the Salaminian claim to Homer, or the capacity of a statue to support that validity. It mentions the figure named Demagoras (which is changed here to 'Dmesagoras' after Gow and Page).[77] Eustathius' Byzantine commentary on the *Odyssey* cites one Alexander of Paphos, who records that one story of Homer's origin names his father as an Egyptian named Dmasagoras.[78] It is possible (Alexander of Paphos' name reveals that he was of Cypriot origin) that this was a version of Homer's life that held particular sway on Cyprus, and was involved with Salamis' claim to have been Homer's home. If so, the epigrammatist has dismissed not only Salamis' claim to Homer, but also a version of Homer's life (in which he was the son of an Egyptian named Dmesagoras) that we might postulate was related to Salamis' claim over Homer.[79] The evidence is sparse, but it is possible that this epigram sees the civic claim to the poet and the variant life-story of Homer as integrated and mutually supportive, and that in rejecting one he must also reject the other. Moreover, the epigrammatist appears to take it for granted that his readers are aware of this alternative life of Homer (he mentions Dmesagoras with little or no explanation) or at the least that his readers are sufficiently familiar with more canonical lives of Homer to know that Dmesagoras certainly does not feature in any of these. Rather than Dmesagoras, the epigram names Homer 'ὁ Μέλητος' the son of the river Meles, a genealogy more conventionally associated with the Smyrnean claim over Homer.[80] Either this ironically undermines the epigram's claim that Homer is Chian (and therefore the whole *apparent* project of the epigram), or implies that the reader is expected to reconcile this Smyrnean genealogy with a Chian claim.

This epigram features a particularly interesting choice of vocabulary. The imperative, βασανίζετε, invokes an established metaphor of testing. The verb βασανίζω derives from the noun βάσανος, meaning a touchstone (often the stone basanite) upon which gold could

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[77] Gow and Page 1965, vol. 2, 27.

[78] Eustathius *Commentary on the Odyssey of Homer* 1713.19-28 (=476).

[79] Pausanias *Description of Greece* 10.24.2-3.

[80] On Homer's father, see Bassino 2013(b).

be rubbed to discern its genuineness and the quality of the alloy. Its relevance in this epigram about a *golden* statue is clear: the Salaminians' gold statue, when tried on Homer, failed the test. He advises trying out their gold on another (perhaps less contested or more easily bought) poet. Two distinct ideas are raised by the use of this term. First, it invokes what must have been the familiar practice of testing gold objects and coinage on a touchstone. The testing of gold in this way must have been most important during negotiations and completions of economic exchanges: either testing gold that one was buying, or testing gold being given in exchange for one's own goods or services. As such, the epigrammatist's use of this phrase casts the Cypriot gold statue precisely as currency in a relationship of exchange between a poet and a city. By extension, statues of poets are more generally presented as a currency by which an association of a poet with a city might be bought or sold, even long posthumously (in the case of Homer).[81]

Secondly, the βάσανος had been used several times in archaic and classical poetry as a metaphor for how we might test the true worth and nature of other humans, and how we might prove our own worth and nature *to* them. The idea is used in this sense particularly by Theognis and Pindar.[82] The concept of a poetic "touchstone" (a method of judging the quality of a poet by comparing short extracts of his verse, to short extracts of verse from a poet generally regarded as high quality) was yet to emerge in antiquity, but there is an instance of a poet, in this case Pindar, suggesting that his verse will be tested on a βάσανος.[83] Nicholas Boterf has shown how this passage relates to Pindar's concerns that his poetry will be harshly judged by his own countrymen, because envy is most easily felt by fellow citizens rather than foreigners on account of the 'social competition of the community'.[84] Whether or not this term was felt to be *particularly* appropriate for poets and poetry, it is at least *applicable* to the testing of poets and the testing of poetry. As well as

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[81] This idea of a statue as currency is present also in an epigram attributed to Theocritus (Gow-Page 17 = Theocritus 18 = *Palatine Anthology* 9.600; for commentary see Gow and Page 1965, 533-534) where the statue is described as the poet's ἐπίχειρον ('workman's wage'). This is discussed in a later chapter, 191-195.

[82] Theognis 415-418, 447-452; Pindar *Pythian Odes,* 10.67-68. See duBois 1991, 9-34; Kurke 1999, 41-45.

[83] Pindar *Nemean Odes,* 8.20-21. Pindar describes how offering a new song is alike to putting it to the touchstone and risks attracting envious criticism: πολλὰ γὰρ πολλᾷ λέλεκται, νεαρὰ δ' ἐξευ- / -ρόντα δόμεν βασάνῳ / ἐς ἔλεγχον, ἅπας κίνδυνος· ('Many things have been said in many ways, but when we invent a new song we put it to the test on a touchstone, which is wholly a risk;').

[84] Boterf 2012, 96-97.

invoking the metaphor of exchange, therefore, the use of βασανίζω recalls judgements about the essential character of individuals (including poets), and the quality of poetry. If the βάσανος is a test of true personal and poetic nature, the epigrammatist is suggesting that when Homer and his poetry were tried on the βάσανος, they were clearly not Salaminian, and that the people of Salamis ought to try out other poets by this imagined test.

Despite what seems to be an honest protest at propaganda through sculpture, this poem has a clear irony. The epigram emphasises that it is from the voice of Homer through its use of first-person verbs: in particular οὐκ εἴμ᾽, οὐδ᾽ ἔσομαι, where this first person is emphatically repeated. Likewise, the Homeric poems are referred to as τὰμὰ… ἔπη, '*my poems*'. The short sentences of lines 4-5 feature a strongly expressed negative wish in μὴ ταῦτ᾽ ὄμμασιν Ἑλλὰς ἴδοι, and an aggressive imperative in βασανίζετε. These rhetorical outbursts lend a vivid presence to the voice of the epigram, and make the *prosopopoeia* of Homer more effective. It is not clear, however, which Homer this is, and where he is speaking. A clue is in the poem's epigrammatic form.

It is an established observation, and has long been a fruitful facet of literary criticism of epigrams, that Hellenistic literary epigram remains deeply aware of its literary-historical origins in inscribed epigram, and therefore imitates and calls to mind verse inscriptions upon physical monuments, including tombs and statues.[85] A Hellenistic reader of this epigram would be conditioned to imagine it upon a physical monument. In this particular case, by far the most appropriate monument would be a statue or tomb of Homer. We may initially expect this tomb to be in Smyrna, given that Homer claims the Smyrnean river Meles as his father, but the poem mentions Chios specifically in the final line (καὶ Χίος), and these words' placement is significant. We might well have expected the poem to name the Muses (Μοῦσαι) *alone* as the guardians of Homeric re-performance, but the phrase is enjambed (Μοῦσαι / καὶ Χίος) which draws particular attention to the surprising, last-minute appearance of this Chian claim. The epigram's statement that 'Muses and Chios, you shall sing my poems to the children of the Greeks,' goes beyond simply claiming that Chios was Homer's home: it claims for Chios a near-exclusive right to re-perform Homer, and offers to the people of Chios a monopolistic control over Homeric reception. This may be related to the *Homeridae*, a group of rhapsodes closely associated with Chios by fifth-century

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[85] I discuss this at greater length in chapter four.

sources, who claimed descent (either genealogical or apostolic) from Homer, and who seem to have been perceived as a group of particularly authoritative Homeric rhapsodes.[86] Of course, as noted above, the epigram's reference to the Smyrnean river Meles as Homer's father complicates this claim somewhat.

We, and ancient readers, can imagine the voice of this epigram as that of a vocal, brusque, and *Chian* statue of Homer, or indeed (as epigrams on statues usually reference the object with a verb or deictic) as the voice of the poet emanating from his tomb. If (by its epigrammatic form) this poem asks us to imagine it spoken by a Chian monument, it immediately becomes ironically self-defeating. This epigram draws attention to the fallibility of honorific monuments as claims to cultural ownership of a poet. Therefore, as soon as we imagine it inscribed below an honorific monument of its own, it begins to appear hypocritical, and undermines not only Salamis' efforts to claim the poet, but its own attempt, and in fact all such bids. However, even before exploring the subtleties of this poem, we can observe clear evidence in the epigram that the use of iconography in order to assert a civic relationship with a poet was a practice familiar enough to form the subject of this epigram, and a practice that could be controversial.

Colophon

In the case of Colophon there is far clearer evidence (than in the case of Chios) relating to an honorific or cult statue. One of the Pseudo-Plutarchan lives of Homer offers an account of how a statue of the poet could be used by a community in order to bolster its claimed association with the figure.

> εἰσὶ μέντοι οἳ καὶ Κολοφώνιον αὐτὸν ἀποδεικνύναι πειρῶνται, μεγίστωι
> τεκμηρίωι χρώμενοι πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν τῶι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ἐπιγεγραμμένωι
> ἐλεγείωι·ἔχει δὲ οὕτως·
>
> υἱὲ Μέλητος Ὅμηρε, σὺ γὰρ κλέος Ἑλλάδι πάσηι
> καὶ Κολοφῶνι πάτρηι θῆκας ἐς ἀίδιον·
> καὶ τάσδ' ἀντιθέωι ψυχῆι γεννήσαο κούρας
> δισσὰς ἡμιθέων, γραψάμενος σελίδας·

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[86] For further discussion of the *Homeridae*: Allen 1907; Allen 1924, 42-50; Burkert 1987, esp. 48-50; Graziosi 2002, 62-66, 212-214. Key texts are *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*; Plato *Ion* 530D6-8; Schol. Pind. *ad Nem.* 2.1.

ὑμνεῖ δ᾿ ἣ μὲν νόστον Ὀδυσσῆος πολύπλαγκτον,
ἣ δὲ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν Δαρδανιδῶν πόλεμον.[87]

Bassino translation adapted: 'There are those, however, who try to prove that he was a Colophonian, offering as their primary evidence the elegy inscribed on his statue. It goes as follows:

Homer, son of Meles, you offered all of Greece and your fatherland Colophon eternal glory; and you, with your divine soul, produced these two daughters of demigods when you wrote your columns. One sings the much-wandering homecoming of Odysseus, the other the war of the Dardanids at Ilium.'[88]

The statue and epigram mentioned must have been significantly older than the sources invoked by the text itself. It is likely that the statue mentioned and epigram quoted date from no earlier than the fourth century BC, as it was from then onwards that honorific statues of dead poets began to proliferate in great number.[89] Furthermore, it is clear that the epigrammatist is writing at a time when Homer's epics were principally imagined as written texts, rather than performed poems: γραψάμενος σελίδας ('when you wrote your columns') refers to the 'columns' of a papyrus scroll. It was, by and large, in the Hellenistic period that archaic poets began to be depicted as readers and writers, rather than (or as well as) singers.[90] The epigram reflects this way of imagining Homer, and I therefore propose that it dates no earlier than the Hellenistic era. It also suggests that the Colophonian Homer portrait might have depicted personifications of Homer's two epics. The depiction of the personified poems alongside Homer is familiar both from the famous *Archelaus of Priene Relief*, in which the poet is accompanied by crouching women holding appropriate attributes (a sword and a rudder) for the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*,[91] and from the (less securely identified) pair

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[87] Pseudo-Plutarch *Life of Homer* 1.4. Epigram also recorded in *Planudean Anthology*. 292. There, ἡμιθέων in line 4 is replaced by ἐκ στηθέων ('from your heart').

[88] Bassino 2013(b). Adaptation: Bassino translates σελίδας as 'texts' rather than 'columns'.

[89] Alexander Beecroft comes to the same conclusion when he refers to it as a 'Hellenistic-era statue,' though he gives no justification: Beecroft 2010, 74-75.

[90] The proliferation in the Hellenistic era of portraits of poets (and other intellectuals) depicted reading is noted by Paul Zanker. Due to the Roman habit of adapting portraits as busts, heads and herms, much of the evidence of this is from miniatures, reliefs and coinage. Zanker 1995, 195: 'The image of the reader was already a part of intellectual iconography in early Hellenistic art. But at that time reading was only one of many possibilities for expressing a particular form of intellectual activity. By Late Hellenistic times, however, reading seems to have become the very essence of the intellectual process in general. From now on it was no longer possible to imagine an intellectual other than with a book in his hand or sitting nearby.'

[91] Pinkwart 1965; Zeitlin 2001, 197-200; Newby 2007.

of females found in 1869 in the Athenian Agora.[92] Taken together with other sources,[93] these examples suggest that this mode of depicting Homer might have been widespread, and might therefore have been used in Colophon too.

Pseudo-Plutarch made it clear that (at the time of writing) this statue and its accompanying epigram were proposed as primary and convincing evidence for Homer's Colophonian origin. Despite Pseudo-Plutarch's account, the statue and its inscription cannot have been the basis of Colophon's claim to Homer when they were first set up. The Chian epigram on the Salaminian statue of Homer (discussed above) explicitly expresses (what is quite logical and obvious) that the erection of a statue is not 'proof' of anything.[94] It is probable that Colophon's claim was related, at least in part, to the opening lines of the poem *Margites* (widely attributed to Homer in antiquity), that describe an old singer coming to Colophon.[95] Pseudo-Plutarch's account of this epigram and statue is most usefully understood as an example of how iconography was used in order to materialise, monumentalise and advertise Colophon's claim. It seems to have been moderately successful in this respect: the epigram reaches Pseudo-Plutarch in the second century AD or later along with an anecdote about a statue, and independently (in a different recension) makes its way into the collections of epigram and lyric, and thence into the *Planudean Anthology*.

It so happens that an unidentified statue of an aged poet survives from the Colophonian territory. The *Poète de Claros* (I use the name given by the first full publication) was found in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Claros in several parts on the west side of the sacred way, near the exedra of the proconsuls and the monument of Appuleius (which is approximately 2 metres south of the exedra). This find site is approximately 10 metres south of the temple of Apollo itself, but it is unknown whether this was its original, Hellenistic

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[92] On these two objects and their probable location in the Library of Pantainios, see Thompson 1954, 62-65.

[93] A range of sources related to the personification of Homer's poems are discussed in Jones 1985. A more recent discussion of the role of personifications of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and the role of these personifications in the construction (and gendering) of author, text, and reader relationships, is found in Seaman 2005.

[94] See above, 54-59.

[95] See Graziosi 2002, 66-72, on *Margites* fr. 1 West. Colophon's claim to Homer (possibly based around the *Margites* opening) must have been strengthened significantly during the Classical period by the support of Antimachus of Colophon, a poet and scholar active in late fifth- and early fourth-century Athens. See Matthews 1996, 18 (n.21), 46-51, 373-374.

position (if it is, as is the *communis opinio*, a Hellenistic object).[96] It is likely that the poet represented had some connection to Colophon or Claros, and although several other possibilities are plausible (such as the archaic poet Mimnermus, or—less likely—the near-contemporary Nicander of Colophon), it has been noted how it is highly plausible (though as yet far from provable) that this statue represents Homer.[97] This is on account of Colophon's long-term claim over the poet, and the association with Colophon, Claros, and Apollo implicit in two important texts related to Homer: the *Margites* in which Homer is described as the 'devotee of far-shooting Apollo,'[98] and the *Homeric Hymn to Artemis* that explicitly mentions the sanctuary at Claros.[99] Given the plausibility of this identification as Homer it is worthwhile briefly to describe the statue and consider its possible purposes and meanings in its Colophonian context.

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[96] A concise account of the history of excavation at Claros, and the state of research is given in Ferrary 2010.

[97] Renaud 1999, 183-184. The object is shown in a high quality image in Hasselin Rous, Laugier, and Martinez 2009, but not discussed.

[98] *Margites* fr. 1 West.

[99] *Homeric Hymn* (9) *to Artemis* 5-6.

Figure 12: The *Poète de Claros*. Izmir Archaeological Museum no. 3501.

This sculpture was at first interpreted as a female body, then as the body of a male intellectual, and has finally (since being reunited with its head) been convincingly interpreted as a votive or honorific sculpture depicting a long-dead poet. The *communis opinio* dates this object stylistically to the early second century BC,[100] which (being shortly after the Peace of Apamea) was a period in which the Ionian cities seem to have experienced relative prosperity, and during which major developments took place at the sanctuary of

[100] Renaud 1999.

Apollo at Claros.[101] The statue shows an elderly seated man wearing a *himation* that wraps around the figure's waist, clings closely over his thighs, and falls in loose, irregular folds between his legs. Sheila Dillon compares this arrangement to that of a headless seated figure in Copenhagen, which (though different in key aspects) is indeed similar in some respects.[102] There is a line of holes along the figure's left-hand side that were used for the attachment of a large object, and the figure's left shoulder is raised as if to hold such an object. The head of the figure features a full head of hair that radiates from the crown and, after passing through the fillet that binds the head, moves in wavy locks predominantly from the right to the left side of the face. The beard is thick, and although (as Renaud observes) the locks do not hang independently, a sense of their multitude and fulsomeness is given by their detailed moulding. The presence of a fillet suggests that the statue depicted a poet, which in turn suggests that the large object on the figure's left was a lyre.

The statue depicts the old age of its subject vividly. The most striking element of this image is the collapse of the figure's pectoral muscles. The effect of a sturdy musculature that has degraded combined with subcutaneous fat around the pectoral muscles misled early observers into interpreting this dramatic depiction of physical decline as evidence that the sculpture represented an elderly *female* subject.[103] The sculptor uses a subtle depiction of contour on the upper chest to evoke how the weight of internal muscle and fat hangs within a loose framework and covering of skin. The deep rolls above the poet's stomach also contribute strongly to the suggestion of old age. The figure's garment is neither so thick, nor so woolly in appearance as that of the so-called *Seated Poet* (figs. 26 and 27), as is suggested by the finer tension creases along the poet's right leg. Nevertheless, the comparison between these two figures is apt.[104] The head of this figure is given a vivid expression. His eyebrows rise sharply, and above them are both vertical and horizontal furrows. As observed by Renaud, his lower eyelids are lifted unusually high up, implying either an extreme upward gaze or blindness. Renaud interprets this as an image of inspiration. In this respect, the eyes

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[101] The cult statues of Apollo, Artemis and Leto seem to have been erected during the first half of the second century BC, as does the *pronaos* of the temple. Ferrary 2010, 94-95.

[102] Dillon 2006, 123. A comparison is made to Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 415c, inv. 2812.

[103] Renaud came across this observation in the 1950s journals of Roland Martin.

[104] Renaud 1999, 180.

and eyelids of the *Poète de Claros* can be usefully compared to those of the *Hellenistic Blind Type Homer*.

A portrait of the most important archaic poet set up within an important shrine within Colophon's territory might well have visually reinforced Colophon's claim to a connection with the poet, and therefore might have supported Colophon's claims to prestige during the first decades of the second century. It is not remotely certain that this portrait depicts Homer, however it is *plausible* that it does indeed depict the poet, and that it is a surviving material expression of the Colophonian effort to claim the poet for their city, and therefore to benefit from the prestige of such an association. Statues, however, could only be moderately useful in advertising a claim to a poet. We cannot reconstruct how far or wide reports of a statue or its epigrams would travel in the ancient world: literary sources like that above do suggest that they might have been spoken and written about outside their own communities.

One way to overcome the problem that statues did not travel as easily as texts was to erect a statue in a position where it was likely to be seen by visitors.[105] Just such a site might have been the oracular sanctuary of Apollo at Claros. This site was visited by multiple delegations from Crete, Thrace, the Black Sea coast and Asia Minor (though apparently far less frequently by communities from the Greek mainland). Chios (which also claimed Homer) appears to have been a particularly active community in this respect.[106] It is possible (if this statue depicts Homer) that the people of Colophon adopted precisely this tactic of displaying a portrait of their illustrious poetic forbear in a place where many international visitors (and particularly those from Asia Minor, the Black Sea and the islands—communities with whom Colophon must have had the closest relationships) would have encountered it.

A comparable case is reported by Pausanias, which suggests that at some point this strategy was adopted by the community of Ios. Pausanias reports seeing a bronze statue of Homer set up at Delphi, accompanied by the Pythian oracle's prediction to Homer that he

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[105] The problematic immobility of statues is a trope used by poets and orators (in order to draw attention to the mobility of their own medium. Key texts in this respect are Pindar *Nemean Odes* 5.1-12, esp. 1-3; Isocrates *Evagoras* 74.

[106] Ferrary 2010, 108-110. Ferrary summarises the numbers of monumental dedications from various regions, as studied previously by Louis and Jeanne Robert.

would die on Ios.[107] Pausanias immediately afterwards mentions monuments to Homer and his mother set up on Ios. We infer from this passage that the image of Homer was an Ietan dedication, and that Pausanias directly related it to other monuments that claimed Homer's death (and perhaps also birth) on Ios. It is clear from the fact that the statue prompts Pausanias to give a brief discussion of cities' claims over Homer, that he regarded the monument as a rhetorical assertion of Homer's association with Ios in competition with other Homeric localities. The display of an utterance of the Pythian oracle with the statue would be rhetorically powerful at any site, but is even more so at Delphi, where the authority of the Pythia must have been most zealously promoted. It is unclear at what point this statue was set up. Ios had been minting coins featuring a head of Homer since the late fourth century,[108] and the prophecy quoted by Pausanias featured also in the *Contest of Homer and Hesiod*, parts of which definitely date to the fourth century.[109] Ios' claim then was based on a long-standing tradition. But faced with the question of how to disseminate this claim, they chose (at some point unknown to us) to display iconography in an important Panhellenic site, where it might be imagined that individuals from many Greek nations would have the opportunity either to be convinced or not by this instrumental use of portraiture. Though Claros was not quite so famous or important a site as Delphi, it is plausible that in the *Poète de Claros* it is precisely this tactic that is being used to advertise and disseminate Colophon and Claros' claim to prestige as the home of Homer.

Though this use of a portrait is undeniably a strong one, far more evidence survives of a different mode by which iconography could be made to travel in the ancient world. Coinage is inherently mobile and (apart from those cases where silver coinage diverged

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[107] Pausanias 10.24.2: θεάσαιο δ' ἂν καὶ εἰκόνα Ὁμήρου χαλκῆν ἐπὶ στήληι, καὶ ἐπιλέξει τὸ μάντευμα ὃ γενέσθαι τῶι Ὁμήρωι λέγουσιν·
ὄλβιε καὶ δύσδαιμον – ἔφυς γὰρ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροισι –
πατρίδα δίζηαι· μητρὶς δέ τοι, οὐ πατρίς ἐστιν,
ἔστιν Ἴος νῆσος μητρὸς πατρίς, ἥ σε θανόντα
δέξεται· ἀλλὰ νέων παίδων αἴνιγμα φύλαξαι.
(Bassino Translation: 'You would see a bronze statue of Homer on a base, and read the oracle which they say was made for Homer: "Blessed and ill-fated – for both are your birthright – you search for your fatherland: but it is your mother's land, not your father's. There is an island, Ios, hometown of your mother, which will receive you after you die; but beware the riddle of the young boys." ')
[108] See Esdaile 1912, 315-317; Richter 1965, 55-56; Zanker 1995, 164; Clay 2004, 82, 141-142 (Homer: T17-18); Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 307.
[109] Bassino 2013(a).

from the popular Attic standard) the coins of relatively small Hellenistic cities might have travelled far and wide across the ancient world. Colophon is among the cities that used currency to disseminate the iconography of their claimed countryman. Two Colophonian magistrates (Apollonius, and Pytheus) issued coins during the first century BC, that featured on their obverse an image of Apollo Citharoedus, and on their reverse an image of a seated Homer, identified by his identical presentation to the images of Homer on contemporary coins from Smyrna.[110] The Colophonian mint decided that adopting a well-known image of Homer (and therefore using an established and easily-recognised iconography) was the most effective way of advertising their claim to Homer. It is unknown whether this image-type of Homer related to a statue in either Smyrna or Colophon, or whether it even reproduced an image in Alexandria (this has been suggested for a slightly different coin type from Smyrna).[111] The repetition of the image in more than one city does however suggest that this type was familiar. The Colophonian coins are not very rare types: Joseph Milne documented around fifty versions known to him in 1941.[112] Homer is seen seated on a high-backed chair (or on a stool with a tall, thin architectural feature close behind him; the coins are unclear), facing left. His right leg is tucked beneath the chair, and his left leg extended before him. This is a familiar pose for seated figures in Hellenistic sculpture. He rests his chin on his right hand, and his left hand is rested on his left leg and (though hard to see in this illustration) holds a papyrus scroll. Homer's hair appears to be gathered into a knot at the back of his head.

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[110] Joseph Milne dates these types to the first century (Milne 1941, 79-81). Katharine Esdaile on the other hand dates them to the third and very early second centuries (until the Treaty of Apamea). Esdaile 1912, 310. On these coin types, see also Head 1892, 41, Colophon nos. 42-43, plate VIII, no. 10.
[111] A silver coin type from Smyrna shows an image very similar to the depiction of Homer on the *Archelaus of Priene Relief*, as observed by Heyman 1982, 167. It has been suggested that the image of Homer on this relief derives from the cult image of Homer at Alexandria, on the basis of some of the figures appearing to have Ptolemaic portrait features (on the relief more generally: Pinkwart 1965; Zeitlin 2001, 197-200; Newby 2007). Kimmel-Clauzet is sceptical, and prefers to hint that both relief and coin reflect the cult image of Homer at Smyrna: Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, pp. 213-215.
[112] Milne 1941, 79-81.

Figure 13: Bronze obol from Colophon; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. CM.3942-2007.

We might postulate that, in claiming Homer, Colophon also claimed special authority in performance and interpretation (as observed above for Chios through the role of the authoritative *Homeridae*). Homer's association with Colophon and Claros does seem to have left its mark in the archaic Homeric corpus.[113] However, even if there is no immediate evidence for how Colophon's claim directly impacted the literary reception of Homer, the presentation of Homer as a local, native Colophonian is in itself a particular (and politically instrumental) reception of the poet, and it is clear that the sculptural portraiture of Homer played an important role in asserting this reception.

The evidence for Colophon's use of material culture to advertise their connection with Homer is fragmentary and dispersed. There are literary reports of statues at Colophon, and the epigrams that accompanied them; there survives a second-century BC marble statue that plausibly represented Homer at the Sanctuary of Apollo at Claros within the Colophonian territory; finally, the Colophonian community issued a short series of coins featuring an image of the poet during the first century BC. Colophon and Claros were successful in disseminating their claim to the poet, as is evident from their mention in later

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[113] Graziosi 2002, 62-79. Key texts are *Margites* fr. 1 West; *Homeric Hymn* (9) *to Artemis*.

epigrams on the fight over Homer. Despite uncertainties, it is clear from literary evidence and from surviving material culture that iconography and portrait sculpture played an important role in the establishment and assertion of Colophon's claim to the poet.

Smyrna

Colophon was far from the only city to depict Homer on its coins. Many other cities materialised their claims to Homer in this way (including Chios, though only during the Roman Empire).[114] In fact the representation of Homer on the late Hellenistic series of Colophonian obols links to the numismatic representations of the poet from a city only a short distance from Colophon, and with a far more famous and established claim over the poet Homer: Smyrna.

Smyrna's claim over Homer is based on the proximity to Smyrna of the River Meles. The Meles was a short river that rose from a small lake fed by several springs, and ran into the Smyrnean Gulf.[115] There is a river in modern Smyrna (the "Caravan Bridge River") that was popularly thought of as the Meles since the seventeenth century. However, the stream that most closely accords with ancient accounts is the Halkapınar river ("Halka-Bunar" in older scholarship).[116] The association between the Meles and Homer arises out of what appears to be an ancient false etymology of a name traditionally given to Homer, Melesigenes, which was taken to mean "Born-of-Meles". The evidence and scholarship surrounding this word is addressed by Graziosi.[117] It is at least possible that this reading of

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[114] Esdaile 1912.

[115] The river Meles is addressed by Philostratus *Imagines* 2.8. However, the most informative source is Aelius Aristeides' first *Smyrnaean Oration* (= Aristeides 17), 14-15. The details about the river given by Aristeides are gathered in Cadoux 1938, 12, nos. 2-6.

[116] Cadoux 1938, 10-14. One discrepancy is that Aelius Aristeides describes a cave near the source of the river, for which no modern evidence can be found near the Halkapınar river. Accounts of the recent excavations in Smyrna are by and large written in Turkish, with the exception of a French exhibition catalogue: Hasselin Rous, Laugier, and Martinez 2009.

[117] Graziosi 2002, 75-76. Graziosi describes how a far more likely etymology of Melesigenes is "he who cares for his descendants," which we can very well imagine being used of the poet by a class of rhapsodes who considered themselves descendants of sorts, and who made their careers from the repetition of the Homeric poems.

Homer's alternative name emerged early on, and perhaps as early as the seventh century.[118] Even if not quite this ancient, it seems that Homer's connection to the Meles (and therefore to Smyrna) was known at least from the fifth century onwards: Pindar is reported to have named Homer a Smyrnean and a Chian,[119] Stesimbrotus of Thasos (a fifth-century scholar) that he was a Smyrnean,[120] and Critias (a fifth-century Athenian, and one of the thirty tyrants) that he was born of a river (which surely refers to the Smyrnean claim).[121] The story of Homer's birth either as son of, or simply by the banks of the river Meles was one of the most widespread and least contested stories about Homer's life in the biographical tradition. As is described by Beecroft, and obvious from Allen's chart of the various lives and sources, the river Meles is almost never left out altogether from the narrative of Homer's life.[122]

It is not clear how (if at all) Smyrna honoured its claimed countryman before its re-foundation in the late fourth century. It is clear, however, that by the end of first century BC (most probably beginning at some point in the third or second), there was a cult dedicated to the poet, as mentioned by Cicero,[123] but described with more detail in Strabo's *Geography* (14.1.37):

> ἔστι δὲ καὶ βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ Ὁμήρειον, στοὰ τετράγωνος, ἔχουσα νεὼν
> Ὁμήρου καὶ ξόανον· μεταποιοῦνται γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι διαφερόντως τοῦ ποιητοῦ,
> καὶ δὴ καὶ νόμισμά τι χαλκοῦν παρ' αὐτοῖς Ὁμήρειον λέγεται.

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[118] As Graziosi argues (Graziosi 2002, 72-77), a small river in Smyrna would surely not have attracted the attention of Homeric biographers at any time between its sack (in around 600 BC) and its re-foundation in the late fourth century BC, during which interlude it was little more than a group of villages (Herodotus *Histories* 1.16; Strabo *Geography* 14.1.37 = C646. Strabo describes how, after the sack of Alyattes, Smyrna continued only as a group of villages). The association between Homer and the Meles starts before the late fourth-century re-foundation, and this suggests that the theory might have its origins as far back as the seventh century (when Smyrna had last been a significant city). Also intriguing (and suggestive of an early date for the tradition) is the mention of the Meles in the *Homeric Hymn* (9) *to Artemis*. The *Homeric Hymn* makes specific mention of this otherwise deeply obscure river; as such it is likely that the tradition that associated Homer with Meles predated the writing of the *Hymn*. Since the *Homeric Hymn* is conventionally dated to the seventh century, this suggests a very early date for the Meles myth.

[119] Pseudo-Plutarch *Life of Homer* 2.2.

[120] *Life of Homer* 6 (= anonymous *Life* 1 = *Vita Romana*) 2.

[121] Philostratus *Lives of the Sophists* 480 (= Critias frag. 50 D.-K.).

[122] Allen 1924, facing p. 32. Beecroft 2010, 73-76.

[123] Cicero *Defence of Archias* 19.

> 'And indeed there is a library and the *Homereum*, a four-sided *stoa* with a temple
> of Homer and a statue. For the Smyrneans lay especial claim to the poet, and
> indeed a certain bronze coin of theirs is called a *Homereum*.'[124]

Strabo's account suggests that the cult was a large complex, possibly incorporating a *gymnasium* (if this is how we are to interpret the 'four-sided *stoa*'), and therefore possibly involved in the education and conditioning of the city's youth.[125] There seems also to have been a 'Homeric Council', or a '*Homereum* Council,' as attested by a later inscription (Roman Imperial; now lost),[126] that specifies that a large fine be paid to this council for anyone who disrupts the grave monument to which the inscription is attached. Another *gymnasium* in Smyrna seems to have had associated councils of elders,[127] and this inscription may therefore corroborate the interpretation of Strabo by which the four-sided *stoa* was a *gymnasium*. This inscription hints at an important civic role for the *Homereum*, and that the institution was closely involved in the life of the city.

The statue is described as a ξόανον, from which many scholars have inferred that Smyrna's *Homereum* featured an ancient or archaising wooden statue. Paul Zanker suggests that the statue was in an archaistic style in order to emphasise the antiquity of the Smyrnean claim: 'This was no doubt intended to legitimize the city's claim to being Homer's birthplace.'[128] However, the meaning of ξόανον, and its theoretical derivation from ξύλον, have been seriously questioned in recent decades, and Alice Donohue finds that Strabo uses ξόανον to describe *any* statue that is central in cult ritual, regardless of its material, style, or appearance.[129] In any case it is clear from the prominence afforded to the portrait by Strabo

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[124] Strabo *Geography* 14.1.37.

[125] *Gymnasia* connected to honorific institutions for poets is a phenomenon attested elsewhere, both in Smyrna and in other cities. See Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 203. A Roman era inscription from Smyrna mentions a gold crown being awarded by the γερουσία νέων Μιμνερμείου ('the elder council of the *Mimnermeum* youths'), which strongly implies the activities and institutions of a *gymnasium* (CIG 3376=GIBM 1030 (PH)=ISmyrna 215=McCabe Smyrna 661). *Homereum-gymnasia* are attested at both Chios (Peek 1976; Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 304-305) and Colophon (Gauthier 2006, 492; Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 302).

[126] Petzl 1982, vol. 1, 79, no. 214 (=CIG 3318=ISmyrna 206 (PH)=McCabe Smyrna 537). See also Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 315.

[127] As mentioned in the above n. 125, a Roman imperial era inscription from Smyrna mentions a gold crown being awarded by the γερουσία νέων Μιμνερμείου ('the elder council of the *Mimnermeum* youths'), which strongly implies the activities and institutions of a *gymnasium* (CIG 3376=GIBM 1030 (PH)=ISmyrna 215=McCabe Smyrna 661).

[128] Zanker 1995, 161-162. This inference is also made by Corso 2007.

[129] Donohue 1988, 78-83. Platt 2011, 92-100.

that a cult image was an important feature of Smyrna's Homer cult. However, as in the case of Colophon, it was surely through its reproduction on currency that this iconography could most effectively work for the self-presentation of Smyrna as Homer's birthplace. As Carlo Heyman (whose study of the Smyrnean coins is useful here) imagines for the cult and coins of Smyrna,

> 'On thousands of occasions the Hellenes saw what a great ancestor the traders of Smyrna could boast of. Even today his fame has reached us from Smyrna in the most telling way through the rich collection of coins bearing the image of Homer which come from Smyrna.'[130]
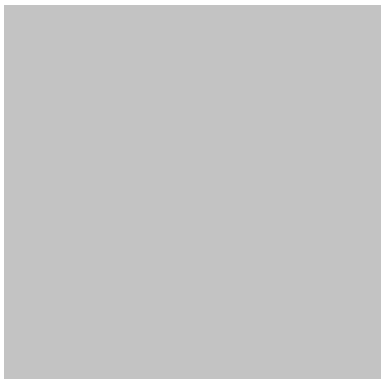
Figure 14: Bronze "*Homereum*" from Smyrna. Photograph from Zanker 1995.

The *Homereum* was one of two types issued from the early second century onwards that featured a seated figure of Homer.[131] These two types show two distinct portrait types. The first, the bronze *Homereum* (fig. 14, minted in bronze between 190 and 30 BC, with silver issues also minted between 190 and 85 BC) show Homer seated, facing left, with his left leg extended and his right tucked under his chair (which is a familiar Hellenistic sitting pose).[132] In his left hand is a scroll, and in his right rests his chin. He is wearing a fillet and a cloak that covers his shoulder. A staff rests diagonally on his right shoulder. It is reasonably hypothesised (especially given the shared name) that his coin took as its model the cult image itself.[133] Heyman is too cautious to state that this is copied from a statue; he warns that

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[130] Heyman 1982, 161.

[131] Head 1892 (*BMC* "Ionia"), 238, Smyrna nos. 7-8, 79-117, plate XXV, nos. 15-17; Milne 1927; Milne 1928; Heyman 1982 (*BMC* "Ionia"), 162.

[132] Milne 1914, 277-298.

[133] Heyman 1982, 164. See also Zanker 1995, 161-166 (on the name '*Homereum*' see esp. 161-2). A framework for assessing whether or not a coin takes a particular sculpture as a model is theorised by Lacroix 1946.

there is no visible socle or pedestal.[134] However, this and similar seated poses are familiar

from third-century sculpture,[135] and the composition of this portrait does indeed look

sculptural. In fact, the pose of Homer in this coin is familiar from several contemporaneous

funerary *stelae* from Smyrna (figs. 15 and 16; I do not speculate as to whether a Smyrnean

statue of Homer popularised this formula for literary and learned Smyrneans).[136] The

identification of the seated figure on the reverse as Homer is unanimously agreed on the

basis of the poet iconography, Strabo's account (of what must have been a well-known

type), and the abundance of the type (that concurs with Strabo's account).

Figure 15: Second-century BC funerary s*tele* from Smyrna. Leiden, Rijksmuseum, inv. S.N.
Ns. 2. Photograph from Zanker 1993.

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[134] Heyman 1982, 164.

[135] As noted also by Heyman, as well as Schefold and Bayard 1997, 400-401: 'Die getreue Nachbildung auf den Münzen, die nur wenig variiert, erlaubt es, die Statue als frühhellenistisches Werk zu bestimmen.'

[136] Zanker 1993.

Figure 16: Second-century BC funerary *stele* from Smyrna. Leiden, Rijksmuseum, inv. Pb. 75. Photograph from Zanker 1993.

The name of Smyrna's Homer cult complex, the *Homereum*, is shared by the name of the coins featuring an image of Homer. The shared name may be mere chance (there is no indication by Strabo whether it is an official or informal name). However, as Kimmel-Clauzet observes, it supports the interrelation between these two names that the coin does not take a usual form for a currency name, such as the suffix - φορος.[137] That the coin and cult share *precisely* the same name suggests that the referent of the coin (its name and iconography) is not *only* the poet Homer, nor simply the city Smyrna, but more precisely the cult institution, its buildings and iconography that had been set up in Smyrna. The coin does not simply advertise the association between the community and the poet, it also advertises the extensive physical efforts (library, four-sided portico, temple and portrait) that the Smyrneans had made in order to cultivate this association.[138]

This abundant and long-running coin issue illustrated to Smyrnean citizens, to other Greeks, to Romans, and to others who might have encountered it, that Smyrna's long-standing claim to Homer was upheld by the city's institutions. The coin makes it clear that Smyrna considered Homer to be a townsman to the extent that it could depict him on their coins, and the more erudite viewer of the coins might also realise that the coin (and its

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[137] Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 214-215.
[138] This observation is made also by Kimmel-Clauzet 2013.

name) refers to the cult iconography of Homer in Smyrna, and the civic and religious institution of the *Homereum* where that cult was active.

Homer was not the only poet to be depicted on coins; both in the Hellenistic period, and (more commonly) in the Roman imperial period, Greek cities issued coins featuring images of famous poets whom they claimed as countrymen. Sappho is depicted on coins from both Mytilene and Eresos.[139] Alcaeus also is shown on coins from Mytilene.[140] Anacreon appears in several guises on coin types from Teos.[141] Stesichorus is depicted on coins from Himera.[142] A first-century BC silver coin from Paros probably depicts Archilochus.[143] A coin from Thespiae has been thought to depict Corinna.[144] It is generally thought that it is the poet Aratus that appears on a mid-second-century AD issue of coins from Soloi Pompeiopolis.[145]

This use of iconography could not itself form part of the proof or argumentation for a community's relationship with a poet. It does, however, visualise, materialise, and advertise this relationship, both to foreigners and to the citizens of the community itself. It is quite clear from these examples that iconography was a key item in the toolbox of a community hoping to express and solidify its claim to a poet.

I have shown how iconography takes a key role in the expression and dissemination of a city's claimed relationship with a poet. The Chian epigram on the Salaminian statue of Homer reveals (through its strong criticism) how honorific portrait statuary was considered to be a potent and convincing tool for the advertisement of a city's claim to a poet. Pseudo-Plutarch's account of the statue and epigram at Colophon likewise show how these objects could be used to bolster such a claim. Finally I gave examples of how cities used the iconography of Homer on coinage in order to overcome the limitations (due to its

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[139] Richter and Smith 1984, 194; Schefold and Bayard 1997, 408-409. The coins featuring Sappho are mentioned also in Julius Pollux *Onomasticon* 9.84, where the author also mentions the coins of Homer from Chios.

[140] Richter and Smith 1984, 81; Schefold and Bayard 1997, 406-407.

[141] Schefold and Bayard 1997, 410-411.

[142] Zanker 1995, 164; Schefold and Bayard 1997, 410-411.

[143] Zanker 1995, 162-163; Schefold and Bayard 1997, 404-405; Clay 2004, 61-62, 122; Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 229, 352.

[144] Schefold and Bayard 1997, 408-409.

[145] Imhoof-Blumer 1898, 167; Richter 1965, 239; Richter and Smith 1984, 89-92; Voutiras 1994; Schefold and Bayard 1997, 418-419; Goddard 2004, no. 2306; Burnett, Howgego, and Amandry 2005(b), no. 5840.

immobility) of sculptural portraiture as a medium with which to broadcast a civic claim over Homer. It is clear from these examples that portraiture was used instrumentally by Ionian cities of the Hellenistic period in order to advertise and materialise (literally, to set in stone) their claims over Homer. It remains to consider how a city's efforts to claim poets for themselves work as part of a community's self-presentation.

Smyrna's long period existing not as a *polis* but in οἰκουμένη κωμηδόν ('village style habitation')[146] between its sack in 600 BC and re-foundation in the late fourth century might well have motivated the community to make particular efforts to emphasise its antiquity, and its long-term connection to a central figure of Greek culture. However, our analysis can go further than this: it is unlikely to have been a coincidence that Smyrna reorganised their whole coinage in the early second century. In the decades before the Peace of Apamea (188 BC), Smyrna had had at first an equivocal relationship with the Seleucid Empire, and latterly one of outright rebellion. By the early second century BC, Smyrna had enjoyed periods of autonomy from the Seleucid Empire during the previous decades. However, trouble was never far away during these years: there had been a tangle of conflicts between Seleucids, Ptolemies, and Attalids during the final decades of the third century, and Smyrna actively had to resist the attempts of Antiochus III to bring it back under his control in the first years of the second century.[147] After decades of political insecurity the Peace of Apamea in 188 BC quelled the immediate threats to Smyrnean sovereignty by driving the Seleucids out of Asia Minor (which by and large fell under the control of Pergamon), and by granting autonomy to several Ionian cities, including Smyrna.

Sometime around the early second century there was a wholesale reorganisation of the coin-types produced at Smyrna, chief among them being the *Homerea* discussed above.[148] The political context of the first *Homerea* (either during a period of extreme insecurity as

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[146] Strabo *Geography* 14.37.

[147] An excellent recent account of the conflicts and politics of Hellenistic Asia Minor, and in particular the role of Antiochus III, is given in Ma 1999, 46-50, 94-96. Key sources relating to Antiochus' repeated unsuccessful attempts to subjugate Smyrna during the 190s (either by diplomacy or by force) are as follows: Polybius *Histories* 21.13.3; Livy 33.38.1-7, 35.42. On Smyrna's relationship with Rome during this period, an important text is Tacitus *Annals* 4.56.5.

[148] This reorganisation is discussed also in Milne 1927, 2-3: 'the greater liberty obtained by the Greek cities in Ionia, and especially by Smyrna, after the defeat of Antiochus by the Romans, was an obvious occasion for developing the local coinage on a more ambitious scale, not only by striking silver, but also by instituting higher denominations of bronze.'

Antiochus III made repeated attempts to subdue the city, or during a period of renewed security with a Roman guarantee of autonomy following the Peace of Apamea) makes it clear that they did not *only* advertise and disseminate the Smyrnean claim to Homer. They were also important in the curation of a civic identity for Smyrna at a time when its identity as an autonomous *polis* was at issue. It was also during the second century BC that Smyrna saw great developments in its funerary sculpture. This has been attributed to the greater wealth of the Ionian cities, which was made possible by almost a century of relative peace in the years between the Roman-Seleucid War and the Mithridatic Wars.[149]

Intriguingly, Smyrna's funeral sculpture from this period is almost unique for its degree of focus on civic honours. Many of the funerary *stelae* from this period feature honorific olive wreaths (depicted in low relief) inside which are inscribed the phrase ὁ δῆμος ('the people'). These are frequently positioned on the pediments of the funerary *stelae*, above images of the deceased (and often their family, slaves, and appropriate attributes), who are depicted in high relief, and in the formulaic poses and dress of Hellenistic honorific statuary.[150] As noted by John Ma, this echoes the language of honorific inscriptions on free-standing statuary where honorands are described (in the accusative) as the object of honours. Agency for honouring is thus conspicuously lodged with the community, rather than with the individual (this effect sometimes is compounded by a personification of the *demos* or the *polis* actually crowning the honorific statue).[151] We might speculate that this particularly civic-minded form of funerary monument reflects a community highly interested in the formation and expression of community identity.

It is in this context of newfound political confidence that we should understand Smyrna's numismatic promotion of its Homer cult. We can well imagine how the producers of this coinage might have settled on Homer as a figure who was both prestigious throughout the Mediterranean, and a significant part of Smyrnean civic life (as the recipient of cult honours, and the dedicatee of a place of self-conditioning and education in the form of a *gymnasium*).[152] The emergence of this coin type during a period of change and disruption

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[149] Zanker 1993.
[150] Zanker 1993.
[151] Ma 2013, 45-63.
[152] See above nn. 176-178. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 203, 315; Petzl 1982, vol. 1, 79, no. 214.

for Smyrna suggests that it may be an iconographical manifestation of an effort to construct Smyrnean civic identity at least in part around the figure of Homer.

Above, I referred to the ancient practice of communities, families and individuals defining themselves in relation to mythology and shared history, and the theories that have recently been applied to this phenomenon (i.e. theories of "social" and "cultural" memory).[153] I suggest that a comparable process is in evidence in Smyrna's treatment of their supposed ancient countryman, Homer. Whether or not the case in hand fits within the intricacies of these theories, it is clear that the Homer cult represents an effort to construct civic identity around a figure of the community's shared history. In many cities (including, at times, in Smyrna)[154] these efforts focus on the figure of a founder.[155] In the case of Homer, we have not a *founder*, but a culture hero. Homer's cult at Smyrna involved rituals by which his relationship to the community could be rehearsed, and even a public body (the *Homereum* Council that possibly managed the *gymnasium*). Most importantly for this thesis, the community's relationship with the poet was embodied by a sculptural portrait, and this in turn (at least notionally) was advertised to the whole Greek world by its representation on Smyrnean coins.

The effect of Smyrna's use of Homer as an icon for civic identity is possibly reflected in later sources that testify to the city's highly developed literary culture. By the second century AD, Smyrna had a strong reputation as an important city for the arts. Philostratus describes its importance with an apt simile:

> πάσης γὰρ τῆς Ἰωνίας οἷον μουσείου πεπολισμένης ἀρτιωτάτην ἐπέχει τάξιν ἡ Σμύρνα, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ὀργάνοις ἡ μαγάς.[156]

> Wright translation (LCL): 'For while all Ionia is, as it were, an established seat of the Muses, Smyrna holds the most important position, like the bridge in musical instruments.'

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[153] Halbwachs 1992 (1952); Assmann 2011 (1992). These theories are usefully synthesised and applied to the ancient world in Alcock 2002.

[154] Smyrna issued coins associated with its various mythical figures (Pelops, and the Amazon Smyrna), as well as its supposed re-founder, Alexander. See Price 2005, 120. Alexander's dream that notionally led to the re-foundation of Smyrna is described in Pausanias 7.5.2. These foundation myths have a practical political application when in competition with other Ionian cities for Roman patronage: Tacitus *Annals* 4.55-56.

[155] A useful study of this phenomenon in nearby cities is Scheer 1993.

[156] Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* 1.516. See also 2.613, where he lays particular emphasis on Smyrna's importance in the rhetorical arts. This passage is also discussed in Hopwood 2000.

There is no *direct* evidence that Smyrna's role as a cultural hotspot is particularly related to its cult of Homer (or its *gymnasium* of Mimnermus), but it is plausible that the town's self-presentation as the home of a great poet (or two) might have encouraged the cultivation of literary excellence among its citizens. A funerary inscription from Smyrna provides further insight into the city's literary culture during the Roman imperial period, and hints that the figure of Homer was still an important part of Smyrna's identity as the bridge on the lyre of the Muses. Hermogenes of Smyrna was a doctor and polymath in first- or second-century AD Smyrna. His funeral inscription described how he wrote over sixty medical treatises, various works of local history, geography and prosopography. Among Hermogenes' output were two books on Homer:

Περὶ τῆς Ὁμήρου σοφίας α΄· καὶ <περὶ Ὁμήρου> πατρίδος α΄·[157]

'One [book] *On the Wisdom of Homer*; and one book *On the Homeland <of Homer>*.'

Although Homer must have been fruitful material for scholars throughout antiquity, it is telling that these books appear within a list dominated by the local history and geography of Smyrna and Ionia. It seems Homer and his fatherland (we can have little doubt about where Hermogenes will have sited Homer's birth) were particularly appropriate subjects for a patriotic Smyrnean doctor and local historian.[158] Other references to Homer in relation to civic identity are found in the texts of the city's famous sophists, often alongside reference to the river Meles or by reference to the Meles alone (relying on its fame as Homer's birthplace or father to allude periphrastically to Smyrna's claim over the poet). The river and (by inevitable extension) its famous offspring Homer are frequently the subjects of allusion for writers invoking the city's long history, and its pride in its Greek heritage.[159] Through Homer's connection to the river Meles, he not only takes part in cultural

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[157] British Museum 1850,0301.1. *CIG* 3311 = *FGrHist IV* 1775 T1 = *FGrHist* 579 (*BNJ* 579) T1 = I. Smyrna 536. Recent treatments are: Petzl 1982; Burliga 2015 (online); Chrubasik 2015 (online). The suggestion that the second book mentioned here also applies to Homer is attributed to Boeckh in *CIG* II. It is made likely by two observations: first, that these two books are connected by καί, which does not link any of the books listed elsewhere on the inscription; secondly, the second book lacks a preposition (περί) unless we take it to be understood from earlier in the line. This strongly implies that they shared some subject matter, namely: Homer.

[158] This passage is also discussed by Hopwood 2000.

[159] These feature sporadically in the discussion by Hopwood 2000. The most frequent references to Meles and Homer are to be found in Aelius Aristides, and particular in those texts relating to Smyrna,

memory through the monuments and images of the *Homereum*, but also through the very *landscape* of the city. The role of landscape in memory has been addressed very profitably by Susan Alcock.[160]

Homer's poetry is received in Smyrna as a part of civic identity, and a contributing factor to civic prestige. There is evidence in the case of Chios that this political reception of the poet contributes to what might be considered a more conventional "literary" reception, through the authority claimed in re-performance and interpretation by the *Homeridae*. Though there is no evidence, it is possible that Smyrna's (and Colophon's) civic use of the poet also involved claiming authority over literary criticism or re-performance. Several scholars have explored how important local identity can be for the ancient literary interpretation of poets, and it is therefore inevitable that to claim a Chian, Colophonian, or Smyrnean origin for Homer would have consequences for the interpretation of Homeric poetry.[161] However, even if no such conventionally "literary" reception resulted from the civic appropriations of the poet, the use of the poet for the construction of civic identity and prestige is in itself a clear and instrumental reception of the poet and his works. Furthermore, as mentioned above, this was a widespread mode of reception of poets.

In this chapter I have considered as a case-study the group of Ionian cities that claimed to be the origin of Homer (Chios, Colophon, and Smyrna). My primary task has been to demonstrate how portraiture was used to materialise and disseminate these claims. I have considered an epigram, written apparently from a Chian perspective that reacts to the perceived capabilities of portraiture to convince viewers of the veracity of a claim to Homer, and raises the possibility that the use of portraits for this purpose might attract controversy. I have examined literary, sculptural, and numismatic evidence from Colophon and Smyrna that demonstrates how iconography was used to advertise associations with the poet. Finally, I considered what the political implications for the cities involved were, and

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its achievements and hardships: 17 *The First Smynaean Oration* (14-15); 18 *A Monody for Smyrna* (2); 20 *A Palinode for Smyrna* (21); 21 *The Second Smyrnaean Oration* (5, 8, 14-15).
[160] Alcock 2002.
[161] Boterf 2012 explores the relationships between poets and their communities in both their verse and in their reception. Beecroft 2010, esp. 72-84, likewise considers how localised receptions of poets such as Homer involve more than simply the accumulation of prestige for one city. Beecroft focusses on how the stories about Homer's birthplace actually contribute to the interpretation of his dialect and his reception as a Panhellenic poet.

considered some cases where the iconography of poets was intimately linked to the creation and maintenance of a civic identity. The use of ancient poets for political and civic purposes is a widespread and important element of their literary reception, and it is one where sculptural portraiture takes a central, if sometimes controversial, role.

2. Roman Elites: Poet Portraits and *Paideia*

The display of portrait sculpture of poets in the public spaces and buildings of Hellenistic cities was part of the construction of a civic identity and could help a city claim prestige and express Greek identity. This constituted an important and widespread mode of reception for ancient poets. In the section that follows, I consider how poet portraits were used in the private houses and villas of Roman aristocrats. These are the contexts from which most of the surviving sculptural types come. I examine their use in these contexts in respect of how the poets and their works are received as elements of elite identity and self-presentation. Where chapter one explores the reception of poets in which communities used their images to express and materialise communal identity, here I investigate how poets were used by private individuals (the "Roman Elites" of this chapter title) in order to express literary interests, or membership of the elite class of Romans that benefitted from a Greek style *paideia* or Greek influenced education. Crucially, I examine how the *portraiture* of poets took part in this effort, and was therefore fully implicated in the reception of ancient poets as symbols of elite education and status. It is necessary (particularly in the first section of this chapter) to consider evidence of self-presentation through images of philosophers as well as poets, since most of the literary evidence for this practice comes from philosophical texts and as such shows a greater interest in philosopher images than in those of poets, and the two are often found together in Roman contexts.

Sculpture and Identity in the Roman Villa

The use of iconography to create intellectual atmospheres within Roman town-houses and villas has been extensively studied. The orthodox account of this practice relates how portraits of poets, orators, statesmen, and philosophers joined other evocative sculpture such as statues of the Muses or Dionysiac subjects in order to cultivate an atmosphere of elite, Philhellenic learning within the domestic spaces of the Roman elite of the late Republic and early Empire.[1] Instead of reiterating the manifold analyses of this trend, I shall examine

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[1] For some examples of these discussions, see chapters in Gazda and Haeckl 2010 (1991).

two cases where the portraits of poets form part of domestic sculptural ensembles in order
to demonstrate their specific use as part of this broader trend: the *Villa dei Papiri* just outside
Herculaneum (inhabited in the first centuries BC and AD), and the *Villa dei Bruttii Praesentes*
on Monte Calvo, near Rieti in the Sabine hills (built in the early second century AD). Two
considerations make these appropriate case studies. First, they coincide with the two periods
for which there is most external literary evidence for sculptural display in private contexts
(namely the mid-first century in Cicero's letters, and the first half of the second century
through the intellectual and literary flourishing known as the second sophistic). Secondly,
they are particularly well documented sites: although they were largely excavated before the
age of modern scientific archaeology, they have been the subject of several studies in recent
decades—particularly the *Villa dei Papiri*.

A preliminary question needs to be clarified before beginning these case studies: to
what degree were the sculptural ensembles in private villas an appropriate way in which to
engage in self-presentation? This question is familiar from much recent work on the social
role of Roman houses and villas. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill and Shelley Hales (among others)
have explored how elite Roman houses and villas were far from wholly private places, but
were key sites for self-presentation also in terms of one's public role. Hales looks in
particular to late Republican sources that describe the importance of the visibility of a
politician's *domus* in Rome, and how the form, location, and decoration of these houses were
perceived as important contributions to a politician's social identity.[2] Wallace-Hadrill has
addressed a similar question with a particular emphasis on the moral dichotomies upon
which Roman architectural treatises often dwell: Roman, Greek; business, leisure; (in villa
culture) agriculture, luxury; public and private. In particular, he has argued that the layouts
of houses and villas from the first centuries BC and AD negotiated these dichotomies
through the arrangement of space: *atria* were partly public spaces that often displayed signs
of business and *romanitas*, whereas the peristyle gardens (and their adjoining rooms) that
were often partially obscured from the *atria* seem to have featured more elements of Greek
culture and *otium* (leisure).[3] Even the secluded villas of the Italian countryside seem to be

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[2] Hales 2003. Particularly informative in terms of the public role of the elite *domus* and villa is a
passage in Vitruvius *On Architecture* 6.5.2.
[3] Wallace-Hadrill 1994; Wallace-Hadrill 1998.

regarded as partially public spaces, despite their ostensible nature as private spaces for cultured *otium*. Cicero's dialogues set in his villas may be devoted to philosophical topics, but they frequently feature leading political figures of the day and often dwell on questions of political theory that are pertinent to contemporary concerns. As Anne Leen puts it, 'these are not men idling away their recreational hours in diverting surroundings. Neither the activities in which they are engaged nor the setting in which they find themselves exists at a complete remove from the public arena.'[4] Though the country villa may not have welcomed a crowd of dependants for a morning *salutatio* (though this is not unheard of),[5] it was open to friends and peers: the very people to whom a patron might *most* wish to offer an effective self-presentation.

The observation is made by these scholars that the elite *domus* and villa are not private in the sense that modern western householders consider their homes private, but comprised of spaces of variable public accessibility (accessibility that must have been strictly controlled) and that used different strategies of self-presentation for both peers and subordinates. Important to both Wallace-Hadrill and Hales is the flexibility and variability with which *domus* and villa designs adapted to these concerns.

The ideological importance of iconography displayed in these spaces is made *most* clear through its relationship to a traditional Roman sculptural practice. In Roman Italy during the late Republic and early Empire the most well-known and established mode of self-presentation through sculpture in the more public parts of the *domus* or villa were the wax masks of ancestors (*imagines* or *cerae*) displayed in cabinets in the atrium.[6] Families of senatorial rank conventionally created wax likenesses of their eminent males at death, and as well as being displayed (and even worn) at funeral processions, they would be stored in the atrium of the family home. Many such masks identified the owner as from a family that had been active over the *longue durée* of Roman history, and associated him with the values or famous deeds of his ancestors. Alternatively, a lack of such masks marked one out as a *novus homo* (which was then as today boasted as evidence of success through personal

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[4] Leen 1991, 243.
[5] Cicero *Philippics* 1.8, where he is visited by a crowd of Rhegians ('municipes Regini complures') while waiting for a fair wind at the villa of a friend.
[6] The fundamental study of these is Flower 1996.

talents alone).[7] Ancient remarks made about these 'smoke-blackened waxes' (*fumosae cerae*) make it clear quite how important they are in elite self-presentation.[8] Critical remarks are made of those who neglect their familial *imagines*,[9] and similar rebukes are made to those who rely wholly on their ancestry rather than their own merits in their self-presentation,[10] but most frequently of those who simply fail to live up to the examples set by those represented in their ancestral masks.[11] The wax masks displayed in a patrician *domus* were key parts of his political, social, and (given they were often held to be ethically exemplary figures) moral identity. As Harriet Flower put it, 'During the Republic… the *imagines* themselves defined the roles and values of the *nobilis,* his very sense of self.'[12]

One well-known example demonstrates how the convention of ancestral *imagines* lent a particular ideological importance to the display of iconography in the Roman dwelling, and how the ideological potential of such images could transfer to the images of poets and intellectuals displayed in their stead. Cicero, in his *Orator*, mentions to Brutus that he had spied the face of Demosthenes among the portraits of Brutus' family:

> Demosthenes quidem cuius nuper inter imagines tuas ac tuorum, quod eum credo amares, cum ad te in Tusculanum uenissem, imaginem ex aere uidi, nil Lysiae subtilitate cedit, nil argutiis et acumine Hyperidi, nil leuitate Aeschini et splendore uerborum.[13]

> Hendrickson and Hubbell translation (LCL): 'Take Demosthenes, for example, whose statue in bronze I lately saw among those of yourself and your kinsmen when I visited you at your Tusculan villa, placed there, I am sure, because you admire him; he yields nothing to Lysias in simplicity, nothing to Hyperides in refinement of expression and subtlety, nothing to Aeschines in smoothness and brilliance of language'

The phrase 'inter imagines tuas ac tuorum' strongly suggests that Demosthenes was displayed in bronze among the wax portraits of Brutus' ancestors. It is possible that Cicero meant bronze or marble portraits of contemporary members of Brutus' family. However, it

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[7] For example Cicero *On the Agrarian Law* 2.100. See Flower 1996, 285.

[8] A collection of literary and epigraphical *testimonia* is found in Flower 1996, 281-332.

[9] Cicero *On the Orator* 2.225-6, where he has Crassus voice the criticism of Brutus that he has sold his family home, and no longer has anywhere to display his ancestral masks.

[10] E.g. Cicero *Against Piso* 1.

[11] Flower 1996, "Appendix A: Literary Testimonia" (pp. 281-325), *passim*; see esp. 221, n. 162 where Flower lists eleven prominent examples.

[12] Flower 1996, 221.

[13] Cicero *Orator* 110.5-10

is more likely that Cicero refers to the well-known and long-established tradition of wax likenesses of ancestors. Cicero's interpretation of Demosthenes' presence in this context is telling: 'quod eum credo amares'. The display of a portrait of Demosthenes within his home (and more particularly, among his family images) is a signifier of a profound devotion to the earlier orator, such that it can be described by the verb *amare* ('to love'). Furthermore, the presence of this portrait among portraits that encouraged replication of the exemplary behaviour of their subjects renders Demosthenes not only an enthusiasm of Brutus', more even than simply a 'love' of his, but an exemplar for Brutus' own behaviour and political role. This Greek portrait within the Roman *domus* engages with an established iconographical convention for ancestral *imagines* that stresses exemplarity and identity and that was closely involved with the self-presentation of political elites.

Demosthenes' portrait here is no mere sculptural decoration: its presence declares Brutus' close, almost familial affinity with the Attic orator, and does so in one of the most important spaces for the construction of a personal political identity. It is clear in this case that the identity of the portrait (rather than its artistic merits) is the priority. A comparable case in this respect is that of Cato the Younger, as reported in Pliny the Elder, who, of all his confiscations from Cyprus, kept only a statue of Zeno, 'non aere captus nec arte… sed quia philosophi erat' ('not enchanted by either the bronze, nor the craftsmanship… but because it was of a philosopher').[14] As Ellen Perry points out, the fact that Zeno was a *Stoic* philosopher must also have contributed to the Stoic Cato's decision.[15] Here again identity takes precedence over aesthetics and Cato's personal interest in the identity of the figure represented is the strongly implied reason for this acquisition.

The case of Brutus and Demosthenes is not isolated. Paul Zanker has interpreted the diffuse texts that connect certain of Cicero's associates with images of particular Greek orators and philosophers as a tactic to characterise those friends according to those philosophers with whom they had the closest affinity.[16] In some cases this connection is apt, such as the case of Cicero himself, who displays a portrait of Plato,[17] or the case of Brutus and Demosthenes, mentioned above. As Zanker points out, Plato is casually apotheosised by

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[14] Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 34.92(= 34.34).
[15] Perry 2005, 65.
[16] Zanker 1995, 205-206.
[17] Cicero *Brutus* 24.

Cicero: 'deus ille noster Plato,'[18] and it does not seem implausible to consider Cicero's display of Plato's portrait as evidence for his self-presentation as a Platonist Academician. Not only does the statue have this effect itself, but also, for those unlucky enough not to have visited Cicero's villa and seen it for themselves, Cicero mentions it within a dialogue. In other cases, Zanker's theory holds rather less water. Atticus, for example, has in his villa a bust of Aristotle, displayed in a niche above a small seat.[19] For Zanker, this reflects a particular philosophical tendency in Atticus, and he has been paired with an ancient philosopher whose thought matches his own. Not so. Atticus is explicitly presented by Cicero as an Epicurean, who spends his days discussing with Phaedrus in the Garden in Athens.[20] Given the long-running ancient disputes between Epicureanism and the philosophical schools that looked back to Aristotle, it is unlikely that Cicero intends this Aristotle portrait to be an expression of Atticus' particular philosophical enthusiasms; far more likely it represents a *general* interest in philosophy, and evokes the philosophical character of Atticus' villa.
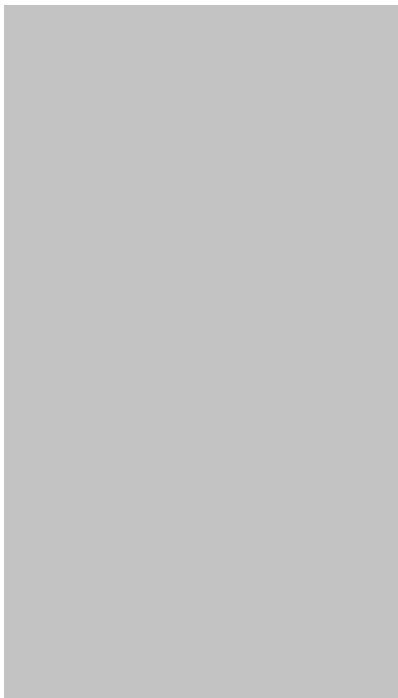
Figure 17: Seal-ring of Demosthenes. Malibu CA, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 90.AN.13.

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[18] Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 4.16.3.
[19] Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 4.10.1.
[20] Cicero *On the Limits of Good and Evil* 5.3.

Although the sculptural choices of Cicero's friends might be somewhat less perfect and precise than Zanker would hope for, there were indeed ways in which intellectual Romans could express their closeness to particular schools of thought, or enthusiasm for particular poets. Of the countless engraved gems that survive from antiquity, a small group carry the known portrait features of ancient poets and philosophers. For example, Gisela Richter's selection of Roman engraved gems features a range of intellectual and poetic portraits.[21] The most popular intellectual portrait types from Richter's catalogue seem to be Socrates,[22] Demosthenes,[23] Epicurus,[24] and Menander (of whose identification Richter is unsure—in some examples it is reasonable, in others spurious).[25] The most familiar use of engraved gems in order to express intellectual identity is the Epicureans' well-known practice of displaying portraits of Epicurus in their homes, and wearing his image on finger-rings. Bernard Frischer has noted how images of Epicurus and the leaders of his school appear with far greater frequency across iconographic media than any other philosophers, and has explored the many literary sources for Epicureans use of iconography of their founder.[26] For example, Cicero has Atticus voice a remark on this practice:

> nec tamen Epicuri licet obliuisci, si cupiam, cuius imaginem non modo in tabulis nostri familiares, sed etiam in poculis et in anulis habent.[27]

> Rackham translation (LCL): 'Still I could not forget Epicurus, even if I wanted; the members of our body not only have pictures of him, but even have his likeness on their drinking-cups and rings.'

Atticus describes how displaying an image of Epicurus is an important part of self-presentation as an Epicurean. It is not only self-presentation of course, but being surrounded by such images is a way of constantly reminding oneself of the philosophical precepts by which the Epicurean is committed to live. The Epicurean use of the philosopher's portrait has been explored in depth in a controversial study by Frischer, who views the use of the

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[21] Richter 1971 gathers seven-hundred and eighty-one Roman engraved gems that she considered outstanding for their quality and iconography. Although this corpus is not remotely comprehensive (and only tentatively representative) an investigation there is nonetheless instructive.
[22] Richter 1971, nos. 416-429.
[23] Richter 1971, nos. 432-433, 435. We might add to these the example of outstanding quality in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu CA: 90.AN.13. Published in Spier 1992, 93-94, no. 220.
[24] Richter 1971, nos. 438-441.
[25] Richter 1971, nos. 445-449.
[26] Frischer 2006, esp. 90-91 on the weight of iconographical evidence.
[27] Cicero *On the Limits of Good and Evil* 5.3.

portrait as not only an *aide memoire* for the Epicurean, but as an object to aid the dissemination of Epicurean doctrine, and the recruitment of new followers.[28] It is in the context of remembering Epicurus that Atticus describes this practice. He need not have an image of Epicurus with him because, as he tells us, he could not have forgotten Epicurus if he had wished to. In Atticus' description of this practice, we have an explicit example of the display of a portrait being used in order to materialise one's identification with a particular ideology. Whether or not the aim is in fact the tending of a self-image, or whether these images are intended merely to aid personal reflection is unclear here (and above). However, in the hyper-political atmosphere of the late Republic, in a world where images and symbols can carry a great weight of meaning, it is likely that such public display of portraiture would indeed be involved in the careful crafting of a public *persona*.

Figure 18: Engraved gem with profile of Epicurus. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, inv. A. 2205.

Where these engraved gems are carved in *intaglio* (rather than *cameo*) they could potentially have been used as seal-stones. A seal is, in practice, a method of authentication of the sender, and a guarantee of confidentiality. It stands, in other words, precisely for the

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[28] Frischer 2006 discusses the role of Epicurus' portrait for Epicureans at length. An introduction to some of the criticisms that have since been voiced can be found in Clay 1984.

identity of the sender. It is hard to imagine how a Roman individual could associate himself with an earlier intellectual more intimately than through the use of that intellectual's portrait as a sign of identity, self, or, as it were, as a self-image. Not only are seals important objects for the visual expression of identity and as a sign of authority but they were also frequently deployed as an analogy for the workings of human memory and perception. Verity Platt explores the roles of the seals and their use as a metaphor in the light of Hellenistic philosophies of art, perception, and replication;[29] elsewhere she has applied some of these ideas to the issue of the seal as a metaphor for poetic authority.[30]

There is one prominent source that describes a poet being represented on a finger-ring. Ovid addresses *Tristia* 1.7 to an individual (he addresses this individual as 'optime') who owns a bust of the poet, and carries Ovid's image on a ring (see esp. ll. 1-14). It is unclear whether this is a specific individual, or a generic figure representing more than one person who owned portraits of Ovid. What is clear is that Ovid wishes to present himself as a poet who has dedicated followers in Rome, and that these particularly devoted supporters may carry Ovid's image on a finger ring. Furthermore, he advises his devotees that they ought to remove the ivy wreaths from his bust. This instruction reflects not only how Ovid's situation in exile is miserable and therefore unsuited to the symbols of Bacchic revelry, but also that Ovid is no longer writing elegiac love poetry. His instructions about the decoration of his bust therefore relate both to his contemporary situation and to the genres of his poetry (which are central to his poetic identity). Reinforcing this link between his portrait and his poetic identity, Ovid informs the addressee that he will find a truer portrait in his verses, and particularly in the unfinished *Metamorphoses*. The display of portraits of contemporary poets was not unheard of and there are *some* cases where the display of portraits of living poets by private individuals *are* reported.[31] As well as owning busts and finger-rings of intellectuals of the distant past with whom one felt an affinity, a Roman reader might also (though there is less evidence) own the bust or wear a ring featuring a contemporary poet whom he regarded particularly highly.[32]

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[29] Platt 2006.
[30] Platt 2012 (research paper as yet unpublished).
[31] See for example Martial's two accounts of his portrait being made for admirers of his poetry: *Epigrams* 7.84; 9.praef. On this question see Hendrickson 2013, 128, n. 85, where Hendrickson also discusses *public* portraits for living poets in the Roman era.
[32] For a very brief discussion of this passage of Ovid, see Martelli 2016 (forthcoming).

Although there is some evidence that Roman elites could advertise their particular enthusiasm for particular poets and intellectuals through the display of their portraits, the case of the Epicurean Atticus and his portrait of Aristotle hints that in many cases a far less specific form of self-presentation was undertaken through sculpture within the villa and *domus*. This observation has been made in particular with regard to Cicero's own efforts to decorate his villa, as recorded in his letters to Atticus and others. This material has been intensively studied by scholars wishing to gain an insight into the nature of collecting during the late Roman Republic and early Empire.[33] What has struck many is Cicero's lack of specificity about the sculptures he wishes to acquire. Cicero shows a great deal of trust in the associates he entrusts with finding sculpture for his villas, and instead of specific iconographical enthusiasms, his collecting practice is directed by a sense of what is 'appropriate' both for the spaces of display and for Cicero's own public *persona*. Among the most famous phrases from this group of letters is 'ornamenta γυμνασιώδη' ('ornaments suitable for a *gymnasium*').[34] Implicit in this phrase, and explicit elsewhere in Cicero's letters, is the concept of *decor* (appropriateness). As many scholars have observed, Cicero's sculptural requests seem to be directed by their *appropriateness* both to their spatial context within his villa, and to Cicero's own public *persona*.[35]

Cicero offers more explicit expressions of these two criteria of appropriateness in two well-known letters. In the better known of the two, Cicero thanks Atticus for finding a Hermathena.[36] He explicitly notes how this is an 'ornamentum proprium' ('appropriate decoration') for his 'Academy' (elsewhere Cicero suggests that he has built two complementary *gymnasia* that he names the Academy and the Lyceum, after the schools of Plato and Aristotle in Athens). He explains that Hermes is common to all *gymnasia*, and that Minerva (i.e. Athena) is particularly appropriate to his Academy (given that the original Academy was in a sanctuary of Athena, and that Athena was the goddess of wisdom). Here we see the principle of *decor* being applied to the sculptural decoration of an architectural

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[33] Neudecker 1988, 1-74; Leen 1991; Marvin 1993; Bounia 2004, esp. 290-299; Lazzeretti 2014; Squire 2015.

[34] Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 1.6.2, and 1.9.2 in which latter we also find the term 'quicquid… dignum Academia' ('anything worthy of [my] Academy').

[35] The idea of *décor* has been explored particularly by Perry 2005.

[36] Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 1.4.3 (=9).

space, in order to create an intellectual atmosphere redolent of Classical Greek *paideia* (culture and education).[37]

In a letter usually dated twenty years later,[38] Cicero expresses the opposite reaction to a sculptural acquisition. One Fabius Gallus had bought for Cicero three statues of Bacchantes and a statue of Mars at great price.[39] Here we see Cicero apply the concept of *decor* not only to the potential locations for the statues, but also in terms of their suitability for his public *persona*. Fabius Gallus, Cicero implies, had compared the group of Bacchantes to a group of nine Muses. Cicero fails to see the basis of the comparison, and points out that Muses would have been 'appropriate for [his] library' ('aptum bybliothecae'), whereas Bacchantes are not. More intriguingly, a group of Muses (unlike the Bacchantes) would have been in-line with Cicero's own intellectual enthusiasms ('studiisque nostris congruens'). Here we find Cicero making the distinction that not only do the Bacchantes not suit his *library*, they do not suit *him* (in contrast to the hypothetical group of Muses that *would* suit him). A similar point is made, rather more explicitly, about the statue of Mars that Gallus has procured: 'Martis uero signum quo mihi pacis auctori?' (Shackleton Bailey translation (LCL): 'But a statue of Mars! What can I, as an advocate of peace, do with that?'). The statue of Mars is diametrically opposed to Cicero's public self-presentation as an 'auctor pacis' ('advocate of peace'). Once again, we observe that the selection of decorative sculpture, even in a more "private" space, depends not only on space-dependent *decor* but also on *persona*-dependent *decor*.

Generalised self-presentation of a Roman elite as a literary Philhellene seems to have been an important motive behind the display of many poet portraits in Roman villas. Unlike the portraits of statesmen and philosophers, which often seem to become images that symbolise ideology, or a special relationship between the figure depicted and the portrait's owner (as briefly described in chapter four),[40] very few literary sources refer to the portraits of poets being owned in order to demonstrate a particular relationship with that poet. There is one notable example where this *is* the case: Silius Italicus' close relationship with a portrait

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[37] The relationship of the herm form to educational situations was long established. A useful discussion can be found in Harrison 1965, 108-141.

[38] Leen 1991, 233.

[39] Cicero *Letters to Friends* 7.23 (=209).

[40] See below, 208-210.

of Virgil is described by Pliny the Younger. I discuss this case in chapter four.[41] This may be because philosophical and political writing simply offers more opportunity to mention the use of portraits as images for exemplary contemplation, in which case the lack of sources for poets being used like this is merely due to an imbalance of evidence. However, it is likely that many Greek poets did not provide straightforward exemplars. Many of their biographies offer highly compromising personalities, with few (if any) features beyond their poetry that might have inspired emulation. Another possible reason for this discrepancy is that, unlike philosophers, few poets were revered as the heads of active intellectual communities or schools. These reasons explain why sources that describe an especially devotional relationship with a poet portrait are far rarer than sources that describe Roman elites having a particularly close relationship with the images of philosophers, generals and statesmen. Instead, we find portraits of poets contributing to the general evocation of Philhellenism, literary erudition, and culture within Roman private homes. Instead of being objects for particular emulative devotion, they seem more often to form part of the general schemes for elite self-presentation in the domestic milieu.

The ill consequences of failing to match up one's public self-presentation with one's sculptural decoration, or failing to match up one's reality with one's self presentation, are demonstrated by Juvenal. Juvenal is writing over a century later than Cicero, and possibly describing less elite sculptural assemblages (he mentions plaster casts, which would have been cheaper than either bronze or marble). However, his remarks also adequately demonstrate how sculpture, and in particular the iconography of intellectuals, could be used for self-presentation.

> Vltra Sauromatas fugere hinc libet et glacialem
> Oceanum, quotiens aliquid de moribus audent
> qui Curios simulant et Bacchanalia uiuunt.
> indocti primum, quamquam plena omnia gypso
> Chrysippi inuenias; nam perfectissimus horum,
> si quis Aristotelen similem uel Pittacon emit
> et iubet archetypos pluteum seruare Cleanthas.[42]
>
> Morton Braund translation (LCL): 'I feel like running away from here beyond the
> Sarmatians and the icy Ocean whenever those people who imitate the Curii but
> live like Bacchanals have the gall to talk about morality. Point one: they are

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[41] See below, 210-214.
[42] Juvenal *Satires* 1.2.1-7.

> ignoramuses, although you'll find their houses without exception stuffed full of plaster busts of Chrysippus. This is because the most perfect of them is the one who has bought a lifelike Aristotle or Pittacus and who has his shelf display originals of Cleanthes and company.'

Juvenal's complaint here is a familiar one: he offers the stereotype of ignorant people ('indocti') who hypocritically profess learning. What is useful to this study is how this claim of learning is made through the display of philosopher portraits in private homes. Chrysippus and Cleanthes were both Stoics, which suggests that Juvenal imagines these 'indocti' who live like self-indulgent satyrs ('Bacchanalia uiuunt') incongruously profess themselves to be Stoics. The point of his joke is clear: self-presentation as intellectual through sculpture is absurd unless one really has the intellectual credentials. The point that this study can take from this source is similarly clear: even when individuals could only afford plaster casts ('gypso') of the busts of intellectuals, this was still considered a legitimate way in which to assert learning and enthusiasm for Greek philosophy.

Far more detailed analyses of all these texts and others have been offered by previous scholars.[43] However, the selection of sources here demonstrates how a villa or *domus*' decoration must fit the carefully crafted public *persona* of the owner. What we see from these examples is how sculpture is involved (along with other elements of architecture and visual arts) in the creation of spaces that are evocative of certain values (here, Greek learning), and in the careful curation of a *persona* for the elite Roman (such as Cicero's dedication to peace).

Art, Education, and Status: The Performance of Paideia

The role of Greek culture in Roman elite education and self-presentation is complex, and changed over time. During the first two centuries of the Roman Empire, Greek learning (or at least selected parts of it) became an increasingly important and accepted part of Roman elite education and discourse.[44] Despite its changing role, one factor remains

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[43] Regarding Roman domestic collecting, I have found the following useful in this respect: Neudecker 1988; Leen 1991; Bartman 2010 (1991); Marvin 1993; Neudecker 1998; Bounia 2004; Beard 2008; Bounia 2014; Lazzeretti 2014; Neudecker 2014; Squire 2015.

[44] Rawson 1985; Whitmarsh 2001, 9-15. On ancient education see generally, Marrou 1956, 95-101, 194-205, 242-254, 286; Morgan 1998 focusses by and large (and deliberately so) on those parts of Greek literary education that would have preceded rhetorical training in the upbringing of a child.

reasonably constant: that education in the Greek mould (the intellectual results of which are often referred to by the term *paideia*) was largely the preserve of the *elite* among Romans: those who could afford to employ or own Greek tutors for their children, and those who could afford to finish their education in Greece.[45] Modern scholarship on the subject is keen to note that *paideia* was not imported wholesale, but rather selected from and adapted to suit the needs of the Roman families who adopted it, with a particular emphasis on the utility to the Roman elite of rhetorical training.[46] Despite its controversial status, the exclusivity of Greek education among Romans meant that the display of this learning in domestic settings could act as a display of elite status, and that Greek culture (including its poets and their portraits) could become capital within the social and political activities of Roman patrons. Zahra Newby buts this idea concisely:

> '*Paideia*, the result of a thorough education in Greek language, literature, history, and thought, had become a badge of culture for the Greco-Roman elite. Changes in the architecture and decoration of elite villas must have been determined, at least partially, by a desire to display this *paideia*...'[47]

Several scholars have explored how engagement with art—in particular, how a viewer could react verbally to images and objects—was a highly charged area in the judgment of education (and therefore status). Jeremy Tanner, in particular, examines verbal reactions to images and objects from a sociological perspective, exploring in great theoretical and evidential detail how the ability to react to art works with the appropriate rhetorical response was an indicator of status.[48] Particularly in the second century AD, by which time Greek culture was firmly embedded as part of the intellectual training of the Roman elite, we find texts that offer us contrasting paradigms of viewing that demonstrate the difference between the approach of a rhetorically competent, educated, and elite viewer, and that of an incompetent, uneducated, sub-elite viewer.[49]

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[45] Corbeill 2001, 268-275; Habinek 1998, 60-66, ; Whitmarsh 2001, 14-15: 'in terms of competitive ambition within the Roman hierarchy, the possession of Greek education… could be used as a counter in the game of elite self-positioning… in this Roman marketplace, Greek learning was a commodity that could be bought and sold, displayed or excoriated for its decadence.'

[46] See e.g. Corbeill 2001, 266-267; Whitmarsh 2001.

[47] Newby 2002(a), 114.

[48] E.g. Most recently Tanner 2006, 208-212, 246-276. See also, Squire 2009, 239-249.

[49] Perhaps the best known examples of the rhetorical display of elite *paideia* when faced by an image (or indeed series of images) are the *Imagines* of Philostratus. These have been shown not only to be rhetorical set-pieces of how an educated man could react to art objects, but also self-conscious

The opening of Lucian of Samosata's *On the Hall* explicitly explores how the ability (and desire) to react rhetorically to art is a key skill for the educated member of the elite.[50] Zahra Newby, Jeremy Tanner, and Michael Squire's analyses are particularly useful in this respect, though their discussions each focus on slightly different points.[51] Lucian contrasts the ἰδιώτης (the common man), who cannot respond adequately to artistic stimuli, to the πεπαιδευμένος (the educated man), who can respond through knowledge both of the literature, history, or mythology in question, but also by exhibiting the skills gained through elite rhetorical training. *Ecphrasis* is the part of that training that has gained the most attention in modern scholarship, but some scholars have looked also at how rhetorical mnemotechnics are applied to art,[52] and even some of the more arcane of the rhetorical exercises such as *synkrisis* (comparison),[53] which is my focus in my discussion of the *Villa dei Bruttii Praesentes*. Newby is emphatic about the role of rhetoric in engagement with art and how this contributes the display and performance of *paideia*:

> The viewing of a series of images… is a rhetorical activity, and indeed, as we see from Lucian and Philostratus, images within domestic spaces could serve as the material for public displays of a new type of oratory: Greek sophistic rhetoric… Images allowed both the host and his guests to show themselves to be members of the educated classes, Lucian's *pepaideumenoi*, distinguished by their knowledge of Greek culture. As Lucian's comments about the response of educated men to visual beauty suggest, images provided a central locus for the display of paideia by provoking verbal descriptions like those given by both Lucian and Philostratus.[54]

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explorations of how we view these objects and how we formulate our verbal responses. See in particular Elsner 1995, 1-48, with a particular focus on the idea of realism. As a foil to Philostratus' expert handling of this material, we can look (as do Tanner and Elsner) to the erroneous and bamboozled reactions to art found in Petronius' *Satyrica*—in particular the character Encolpius who frequently fails to make any sense of art or only understands it in terms of his own narrow experience and desires, and the character of Trimalchio who misunderstands the mythological scenes displayed on his own walls. See Tanner 2006, 248-250; Elsner 2007, 177-199.

[50] Lucian *On the Hall* 1-3, esp 2: ὡς οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς περὶ τὰ θεάματα νόμος ἰδιώταις τε καὶ πεπαιδευμένοις ἀνδράσιν… (Harmon translation (LCL): 'that in all that appeals to the eye, the same law does not hold for ordinary and for educated men.')

[51] Newby 2002(a); Newby 2002(b); Tanner 2006, 208-212, 246-276, who offers a sophisticated sociological analysis; Squire 2009, 239-249, who argues that the verbal responses do not supersede the visual stimulus but invite the viewer to look even more closely.

[52] Bergmann 1994; Bergmann 200; Lorenz 2014; Squire and Elsner 2016.

[53] Bartman 1988 and Bartman 2010 (1991), 80, on cases from Roman villas where visual pendants seem to invite a comparative approach; Tanner 2006, 252, on how comparisons of artists and their works are hinted at in the rhetorical manuals.

[54] Newby 2002(a), 141-142.

It remains to explore (through my two case studies) how the portraiture of *poets* could form part of this process, and what its consequences are for the reception of poetry. There are no known sites where sculptural portraits of poets played a *central* role, however individual portraits of poets, or small groups (often pairs), were widespread. Most often poets are included among other intellectuals and ideal sculpture and contribute to their evocative effect. In both of the cases that I consider in the remainder of this chapter, two or more portraits of poets were included among a broad range of sculptures. In these cases we find the portraits of poets involved in processes of Roman elite self-presentation and the performance of *paideia*. The poetry of the poets depicted is inevitably also received in this mode: familiarity with poets and their works becomes an instrumental part of the curation of an elite identity, and the portraits of poets are key tools in helping an aristocrat demonstrate this familiarity. As such, the portraits are engaged in an important and widespread socially instrumental reception of ancient poetry.

2.2 Villa dei Papiri

The *Villa dei Papiri* was a large luxury villa on the northern outskirts of Herculaneum. The villa was occupied from the middle of the first century BC until its burial in the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 AD. It is named for the hundreds of carbonised scrolls that were discovered at various places in the villa, but is equally famous for being one of the most fruitful sites for the study of ancient domestic art, and how it might have fulfilled its public and private roles. Both scrolls and art have fascinating histories of modern reception (particularly their eighteenth-century treatment and mistreatment),[55] and both have been the focus of a burst of scholarship in the last fifty-five years.[56] In recent years, both papyri and sculpture have been subject to some revealing and important new technologies for their

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[55] For the modern reception of the art recovered from this villa, see Mattusch and Lie 2005. More recently, see Mattusch's introduction and commentary to Winckelmann 2011. For the eighteenth-century reception of the Papyri, see Sider 2010. See also Sider 2005, 16-23.

[56] The modern study of the sculptural ensemble was inspired largely by the controversial interpretations of Dimitrios Pandermalis in Pandermalis 1971, reprinted in translation as Pandermalis 1983. Not two years earlier, Marcello Gigante had founded what would become known as the "Officina dei Papiri Ercolanese", and in 1971 reinstated the publication of the *Cronache Ercolanese*. David Sider describes this legacy in Sider 2009, 310.

research.[57] The villa was excavated in the eighteenth century by Karl Weber (a Swiss engineer working for the Neapolitan monarchy) through a series of subterranean passages. Weber made a (now famous) map of his tunnels, and detailed precisely where each part of the huge sculptural assemblage was found.[58]

Figure 19: Plan of the *Villa dei Papiri*. From Waldstein and Shoobridge 1908 (after Comparetti and De Petra 1883, facsimile of Weber's eighteenth-century plan).

The sculptural assemblage is strikingly eclectic in its subject matter and formats. Both bronze and marble items were found, in full-length and free-standing pieces, as well as in heads and busts. Included among the full-length pieces are sculptures of gods and goddesses, *putti*, animals, exercising youths, a group of mysterious semi-archaising women, a sleeping faun, and a *symplegma* of Pan and a nanny-goat. Just as great a range of subjects are depicted in the heads and busts. These include head-types familiar from well-known fifth-century sculptures (such as Polyclitus' *Doryphoros*) among other archaising and classicising head types, portrait heads of philosophers (including Epicurus) and Hellenistic statesmen and kings. Multiple ingenious attempts have been made to identify a sculptural programme for this villa. Although these efforts often produce interesting observations, none but the broadest readings have gained a following.[59] On the whole this is because

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[57] Mattusch and Lie 2005, 127-139, on isotope analysis of the villa's bronzes. For the papyri, the stunning effectiveness of multi-spectrum photography is best demonstrated in film. See, for example, the documentary film by Rawson 2003. For a brief written overview of some of the modern processes see Sider 2005, 57-59.

[58] Modern renderings of Weber's documentation are found in Mattusch and Lie 2005. The famous plan of the villa was also reproduced in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century guides to the villa and Herculaneum such as Comparetti and De Petra 1883; Waldstein and Shoobridge 1908.

[59] Pandermalis 1983; Sauron 1983; Wojcik 1983; Wojcik 1986; Warden 1991; Warden and Romano 1994. Less specific interpretations are made by Neudecker 1998 and Dillon 2000, which latter was reprinted

scholars have been too fixated on understanding the layout through a bird's-eye plan,[60] and because they have failed to take account for the inherent polysemic potential of many of the sculptures. The case of Cicero, mentioned above,[61] is instructive in this respect: although he had well-established ideas about the generalised *sorts* of sculpture he wanted, we get no impression at all that he prescribed a very particular sculptural programme, and his letters to Atticus strongly suggest that sculptural collecting was often constrained by the availability on the market (or unavailability) of the objects. As Mattusch puts it for the *Villa dei Papiri*,

> 'we see that the decor of the Villa does not suggest a unifying program, nor does it make only one point. The sculptures send many messages, addressing many different audiences. Once we abandon the notion that we need to identify everyone represented in the Villa's sculpture or that there must be a program linking all the sculptures in the Villa, we begin to see that there are many programs of which this heterogeneous collection is comprised.'[62]

The Poets

The sculptural collection of the *Villa dei Papiri* contains three portraits that depict poets and a further two that have been identified as poets but about which there are considerable doubts. Existing in over thirty-five examples, the so-called *pseudo-Seneca* head is among the best-known and most wide-spread portrait types from antiquity. It is generally acknowledged as a masterpiece of ancient art on account of its apparent realism in depiction of poverty and old age, and the striking pathos of the image. The most famous example is that from the *Villa dei Papiri*. According to Weber's map, the head was found in the south-west corner of the famous "large peristyle", in September of 1754.[63]

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with some changes in Dillon 2006. An overview of these attempts and a discussion of the issues that arise from formulating a programme are given in Mattusch 2010.

[60] This key critique was best made by Neudecker 1998, 82.

[61] See above, 85-92.

[62] Mattusch 2010, 87.

[63] Mattusch and Lie 2005, 249-253.

Figure 20: Pseudo-Seneca (Hesiod?). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 5616.

The bronze head has inlaid bone eyes, and is 24 cm in height, from chin to crown.[64] It is considered to be a Roman adaptation of a second-century BC Hellenistic original (though dates have been speculated from the third to first centuries). This object has certain stylistic similarities to Hellenistic genre sculptures such as the *Drunken Old Woman*, the *Old Beggar Woman*, and the Louvre *Old Fisherman*. The *Old Fisherman* was *also* at one time identified as Seneca, and at times was loosely associated with the *Ps.-Seneca* due to similarity of style, and the use of both as models for Rubens' history painting of Seneca's suicide.[65] These stylistic similarities might raise doubts as to whether the *Ps.-Seneca* is a portrait head, or an extract from a piece of genre sculpture.

However, certain facts work strongly in favour of our head being a portrait. First, the quantity of examples that survive imply that it was a very popular piece indeed and it seems more probable that the *identity* of the individual depicted was the primary motivator for

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[64] Mattusch and Lie 2005, 249.
[65] McGrath 1997, vol. 2, 282-97.

collectors of this sculpture (though some genre sculptures do survive in quantity). Secondly, and more convincingly, this portrait type is found in two examples as a double-herm (back to back portrait heads atop a double-fronted herm pillar) with portraits known to be of ancient poets on the other side (Rome, Villa Albani, Casino, no. 67, with Menander; Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, IN 611, with the so-called *Virgil-Ennius Type*).[66] Finally, one example depicts the head crowned by an ivy wreath (Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme, inv. 612), which likewise is a strong indication that this head is a portrait of a poet.[67]

The first (of many)[68] suggested identities for this portrait was offered in the late sixteenth century, when Fulvio Orsini asserted (through his notes, edited and published posthumously by colleagues) that this was a portrait of Seneca, on the basis of a coin once in the collection of Cardinal Bernardino Maffei.[69] However, the modern reader (joined, perhaps, by some of Orsini's contemporary colleagues) suspects that Orsini's apparently encyclopaedic knowledge of rare coins he remembers having seen might not be so reliable as he would have us believe.[70] It is possible that in the case of the *Pseudo-Seneca*, Orsini's identification is based on the appropriateness of the figure's expression and character for an individual beset with troubles towards the end of his life. Whether or not Orsini's identification was so motivated, the identification's popularity and longevity is undoubtedly owed to the appropriateness of the portrait's appearance to at least the final episodes of Seneca's biography. For two centuries, the face was a symbol for the state of the persecuted Stoic philosopher.[71]

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[66] Dillon 2006, 146.

[67] Richter 1965, 58. Zanker 1995, pp.150-154.

[68] Besides Richter and Zanker, many studies have probed this question. Foremost are von Heintze 1983; Strandman 1950.

[69] Faber, Schopp, and Orsini 1606, 74: 'Quod autem ista sit Senecae imago, ex numo aeneo grandiusculo (*contorniatum* uulgo dicunt) intelligitur, quem olim Bernardinus Cardinalis Maffaeus habebat, cum nomine inscripto, SENECA.' 'That this is the portrait of Seneca, however, might be known from a large bronze coin (commonly called a contorniate) that Cardinal Bernardino Maffei once owned, which the name SENECA inscribed.'

[70] It is suggested by Jongkees that Theodoor Galle might have suspected a deal of arbitrariness in Orsini's identifications: Jongkees 1960, 13. This doubt is voiced explicitly in the 1776 edition of Winkelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, and translated in Winckelmann and Lodge 1880, 308-9. It is absent from Potts and Mallgrave's recent translation, which is based on the shorter 1764 first edition.

[71] Morford 1991.

The identification as Seneca was dismissed in 1813, when an inscribed bust of Seneca (looking very different) was discovered (Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Sk 391), and by the end of the century the traditional identification had become no more than a name by which to refer to the otherwise nameless head.[72] Before Richter's advocacy of an identification as Hesiod (which has since become a cautious orthodoxy), a broad range of names had been suggested, including but not limited to L. Calpurnius Piso (the putative owner of the *Villa dei Papiri*, where the most famous example was found), Philitas, Callimachus, Theocritus, Archilochus, Hipponax, Philemon,[73] Aristophanes,[74] and Carneades.[75]

Many of these identifications fit passably well with *parts* of the external evidence (find-spots, wreathed examples, double examples, stylistic date, the sheer number of copies), however none are wholly satisfactory. Three suggestions *have* gained a cautious following: Hesiod, Homer and Ennius. These identifications are made because of the fact that the figure depicted is definitely a poet (as confirmed by pairings in double herms and his ivy wreath in one copy), because of the vivid characterisation (which has been observed to be characteristic of portraits of non-contemporary poets),[76] and because the portrait exhibits iconographic traits of peasants (such as the patchy beard and matted locks of hair).[77] These signs of hardship undoubtedly concur with some ancient readings of Homer's life. The *Life* that depicts Homer's poverty most emphatically is that by Pseudo-Herodotus. Although in many of the other *Lives* Homer keeps a similarly low class of company (herdsmen and tradesmen on the whole),[78] his poverty is rarely made explicit. Pseudo-Herodotus makes it quite clear, however, that Homer is a beggar.[79] Likewise, Hesiod's role as a peasant poet is

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[72] It is worth noting that doubts as to its identification had arisen as early as the seventeenth century: Fitz Darby 1957, 210.

[73] Bernoulli 1901, 160-178, treats these first six ideas. On other early identifications of objects as Philemon, see Christian 2004.

[74] Schefold and Bayard 1997, 266-69.

[75] Fitz Darby 1957, 210-12.

[76] Zanker 1995, 147-197, esp. 180; Clay 2004, 58-60; Dillon 2006, 124.

[77] Zanker 1995, 150-154.

[78] See Graziosi 2002, 156. Homer keeps the company of cobblers (Ps.-Herodotus *Life of Homer* 9), goatherds (21), and fishermen (35) among others.

[79] See for example Ps.-Herodotus *Life of Homer* 9, ἠλέησε γὰρ αἰτέοντα τυφλόν ('since he felt pity for the blind beggar'); 11, ἀπόρως κείμενος καὶ μόλις τὴν τροφὴν ἔχων ('he resided there in poverty, with scarcely enough to eat').

well-established, but in Hesiod's case this strand of reception proceeds more directly from the poet's verse: ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, γαστέρες οἶον, 'rustic shepherds, evil necessities, mere bellies'.[80] Hesiod identifies himself as precisely the sort of rustic shepherd that the Muses deride in the line quoted here.[81] Such a figure fits well with the distraught face depicted in the *Pseudo-Seneca* portrait, and this has consequently become a popular identification. We can at least say of this portrait that it depicts a long-dead poet of great fame and popularity during the Roman period, and one who was associated with poverty and hardship.

A second head from the *Villa dei Papiri* has conventionally been identified as a poet (fig. 21 and 22). This marble head was found among other marble portrait heads at the south-east end of the large peristyle, by the large pool in February 1757.[82] Two other examples of this type survive, which suggests the subject was moderately well known.[83] The portrait depicts a man in old age, wearing a short beard, and with hair radiating forwards from the crown of his head to a receding hairline on which several well-defined locks lie. Key to the portrait's characterising effect is the distinct lack of symmetry in the facial expression. The various furrows in the forehead take eccentric routes and create an impression of serious consternation. The portrait type can be dated stylistically to the late third or second century BC, and we know that this adaptation was produced at some point before 79 AD.

In 1971 Italo Sgobbo published his observation and reconstruction of a fragmentary painted inscription on the front of the herm shaft. Sgobbo's close-up photography of the herm show clear traces of an irregular inscription, and even in his black and white reproductions (not shown here), some groups of letters are clearly identifiable.[84] Subsequent inspections have failed to find any trace of this inscription, and so Sgobbo's identification cannot be independently confirmed. It is likely that museum cleaning has obliterated the traces of an inscription between Italo Sgobbo's inspection in 1971 and Carol Mattusch's study in 2005 (earlier and later images of this herm show marked differences in the

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[80] Hesiod *Theogony* 26.
[81] Johannes Haubold has identified a distinction between Hesiod's self-presentation as a youthful shepherd and (later on in his life) as an knowledgeable farmer: Haubold 2010.
[82] Mattusch and Lie 2005, 166-167.
[83] Picozzi 1975; Richter and Smith 1984, 170-171; Schefold and Bayard 1997, 350-351 (abb. 223).
[84] Sgobbo 1971.

condition of the marble's surface, which suggests that efforts have been made to remove early museum marks and numbers from the front of the bust).

Figure 21: Panyassis herm from the *Villa dei Papiri*. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 6152.

Figure 22: Panyassis herm from the *Villa dei Papiri*. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 6152.

The inscription itself was a painted graffito (letter sizing and spacing is highly irregular) in Greek declaring a lack of interest in the poetry of Panyassis: Πανύασσις ὁ ποιητής—λυπηρότατός ἐστι ('Panyassis the poet—he is very painful', perhaps painfully dull). If Sgobbo's reading is correct, it seems that an occupant of the *Villa dei Papiri* held less than favourable opinions about Panyassis' verse. This villa was occupied for over a hundred years, and therefore must have been lived in by successive generations. It is not implausible that a later occupant of the villa might have had drastically divergent literary tastes to one of his forerunners, and therefore that the painted inscription on this object might have been appended with such a disapproving postscript is not *inherently* unlikely. However, as we

saw in the case of Cicero, there is no reason to suppose that the sculptural decoration of a villa always reflected the particular enthusiasms of the villa owner. Rather, sculptural collecting was a far more approximate practice, in which specifically requested acquisitions were displayed alongside objects that simply evoked the right general atmosphere. It is entirely probable that whoever acquired this portrait of Panyassis was not a particular fan of the poet, and did indeed feel that he was 'very painful,' and that he simply acquired it on the basis that it was an appropriate object for the evocation of an intellectual atmosphere.

Whether or not this graffito was written by the same person who obtained the object, and whether or not he was an enthusiast for the poetry of Panyassis, the graffito is nevertheless a boast: its writer cannot have made the statement that Panyassis is 'very painful' without at least claiming to have read his works. The graffito, though it is dismissive of Panyassis, asserts that its author has earnt the right to make this judgment by having read the poet's works. Bibliographic information about Panyassis' poetry perhaps makes clear that Panyassis' poems were not exactly light reading: Panyassis was known for his epic hexameter poem *Heraclea* (in nine-thousand verses, between fourteen books), and his large scale aetiological work *Ionica* (in seven-thousand pentameters) that detailed the origins of the Greek colonies in Ionia. The graffito asserts its writer's erudition, by claiming the ability to make informed judgements about this late archaic poet. Though this is not necessarily the sort of high-quality verbal response to images showcased in so many texts,[85] the portrait and the graffito nevertheless combine to form a material and textual *performance* of erudition and a high quality *paideia*. As such, the portrait and its graffito work together to support the self-presentation of its writer as a well-educated Roman intellectual with a good knowledge of Greek culture.

Two further sculptures at the villa have been thought to represent poets. One is a headless, over life-size standing sculpture of a male (fig. 23).[86] He wears a *chitōn* (tunic) and *himation* (mantle), and carries a staff. For some scholars the staff has been indicative that this figure is a rhapsode.[87] However, others note the figure's proximity in the villa to the statue of Aeschines.[88] These two statues are of very similar size, are both of Pentelic marble, and

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[85] As discussed above, 94-97.
[86] NM 6126. Mattusch and Lie 2005, 144-145.
[87] Pandermalis 1983.
[88] Sgobbo 1972; Wojcik 1986.

have very similar bases. This suggests that they came from the same workshop, possibly as part of the same commission, and some have interpreted this to indicate that the older figure with a staff is also an orator. Neither interpretation offers conclusive arguments and the question remains open. Even less conclusive is the identification of the bronze bust of a distinguished-looking woman as Sappho (fig. 24).[89] This identification is made on the basis of the figure's unusual drapery, and the fillet binding her hair. These both differentiate her from most generic images of women, and the fillet might identify her as a poet (though it may also signal royal status). There is no direct evidence for an identification as Sappho (though it is plausible). It is also possible that this image depicts a different female poet, a Hellenistic royal female depicted in a classicising style, or even a generic or divine female (of which there are several examples elsewhere in the villa).[90]

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[89] Schefold and Bayard 1997, 140-141.
[90] Richter 1965, 71-72; Mattusch and Lie 2005, 224-225.

Figure 23: Rhapsode or orator statue with modern head. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 6126.
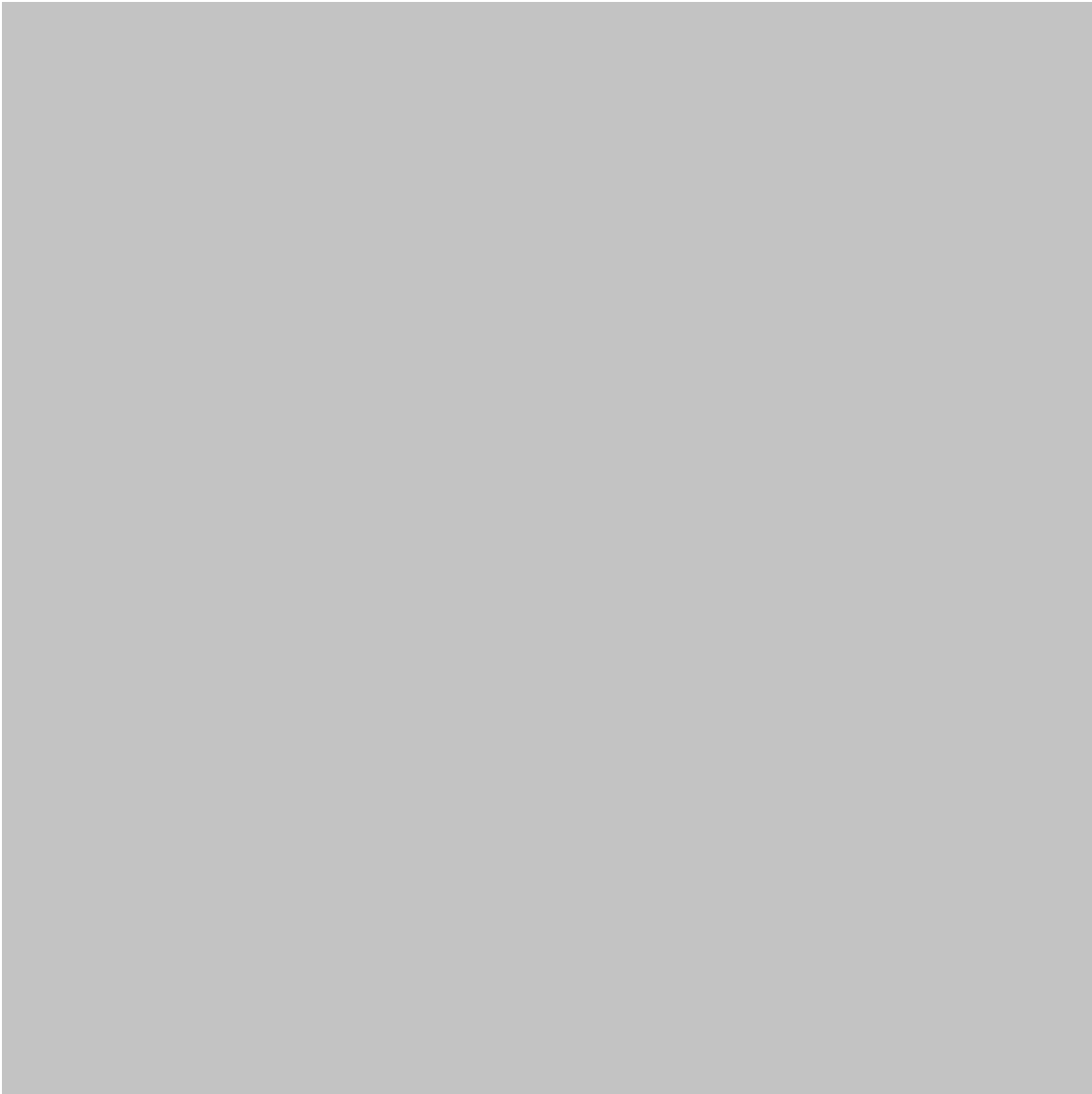
Figure 24: Bust of so-called Sappho. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 4896.

It is however highly likely that between the sculptures identified as Panyassis and the *Ps.-Seneca* type (that most likely depicts Homer or Hesiod) we have two archaic epic poets. If we add to these the doubtful Sappho, and the rhapsode-orator figure, there may be as many as four poets, even before considering whether any of the other unidentified intellectual portraits displayed at the villa might also represent poets.

The Sculptural Assemblage

To contextualise these portraits within the sculptural decoration of this villa, I briefly outline (in the broadest terms) how its contents have been interpreted as an evocation of an atmosphere of Philhellenic intellectualism. This interpretation has stemmed not only from the sculptural ensemble but also from the remains of the villa's library, and the putative identity of its first owner. The villa is famous for its hundreds of carbonised scrolls. Of those that have been deciphered, many have been arcane works of Epicurean philosophy by the first-century BC philosopher and poet Philodemus of Gadara.[91] Whether or not we believe that the owners of this villa were *actually* so closely engaged with Epicureanism (there is no reason to doubt it), their book collection undoubtedly expressed this interest. The contents of this villa, many books of Greek philosophy combined with a great number of portraits of Greek intellectuals (including poets), work as a strong expression of education in Greek, and a close engagement with Greek culture.

It so happens that Philodemus of Gadara is also found elsewhere in the Roman discourse about Philhellenism. In a speech castigating L. Calpurnius Piso for his mismanagement of his province, Cicero devotes some lines to an ambiguous characterisation of Piso's 'graeculus' ('pet Greek'), whom he admires for his scholarly and poetic abilities, and yet reproaches for his association with Piso.[92] Asconius identifies this unnamed 'graeculus' as Philodemus of Gadara. Piso's association with Philodemus and the presence of so many of the latter's works at the *Villa dei Papiri* have led to the plausible identification of Piso as the villa's owner during the first century BC.[93] In this speech, Cicero criticised Piso for his over-seclusion in his Campanian villa, his over-zealous patronage of a Greek scholar, and his over-indulgence in Epicurean philosophy. This is a *locus classicus* for the elite Roman insecurity about how to balance his role as a man of action and a statesman with the engagement with Greek culture that was just as important a part of his elite status.

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[91] On the contents of the library: Sider 2005; Sider 2010; Houston 2013. On Philodemus' poetry see Sider 1997.

[92] Cicero *Against Piso* 68-70.

[93] An overview of the various arguments is given by Capasso 2010.

Piso, the probable owner of the *Villa dei Papriri* in the first century BC, is identified as one who gets this balance wrong, and becomes too much of a Philhellene.

The sculptural decoration of the villa also appears to evoke Greek intellectualism. The most obvious features that might produce this effect are the portraits. The villa features portraits of Epicurus (three times), Hermarchus, and Zeno, Demosthenes (twice) and Aeschines,[94] and several more figures that have generally been interpreted as philosophers and intellectuals.[95] Although these portraits may not have all been acquired at once (the villa was occupied for over a century before its catastrophic burial) the effect of the multiple images of intellectuals gathered in the villa's gardens must have been a clear assertion of interest in Greek thought. Likewise, the group of Greek ruler-images found in the villa hint at an interest in Greek history, or (as Sheila Dillon suggests) an admiration of aristocracy and kingliness in the Greek mould and perhaps even (in the mid-first century BC) the ambition to emulate Greek models of kingship.[96] There are images at the villa that have are thought to represent Roman subjects, but they are a small minority.[97] In terms of the portrait sculpture displayed at the villa, the emphasis seems to be thoroughly on *Greek* rather than Roman culture. This did not necessarily have to be the case. When Seneca defended his reverence for portraits of his intellectual inspirations, the figures he names are almost equally balanced, Roman to Greek.[98] Many of the portraits at the *Villa dei Papiri* are unique examples that would otherwise be unknown. This suggests that the owner was particularly knowledgeable and discerning in his collecting practice: he appears not simply to collect the most widespread and best-known portraits, but has a far more obscure and eclectic ensemble that might reflect personal expertise or enthusiasm.

It is not only the portraits that cultivate an atmosphere of Greek learning. The villa features quotations from famous pieces of Greek art such as a bronze *Doryphoros* head of

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[94] Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli ("NM") (bronze miniatures) 5465-5471, 11017 (Mattusch and Lie 2005, 289-295); (full-length Aeschines) NM 6018 (Mattusch and Lie 2005, 143-144).
[95] NM (bronze) 5602, 5607, 5623 (Mattusch and Lie 2005, 158-9, 166-177); (marble) 6147, 6153, 6154, 6155, and 6162 (Mattusch and Lie 2005, 254-260).
[96] Dillon 2006, 49.
[97] NM (bronze) 5586, 5587, 5634 (Mattusch and Lie 2005, 272-276); (marble) 6188, 6210 (though this is sometimes interpreted as a third-century Greek orator), 6240 (Mattusch and Lie 2005, 179, 146, 152).
[98] The ratio is three Romans to four Greeks. He mentions the two Catones, Laelius, Socrates, Plato, Zeno, and Cleanthes. Seneca *Letters* 64.9.

exceptional quality and signed by an Athenian sculptor, Apollonius,[99] and a full-size, marble, classicising adaptation of the *Athena Promachos* type (though this may be a misnomer, and Mattusch describes it as a "Panathenaic" Athena).[100] Though there is debate about the degree to which Roman collectors could have identified the prototypes of these now famous types, at the least they would have asserted an appreciation of the famous art works of Classical Greece.

The so-called *Athena Promachos*, that stood in a hall between the square peristyle and the *tablinum*, which itself looked onto the large peristyle (from which she would have been visible when viewed from certain angles), also contributes to the general assemblage of 'ornamenta γυμνασιώδη' at the villa. As Cicero stated,[101] Athena was an appropriate figure for a *gymnasium*, and might even have evoked the Academy of Plato (that was at a site dedicated to Athena). Other items within the villa contributed to this effect. The villa features a herm of a helmeted Athena (which cannot but remind us of the Hermathena about which Cicero was so enthusiastic),[102] and a pair of running boys who have been interpreted precisely as an evocation of the *palaestra* or *gymnasium*.[103] A bronze statue of Hermes as a seated young boy (identified subtly by his winged sandals) is ambiguous in this respect: as Gilles Sauron points out, no such image appears in Hellenistic *gymnasia*.[104] However, this statue reminds us once again of Cicero's remarks about Hermes' suitability for a *gymnasium*.[105]

The villa's contents were not solely 'ornamenta γυμνασιώδη': the large peristyle also included figures of animals (two deer and a piglet), and satyrs, not to mention the notorious Pan and nanny-goat *symplegma*.[106] The mix of apparently intellectual images with those of sacro-idyllic or Dionysiac subjects has led some interpreters to develop programmes for how different parts of the villa evoked different atmospheres and activities.[107] Though ingenious, none of the prescriptive schemes has proved convincing, and most scholars are content that

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[99] NM 4885. Mattusch and Lie 2005, 276-277.
[100] NM 6007. Mattusch and Lie 2005, 147-151.
[101] Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 9.3.
[102] NM 6322. Mattusch and Lie 2005, 180-181.
[103] NM 5626, 5627. Warden and Romano 1994; Mattusch and Lie 2005, 189-194.
[104] Sauron 1980, 293.
[105] NM 5625. Mattusch and Lie 2005, 216-222. See above, 91.
[106] NM 27709. Mattusch and Lie 2005, 155-156.
[107] A reading that attempts to impose sectors with different atmospheres is that of Pandermalis 1983.

a Roman villa could (in characteristically eclectic style) evoke a hybrid atmosphere between the Athenian *gymnasium* and the Dionysian grove. Gilles Sauron comes to a similar conclusion in his analysis of the villa as combining elements of both the *gymnasium* and a sacro-idyllic 'jardin des Bienheureux' ('garden of the blessed'), though his interpretation is still perhaps too prescriptive in identifying the Epicurean garden as a specific model.[108] What is important here is that the villa's sculptural collection asserts an interest in Greek education, philosophy, culture and history (as well as evoking the sacro-idyllic, Dionysian grove).

The *Villa dei Papiri* offers us a case where poet portraits are included as part of a wider sculptural ensemble that evokes Greek public spaces such as the *gymnasium*, and Greek culture and learning more generally. They are a small part of a larger sculptural ensemble that works together to produce this effect, and as such this is a typical context for poet portraits, which do seem on the whole to form only small parts of broader groupings in Roman villas.[109]

Asserting familiarity with Greek poets could form part of the self-presentation of a Roman aristocrat as a member of an elite who has received an elite education, encompassing Greek language, literature and philosophy. In this context, the poets are received as symbols of elite status and aristocratic education: though not especially *literary* in nature, this is clearly a widespread reception of Greek poets, and (crucially for *this* study) one that was expressed and enacted through the display of portraits. In this context we find the portraits involved in reception in a way that is not necessarily dependent on the individual characterisation of the poets depicted, but rather depends on the portrait's physical and social context within Roman private collections.

2.3 Villa dei Bruttii Praesentes

At the *Villa dei Papiri* the portraits of *poets* played a relatively minor role as part of a broader sculptural collection, and no clear relationships could be discerned between the poet

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[108] Sauron 1980.

[109] As indicated by a study of their find contexts in Neudecker 1988.

portraits. In the final section of this chapter, I explore a case where the poet portraits seem strongly to invite interaction in the form of learned discussion (and, in particular, comparison) that inevitably would contribute to the construction of the villa owner's *persona* as a learned, literary man. I now consider the *Villa dei Brutti Praesentes* at Monte Calvo, overlooking the Via Salaria, near Rieti in the ancient region of Sabina. The villa is known sometimes as the *Villa dei Bruttii Praesentes* after its most probable builder and owner Gaius Bruttius Praesens, a friend of the Emperor Hadrian and twice consul, and it is by this name that I refer to it.[110]

The villa was excavated by the archaeologist Capranesi in two phases during the early nineteenth century.[111] These excavations focussed mainly on the recovery of saleable sculptural artefacts, and thus very few details of the villa's layout and non-sculptural decoration were recorded, and only occasional oblique references to the locations of finds.

Excavations and surveys between 1998 and 2004 have brought to light far more details about the villa's form and the functions of the excavated parts.[112] Although a plan of some important parts of the villa has now been produced,[113] the nineteenth-century documentation is not thorough enough to locate any objects' find spots precisely within this new plan. What the recent excavations *have* recovered is some details of the villa's layout, and various decorative fragments. An *atrium*, *fauces* (narrow corridor into the *atrium*), and *peristyle* have been identified by Giovanna Alvino and her colleagues in an area of the excavated parts of the villa that they have labelled the *pars urbana* (the south-eastern part of

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[110] Brusini 2001, 27-35. Inscriptions referring to the Bruttii Praesentes are found extensively on the hillsides around the Via Salaria below Monte Calvo. Brick stamps naming Laberia Crispina, the second wife of Gaius Bruttius Praesens, and others naming Gaius Bruttius Praesens (probably the son of Laberia and the first Gaius, and his namesake) were found in excavations between 1998 and 2003 (see below n. 112), which conclusively confirm that this man and his wife and their son were centrally involved in the building of the villa, and that its principal phase of construction was in the early second century AD: Alvino 2006, 36-38; Lezzi 2007.

[111] Brusini 2001, 10-24, 39-47, (on the nineteenth-century documentation) 51-77. See also Leoni 1970, 102-130; Moltesen 1987; Neudecker 1988, 69, 180-184.

[112] Excavation was undertaken between 1998 and 2003 by a team led by Giovanna Alvino for the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Lazio and the Commune di Rieti. The results of their work are published in two short volumes (Alvino 2003; Alvino 2006), and several articles in the serial *Lazio e Sabina* (Lezzi and Bazzucchi 2006; Lezzi 2007; Scalfari 2009). A geophysical survey was undertaken in 2004 by the British School at Rome and Archaeological Prospective Services of Southampton, and an unpublished report was produced: Hay and Baldwin 2004 (a key diagram from this survey is also reproduced in Alvino 2006, fig. 26).

[113] See figs. 9, 10, 26 in Alvino 2006, and fig. 2 in Lezzi and Bazzucchi 2006.

the site). The many fragments of coloured marble architectural decoration, and painted plaster decoration show that the villa was expensively decorated as would suit a patron of consular rank such as Gaius Bruttius Praesens and his family. It is also clear from the excavations (in particular the brick stamps) that the villa was further developed at various times after the second century AD,[114] and indeed that parts of it were used in different ways right into the middle ages.[115] The unpublished geophysical survey of June 2004 has revealed that the villa continued extensively to the north and west of the excavated site.[116]

The two portraits of poets that were discovered at this villa are known as the *Borghese Anacreon* and the *Seated Poet* (or *Old Singer*).[117] They are life-sized, free-standing, marble sculptures that depict (in strikingly different manners—as I go on to discuss) two poets in performance. Both now reside in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen.[118] The two sculptures studied here were both recovered in the later phase of the nineteenth-century excavation on land that had recently been acquired by the Jesuits, and their discoveries can be dated between 24th March and 16th April 1835.[119] Land ownership charts from the 1820s strongly suggest that this phase of the nineteenth-century excavations took place in an area of land approximately 200m to the east of the 1998-2003 excavations.[120] It is impossible to say with current evidence, whether this detail places the portraits somewhere in the villa garden or in another part of the villa itself. Given the scale of private villas, their gardens, and satellite buildings in the Imperial period, neither option is unlikely. I discuss further hints as to their context below.[121]

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[114] On the brick stamps, see Alvino 2006, 36-38, and Lezzi 2007.

[115] On the later history of the site, see Lezzi and Bazzucchi 2006, 81-84, and Alvino 2006, 28-31, 70-74.

[116] Hay and Baldwin 2004 (see also Alvino 2006, fig. 26).

[117] Important contributions on the *Borghese Anacreon* (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek IN 491) include: Brunn 1859, 183; Furtwängler 1895, 62-3; Poulsen 1931, 13-15; Poulsen 1954, 25-27; Richter 1965, 75-78; Voutiras 1980, 77-91 (no. 6); Richter and Smith 1984, 84-85; Zanker 1995, 22-31; Schefold and Bayard 1997, 101-103 (abb. 34); Ridgway 1998; Brusini 2001, 178-193; Shapiro 2012; Davidson 2013. The *Seated Poet* (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek IN 1563) has (presumably due to its lack of identity, and relatively "late" style) received rather less attention: Poulsen 1954, 77-79; Richter 1965, 75-78; Zanker 1995, 146-149; Schefold and Bayard 1997, 270-271 (abb. 151).

[118] Their journey to this collection is charted by Moltesen 1987.

[119] Permission to excavate an eastern portion of the site was gained from its owners, the Jesuits, on the 24th March 1835 (Brusini 2001, 46 n. 129). These two sculptures were listed by Capranesi in his report of 16th April 1835: Brusini 2001, 55; Leoni 1970, 116-117.

[120] Brusini 2001, 20-24.

[121] See below, 119.

Figure 25: *Borghese Anacreon*. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. IN491.
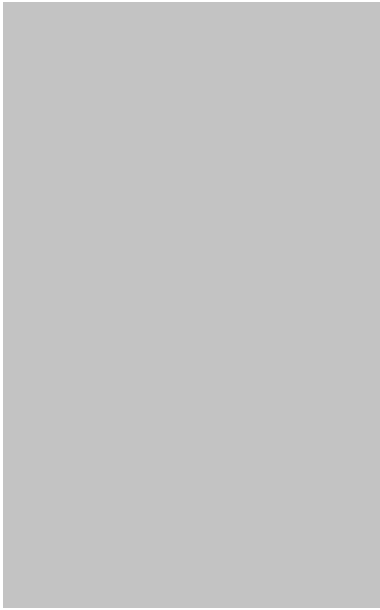
Figure 26: Reconstruction of *Seated Poet*. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. IN1563.

Figure 27: *Seated Poet*. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. IN1563.

A comprehensive study of the sculptural ensemble recovered from the villa in the nineteenth century has most recently been made by Serena Brusini, and her analyses are useful.[122] The sculptural ensemble is large and varied, and includes several surviving

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[122] Brusini 2001. Other studies of this ensemble include: Leoni 1970, 102-130; Moltesen 1987; Neudecker 1988, 69, 180-184. The earliest reports of the discovery of this material are not comprehensively published. A brief report of the discovery of the poet statues was published in Braun 1836. Otherwise refer to quotations and paraphrases of letters and reports in: Leoni 1970, esp. 116-117; Moltesen 1987, 200; Brusini 2001, esp. 49-77.

sculptures and many large fragments. Some of the observations that have been made about the *Villa dei Papiri* are relevant also at the *Villa dei Bruttii Praesentes*. Here again we find a range of subjects that do not necessarily seem to cohere as a strict programme. There are several images of gods (an Athena, the *Hera Borghese Type*, an Asclepius, and a Mercury/Perseus), which might be considered evocative of public spaces. There are also two Dionysiac subjects (a young satyr pouring wine—the *Satiro Versante*—and a satyr playing the *aulos*, but restored as dancing with cymbals—the *Borghese Satyr*) among many fragments of Dionysiac figures, and eight statues of Muses. The Dionysiac subjects and statues of Muses no doubt characterise the villa as a place of rural retreat, invoking sacro-idyllic landscapes such as the Grove of the Muses at Helicon. However, the Muses also signal an interest in literature and the arts, and that this villa was presented as an appropriate place for their reception. Images of Muses are also present at other sites where significant ensembles of literary imagery have been found, such as the *Casa del Menandro* at Pompeii.[123] Few sculptural groups could signal literary interest so clearly as a group of Muses, and (at the most simple level) it is to this effort that the two portraits of poets from this villa must contribute.

In terms of how these sculptures contribute to the self-presentation of Bruttius Praesens and his family, it is straightforward to observe that, as part of the villa's sculptural ensemble, they take part in the generalised evocation of an atmosphere of cultured retreat and elite Philhellenism. However, I also consider how their pairing (with its contrasting styles and characters) invites the sort of literary and art-historical comparison and discussion that were central parts of elite Roman rhetorical education. Not only do they display familiarity with, and even fondness for, two important figures of Greek literature, they also seem to invite the viewer to demonstrate his skills of learned discussion. As such they are not merely static parts of the villa's efforts in self-presentation, but afford the viewer an opportunity to exhibit his own rhetorical prowess.

The Poets

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[123] Ling and Ling 2005, esp. 102-106.

The sculptural ensemble of the villa may not have been acquired all at once. Brusini's stylistic analysis has identified a spread of several decades. However, the dating of Roman adaptations of Greek sculpture is notoriously imprecise.[124] Several different types of marble have been identified among the sculptures, and Brusini considers it likely that they are the works of different workshops (distributed between Italy, Greece and Asia Minor).[125] Brusini offers two hypotheses: first that the collection was acquired over a series of decades under the direction of Gaius Bruttius Praesens, his wife (Laberia Crispina) or his son (also Gaius Bruttius Praesens); second, Brusini entertains the possibility that these sculptures are all commissioned by the elder Bruttius Praesens, and that the variety of marbles and workshops in evidence reflect a shorter process of acquisition. It is ultimately impossible on current evidence to ascertain which of these two interpretations is correct, as multiple commissions from different sources by no means signify that these commissions were not made simultaneously and with a view to a single coherent ensemble. Any prescriptive programmatic interpretation of this *whole* sculptural ensemble runs the risk of being deconstructed on the basis that it cannot be proven that the sculptures were conceived as a single group.

There are coherent groups *within* this assemblage however, such as the group of Muses, and the two poet statues at issue here. The *Seated Poet* and the *Borghese Anacreon* were not only made from the same marble (Dolomitic Thasian marble),[126] which indicates that they were most likely commissioned together, they are also discovered together 'in una specie di sala' ('in a sort of room'),[127] and it is therefore probable that they would have been displayed together (or at least in relative proximity) from the second century onwards. Such divergent statues, displayed in proximity to one another would inevitably have invited

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[124] See, for example, the remarks in Dillon 2006, 48-49.

[125] Brusini 2001 291-292.

[126] Brusini 2001, 178, 291.

[127] This phrase is frequently repeated in the scholarship but rarely with a full citation. It derives from one of the 'Relazione della Commissione di belle arti', which were reports from a group of scholars and advisors (namely the lawyer and collector Carlo Fea, the sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen, the Archaeologist Professor Antonio Nibby, and Filippo Tomassini) to the papal chamberlain (Cardinal Camerlengo—at that time Pietro Francesco Galeffi). It is most fully quoted in Leoni 1970, 117, and most thoroughly referenced (in terms of its date and location) in Brusini 2001, 46, who notes its date of the 5th December, 1835. I have been unable to consult the original document, which is held at the Archivio di Stato di Roma, Atti del Camerlengato, parte II, titolo IV, busta 151, fasc. 122bis.

interpretation as a pendant.[128] Both the poets represented are in performance, and both sculptures originally featured musical instruments now lost (probably a *barbitos* lyre for Anacreon and a *chelys* lyre for the *Seated Poet*). However, as noted below, the styles of these two figures are drastically different, and therefore must have encouraged comparison.

These were not the only objects found in that 'specie di sala'; Capranesi also excavated a damaged head and torso of Asclepius (originally identified as Jupiter),[129] and several fragments of a tripod from this room.[130] The report of the Commissione di belli arte to the papal chamberlain (Cardinal Camerlengo, Pietro Francesco Galeffi) on 5th December 1835, notes the potential in their possible relationship to the other finds found in this room: 'perché vi si è trovato anche un tripode, dedurre se ne potrebbe che vi fossero collocate per dinotare una disfida fra due celebri cantori greci.' ('Because a tripod was also found there, it may be supposed that they were placed together in order to suggest a contest between the two famous Greek singers.').[131] Without considerably more detail relating to the find spots and orientation of these objects, it is impossible to say for certain whether these poets were arrayed as in a *certamen* for a prize tripod, presided over by Asclepius, a possibility explored by Brusini.[132] I consider this idea below.[133]

The *Borghese Anacreon* is lightly clad in only the heroic *chlamys* (short mantle) thrown about his shoulders; his head is tilted back and his eyes seem to be directed upwards, indicating song, but also suggesting lightly-worn concentration or easy abstraction, that we might associate with the *ex tempore* composition of symposiastic song. His stance, though firm, is not heavy, and describes a graceful if shallow s-bend from his head to his right foot. An open position is achieved through the figure's contrapposto, and the slight backward lean of his torso. His musculature is neither intense, nor concealed by excessive skin or fat. The orthodoxy regarding this sculpture (notwithstanding some complications regarding the context of the prototype) is that it depicts a classical masculine ideal (a warrior's body

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[128] A useful example of a sculptural pendant in a domestic context is offered by Bartman 1988.

[129] Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, I.N. 1425. Brusini 2001, 163-178, no. 9; see also Leoni 1970, 116-117, no. 52.

[130] Leoni 1970, 116-117, no. 53.

[131] See above, n. 127. This passage is quoted in Leoni 1970, 117, and discussed in Brusini 2001, 46. I have not consulted the original document: Archivio di Stato di Roma, Atti del Camerlengato, parte II, titolo IV, busta 151, fasc. 122bis.

[132] Brusini 2001, 176-178.

[133] See below, 128-129.

adapted to be a poet), and a man at ease, not pained by the rigours of composition or performance. The display context of the portrait statue from which this Roman version was adapted is unknown. A longstanding theory has identified this statue type with a portrait of Anacreon seen on the Acropolis by Pausanias, who describes it as standing next to a statue of Pericles' father, Xanthippus.[134] From this description the idea arose that this portrait was a Periclean dedication on the Acropolis.[135] This theory remains orthodox, despite serious concerns having been raised by Brunilde Ridgway.[136] Although Ridgway does not offer any more convincing ideas for where any Greek prototype of this portrait type might have stood, her analysis thoroughly deconstructs the argument for the orthodox theory. As such, the question of a Greek original for this type, and its possible contexts, remains unanswerable with present evidence. However, the portrait has a mid-fifth-century style, and the fact that Anacreon was active in Athens for a large part of his career makes an Athenian fifth-century prototype plausible.

In comparison with the *Borghese Anacreon,* a more different image of poetic performance than the *Seated Poet* cannot be imagined. In nearly every element of composition this statue is different from that of the *Borghese Anacreon*, which is only to be expected given the much later date of its putative prototype, but which must have made their comparison as a sculptural pendant at the *Villa dei Bruttii Praesentes* intriguing. First, the *Seated Poet* is far less frontal than the *Borghese Anacreon*: where the *Borghese Anacreon* prioritises frontal viewing, the *Seated Poet,* though its rear is relatively featureless, invites the viewer to explore from a range of angles. This is done through the twist of the poet's body: his head faces to his left, whereas both his feet and his left hand invite viewing from his right (our left). Likewise, where the *Borghese Anacreon* offers an open torso, the later portrait shows a body largely closed off, both by its own torsion, and by the arms and cloak that restrict our lines of sight. Even in these simplest of terms, the natures of these two portraits are vastly different.

The *Seated Poet*'s physique is also drastically different to that of Anacreon: in place of Anacreon's perfect Pheidian musculature, this poet exhibits sunken pectoral muscles and

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[134] Pausanias *Description of Greece* 1.25.1.

[135] Brunn is responsible for the most significant early exposition of this theory, though scholars most often look back to Fürtwangler. See Brunn 1859, 183, and Furtwängler 1895, 62-3.

[136] Ridgway 1998.

loose skin around the torso. The *Seated Poet*'s clothing also invites a different reaction to Anacreon's short *chlamys*. He wears a voluminous cloak that appears to be of a rough and thick material. Likewise, where Anacreon is barefooted, the *Seated Poet* wears heavy and elaborate sandals, that are mirrored by the monumental lion-paw legs of the throne-like chair on which he sits.[137] His face exhibits an intense concentration through its downturned gaze and through the vertical furrows between his eyebrows, and horizontal furrows above. Although Anacreon's lyre does not survive, there is a good probability that he was depicted with the *barbitos*. The *Seated Poet*, on the other hand, is depicted with what must have been a slightly larger lyre such as the *chelys* (though not a *kithara*, as there doesn't seem to be space for this large instrument). Moreover, the *Seated Poet*'s interaction with that lyre is far more concentrated. In the statue of Anacreon (though it is difficult to be certain given the loss of his left forearm and right hand) we get no impression of mental or muscular attention focussed on the lyre. In contrast, the *Seated Poet*'s lyre is clutched close to his body, and his eyes seem to focus on his left hand that is stopping the strings at the top of the instrument. As such, this image of poetic performance is almost as different as can be from that in the *Borghese Anacreon*.

Poets, Synkrisis, *and the Performance of* Paideia

In the context of a Roman villa, these objects strongly beg comparison, not only art historical, but also in how they and their subjects embody different ways to make poetry and music.[138] Brusini's study also realises the potential in this sculptural pendant, and relates the pairing of these statues to the writings of ancient philosophers on the moral influence of music, and the categorisation of different sorts of music according to its moral value. In particular she cites Plato's insistence on the effects of music upon moral conditioning, and

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[137] Zanker 1995, 147. The feet of this sculpture are the particular focus of an article that identifies it (unconvincingly in my opinion, on the basis of a weak likeness) as Philitas: Tsantsanoglou 2012.
[138] Elizabeth Bartman explores the potential for sculptural pendants in Roman villa decoration. Her study focuses on where such pendants invite stylistic or art-historical comparison. However, the observation that Roman villa decorators were capable of juxtaposing sculptures in order to invite their comparison is important here also. See Bartman 1988.

the Epicureans more dismissive attitude to music for moral education.[139] Anacreon is undoubtedly a suggestive figure in this context: the approach to composition embodied in his portrait (light intellectual abstraction, married with Classical Attic *sōphrosunē*, 'self-control')[140] must have seemed attractive to members of Hadrian's Atticising, sophistic court. However, he is an ambiguous figure, also associated with drunkenness and an over-active libido.[141] As such, any portrait of Anacreon (even this self-controlled type) becomes a talking point for discussions about poetic practice and poetic character.

It is not hard to find illustrative comparisons for this pairing of poet portraits: there are several other examples of portraits of two poets being juxtaposed in villa decoration. The paragraphs that follow consider several cases of juxtaposed poet portraits that help to contextualise the pair at the *Villa dei Bruttii Praesentes* within broader practice. I then return to the *Borghese Anacreon* and the *Seated Poet* to consider how they invite the rhetorical techniques of *comparatio* or *synkrisis*, and how this relates to self-presentation and the performance of *paideia*.

A famous example of a poet-portrait pendant (though in this case *painted* rather than sculptural) is found at the *Casa del Menandro* in Pompeii. This house (which also features images of the nine Muses in its painted decoration), is named for the image of the poet Menander that survives in the central exedra (exedra 23) of its peristyle garden. The image of Menander is the only one of the exedra's three wall paintings to survive fully. However, it has been suggested that the central image of the exedra showed Dionysus and his panther, and that the image facing Menander was another important playwright, most likely Euripides, on the basis that just as Menander was the most famous Greek comic poet, so Euripides was the most famous tragedian, and that they would therefore make an apt pairing.[142] This is plausible. At the very least it is clear that this exedra juxtaposes two (if not three, depending on our confidence in the identity of the central figure) important theatrical poets, and in juxtaposing them inevitably invites comparison.

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[139] Brusini 2001, 296-297. For an introduction to the ancient ethics of music, see Anderson 1966. See more recently: Woerther 2008; Pelosi 2010, 29-67.

[140] The portrait more than conforms to classical sculptural norms described above, 35-43.

[141] Rosenmeyer 1992; Lambin 2002; Budelmann 2009; chapters in Baumbach and Dümmler 2014.

[142] A summary of the arguments relating to this exedra, with bibliography, is given in Ling and Ling 2005, 85-88.

Another useful example is an inscription from a headless herm portrait of Menander (now in the University of Turin):

[οὐκ ἄλλως] ἔστησα κατ' ὀφθαλμούς σε, Μένανδ[ρε],
[γείτον' Ὁ]μηρείης, φίλτατέ μοι, κεφαλῆς,
[εἰ σέ γε δεύτ]ερα ἔταξε σοφὸς κρείνειν μετ' ἐκεῖνον
[γραμματι]κὸς κλεινὸς πρόσθεν Ἀριστοφάνης.[143]

'[Not without purpose] have I set you up, my dear Menander, opposite [and near to] the eyes of the head of Homer, [at least if] in earlier times that wise man, the famous grammarian Aristophanes, listed you as [second] in comparison with him [Homer].'

This is not the only place where Homer and Menander are considered together as a pair of exceptionally high quality.[144] However, the inscription on this herm gives an insight into how sculptural pairings could be designed precisely in order to invite literary comparison. The individual who composed the epigram makes it clear that an established line of literary reception (the views of the Alexandrian grammarian Aristophanes of Byzantium) considered Homer and Menander to be the two finest poets of the Greek past. Although the left hand side of the herm is damaged (and therefore the crucial phrase οὐκ ἄλλως is a modern supplementation) it is clear that the epigram attempts to justify the positioning of this herm near one of Homer.[145] The trend in the literary reception of Menander whereby he is 'second to Homer' is offered as the reason for the juxtaposition of the two poets' herm portraits. The invocation of Aristophanes of Byzantium's judgement (and the associated trend in literary reception) in this pairing invites the application of the rhetorical and literary-critical technique of comparison (*comparatio*, *synkrisis*) because it is through precisely this technique that ranked canons of poetic quality could be produced.[146] Furthermore, the inscription *itself* is a performance of erudition. The author does not await the question of why the two poets have been juxtaposed, but boldly announces to the reader both his reasoning and the erudition in Greek literary criticism that supports his reasoning.

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[143] IG XIV 1183c = IGUR IV 1526, ll. 10-13. Orsini 1570, 32-33. Richter 1965, 226, no. 4. Nervegna 2013(a), 63, 200-201; Nervegna 2013(b), 347, n. 4.

[144] Nervegna 2013(a), 63, 200-201; Nervegna 2013(b), 347, n. 4.

[145] It was in fact found near a herm of Homer, found at Rome near the *Porta Trigemina*. See Richter 1965, 46, no. 16; Richter 1965, 226, no. 4.

[146] Feeney 2002(a), 178-179, on Horace's criticism of the *critici*, and their use of *synkrisis* to achieve numerical lists of poets according to quality. Feeney's principal source on this topic is Horace *Letters* 2.1.50-63.

The most *obvious* juxtapositions are those found in Roman double-herms. Double-herms are objects that take the format of a herm, but feature two heads, facing in opposite directions. These objects are very numerous, though most depict Dionysian or mythical subjects,[147] and of those that depict non-mythical individuals many are unidentified. The depiction of pairs of poets or pairs of philosophers on these herms appears to be a phenomenon of the end of the first century AD onwards and the contexts generally seem to be elite *villa* and *domus* decoration.[148] In the minority of cases where there is firm proof (or at least well-founded theories) for the identity of the portrait types depicted, the relationship between the subjects of the two portraits is sometimes clear,[149] and sometimes more obscure.[150] Those cases where an obvious relationship can be observed suggest to the modern viewer that a connection (or at least comparison) is to be sought in the more obscure pairings also. Likewise, just as the pairings that seem more obvious have been seen to reflect ancient views of philosophical and literary history, similarly the less obvious pairings might be said to invite more novel connections within these histories.

Suggestive pairings of poets, it seems, are not uncommon. However, other evidence from the *Villa dei Bruttii Praesentes* gives us further clues and insights into the potential interpretations of the pair of poets found there. Brusini observes that a further figure found at the villa surely only increases these poets' potential role as pieces for considering the nature of poetic personality, composition, and performance. The satyr found at the *Villa dei Brutti Praesentes*, the so-called *Borghese Satyr* (or *Satiro Danzante*), offers an appropriate foil for the two lyric poets depicted, in that it depicts not simply another musician, but a satyr (and therefore inevitably an archetypically transgressive) musician.[151] Although restored

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[147] These are dealt with in Seiler 1970.

[148] Dillon 2006, 33. A second-century date for the emergence of this type is argued by Wrede 1985 52-54, 71-79. If correctly dated, a far earlier example is discussed in Vorster 1998, 40-42.

[149] Some of the more obviously appropriate pairings are listed by Sheila Dillon (Dillon 2006, 182, n. 65). These (and others) include: Epicurus and Metrodorus (Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. MC576); Thucydides and Herodotus (Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, inv. 6239); Socrates and Seneca (Berlin, Pergamonmuseum, SK391).

[150] Less obvious pairings (some of which are likewise listed in Dillon 2006, 182, n. 65) include: Solon and Euripides (once in the Borgia collection, now lost—see Richter 1965, 85, no. 3); Pseudo-Seneca and Menander (Rome, Villa Albani, Casino, no. 67); Pseudo-Seneca and unidentified head thought to depict Virgil (Poulsen 1959) (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 432, I.N. 611).

[151] Rome, Galleria Borghese, inv. 225. Brusini 2001, 207-225; Moreno and Viacava 2003, no. 254, 259-260.

with small cymbals, it is likely that this figure originally sported *auloi*, as suggested by comparisons with several similarly positioned satyrs, who have the bulging cheeks for *aulos* players.[152] The most telling comparison is with a bronze figurine that has a very similar stance, whose lower arms are similarly positioned, and whose *auloi* survive intact.[153] The potential identification of this satyr as a *musician* makes his role as a foil even more apt. This sculpture has further details, beyond its likely subject, that might contribute to thoughts about poetic ethics: first the satyr's penis is bound by a ligature in *kynodesmē*, a binding technique seen frequently on images of musicians (such as the *Borghese Anacreon* itself), athletes, and others (including satyrs); secondly the satyr's pose hints at the *joie de vivre* for which satyrs were famous, and which was inextricably related to their drunkenness, partying, and sexual antics. On the one hand, we have a characteristic (*kynodesmē*) associated closely with ideas of *decorum*, a measure taken to prevent even involuntary transgressions;[154] on the other hand, we see a hint of the transgressive behaviour by which satyrs are defined.

The world of satyrs and Dionysus is often depicted in *Roman* iconography and especially in villa art in a light-hearted tone, which lays emphasis on its rural associations than on more dangerous and transgressive elements of Dionysiac cult and its mythical congregation.[155] However, many sculptural types of satyrs found in Roman gardens show elements of the transgressive behaviour with which they were associated in Classical Greek iconography (most dramatically in depictions of sexual violence with goats, youths and maenads).[156] Although in some settings Dionysian figures simply evoke the bucolic, it is clear that satyrs remain at best mischievous or transgressive, and at worst brutally out-of-control, and thus remain in the Roman context an anti-type to normative behaviour. By

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[152] Brusini 2001, 221-222, figs. 128-135.

[153] Luberto 2015.

[154] The similar prescriptions for the training of musicians and athletes are described by Christophe Vendries. He emphasises the distinction between infibulation (binding with a metal piercing) and *kynodesmē* (binding with a cord). Despite the evidence he himself gathers, he denies that there is a moral implication to the practice of k*ynodesmē*: Vendries 2006. It is clear from Frederick Hodges' study that *kynodesmē* was used in order to ensure conformance to normative appearance and behaviour, and therefore had a clear moral dimension: Hodges 2001.

[155] On the role of satyrs as anti-types to acceptable citizen behaviour in fifth-century BC iconography, see Lissarrague 1990, esp. 235; Schneider 2000, 253-254; Lissarrague 2013, esp. 21-26. Find interpretations of Dionysiac iconography in villa contexts as light-hearted, or primarily bucolic, in e.g. Ling and Ling 2005, 52-54; Dwyer 1982, 123-124.

[156] Such as in the sculptures discussed by Rolf Michael Schneider on 360-368 of Schneider 2000. Another example might be *Pan and the She-Goat* from the *Villa dei Papiri*, at Herculaneum.

displaying a satyr making music somewhere within a property where two distinctly different lyric poets are also displayed, the question is asked: what is an appropriate, civilised, humane way to make music, and which poets achieve this in their practice?

Figure 28: *Borghese Satyr*. Rome, Galleria Borghese, inv. 225, inv. 802.
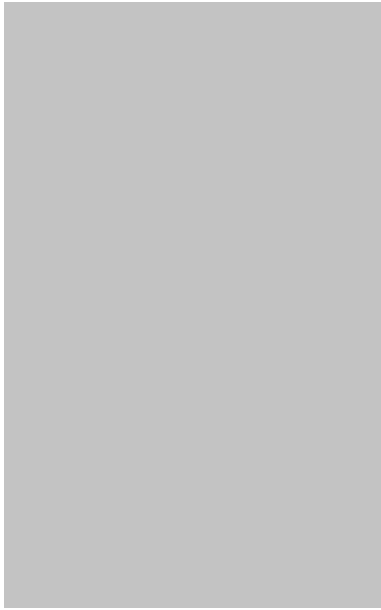
Figure 29: Statuette of aulete satyr. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 2343.

More suggestive still, however, of comparison and competition between these two poets, is the fact that they were found alongside a statue of Asclepius and a fragmentary tripod.[157] As first suggested in 1835, the grouping of two poets, a god, and a tripod could indicate that the ensemble were gathered in order to evoke a poetic contest between the depicted figures. Brusini explores the idea further, noting that one of Asclepius' principal sanctuaries, Epidaurus, was also a site of poetic competition.[158] This assemblage of statues would have offered a highly productive stimulus for a performative recreation of the *certamen* ('contest') depicted in this sculptural assemblage, thereby allowing the villa's owner and his guest to display their *paideia* through their abilities to compose or recite Greek verse: perhaps a guest of honour (even Hadrian himself) could have presided over such a *certamen* in the place of Asclepius.

However, just as fruitful in terms of offering an opportunity to perform *paideia*, would be the rhetorical performances of debates about the relative merits of the two poets. Without Asclepius' presence these poets could simply be interpreted as decorative features relating to high culture—Brusini even speculates that they might be interpreted as duetting.[159] However, the presence of Asclepius and a tripod (if we are to trust the nineteenth-century reports) forces these two figures into competition, and thereby

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[157] See nn. 331 and 339 for the nineteenth-century documentation that describes this assemblage.

[158] Brusini 2001, 176.

[159] Brusini 2001, 176.

undoubtedly invites *synkrisis*, 'judging together,' or *comparatio* of the figures represented. A comparative approach to important individuals, including poets and philosophers, was established from the fifth century BC onwards. In fifth-century Athens much poetic activity took place within the agonistic context of the poetic competition, which inevitably invited syncritical analysis. Beyond the field of literary criticism, *synkrisis* was regarded as an important tool for rhetoric, and its use is encouraged by Aristotle.[160]

As a rhetorical tool, *comparatio* or *synkrisis* became one of the standard exercises of Greek and Roman rhetorical training (one of the *progymnasmata*). Treated as a part (or a development) of *enkōmion* (praise-speech), it is included by Quintilian,[161] Menander Rhetor, Libanius, Hermogenes, Aphthonius, Theon and Nicolaus Rhetor.[162] When this technique is applied to literary and philosophical criticism in Rome it seems to have been somewhat controversial: Denis Feeney has identified scepticism of the technique in both Cicero and Horace.[163] Others were far less sceptical: Quintilian, for example, equates Homer with Virgil,[164] Herodotus with Livy,[165] Thucydides with Sallust,[166] and Demosthenes with Cicero.[167] This latter pairing is also explored at length by Longinus.[168] The most elaborate and extended surviving examples of *comparatio* or *synkrisis* happen to be near contemporary with the development of double-portrait-herms and with the *Villa dei Brutti Praesentes*. Plutarch approached literary and historical study through this method, not only in his fragmentary (and spuriously attributed) *Comparison of Aristophanes and Menander*,[169] but also famously in his *Parallel Lives*. Plutarch's lives approached issues of virtue, vice, and

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[160] Aristotle *Art of Rhetoric* 1368a19-26.

[161] Quintilian *The Orator's Education* 2.4.21.

[162] These are listed with precise references in Duff 1999, 244. For a brief, general treatment of *synkrisis*, see Clark 1957, 198-199. For an introduction to the idea of rhetorical exercises (*progymnasmata*) see Bonner 1977, 250-276 (esp. 267 on *comparatio*); Webb 2001; Penella 2015. Both Webb and Penella emphasise how the *progymnasmata* are deeply integrated into the composition and reception of ancient texts, and how this should and can be detected by modern scholars.

[163] Feeney 2002(b).

[164] Homer and Virgil: Quintilian *The Orator's Education* 10.1.85.

[165] Herodotus and Livy: Quintilian *The Orator's Education* 10.1.101.

[166] Thucydides and Sallust: Quintilian *The Orator's Education* 10.1.101.

[167] Demosthenes and Cicero: Quintilian *The Orator's Education* 10.1.105-107. This list is taken from Feeney 2002(b).

[168] As also observed in Feeney 2002(b), Demosthenes is paired with Cicero (through the metaphor of different types of wildfire) by Longinus *On the Sublime* 1.12.4-5.

[169] Plutarch *Comparison of Aristophanes and Menander* 853a-854d.

exemplarity through the comparison of Greek and Roman historical figures.[170] These are regarded as the apotheosis of the syncritical method, and demonstrate quite how useful such an approach was felt to be in the late first and early second centuries BC.

Jeremy Tanner points out that *synkrisis* is part of a critical vocabulary *shared* between art-historical analysis and literary criticism.[171] The divergent sculptural styles of the two poet portraits in question here (as described above) would have contributed to the materials available for a rhetorical comparison of these two figures, especially since, along with the grasp of literary history and rhetorical techniques already mentioned in this chapter, an understanding of artistic style and its history was also part of the repertoire of knowledge and skills that made up *paideia*.[172] Literary critical *synkrisis* of the two figures could enrich art historical *synkrisis* of the two sculptures, and *vice versa*.

How poet portraits could be grouped to create programmes that related to literary history is discussed at greater length in the next chapter, but in the context of *this* chapter what is important is how the pairing of the *Borghese Anacreon* with the *Seated Poet* materialises a central technique of Roman literary education, and therefore offer an opportunity for its performance by the villa's inhabitants and visitors. Moreover, these sculptures are in a setting that was a key site of elite self-presentation: the private villa. It would be sufficient to note that the portraits of poets at this villa take part in a broader sculptural programme that evokes a sacro-idyllic landscape and asserts an interest in poetry. However, the *Borghese Anacreon* and the *Seated Poet* also demonstrate (and invite the *viva voce* performance of) familiarity with a central rhetorical technique. Several scholars have recently had success in exploring how villa and house decoration invited interpretation according to the important rhetorical techniques of Roman education and writing.[173] What is important about visual ensembles that seem to mirror rhetorical practice is how they both demonstrate the sophistication of the owner who put them together, and invite learned

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[170] On Plutarch's *synkriseis* see Duff 1999; Pelling 2002, 349-364; Tatum 2010.

[171] On the dual applicability of *synkrisis* to art and text, see Tanner 2006, 252-253. For an earlier example of where terms of literary and visual analysis collide productively in an ancient context, see below, 175-187 on Posidippus' epigram on the portrait of Philitas.

[172] See above, 94-97.

[173] Bergmann 1994; Bergmann 2007; Lorenz 2014; Squire and Elsner 2016. Others, more broadly, have discussed how sculptural ensembles in villas invite a generally competent response, without reference to any of the *particular* rhetorical techniques that could be applied: Newby 2002(a); Newby 2002(b); Tanner 2006, 208-212, 246-276; Squire 2009, 239-249.

discussion of the subject matter. Of course any visual decoration could invite discussion; however, when the arrangement of the decoration is *so* suggestive of established methods of organising ideas, this invitation to discourse is even stronger. Jaś Elsner and Michael Squire have recently explored how Roman literary and rhetorical education could shape reactions to images, and they describe concisely the role taken by rhetorical education in shaping verbal and performative reactions to visual art: 'If Roman rhetoric schooled particular ways of seeing, it also prescribed certain modes of making sense of sight—of turning visual stimuli back into verbal discourse.'[174]

The Bruttii Praesentes were an important elite family at this time, and therefore surely felt no need to *prove* their rhetorical training or elite status; who would have doubted either? However, a sculptural assemblage such as this allows its viewers (Bruttius Praesens or his guests) to demonstrate conclusively that they are no Trimalchiones, or that they are not the uneducated viewers (like the ἰδιώτης) who stand dumbstruck by images in Lucian's *On the Hall,* but rather the educated viewer (the πεπαιδευμένος) who can react to visual stimuli with a rhetorically competent speech.[175] By arranging his villa decoration in such a way that it not only evoked the atmosphere of literary discussion (and particularly *Greek* literary discussion) but also invited the performance of the central techniques of intellectual discourse, the villa owner had prepared a conversation point which could only enhance his self-presentation as a man who was highly educated in both literature and rhetorical technique. The portraits of poets at this villa allowed its owner not only to display his enthusiasm for Greek culture, but also to *perform* a key aspect of his rhetorical *paideia*. As such, when juxtaposed these objects could be even more useful in a Roman elite's self-presentation as an erudite, cultured individual.

The portraits of poets in the contexts of Roman elite domestic settings re-contextualise the poets depicted as figures that could be used to signal social standing and elite education. This group of portraits sets up the poets represented as opportunities to

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[174] Squire and Elsner 2016, 190.
[175] Lucian *On the Hall* is discussed usefully by Newby 2002(a) and Newby 2002(b). How Roman literature observes or constructs different communities of viewing, with *paideia* often being a key distinction, is explored upon by several scholars, of whom I have found the following most useful: Elsner 1995 (the focus of which is not so much different coeval communities of viewers, as how modes of viewing developed over time—the theoretical basis is nonetheless relevant here); Elsner 2007; Rutledge 2012, 79-121.

assert status and perform *paideia*, and as such they contribute to a socially instrumental reception of the poets. The number of poet portraits that survive from Roman villas (nearly the entire surviving corpus comes from such contexts) shows how widespread this role was; a role in which poet portraits position their subjects as literary figures whereby the elite could perform and prove their status.

In this chapter I have explored how the portraits of poets were displayed, and what might have been their role within Roman private contexts. By far the most common interpretation of these contexts and their decorative assemblages is that they evoke particular atmospheres (such as the sacro-idyllic grove, the Roman public space, or the Greek *gymnasium*), and that they form an important part of the owner's self-presentation. I have considered two case studies where poet portraits seem to contribute to this effort. In the first (the *Villa dei Papiri*) I note how the portraits of poets contribute to a large and heterogeneous sculpture assemblage that evokes Philhellenism through the sheer quantity of portraits of Greeks on display. This is a villa whose probable owner was known for his excessive Philhellenism, and whose Campanian home was presented by Cicero as a site of overindulgence in the pursuit of Greek culture. The poet portraits are only a small part of a large sculptural display, and can be understood as contributing to the self-presentation of the villa owner as a learned Philhellene.

My second case study was the *Villa dei Bruttii Praesentes*. Here once again the two poet portraits form a small part of a large sculptural ensemble, and the same observations made for the *Villa dei Papiri* are relevant. I explored how their stylistic divergence and their possible juxtaposition with a statue of Asclepius are suggestive of an established technique of Roman rhetorical training, *comparatio* or *synkrisis*. By inviting discussion in this way, these portraits invite the sort of learned conversation by which the Bruttius Praesens and his guests could demonstrate their skills in rhetorical techniques, and evidence their knowledge (or otherwise) of Greek literary history and Greek art history. In these contexts, the portraits of poets allowed Roman elites to display and perform their *paideia*, their Philhellenism, and their knowledge of sculpture and literature—as such, they are useful objects within elite self-presentation. The contexts of the *portraits* within the Roman private villa contextualise the *poets* represented as tools within the social positioning of aristocratic Romans. The positions of these portraits within such a socially significant space as the elite Roman private villa

unavoidably locates the poets within a socially-minded frame of reception. The portraits are therefore key items for the reception of ancient poets as symbols of elite status and education.

3. Ancient Poets: Sculptural Groups and Literary Canons

Particular contexts and interactions shape the interpretation of poet portraits: the first two chapters of this thesis explored the relationships between the poets and the communities that invested in these portraits. By contrast, this chapter explores how, in both Greece and Rome, portraits of ancient poets often gathered other portraits of poets around them. I consider formal, finite group monuments, but also less formal accumulations of portraits. Groups of poet portraits could make assertions about literary history and various poets' places within it. Some examples of this practice have already emerged in chapter two, but Roman private homes and villas were not the only contexts in which groups of portraits of poets were found, nor are the groupings mentioned in the previous chapter unique in suggesting or asserting particular literary historical viewpoints. This chapter considers literary and archaeological evidence for groups of poet portraits, some more and some less programmatic, from Greek and Roman public contexts. For case studies I consider the honorific statues displayed in the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens, including both the formal grouping of the three tragedians and the less formal accumulation of poet portraits alongside them, several of which elicited literary historical controversy. From Rome, I take as my focus the images of authors that decorated the imperial libraries of Rome. In all these cases there is evidence that these groupings either materialised formal canons of authors, or at least reflected exclusive groupings of high quality. In all these cases we find ancient poets combined with other ancient poets in a way that suggests deliberate positions within ancient literary history.

3.1 Groups of Poet Portraits in Greece: The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens

Evidence survives for several groups of poet portraits from the fourth to second centuries BC, but in only a few cases is it clear that these portraits formed a deliberate ensemble. One is the case of Pergamon: in the sanctuary of Athena on the Acropolis of Pergamum, a potential (if unproved) site for the famous Pergamene library,[1] were found several statue bases naming writers and intellectuals.[2] The figures depicted included Homer, Alcaeus, Herodotus, Timotheus of Miletus, Balacrus (unknown), and Apollonius Philotas (also unknown, but possibly Apollonius of Aphrodisias). The fact that all of the figures in this group whose identities are known came from Ionia and the coast of Asia Minor might suggest that this assemblage asserted the importance of Ionia in Greek literature. It is clear from the different sizes and shapes of the statue bases that this is an accumulation of votive sculptures that were most probably dedicated separately. If the assemblage did make an assertion about Ionian literary production, it must have been through the implicit cooperation of multiple separate statue dedicators, possibly separated from each other by long periods of time. Though less definite than a single group dedication could be, it is nevertheless possible that these sculptures were amassed and displayed in a group in order to assert a particularly Microasiatic canon of Greek literature.[3]

A more informative case is that of the Serapeum at Memphis. A semi-circular exedra features eleven portraits of poets and intellectuals. The identities of the figures are not entirely clear and (being made of limestone) they are in a poor condition and have degraded drastically even since their excavation. This group seems to be a single dedication (of Ptolemaic date)[4] and occupies an imposing position at the intersection of two architecturally and sculpturally embellished routes through the so-called Serapeum, a Serapis cult

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[1] The identification of their location (the sanctuary of Athena on the Pergamene acro*polis*) as the Library of Pergamon or otherwise has long been debated. The most recent and consistent advocate of this view is Wolfram Hoepfner (e.g. Hoepfner 1996). Sceptics, whose recent surveys and analyses of the evidence are convincing, are Gaëlle Coqueugniot (Coqueugniot 2013), and Thomas Hendickson (Hendrickson 2014).

[2] The bases and their inscriptions were published in Fränkel 1890, 117-121, nos. 198-203.

[3] Such a motive is not implausible given the Pergamene adoption of culture as a mode of self-promotion: Gruen 2000.

[4] Hellenistic dating is fraught with difficulties, and new evidence often subverts what seemed to be fundamental principles (e.g. Fittschen 1992). That the sculptures are Hellenistic is generally taken to be the case: e.g. Ridgway 1993, 241.

complex.[5] There is a possible connection to twelve statues of poets and intellectuals seen and reported by Diodorus Siculus during his tour of Egypt. The strongest arguments for a connection are that Diodorus was shown the statues by priests (which suggests a sanctuary such as the Serapeum) and that he names twelve figures (which is suggestively close to the eleven that survive in Memphis).[6] Ultimately the portraits in this group are too damaged and (partly as a result of this) too few have credible identifications to allow us to propose any programme for this group, though it is unlikely that they would have lacked a programme entirely. A group of figures of this sort were almost certainly assembled with some thought—monumental sculptural groups were not put together at random—and this accumulation of philosophers and poets must have had some relation to literary or intellectual history.[7]

A final case where the evidence allows for little more than speculation is the tomb in Athens of Theodectes of Phaselis. Plutarch, when enumerating the pupils of Isocrates (of whom Theodectes was one), gives us an intriguing detail about the tomb of Theodectes:

> Θεοδέκτας ὁ Φασηλίτης ὁ τὰς τραγῳδίας ὕστερον γράψας, οὗ ἐστι τὸ μνῆμα ἐπὶ τὴν Κυαμῖτιν πορευομένοις κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπ᾽ Ἐλευσῖνα, τὰ νῦν κατερηρειμμένον· ἔνθα καὶ **τοὺς ἐνδόξους τῶν ποιητῶν ἀνέστησαν σὺν αὐτῷ**, ὧν Ὅμηρος ὁ ποιητὴς σῴζεται μόνος·[8]

> 'Theodectas of Phaselis, who later wrote tragedies, and to whom belonged the memorial now in ruins on the way towards the bean-market along the Sacred Way to Eleusis. In this monument **they set up the most famous poets alongside him**, of whom only the poet Homer now survives.'

Pausanias mentions the same monument briefly and without any reference to its degradation.[9] Andreas Scholl, in his study of the tombs of intellectuals from the fourth century BC, identifies several unusual features of this tomb. First it used a large ensemble of portrait sculpture on the tomb. A large ensemble of free-standing sculptures of famous

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[5] Wilcken 1917; Lauer and Picard 1955; Pietrzykowski 1976 (French summary, 145); Thompson 1988; Bergmann 2007; Legras 2011.

[6] Diodorus Siculus *Historical Library* 1.96.1-3. The idea was first proposed by Wilcken 1917, 172 n. 1, 196-198.

[7] Just as at Pergamon, in Ptolemaic Egypt too there was political motivation for the promotion of Greek culture. See e.g. Erskine 1995; Stephens 2003. See also Tanner 2006, 205-234, on the collection of Classical Greek art at Pergamon and in Ptolemaic Egypt.

[8] Plutarch *Lives of the Ten Orators* "Isocrates" 837D.

[9] Pausanias *Description of Greece* 1.37.4.

figures of the past (as seems to be described here) is unusual in fourth-century funerary monuments.[10] Secondly, Theodectes (or the commissioner of his tomb) makes what is an unusually strong assertion of his identity as a poet, by the large ensemble of his poetic predecessors, and through the epigram on his tomb (recorded in Stephanus Byzantius) that focusses only on his career as a poet.[11] Though there is no *direct* evidence to this effect, we can speculate that the effect of Theodectes' portrait surrounded by those of great poets of the past would be not only to present Theodectes as a successor of these poets, but also as a peer. This tomb might have been considered an act of self-canonisation, in which the poet Theodectes attempted to assert his place in literary history alongside the great poets of the past.

None of these three cases allows for a sustained analysis of how the programme asserts a particular view of literary history. By contrast, the case of the three tragedians and their statues in the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens does reward exploration, and has been interpreted fruitfully as a case where the combination of three portraits canonises and classicises a group of texts, as well as asserting a claim over their authors for Athens. For this reason I take the case of the three tragedians as my main case study in the first part of this chapter, in particular taking my lead from the work of Ruth Scodel and Johanna Hanink. Secondly, I consider two cases that hint at how the inclusion of various other poets within the accumulation of portraits in the theatre, their position and sequence of erection, caused controversy, and argue that this controversy is based on the perceived assertion of particular value judgements and views of literary history.

The Three Tragedians

The statue group of the three tragedians (Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides), that was set up in the eastern *parodos* of the Theatre of Dionysus, has received close attention from scholars in recent decades. Paul Zanker, and more recently (and more thoroughly), Johanna Hanink have both explored how these portraits worked within the political context

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[10] Scholl 1994, 253.

[11] Scholl 1994, 253. Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnics*, *s.v.* Phaselis.

of fourth-century Athens.[12] I here consider how they shed light on my specific question: how groups of portraits of poets could reflect or assert particular trends in literary history. In this case, I consider how the grouping of these three poets asserts their exclusive canonicity as the best tragic poets, and reflects the 'classicisation' of their works implied in the creation of civically-sponsored, publically-managed, and authoritative texts.[13]

Ps.-Plutarch records that,

> τὸν δέ, ὡς χαλκᾶς εἰκόνας ἀναθεῖναι τῶν ποιητῶν, Αἰσχύλου Σοφοκλέους Εὐριπίδου, καὶ τὰς τραγῳδίας αὐτῶν ἐν κοινῷ γραψαμένους φυλάττειν καὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως γραμματέα παραναγινώσκειν τοῖς ὑποκρινουμένοις·[14]

> Fowler translation (LCL): '[Lycurgus instituted] the law that bronze statues of the poets Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides be erected, that their tragedies be written out and kept in a public depository, and that the clerk of the State read them to the actors who were to perform their plays for comparison of the texts;'

These are almost certainly the same statues are seen by Pausanias, who notes that they were in his time surrounded by the portraits of Menander and several lesser poets, and who mentions Aeschylus later, and not in direct connection with the portraits of Sophocles and Euripides:

> Εἰσὶ δὲ Ἀθηναίοις εἰκόνες ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ τραγῳδίας καὶ κωμῳδίας ποιητῶν, αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν ἀφανεστέρων· ὅτι μὴ γὰρ Μένανδρος, οὐδεὶς ἦν ποιητὴς κωμῳδίας τῶν ἐς δόξαν ἡκόντων. τραγῳδίας δὲ κεῖνται τῶν φανερῶν Εὐριπίδης καὶ Σοφοκλῆς.[15]

> Jones translation (LCL): 'In the theatre the Athenians have portrait statues of poets, both tragic and comic, but they are mostly of undistinguished persons. With the exception of Menander no poet of comedy represented here won a reputation. Among the illustrious representatives of tragedy, Euripides and Sophocles are set up.'

After the above passage, Pausanias relates a short anecdote (only two sentences) about a vision of Dionysus that Spartan invaders took to refer to Sophocles. He then describes the statue of Aeschylus:

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[12] Zanker 1995, 43-57. Hanink 2014, 60-91. See also (on the portraits in the theatre more generally) Fittschen 1995.

[13] The process of canon-formation is treated in: Pfeiffer 1968, 203-209; Vardi 2003; Hägg 2010.

[14] Ps.-Plutarch *Lives of the Ten Orators* "Lycurgus", 841F.

[15] Pausanias *Description of Greece* 1.21.1.

τὴν δὲ εἰκόνα τὴν Αἰσχύλου πολλῷ τε ὕστερον τῆς τελευτῆς δοκῶ ποιηθῆναι καὶ τῆς γραφῆς ἣ τὸ ἔργον ἔχει τὸ Μαραθῶνι.[16]

Jones translation (LCL): 'The likeness of Aeschylus is, I think, much later than his death and than the painting which depicts the action at Marathon.'

That Aeschylus' statue is not mentioned along with those of Euripides and Sophocles raises some doubts as to whether the tragedians were in fact depicted together in a coherent group monument. Furthermore, Pausanias does not seem concerned about the possible dating of the portraits of Euripides and Sophocles, whereas this *is* a question he mentions in relation to the portrait of Aeschylus. Our doubts are compounded by the reported title of a speech made against the erection of the statues: Philinus' *Against the Statues of Sophocles and Euripides*.[17] These sources hint that we ought not to consider Ps.-Plutarch's account as wholly authoritative, and that Lycurgus may in fact have only instigated the erection of statues to Sophocles and Euripides, and that the portrait of Aeschylus was part of a separate dedication. By the time of Ps.-Plutarch the traditional grouping of the three tragedians was well-established, and we can easily imagine that this later author simply assumed that Lycurgus' dedication involved all three poets, rather than only Sophocles and Euripides.

However, Pausanias' slightly different treatment of Aeschylus can be accounted for. First, he was far less performed in antiquity than Sophocles and Euripides, and as such it may not have occurred to Pausanias to mention him as 'among the illustrious' tragedians. Secondly, Sophocles and Euripides died within a short time of each other in the last years of the fifth century, and therefore it may not have seemed worth noting that these statues were in a fourth-century style: that was to be expected from posthumous honorific statues to figures who died at the end of the fifth century. Aeschylus, on the other hand, died around half a century earlier in the mid-fifth century. This is a considerably greater space of time than for the other two tragedians, which may explain Pausanias' choice to treat the statue slightly differently. Pausanias also hints at his inclusion within a depiction of the Battle of Marathon, by which he probably means the painting of the battle in the *Stoa Poikile* that he

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[16] Pausanias *Description of Greece* 1.21.2.

[17] Harpocration *Lexicon of the Ten Orators, s.v.* θεωρικά = Keaney θ 19: Φιλῖνος δὲ ἐν τῇ [περὶ] Πρὸς Σοφοκλέους καὶ Εὐριπίδου εἰκόνας… ('And Philinus, in the speech *Against the Statues of Sophocles and Euripides*, …'). Hanink 2014, 78. Little is known about Philinus' life or work beyond some titles in Harpocration (some of which were disputed in antiquity), and a short quotation in Clement of Alexandria.

describes earlier in the book.[18] It is unknown whether Aeschylus featured within this painting, or whether Pausanias' suggestion is the result of retrospective identification of famous figures that would otherwise be anonymous. The short digression that Pausanias makes before mentioning the portrait of Aeschylus in no way implies that he was displayed separately from the other poets. The intervening sentences focus solely on a single anecdote about Sophocles' reception, which shows that Pausanias has not moved on to another object of interest, but remains focussed on the three tragedians.

Philinus' speech *Against the Statues of Sophocles and Euripides* exists only as a reported title, but the exclusion of Aeschylus is problematic: does it mean that Aeschylus' statue was not part of this dedication? It has been suggested that Philinus had no objection to the depiction of Aeschylus on the basis that he was known for distinguished military service, and that this therefore made him a more appropriate recipient of honours than the other poets.[19] The title of Philinus' speech, and Pausanias' slight separation and different treatment of Aeschylus' statue from those of Sophocles and Euripides do give us cause to question Ps.-Plutarch's account. However, Pausanias' description of the statues can be explained straightforwardly, and good reasons have been suggested why Philinus may not have attacked an honorific statue for a hero of Marathon. Ultimately, on the balance of probabilities, I think that these three portraits *were* a single dedication, and were displayed together (as in the orthodox view).

Christina Papastamati-von Moock has reconstructed the location of this monument in the eastern *parodos* of the Theatre of Dionysus, both before and after the Sullan sack of Athens, through examination of early excavation reports and through recent excavations, with particular attention to in-fill beneath the locations of the bases and features in the foundations of the theatre itself.[20] The sequence of the various theories (and their arguments) about the statues displayed in the theatre is complex, and as such I summarise their conclusions rather than rehearsing the various arguments. Papastamati-von Moock reconstructs two phases for the *parodoi* of the Theatre of Dionysus. First, the late classical

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[18] Pausanias 1.15.

[19] Hanink 2014, 78.

[20] The development of this theory is traced through two important publications. The original view (before the recent excavations) is given in Papastamati-von Moock 2007. The current reconstruction is convincingly put forward in Papastamati-von Moock 2014.

theatre (often called "Lycurgan") of the late fourth century featured Doric gateways in both the eastern and western *parodoi*. These abutted the *theatron* retaining walls to the north and the "Lycurgan" stage building to the south. Outside (that is, to the east) of these gates in the eastern *parodos* stood two statue bases, one long base and one far shorter, as evidenced by cuttings in the foundation course of the *theatron* retaining wall. These cuttings fit the dimensions of the bases known in their later positions as Ziller 40 (Menander) and Ziller 41 (probably the Tragedians). This suggests that they mark the pre-Sullan locations for these two bases, and thus for the monuments to Menander and the tragedians (fig. 30).

Figure 30: Theatre of Dionysus. Late Classical phase as proposed by Papstamati-von Moock. Plan from Papstamati-von Moock 2014, drawn by G. P. Antoniou, adapted with labels.

The second phase for these monuments is more familiar. A marble *propylon* was built in the eastern *parodos* probably at some point after the Sullan sack of Athens (fig. 31). At this point the monuments of Menander and the Tragedians were moved west, inside the theatre as demarcated by the new marble *propylon*. This places the monuments on the bases known now as Ziller 40 (Menander) and Ziller 41 (the tragedians). John Ma takes into account further evidence and argues (*e silentio*, as he acknowledges) that the Tragedians were in fact displayed on base Ziller 36.[21] It is not clear whether he considers this to have been a permanent position or merely post-Sullan. The identities of the figures once honoured on the other Hellenistic bases and statue-base foundations are unknown. For the Hellenistic period, there is epigraphical evidence for early third-century statues to Philippides of Cephale, a successful writer of comedies, but more importantly an active politician (the long honorific

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[21] Ma 2015, discussing Dio Chrysostom *Orations* 31.116.

inscription dwells on his diplomatic and civic roles)[22] and to one other unknown poet,

possibly Diodorus of Sinope, another comic writer.[23] The precise locations for these statues

within the theatre are unknown.

Figure 31: Theatre of Dionysus, post-Sullan phase, as proposed by Papastamati-von Moock. Drawing by Dimitris Kouliadis, from Papastamati-von Moock 2007, adapted with labels.

Papastamati-von Moock's reconstruction of the positions of these various

monuments at various phases is convincing, and is the basis from which I proceed to

consider the statues themselves (or at least Roman adaptations thereof), and their literary-

historical effect in context. Zanker compares the surviving full-length Roman example of

Sophocles' portrait (the *Lateran Type Sophocles*, fig. 32)[24] to a Roman example of Aeschines'

portrait (fig. 33).[25] Each stands with his left arm wrapped (as if in a sling) in his *himation*.

Zanker notes Aeschines' own invocation of Solon's statue in Salamis, which struck this pose,

as evidence for how this is the appropriate and respectable attitude for an Attic orator.

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[22] IG II[2] 657.

[23] IG II2 648. The identification as Diodorus of Sinope is speculative; all we know about the figure depicted is that he (or the honorific decree) underwent a *dokimasia* (legal scrutiny, often a citizenship test), as a condition of the honorific decree. Depending on the specific use of *dokimasia* here, this honorific decree may even have referred to Menander. For a summary of the honorific portrait decrees in Athens, see Oliver 2007. Klaus Fittschen also discusses the accumulation of portrait statues in the theatre in Fittschen 1995.

[24] On the two portrait types of Sophocles see Richter 1965, 124-133. Richter and Smith 1984, 205-209. Schefold and Bayard 1997, 180-183, 354-355.

[25] Zanker 1995, 43-50. On Aeschines' portrait see Richter 1965, 212-215; Richter and Smith 1984, 73-75; Schefold and Bayard 1997, 190-193.

Zanker's suggestion is thus reasonable: Sophocles' portrait depicted the poet if not as an orator proper, at least as a politically engaged citizen.
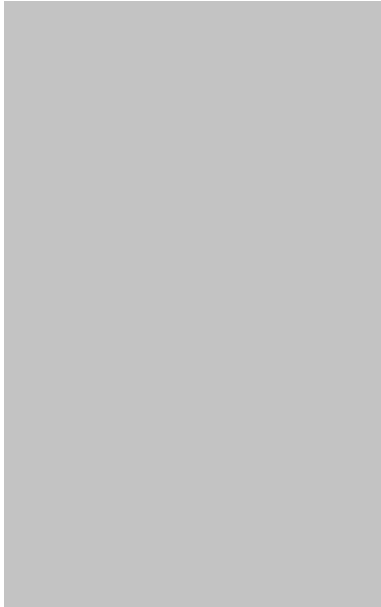
Figure 32: *Lateran Type Sophocles*. Rome, Museo Gregoriano Profano, Musei Vaticani, inv. 9973.
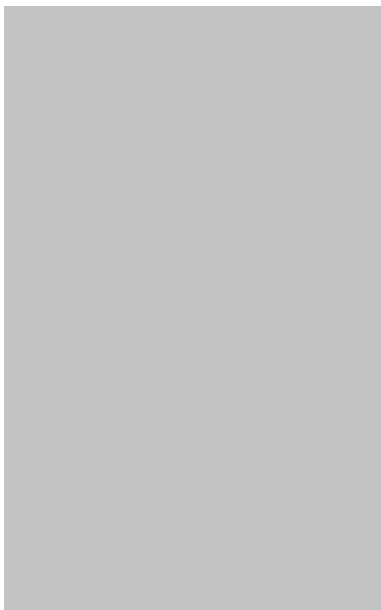
Figure 33: Aeschines. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 6018.

Aeschylus' portrait is less securely identified than that of Sophocles, and since only a head and bust survive of the probable type, little analysis is possible, apart from observing that the head is that of a mature male, with a full beard (fig. 34).[26] Aeschylus' furrowed

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[26] Richter 1965, 121-124. Richter and Smith 1984 74-78. Schefold and Bayard 1997 182-183.

forehead probably *does* suggest thought, or thoughtfulness, but is generically applied to many mature and elderly men in fourth-century portrait sculpture.[27]
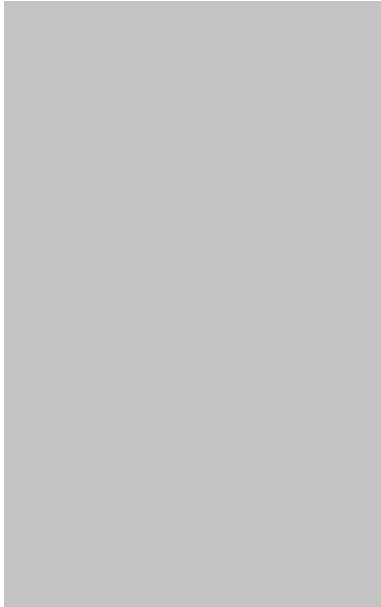
Figure 34: So-called Aeschylus. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 6139.
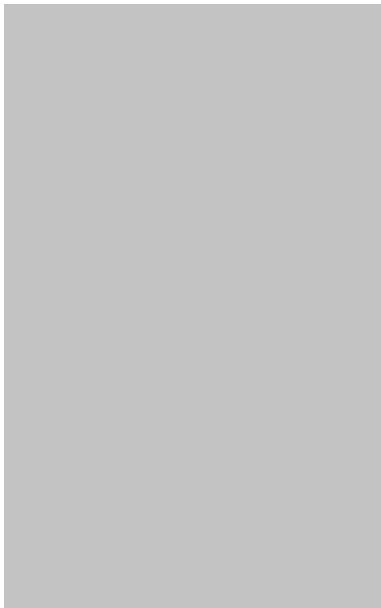
Figure 35: Farnese Type Euripides. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 6135.

Zanker offers a speculative reconstruction of the body of the portrait of Euripides in which the poet is depicted seated (the head in his reconstruction is based on the *Farnese Type Euripides*, which is identified by an inscribed copy, survives in several examples, and is

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[27] As observed by Zanker 1995, 74-75, Dillon 2006, 67-73, and others.

stylistically dated to the late fourth century, fig. 35).[28] This reconstruction of the body is made on the basis of a second-century AD Roman relief that shows Euripides with portrait features of the *Farnese Type,* seated, presenting a theatre mask to a personification of "Scena" before him, and with a cult statue of Dionysus on a plinth behind him (fig. 37).[29] Zanker speculates that this relief emulates the Lycurgan sculpture closely, with the sole adjustment of the theatre mask (in the later relief) taking the place of a staff (in the earlier free-standing sculpture). Euripides' age, possibly seated position, and thoughtful expression are interpreted by Zanker as signs of his reception as a 'philosophical poet'. This is not improbable, but it is subtly expressed and in no way detracts from the general adherence to standard citizen iconography. It should be noted that there is no *direct* evidence for Zanker's seated reconstruction; the much later Roman relief might well have innovated the seated position. Moreover there is evidence (an inscribed statuette known to sixteenth-century scholars, but now lost, fig. 36) that there also existed a standing portrait type of Euripides, in which the poet stands in *contrapposto* with his weight on his right leg, a himation draped over his left shoulder, and the right-hand side of his torso and arm being left bare. This happens to correspond to the drapery surviving on the *Farnese Type* busts of Euripides.[30] A monument on which the three tragedians were all depicted standing would have been visually balanced, and would not have set any one poet radically apart from the others in terms of character. Although mixed groups of seated and standing figures are known from ancient free-standing sculpture (particularly in archaic groups), standing groups were far more common, and were particularly widespread during the Hellenistic period (when used for family monuments). Had Euripides been seated, the monument would have appeared severely unbalanced, and Euripides' characterisation would have been drastically differentiated from those of the other poets to an extent that would have courted controversy. It is far more likely that the three poets were depicted in broadly similar poses, and, apart from Paul Zanker, this is the *communis opinio*.

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[28] On the two portrait types of Euripides see Richter 1965, 133-140. Richter and Smith 1984, 121-124. Schefold and Bayard 1997, 148-151, 184-185

[29] Zanker 1995, 54-55. Schefold and Bayard 1997, 323-324.

[30] A headless statuette is illustrated in Orsini 1570, 27.

Figure 36: Headless body of statue inscribed "Eureipides" *síc*, from Orsini 1570: 27.

Figure 37: Second-century AD relief showing "Scena", Euripides, and Dionysus. Istanbul, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, inv. 1242.

However we imagine the bodies of Aeschylus' and Euripides' statues to have been,[31] what is at least clear is that none of these three heads significantly diverge from standard types familiar from Attic funerary sculpture.[32] All of the surviving Roman examples show a

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[31] I tend towards a standing restoration, because this would make for a more coherent monument when combined with a standing statue of Sophocles, as is implied by the surviving full-length example of the *Lateran Type Sophocles*.

[32] Bergemann 2007 makes the comparison between the *Farnese Type Euripides* and a figure in low relief on a *naïskos* for Euphilitos son of Erxis in the Piraeus Museum 3577, CAT 4.445. Zanker 1995, 51-52

level of detail that distinguishes these figures as portraits of particular people.[33] However, their close similarity to contemporary citizen types of mature and elderly men suggests that these figures are depicted simply with the conventional *ēthē* of the good citizen. The *appearance* of the portraits on this monument therefore offers only moderate interest for the literary reception of those depicted unless we contextualise it by considering the relationships exhibited by these portraits' honorific role between the honorand and honouring individual or community.

The Athenian statesman Lycurgus was elected as the administrator of public finances shortly after the battle of Chaeronea in 338, and served three consecutive terms until he was replaced in 326. An attempt at cultural renewal, and extensive building works are often attributed to his period of leadership, though several of his building projects had also received the attention during Eubulus' leadership of the preceding decades.[34] Johanna Hanink has made important observations of how through this monument's erection by Lycurgus it becomes a vehicle for both the appropriation of the three tragedians by the fourth-century Attic community (broadly along the lines described in chapter one), and for the classicisation and canonisation of these three poets.

Hanink approaches the monument to the three tragedians as part of Lycurgan cultural policy. Moreover she identifies Lycurgus' particular efforts in the theatre as a reaction to insecurity about Athens' role as the leading *polis* in terms of theatre. Hanink illustrates Macedon's theatrical rivalry with Athens through an anecdote preserved in Plutarch that describes Alexander's poaching of leading Athenian actors during the 330s.[35] As Athens began to feel threatened as the centre of theatrical activity by the rise of the cultured Macedonian court, the motivation to reassert its ownership of its playwrights and their legacies can only have grown. Furthermore, the behaviour, and relationship towards Athens of the three Tragedians *during* their lives was not altogether straightforward. Aeschylus made visits to the court of Hieron of Syracuse, ended his life, and was buried in Sicily; Euripides was popular with non-Athenians, and his biography associates him

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compares the portrait head of Aeschylus to a head from a contemporary Attic grave monument of Alexos in the National Museum in Athens, 2574. This object is also discussed in Ridgway 2001, 33-34.

[33] This use of detail in order to give the impression of idiosyncrasy and naturalism is discussed by Dillon 2006, 78-79, and von den Hoff 2007.

[34] On the Lycurgan phase in the Theatre of Dionysus, see Papastamati-von Moock 2014.

[35] Hanink 2014, 69-73. Plutarch *Alexander* 29.3 = 681.

strongly with the Macedonian court from the late fourth century onwards,[36] although it is unclear whether these sources reflect Euripides' actual career.[37] Either way, it seems that Aeschylus' (despite his war record) and Euripides' roles as playwrights *exclusively* for the Athenians was irredeemable, and their statuses as committed Athenian citizens were somewhat doubtful.

Also doubtful in the fourth century was Athens' role as the centre of Hellenic theatrical culture, and therefore Athens' proprietorship of the tragedians' legacy could not be taken for granted. If Athenian leaders wished for Athens to continue to share in the prestige of these famous playwrights, it was necessary for them (at least to attempt) to exert control over the reception of the tragedians, such that the plays were perceived as the unique cultural property of Athens, and the poets as model Athenians.

Such an effort could not be made by portraiture alone: in the same statement as he described the erection of the three statues, Ps.-Plutarch recorded that Lycurgus had authoritative texts made of the three poets' plays, and that they were stored ἐν κοινῷ (which is taken by Hanink to mean a public archive)[38] so that actors' scripts could be checked against the authoritative versions before performance.[39] Although this fact raises a number of questions for scholars of fourth-century theatre, it offers an invaluable suggestion as to what to make of the physical monument of the tragedians. As Hanink observes, at the heart of Lycurgus' efforts with the tragedians was an attempt to give to an Athenian civic body control of their legacy, both through regulating performance in Athens, and making a claim to the authority of the Athenian public texts.

By setting up these three tragedians in a public sanctuary as important as the Theatre of Dionysus, Lycurgus employed material culture *also* in order to exert control over the reception of these figures. The appearance of these portraits contributes to this effect: as observed by Zanker (and discussed above), these portraits are depicted in the guise of

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[36] Hanink 2010. One of the earliest sources (outside of Euripides' own works) that reflect Euripides' association with Archelaus of Macedon, is Aristotle *Politics* 1311b31-35, where Aristotle relates how Archelaus handed (his future assassin) Decamnichus over to Euripides for punishment for a personal slight towards the poet.

[37] Scullion 2003 has cast doubt over whether Euripides ever defected to Macedon, or even travelled there, on the basis of Aristophanes' failure to capitalise on what would seem to be an ideal comic opportunity.

[38] Hanink 2014, 63-64.

[39] Scodel 2007; Hanink 2014, 62-68.

respectable Athenians, with heads that offer only minor and superficial variation from the heads of mature and elderly men to be observed ubiquitously on Attic grave monuments. Although there is nothing particularly *Athenian* about the heads of Aeschylus and Euripides, they concurred with the iconographical conventions by which Athenian citizens were depicted throughout the city, and this must have had the effect of presenting them as part of a moderately homogeneous citizen body. In the case of Sophocles, for whom we *do* have a surviving body type, the poet was depicted as an active orator, a citizen taking part in democracy. This might indeed be considered part of a more particularly Athenian iconography, on account of Athens' pride in its democratic process. At the very least, these statues promoted a vision of the three tragedians by which they are Athenian citizens, and their position in the theatre of Dionysus as public honorific statues claimed their dramatic legacies for Athens and its theatrical traditions. As Hanink puts it, 'Lycurgus' law represents a move to ensure that a certain idealized image of tragedy and its poets remained vividly alive in his city's collective memory.'[40] In this way, we see portraiture used in order to claim local authority and ownership over the reception of a group of poets. This use of portraiture is comparable to the cases I describe in the first chapter, where portraits of Homer were used in order to support localised receptions, and to reinforce local civic control over reception. These portraits, at their most straightforward level, materialise and rehearse Athens' claim to be the origin and guardian of these poets and their works.

The Athenian state asserted its control over these texts by taking up a role as the guardian of the playwrights' authorial authority: performances were checked in order that they did not stray from the approved texts. No matter what relation the official city texts *really* had to any putative urtexts, it is clear that they at least purported to derive directly from the texts produced by the tragedians themselves; their role was to safeguard the authority of the poets. I suggest that the portraits' most likely location and inscriptions asserted precisely the poetic authority that Lycurgus' reforms professed to maintain, and therefore that the portraits are even more successful as material counterparts to the canonisation and classicisation of these poets than has been noted hitherto. The most likely position for this monument is useful in this respect. As explained above, the portraits probably originally stood in the east *parodos*, at first directly outside the wooden doors into

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[40] Hanink 2010, 45. A similar interpretation is offered briefly in Ma 2009.

the fourth-century theatre. This position by the *propylon* was not only conspicuous, but might even have cast the playwrights in a role as custodians of the sanctuary. As the audience enters the theatre by the east *parodos*, the group of three tragedians would have been above them and to their right. Although statues were ubiquitously raised upon bases, in a relatively cramped space such as the *parodos* the feeling of being surveilled from above must have been even greater. If the performance in question was a new drama, the portraits may simply have symbolised the poetic heritage of Athens and the theatre. However, if it were a tragedy by one of the represented poets, they become a clear metaphor for oversight (both figurative and literal), authorship, ownership and authority.

The probable form of inscriptions beneath these statues contributes to this effect. There is no direct evidence to suggest what the inscription on the bases of these statues might have been. However, given their date, examples from elsewhere in the Theatre of Dionysus (the portraits of Menander and Astydamas, discussed below, which are the nearest dated portraits of poets known from the theatre of Dionysus), and statue bases for other poets,[41] we can reasonably suggest that they featured the "great man nominative" as described by John Ma: this involves the labelling of the object with the name of the portrait subject only, in the nominative case.[42] These figures might well have been signalled by a bare nominative and therefore allowed, as Ma puts it, to 'exist in the absolute… They are not objects, but subjects endowed with agency.'[43] The likely form of these statues' inscriptions that emphasises the independent agency of the figures depicted might have combined with their probable location in the east *parodos* of the theatre to create a sense of authorial authority over the works performed therein. This is, of course, an authority mediated and maintained by the new Athenian script-checking institution, and therefore the poetic agency and authority implied by these portraits actually works as a proxy for the authority of the Athenian *polis* over the tragedies and their re-performance.

However, there is more going on here than a simple assertion of state authority over these poets and their texts. This group of portraits of the three tragedians (Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides) set up by Lycurgus in the Theatre of Dionysus is among the first

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[41] IGII[2] 3775 (Astydamas); 3777 (Menander); 3778 (Phanes). See Ma 2013, 22, n. 50.
[42] Ma 2007, 207; Ma 2013, 21-22.
[43] Ma 2013, 23.

examples of this group of poets being considered as an exclusive group of the best tragedians. There is evidence that these three tragedians were considered of particularly high quality before Lycurgus' decree: as Ruth Scodel points out, there is far more evidence for *these* poets' re-performance at Athens and elsewhere than for their contemporaries (such as Ion of Chios or Agathon).[44] Aristophanes' play *Frogs* presents the three tragedians as poets as a group of exclusively high quality, though the drama focusses on a contest between only two of these (Sophocles chooses not to compete). Apart from this play, there is one other early instance of the three poets being considered together as an exclusive group of particularly high quality, namely a mid-fourth-century BC treatise on these three poets by Heraclides Ponticus.[45] Along with this roughly contemporary text, Lycurgus' decree (that the texts of the three tragedians' dramas should be lodged in a public institution, and that their portraits should be erected in the Theatre of Dionysus) is the earliest surviving instance of these three tragedians being considered of exceptional and exclusive quality. As Scodel puts it, 'although Lycurgus did not invent the canon of three tragedians, he institutionalized it and thereby gave it a permanence it might not otherwise have had.'[46]

The appearance of these three portraits in a prominent position just outside the theatre of Dionysus and on a shared base must have offered a powerful materialisation of this grouping. Portraits in the theatre were relatively sparse at this date (the statue of Astydamas was notorious for being the only honorific portrait that predated the tragedians). This trio of honorific portraits would therefore at first have been conspicuously isolated, which must have implied their special, canonical role as poets of exclusively high quality (at least for those years before they were joined by other statues). That these portraits probably shared a base is telling: multiple statues on shared bases is a feature most often encountered in family monuments, where two or more members of the same family are depicted, a practice that began in the second half of the fourth century.[47] The use of a shared base for these three poets must have evoked the sorts of close relationships materialised in the family group portrait monuments that were proliferating in contemporary monumental practice.

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[44] Scodel 2007, 130-133; Hanink 2010. On this canon, see also Nervegna 2014, 157-158.

[45] Scodel 2007, 149. See also Pfeiffer 1968, 203-209.

[46] Scodel 2007, 130.

[47] Dillon 2006, 105-106. A well-known example is the Daochos Monument, which is generally considered contemporary with the three tragedians' monument. See Geominy 2007 for a debate about its dating.

We are presented with a group of three poets, set up in a place where there were few honorific portraits, and most probably in a format that recalled family group portraits. This must have been an effective image of an exclusive and coherent group of poets of particularly high quality.

Other Poets in the Theatre

Beyond the formal canon materialised and institutionalised by the monument to the three tragedians, the display of portraits within the Theatre of Dionysus could also imply a less formal canonicity. Several anecdotes relate to controversies regarding the inclusion or exclusion of poets from the portraits in the Theatre of Dionysus. These accounts strongly confirm the idea that canonicity is implied when poet portraits are grouped together, and this practice inevitably invited the sort of dissent provoked by all judgements of canonicity and value. Two such cases are of particular interest. Directly related to the group of the three tragedians, is the case of Astydamas, a fourth-century playwright who seems to have been honoured with a portrait statue *before* the three tragedians, and possibly during his own lifetime.

As a successful playwright of the early fourth century, Astydamas was awarded a statue in the Theatre of Dionysus. The date of this statue is generally taken to be shortly after Astydamas' victory with his play *Parthenopeon* in 340, due to the account given in the *Suda* and in Photius' *Bibliotheca* (both of which are considered quotations from the second-century AD lexicographer Pausanias Grammaticus), which relate his portrait directly to this victory.[48] John Ma (among others) has raised several questions about this date on the basis of the unreliability of later biographical sources, and allows the possibility that it may in fact have been after the poet's death.[49] Papastamati-von Moock maintains that the statue was erected in or shortly after 340BC on account of the controversy in a later source (Diogenes

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[48] *Suda* σ161 = *s.v. σεαυτὴν ἐπαινεῖς , ὥσπερ Ἀστυδάμας ποτέ.* Photius *Bibliotheca* 502.21-503.7. Pausanias Grammaticus *Collection of Attic Words* σ6.

[49] Ma 2013, 110. The date of Astydamas' victory with *Parthenopeon* is recorded in IGII² 2320 records his victory of the previous year in ll. 3-4, and his victory with *Parthenopeon* in ll. 20-21: '[ποη] : Ἀστυδάμας / [Ἀχι]λλεῖ', 'ποη : Ἀστυδάμας /Παρθενοπαίωι' ('Astydamas wrote [the winning play] with *Achilles*.', 'Astydamas wrote [the winning play] with *Parthenopeon*.'). See also Easterling 1997, 214-216 on this inscription.

Laertius, discussed below) about its non-posthumous dedication.[50] Part of the base of a statue for Astydamas survives, and has been the subject of extensive and thorough scholarly attention relating to what it can reveal about the dating of the so-called Lycurgan phase of the Theatre of Dionysus, and I rely on Papastamati-von Moock's comprehensive compilation of the various data for my discussion here.[51]

Figure 38: Restored position of Astydamas' portrait in the west *parodos* of the Theatre of Dionysus, as proposed by Papastamati-von Moock and Samara. Drawing by A. Samara and D. Kouliadis, from Papastamati-von Moock 2014, adapted with labels.

Relevant to my study is the fact that the presence of his statue in the theatre *before* those of the three tragedians seems to have triggered a scandal. The most straightforward piece of evidence for this scandal is a remark from Diogenes Laertius that suggests that the Athenians strongly regretted erecting the statue of Astydamas before those of the three tragedians.

> οὐ μόνον δ᾽ ἐπὶ Σωκράτους Ἀθηναῖοι πεπόνθασι τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστων ὅσων. καὶ γὰρ Ὅμηρον, καθά φησιν Ἡρακλείδης, πεντήκοντα δραχμαῖς ὡς μαινόμενον ἐζημίωσαν, καὶ Τυρταῖον παρακόπτειν ἔλεγον, καὶ Ἀστυδάμαντα πρότερον τῶν περὶ Αἰσχύλον ἐτίμησαν εἰκόνι χαλκῇ.[52]

> Hicks translation (LCL): 'Not only in the case of Socrates but in very many others the Athenians repented in this way. For they fined Homer (so says Heraclides) 50 drachmae for a madman, and said Tyrtaeus was beside himself, and they

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[50] Papastamati-von Moock 2014, 25.

[51] IGII² 3775. An extensive discussion is found in Papastamati-von Moock 2014, 23-33. See also Goette 1999.

[52] Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers* "Socrates" = 2.43-44.

honoured Astydamas before Aeschylus and his brother poets with a bronze statue.'

That Astydamas' statue was erected before that of Aeschylus is presented by Diogenes Laertius as a great error that the Athenians later repented, comparable to the execution of Socrates (we might doubt Diogenes Laertius' judgement in this respect). Tellingly, Diogenes lists this mistake alongside other occasions on which the Athenians seriously misjudged the value of cultural figures (such as accusing both Homer and Tyrtaeus of being insane). The strong implication here is that the three tragedians were better poets and more central to the canon, and that they therefore ought to have been honoured first. Diogenes' account of this controversy therefore relies heavily on the idea that being honoured with a portrait as a poet within the Theatre of Dionysus was a mark of particular quality and canonicity.

The controversy over Astydamas' statue goes further than merely eliciting Athenian regret. An epigram survives (quoted by Photius and the *Suda*, whose source is probably Pausanias Grammaticus) that is attributed to Astydamas himself, who (according to Photius and the *Suda*) asked that it be inscribed beneath the statue. The account specifies that Astydamas' epigram was rejected by the Athenian authorities on the basis of its boastfulness. A similar account is given by the second-century AD grammarian Zenobius, who does not quote the epigram itself.[53]

> εἴθ' ἐγὼ ἐν κείνοις γενόμην ἢ κεῖνοι ἅμ' ἡμῖν,
>   οἳ γλώσσης τερπνῆς πρῶτα δοκοῦσι φέρειν.
> ὡς ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἐκρίθην ἀφεθεὶς παράμιλλος·
>   νῦν δὲ χρόνῳ προέχουσ', οἷς φθόνος οὐχ ἕπεται.[54]

> Edmonds translation (LCL): 'Would I had lived in their day or they in mine, who bear the palm for a happy tongue: then should I have been truly judged if I had come off first; but alas! the competitors beyond cavil were before my day.'

This epigram differs from all the standard epigraphic styles for civic honorific portraits in the fourth century BC. It is impossible to believe that Astydamas could have written this epigram with any expectation that it would be inscribed on his portrait. By contrast, this epigram *is* similar in tone to the anecdotes that adhere to writers

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[53] Zenobius *Epitome* 5.100.
[54] *Suda* σ161 = *s.v.* σεαυτὴν ἐπαινεῖς, ὥσπερ Ἀστυδάμας ποτέ. Photius *Bibliotheca* 502.21-503.7. Both considered to derive this paragraph from Pausanias Grammaticus *Collection of Attic Words* σ6.

posthumously, often to make sense of their works or lives through fictional biography.[55] The epigram on the early third-century honorific statue of Demosthenes is an illustrative comparison, where a similar process has occurred for a figure contemporary with Astydamas. Plutarch records that the first-century BC scholar Demetrius of Magnesia held that Demosthenes *himself* had composed the epigram for his own statue (and that the epigram was the last thing he wrote).[56] This epigram is well known and though not *quite* so boastful as Astydamas' epigram, is similarly admiring.[57] In this case however our source (Demetrius of Magnesia) is unusual in suggesting that Demosthenes wrote the poem himself. Elsewhere Plutarch rejects Demetrius' point of view emphatically: οἱ γὰρ αὐτὸν τὸν Δημοσθένην τοῦτο ποιῆσαι λέγοντες ἐν Καλαυρίᾳ… κομιδῇ φλυαροῦσι (Perrin translation (LCL): 'Of course those who say that Demosthenes himself composed these lines in Calauria… talk utter nonsense.').[58] It is clear from the case of Demosthenes that epigrams written about a fourth-century writer could soon find themselves attributed to that writer, even when other sources suggest otherwise.

Although it is impossible to say for sure, it is most likely that Astydamas' epigram (and the anecdote about it) arose during the Hellenistic period. It is sometimes assumed that Astydamas' reputation for boastfulness derives from this epigram. It is clear that already by later in the fourth century he was known for self-praise, and that this was capitalised upon by other playwrights. In particular, the comic writer Philemon's phrase σαυτὴν ἐπαινεῖς, ὥσπερ Ἀστυδάμας γύναι ('You praise yourself, woman, just as Astydamas once did')[59] became proverbial, as it is widely quoted both with and without attribution (and is the lemma beneath which Photius and the *Suda* record Astydamas' epigram).[60] However, if

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[55] These biographical anecdotes, their historical and literary historical value, were studied in detail by Mary Lefkowitz, who convincingly showed that they are by and large wholly fictional, and based on elements drawn from the poets' own works. Lefkowitz 1981.

[56] Plutarch *Lives of the Ten Orators* 847a.

[57] A critical edition is found in Page 1981, 447: Anonymous CXXXIX.

[58] Plutarch *Demosthenes* 30.5 (=860).

[59] The *Suda* and Photius *Lexicon* both give ποτέ for γύναι (which is used by Julian *Letters* 50 = 443d). Editors have accepted the latter as a *lectio difficilior*.

[60] Philemon frag. 190. The primary sources for this phrase are: *Suda* σ161 = *s.v.* σεαυτὴν ἐπαινεῖς , ὥσπερ Ἀστυδάμας ποτέ; Photius *Bibliotheca* 502.21-503.7. As mentioned above, both are considered to derive this paragraph from Pausanias Grammaticus *Collection of Attic Words* σ6. The phrase is also quoted in: Athenaeus *Sophists at Dinner* 1.60 = 34a; Zenobius *Epitome* 5.100; Julian *Letters* 26 = 381d; 50 = 443d.

Astydamas' epigram is posthumous and pseudo-epigraphical (which is the most likely scenario) it should be interpreted not as the inspiration for these sorts of remarks, but as another instance of later writers making the most of Astydamas' reputation for self-praise.

The association of the epigram with the portrait is even more interesting. Astydamas' statue was found on the western *parodos* wall (facing east) whereas the tragedians were separately displayed in the eastern *parodos*. The epigram's frustration about temporal separation would have been mirrored by spatial separation. He wishes that he could have been a παράμιλλος (competitor) for the earlier tragedians, and that he could have been let loose over the starting line with them (ἀφεθείς). It is possible that these words are a rather playful interpretation of the sculptural organisation of the Theatre of Dionysus. The group monument of the three tragedians standing in the *parodos* might have resembled a rather perverse starting line of geriatric athletes in *himatia*. As more poets were added, the impression of a starting line might have been heightened. Astydamas, by contrast, sits on the western *parodos* wall, in line with the *prohedria* (front seats), and thus excluded from the poetic footrace. This epigram's playfulness about the theatre may go even further: since Astydamas' portrait was in fact famously erected *before* those of the tragedians, it is *he* and not the tragedians who has the head start (χρόνῳ προέχουσ', 'they hold forth in time') in terms of honorific sculpture. As an epigram written and attributed to Astydamas posthumously, this epigram has great potential as a commentary on the spatial and temporal organisation of sculpture within the theatre, and how that reflects literary history.

In the rather less likely case that Astydamas *himself* wrote the epigram it nevertheless demonstrates that he considered the erection of his portrait in the theatre to be an expression of his high quality and canonicity (although the images of the three tragedians were yet to be erected): he claims parity with these earlier writers and laments that he could not compete with them as a contemporary. Although the sources on this statue are ambiguous on several points, it is clear that the erection of this statue in this privileged site is *closely* associated with claims of canonicity and parity of quality. The relationship between Astydamas' portrait and (at first) the absence of the portraits of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides and (later) the nearby portraits of those poets, courted controversy, and signals quite how important the presence or absence of a poet portrait was in negotiating esteem, and membership (or non-membership) of a group or canon.

The portraits of poets that accumulated later in the eastern *parodos* of the theatre, despite being less well documented, have also been considered in this light. Not only must Menander's and Astydamas' positioning near the three tragedians have been suggestive of their high quality and canonicity, but the portraits of various later and unnamed poets mentioned by Pausanias (αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν ἀφανεστέρων. Jones translation (LCL): 'mostly of undistinguished persons')[61] and others must also have capitalised upon the canonicity implied by portrait display alongside these most famous poets. One such poet is described by Dio Chrysostom who voices a complaint against the Athenians on the basis that they are profligate with their honours to foreigners:

> τὸν δεῖνα δὲ τὸν εὐχερῆ λίαν ποιητήν, ὃς καὶ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ποτε κἀνθάδε ἐπεδείξατο, οὐ μόνον χαλκοῦν ἐστάκασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Μένανδρον.[62]

> Ma translation: '[The Athenians] not only have set up the bronze statue of So-and-so, that all-too-fluent poet who also gave recitals here for you [i.e. on Rhodes], but they did so next to the statue of Menander.'

John Ma associates this with a bronze statue for Quintus Pompeius Capito (a Pergamene poet), the inscribed base for which was found near the western *parodos* as part of a late foundation (in the same context as the base of Menander's statue),[63] and whose original position he identifies convincingly as immediately to the west of the Menander statue (the various blocks and cuttings recovered from this site suggest a statue base of precisely the right size).[64] Dio Chrysostom quotes an unnamed person who considers this (to Classicising eyes) unimportant poet unworthy of display next to Menander, hence his outrage at the Athenians' decision to honour him thus. This outrage signals how ideologically pregnant the juxtaposition of such statues could be. Dio's source considers a statue in the Theatre of Dionysus (and moreover a position there next to Menander) to be a great honour, and one that implies a parity of poetic value with Menander that he does not consider Capito to have (if Capito is the intended poet). Just as in the case of Astydamas, a later writer (here Dio) considers the erection of this portrait to be an error of judgment on the part of the Athenians, and treats it as a controversial attempt to assert a place in literary

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[61] Pausanias *Description of Greece* 1.21.1
[62] Dio Chrysostom *Orations* 31.116.
[63] IGII² 3800.
[64] Ma 2015.

history that the depicted poet did not deserve. In both cases, the *parodoi* of the Theatre of Dionysus are statue-sites that had the potential to be controversial.

The way in which 'statues attract statues', how honorific statues of important figures were often joined by images of those who benefitted from the association, is a well-studied phenomenon.[65] The most prominent case is that of the Tyrannicides, Harmodius and Aristogeiton. These stood isolated as the only honorific statues in the Athenian Agora for about a century, before they were joined by statues of Konon and Evagoras which, though not in *close* proximity, were the only other honorific statues in the agora. Later, other "liberators" were depicted in closer proximity, such as Antigonus Monophthalmus and Demetrius Poliorcetes, Brutus and Cassius. The Tyrannicides were the archetypal city-freers and (obviously) tyrant slayers, and thus association with them carried a clear set of values. These ideological associations could be capitalised upon by any statues that were positioned nearby. Moreover, since the area in the immediate vicinity of the Tyrannicides had been kept largely free of honorific statues, when portraits *were* set up nearby, the strength of the association was even clearer.[66] A similar case of "statue attraction" can perhaps be observed in an honorific decree from second-century Halicarnassus, discussed by Easterling, in which the poet Longianus is honoured by the erection of statues around the city, including (significantly) one next to a much older portrait of Halicarnassus' most famous literary son, Herodotus.[67]

Though not exactly parallel, the case of the statues in the Theatre of Dionysus works in a similar way. Here too the placement of one group of portraits of highly regarded poets characterised the space as a place closely associated with poetic excellence. This both motivated the placement of later statues that wished to exploit the associations of the place, and provided cause for either regulation of which statues were erected at that place, or consternation at *lack* of regulation of this sort: the placement of honorific statues in the Theatre of Dionysus appears not to have been so closely guarded an honour as in the case of

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[65] That 'statues attract statues' is Ma's phrase: Ma 2013, 111-151, esp. 118-126.

[66] For description and discussion of the ideological power of the Tyrannicides' isolation, and how it is manipulated by nearby statues, see Shear 2007; Ma 2013, 104, 118.

[67] Easterling 1997, 225-226.

the Tyrannicides, hence some of the controversy described above.[68] However, the values of poetic excellence and canonicity were closely associated with the three tragedians and Menander. Just as a portrait's placement close to the Tyrannicides asserted the role of "liberator" for its subject, so too a portrait's placement within the *parodoi* of the theatre strongly suggested high poetic quality and canonicity. The way in which statues could exploit the ideological associations of earlier statues is not unique to portraits of poets, and has been observed as a general trend in how honorific statues were grouped in antiquity. However, the ideas that could be implied by such groupings for poets *were* different to the ideas projected in other honorific groupings: groups of poet portraits could make assertions about literary history and literary quality.

In conclusion, anecdotes pertaining to poet portraits in the Theatre of Dionysus strongly suggest that honouring there, and particularly proximity to other famous poets, strongly implies value or canonicity in a way that could frequently be controversial. Diogenes Laertius reported how the honouring of Astydamas before the tragedians seemed a grave error to later Athenians on the basis that the tragedians were far more important and canonical than Astydamas. Similarly to Dio Chrysostom's source, the honouring of Capito in the theatre (and moreover right next to Menander) seemed inappropriate in that it implied a quality and canonicity for the later author that many might have disputed. It is clear that even slow, informal accumulations of honorific portraits in important sites such as the Theatre of Dionysus could be considered in terms of the formation, assertion, or regretful distortion of canon.

More concretely, the case of the three tragedians and their monument in the Theatre of Dionysus is one in which we see the sculptural portraits of three poets materialising and institutionalising a canon or grouping of exclusive quality that would go on to take an important role in later literary history—a process of institutionalisation that also involved the standardisation and storage of authoritative texts. In this case we see the way portraits of poets are grouped together making important assertions about literary history. Some such assertions are generally adopted (such as the canon of three tragedians, or the pre-eminence

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[68] The number of statue bases in the *prosodoi*, and the presence in the theatre of figures who are now minimally (if at all) known for poetry (namely Diodorus of Sinope and Philippides of Cephale). See above nn. 409 and 410.

of Menander) others are less widely accepted, such as the worthiness of Astydamas or Quintus Pompeius Capito for display alongside the great poets of previous centuries. What is clear is that the *groupings* of poet portraits engage in an important way with the formation of literary history.

3.2 Groups of Portraits in Rome

There is evidence from Rome also for both groups of portraits that reflect or assert formal canons of poets, and accumulations of author portraits that reflect a less formal canonicity. A range of sources illustrates how the imperial libraries of Rome were decorated with portraits of authors. There has been close analysis by several recent scholars of how the inclusion of books into these libraries was managed and how the inclusion of portraits might have reflected these literary acquisition policies. In particular Yun Lee Too, David Petrain, and Thomas Hendrickson have considered how the inclusion and exclusion of books and portraits reflected official positions on literary canonicity and quality.[69] I consider the evidence surrounding the Palatine Library built by Augustus next to the Temple of Apollo, because the controversy sparked by the inclusion and exclusion of portraits and books is most often described in relation to this library.

Just as for the Greek contexts described above, there are cases where groups of portraits of poets seem to be attested, but where the evidence is too vague or fragmentary to allow for sustained analysis (at least in the context of this thesis). One particularly intriguing case is the suggestion in several texts (supported by limited archaeological evidence) that there was a sculptural ensemble of female poets displayed at the eastern end of the large portico attached to the Theatre of Pompey in the Campus Martius. Due to the fragmentary nature of the evidence I do not explore this at length, but consider the important recent postulations about groups of portraits in this portico, and consider their relevance to my study. In particular Thea Thorsen has recently untangled the decades of scholarly confusion about these portraits, and her account is crucial.[70]

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[69] Too 2010; Petrain 2013; Hendrickson 2013.
[70] Thorsen 2012. See also Thorsen 2014.

The second-century AD Assyrian Christian writer Tatian gives an account of some statues. He lists a great number of statues that he claims to have seen first-hand in Rome, and suggests that they have been 'brought over' to Rome from Greece. This suggests that *he* at least believes the statues to be originals.[71] The aim of his list is to show the misguidedness of the Greeks and Romans on the basis that they honoured unworthy women. The composition of his list is complex. Within a list of famous prostitutes, dramatic (mainly comic) heroines,[72] mothers of miraculous offspring, and other unidentified female figures, Tatian lists eight female poets (Praxilla, Sappho, Erinna, Myrtis, Myro, Anyte, Telesilla, and Corinna).[73] These correspond closely to the nine female poets listed by Antipater of Thessalonica in an epigram recorded in the *Palatine Anthology* (Praxilla, Moero [=Myro], Anyte, Sappho, Erinna, Telesilla, Corinna, Nossis, and Myrtis).[74] This offers the possibility that both Antipater and Tatian are referring (though Tatian's rendering is confused) to a fixed group of nine female poets (in parallel with nine Muses, and nine male lyric poets), and that these poets were depicted in portraits in Rome.

Two further pieces of evidence combine to suggest that these portraits may have been set up as a deliberate group in the theatre complex built by Pompey the Great on the Campus Martius. First, two of the women mentioned by Tatian are also mentioned as miraculous mothers by Pliny, who describes how their images were set up in Pompey's theatre complex.[75] Secondly, after excavations in the 1960s Filippo Coarelli published a fragmentary, late first-century BC inscription found in the *Area Sacra di Largo Argentina* (directly to the east of Pompey's portico), that identified an image of Mystis by the sculptor

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[71] Tatian *Oration to the Greeks* 35.1-7.

[72] On the prostitutes and comic heroines see DeRose Evans 2009. There are some confusions in DeRose Evans' account caused by ongoing philological issues in Tatian. These are untangled by Thorsen 2012, who also disagrees with DeRose Evans on certain elements of analysis (DeRose Evans wishes to recast Tatian's "courtesans" as "comic heroines", whereas Thorsen sees no need to "cleanse" these names from their association with the ancient sex industry).

[73] Tatian *Oration to the Greeks* 33.

[74] Antipater of Thessalonica in *Palatine Anthology* 9.26.

[75] Tatian refers first to a woman who gave birth to an elephant (Tatian *Oration to the Greeks* 33.3) and whom he names Glaucippe. Secondly he refers to an unnamed woman who gave birth to thirty children (Tatian *Oration to the Greeks* 34.1). It is clear (from the presumed extreme rarity of images of such miraculous women) that he is referring to two women also mentioned by Pliny. These are Alcippe, who gave birth to an elephant, and Eutychis who gave birth to thirty children (Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 7.34). Pliny explicitly sites these two images in the theatre complex of Pompey.

Aristodotus.[76] Mystis is one of the unidentified women (though the name is attested as the title of various comedies)[77] named among the females in Tatian's list (her name is often amended to Nossis in editions of Tatian on the basis that Mystis and Aristodotus are otherwise unattested and that Nossis was missing from the list of poets). The names of Mystis and Aristodotus on this inscription corroborate at least part of Tatian's account, and this (combined with Pliny) situates at least three of the statues in the Theatre of Pompey. These diffuse pieces of evidence have allowed some to make the deduction that there was in the Theatre of Pompey a group portraits of nine female poets that corresponded to the nine female poets described as "earthly Muses" by Antipater of Thessalonica.[78] It is tempting to suggest that this group of nine female lyric poets was an attempt to form a canon that both mirrored the nine Muses (who were also depicted in over-life-sized sculptures in the Theatre of Pompey),[79] and the established canon of nine male lyric poets that was formulated during the Hellenistic period.[80] It is even possible that the display of a group of nine female poets within the same complex as a sculptural group of the nine Muses formed the inspiration for Antipater's rendering of the poets as "earthly Muses".

Ultimately, it is possible that the Theatre of Pompey contained (among its images of miraculous mothers, famous courtesans, and comic heroines) a deliberately formulated group of nine female lyric poets. If this portrait group existed it would have constituted a materialisation of a novel canon of female poets. This cast them as parallels to the canon of nine male lyric poets, as well as conveniently sharing the number (and gender) of the nine Muses. We may then have here an assertion through sculpture of a particular literary history of female poets. There is also the possibility that this canon was quickly adopted by other poets as a way to think about female poets, as suggested by the epigram of Antipater of Thessalonica that possibly reflects precisely this group of statues, and promotes what is possibly precisely the same canon. We can thus postulate a group of portraits of female poets that materialised and asserted a particular canon, and therefore a particular view of literary history.

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[76] Coarelli 1969; Coarelli 1972.

[77] DeRose Evans 2009, 134; Thorsen 2012, 705.

[78] Antipater of Thessalonica in *Palatine Anthology* 9.26.

[79] See Fuchs 1982.

[80] Pfeiffer 1968, 203-209.

Although the juxtaposition of these poet portraits does express a canon of sorts, it is one that is rather disassociated from the poets' works. In the context of the Portico of Pompey, these female poets are grouped not with other poets, writers or intellectuals, but with other famous women including prostitutes, comic heroines, and miraculous mothers. This appears not to be a space with stringent selection criteria for its sculpture: both Pliny and Tatian give the impression that any famous or unusual woman might be represented there, no matter how outlandish her achievements. The implication of this is that the female poets depicted were included not on the basis that their poetry was particularly brilliant, but because by writing poetry they become part of this larger tribe of unusual women. It is telling that Tatian does not even differentiate the female poets from the prostitutes and comic heroines: not only are they interwoven in the ordering of his list, but Sappho is classed as a prostitute rather than a poet. As observed above, the number of female poets (nine) matches both the number of Muses *and* the traditional number of the best male lyric poets. Although these nine female poets may have been considered to be particularly high quality (though in fact only two, Sappho and Erinna, were particularly well-known), it is more likely that the number nine was chosen on account of how it mirrors other literary groupings and was therefore apt and convenient for a group of female poets. This group of portraits appears to be disassociated from the discourse of critical judgement of literary works, and instead to be assembled simply as another class of unusual females, in a number that is programmatically suggestive.

These female poets appear to be assembled in the Theatre of Pompey simply as an appropriate part of a broader sculptural programme that focusses on outlandish females: their works and the literary judgement thereof seem to have little relevance for this particular accumulation of objects. There were, however, some contexts in which the juxtaposition of poet portraits could be deeply implicated in the discourse of literary criticism and literary politics, and in which they were directly related to their works: the remainder of this chapter considers the role of portraits of authors in Roman public libraries, and how decisions about which authors' books and portraits were held in libraries reflected views (often imperial views) on canonicity and literary history in ways that were often controversial.

Roman Imperial Libraries

The first Roman public libraries were set up in the second half of the first century BC, and included the *Atrium Libertatis* of Asinius Pollio, the Greek and Latin libraries set up by Augustus alongside the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, and a pair of libraries likewise built by Augustus in the *Porticus Octaviae*. Libraries proliferated in Rome, as they were built by successive emperors, often attached to temples or fora, and later to baths.[81]

How public these libraries were is an open question. Some scholars proceed *e silentio* to conclude that they were open only to a select elite.[82] Others observe that these libraries were used for large scale public meetings such as the senate and recitals of poetry,[83] and that they engaged in a significant degree of ideological display (for example, a colossal image of Augustus as Apollo in his Palatine library)[84] and conspicuous expenditure through the public display of Greek art and Roman adaptations thereof.[85] These latter observations are more convincing. Although no writer paints a picture of grand buildings teeming with intellectually minded citizens from the middle classes upwards (and, as pointed out by William Johnson, we would be naïve to imagine such an idea on the model of ourselves),[86] we can at least say that these libraries (or some of them) were far more than small institutions peopled only by a select group of intellectuals.[87]

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[81] A survey of early imperial libraries with sources is given by Bowie 2013.

[82] Johnson 2013. This argument from silence, though learned, is not altogether convincing. The argument also proceeds on the basis that of the few references to the use of libraries (many from Aulus Gellius), many focus on the retrieval of exceedingly rare texts by socially and intellectually elite figures—this is surely only a reflection of the demographic that produced what we now use as evidence, and cannot then inform us of the behaviour of those outside that social and intellectual circle.

[83] On the use of the *Bibliotheca ad Apollinis* (Augustus' public library on the Palatine) for meetings of the senate, see Bowie 2013, 241-2, n. 20; Nicholls 2013, 265, n.17. On the use of libraries for poetic recitation, see Bowie 2013, 242, n. 21; Nicholls 2013, 265, n. 16. In general on the use of libraries as public meeting spaces, see Nicholls 2013, 274-6.

[84] For sources and discussion of this statue, see Petrain 2013, 344-345.

[85] The most famous case of this is the first (where it must have drawn most comment), namely Asinius Pollio's *Atrium Libertatis*: Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 35.2.9-10; 36.4.23-25, 33-4. For art works placed in the *Templum Pacis* (restored to pubic view after being taken by Nero), see Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 34.19.84.

[86] Johnson 2013, 347-350.

[87] These arguments and conclusions, crudely summarised here, are broadly those of Dix 1994 and Nicholls 2013.

The construction and maintenance of a library inevitably involves decisions about acquisitions and exclusions. There is insufficient evidence to reconstruct the buying and copying policies of most Roman public libraries (if they were ever distinct enough to be described). It is clear at least that inclusion and exclusion from public libraries was taken seriously both by those who wished to be included and those in control of these policies. Nicholas Horsfall has characterised Augustus' Palatine Library (adjoining the Temple of Apollo) as 'the bastion of official recognition', and its Latin holdings as a 'Palatine Modern Classics,' on the basis of its mention several times by early Imperial poets desirous of inclusion.[88] Similar observations have been made by Matthew Nicholls, who discovers a surprisingly large number of texts that angle for inclusion into or bemoan their exclusion from Roman public libraries.[89] The most famous of these is undoubtedly a passage from Ovid's *Tristia*, where a book of Ovid's verse wanders around the libraries of Rome petitioning unsuccessfully for inclusion.[90]

If this library was indeed particularly exclusive (as the evidence gathered by Horsfall and Nicholls suggests) then inclusion might have had the effect not only of giving the included texts the imperial stamp of approval, but also of canonising the included works. Although the cynical scholar might question how far official approval for a text actually encourages readers to engage with it, canonisation of writers through inclusion in public libraries such as this one *must* have had some influence on Roman perception of literary history, and the identities of its key figures. Moreover, Nicholls argues that the keenness that can be observed among poets for their works' inclusion in these libraries, reflects the fact that inclusion could lead to a greater readership, and hopes of readers for generations to come. He concludes, 'inclusion in a prestigious library could satisfy all of an author's motives for writing—the winning of social acceptance or fame, the cultural or literary desire to have a work read by numerous peoples now and in the future, the political and historical

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[88] Horsfall 1993.

[89] Nicholls 2005, 215-225.

[90] Ovid's witty (if poignant) account of his personified books wandering forlornly about Rome, and being three times rejected by the public libraries (the Palatine Library, the *Porticus Octaviae*, and the *Atrium Libertatis*), demonstrates eloquently how an author in disgrace might be exorcized from these public institutions: Ovid *Tristia* 3.1.59-82.

ends of histories, biographies, and autobiographies, and the personal advantage to be gained through an imperial connection.'[91]

The network of anecdotes that describes particular inclusions and exclusions of a writer's works from the public libraries of Rome often make reference to the parallel inclusion and exclusion of that author's portrait. It has been suggested that, where inclusion or exclusion of a writer's books from a library was a contentious issue, and given that the presence or absence of a papyrus scroll from a library shelf would have been relatively inconspicuous, it was through the placement or removal of that author's *portrait* that these decisions could be advertised to the users of a library. It has long been observed that author portraits were displayed in libraries,[92] but the close connection these had to the texts held in those libraries has only been explored fully in recent years. Yun Lee Too, David Petrain, and Thomas Hendrickson have studied this phenomenon in detail, and explored how, through their use in libraries, poet portraits were used in order to manipulate literary canonisation.[93] Thomas Hendrickson puts it best when he argues 'that controversies over author portraits in libraries are really controversies over the canon, and are part of a cultural negotiation over what constitutes the body of established and outstanding literature.'[94] In the paragraphs that follow, I consider some of the most telling cases of this practice as studied by these scholars.

The earliest evidence of this practice is a somewhat confused passage in Horace relating to a poet named Fannius that has been interpreted as referring to the setting up of portraits alongside books in public libraries.[95] Far clearer is Pliny's (obviously much later) account of how Asinius Pollio's library was decorated during the first century BC:

> Non est praetereundum et nouicium inuentum, siquidem non ex auro argentoue, at certe ex aere in bibliothecis dicantur illis, quorum inmortales animae in locis iisdem locuntur, quin immo etiam quae non sunt finguntur, pariuntque desideria non traditos uultus, sicut in Homero euenit. quo maius, ut equidem arbitror, nullum est felicitatis specimen quam semper omnes scire cupere, qualis fuerit aliquis. Asini Pollionis hoc Romae inuentum, qui primus bibliothecam dicando ingenia hominum rem publicam fecit.[96]

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[91] Nicholls 2005, 215.

[92] This practice is made clear by Pliny, in relation to Asinius Pollio's *Atrium Libertatis*: Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 35.2.10-11.

[93] Too 2010, 191-214; Petrain 2013; Hendrickson 2013.

[94] Hendrickson 2013, 103.

[95] Horace, *Satires* 1.4.21-22. Rudd 1956; Hendrickson 2013, 107-108.

[96] Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 35.2.9-10.

Rackham translation (LCL): 'We must not pass over a novelty that has also been

> Rackham translation removed to maintain "fair use" quotation extent.

Pliny refers to the habit of setting up author portraits in libraries as a wide-spread one: the libraries are in plural, and the variety of bronze, silver and gold images suggests that more than one library is engaged in this activity, and that more than one style was used for these author images. This is corroborated in other sources that imply strongly that portraits of authors are to be found in several public libraries. Pliny's remarks about the purpose of these portraits are intriguing: that they should be set up in those places where the immortal spirits of authors speak, and that it is a great joy to investigate a portrait to discover its subject's character.[97] In these remarks we read an echo of both the interest in reading the character of portraits, and the sense that material and visual supplementation of literary engagement is somehow satisfying, and even *desired*. Elsewhere, Pliny has more to say about Asinius Pollio's library, and its decoration, which sheds further light on the exclusivity and prestige of having ones works and portrait displayed in a public library.

> M. Varronis in bibliotheca, quae prima in orbe ab Asinio Pollione ex manubiis publicata Romae est, unius uiuentis posita imago est, haut minore, ut equidem reor, gloria, principe oratore et ciue ex illa ingeniorum quae tunc fuit multitudine uni hanc coronam dante quam cum eidem Magnus Pompeius piratico ex bello naualem dedit.[98]

Rackham translation (LCL): 'In the library founded at Rome by Asinius Pollio, the

> Rackham translation removed to maintain "fair use" quotation extent.

Varro's sole inclusion as a living author with a portrait in Asinius Pollio's library is considered by Pliny a greater honour than his receiving the Naval Crown from Pompey

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[97] See a brief discussion of this passage in relation to visualisations of Homer and epic in Zeitlin 2001, 212.

[98] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 7.115-116.

presumably because the honour of a portrait in Pollio's library was reserved for posthumous authors. Having a portrait displayed in a place of learning is referred to on occasion as an honour more typically given to long-dead authors, as hinted at by Pliny the Younger's remarks about the poet Pompeius Saturninus, when he says that if the poet were dead, they would collect his portrait as well as his books.[99] The hope for inclusion among and comparison with posthumous authors is a consistent feature of authorial ambition, as seen above in the cases of Astydamas (and possibly Theodectes) in fourth-century Athens.[100]

Hendrickson, Petrain, and Too gather a great number of anecdotes, and a great deal of evidence to describe how portraits in libraries were used to reflect those libraries' contents and to express official approbation or otherwise of particular authors. Apart from the anecdote (about Tiberius) described below, the other cases that most effectively demonstrate how portraits would signify the presence or absence of an author's works from a library (and therewith official approval or otherwise), are those of Caligula, who considered removing Homer, Virgil and Livy from the public libraries and (crucially) removing their portraits also ('scripta et imagines'),[101] and the case of Hadrian who banished Homer from the libraries and replaced him with Antimachus (portraits are not explicitly mentioned here, but it follows directly from a discussion of statuary).[102]

One anecdote in particular will serve to demonstrate how this manipulation of poet portraits in libraries affected literary canonisation and literary reception. Suetonius reports Tiberius' devotion to literature: 'artes liberales utriusque generis studiosissime coluit' ('He very keenly cultivated the liberal arts of both types [i.e. either Greek and Latin or prose and verse]').[103] Suetonius goes on to mention Tiberius' particular fondness for the orator Messala Corvinus, once a teacher of his, whose style he failed to imitate successfully due to a penchant for affected turns of phrase and detail. Suetonius then turns to Tiberius' poetic favourites:

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[99] Pliny the Younger, *Letters* 1.16. Discussed at Hendrickson 2013, 122.
[100] See above, 152-160.
[101] Suetonius *Lives of the Caesars* "Caligula" 34.2.
[102] Cassius Dio *Roman History* 69.4.6.
[103] Suetonius *Lives of the Caesars* "Tiberius" 70.1.

> fecit et Graeca poemata imitatus Euphorionem et Rhianum et Parthenium, quibus poetis admodum delectatus scripta omnium et imagines publicis bibliothecis inter ueteres et praecipuos auctores dedicauit.[104]

> Rolfe translation (LCL): 'He also made Greek verses in imitation of Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius, poets of whom he was very fond, placing their busts in the public libraries among those of the eminent writers of old.'

As observed in many other accounts of the inclusion and exclusion of books from libraries, writings and portraits enter and exit together: 'scripta omnium et imagines'. There is a hint in Suetonius' rendering of the anecdote that he does not share Tiberius' high opinion of these authors, as he contrasts them with the 'praecipuos auctores' already in the library. Moreover, Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius seem to have been at a particular extreme of poetic taste. Euphorion and Parthenius were often stylistically connected by later sources with Callimachus, and all three appear to have had reputations as particularly erudite and even abstruse poets.[105] The scale and range of these poets' obscure scholarly prose and erudite neoteric verse must have made Suetonius' readers shudder at the words 'scripta omnium'. Intriguingly, however, Tiberius' effective canonisation of these three poets by including their portraits and works in the public libraries was not simply an isolated expression of one man's enthusiasms; it appears to have had a tangible effect on the literary studies of the day. Suetonius' account describes the flurry of scholarly activity that the appearance of these portraits and works precipitated:

> et ob hoc plerique eruditorum certatim ad eum multa de his ediderunt.[106]

> Rolfe translation (LCL): 'And on that account many learned men vied with one another in issuing commentaries on their works and dedicating them to the emperor.'

The scholars of Tiberius' day rushed to carry out research into the emperor's favourite poets. In this way, when Tiberius set up the portraits of these three individuals in the public libraries, it not only reflected his own individual literary reception of their writings, but is also reported to have prompted a wave of respectful study of these poets (who might otherwise have been relatively neglected), and thus had a tangible effect on the Roman reception of Hellenistic literature. The portraits of poets can be observed not only

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[104] Suetonius *Lives of the Caesars* "Tiberius" 70.2.
[105] Fantuzzi 2006; Latacz 2006; Fornaro 2006(a).
[106] Suetonius *Lives of the Caesars* "Tiberius" 70.2.

reflecting personal tastes, but also directly manipulating poetic reception through signifying official approval of poets and their canonisation, and thereby prompting readers and scholars to approach these texts in a different light. If there are any doubts about Suetonius' reliability regarding this fact, it can at the very least be observed that this scholarly reaction is one that Suetonius considers a realistic and probable response to an emperor declaring his poetic preferences. If Hadrian did indeed abolish Homer and replace him with Antimachus (as reported in Cassius Dio),[107] we might imagine that Suetonius' report about Tiberius' preferences might have been affected by a touch of sympathy for his contemporary scholars whose research priorities might have been similarly skewed by imperial poetic predilections.

The recent studies of several scholars have shown how portraits in libraries were used in order to signify the presence and canonicity of poets' works within Rome's public libraries during the early imperial period.[108] Although official pronouncements on approved literature are rarely entirely effective (Ovid's *Tristia*, that complains of its own rejection and yet survives as evidence of the practice, is a case in point), it was inevitable that the structures and holdings of public libraries would have had an effect on the shape of literary history and the practice of literary reception. In the one case I consider above, there is evidence for precisely this effect. Suetonius recounts how Tiberius' personal preferences (about which the intellectual public were informed by the display in public libraries of the portraits of his favourite poets) were the direct cause of a surge of scholarship on these poets big enough that Suetonius thought it significant to report around a century later.

Just as in the Greek contexts considered in the first half of this chapter, in Roman contexts too we find groups of portraits asserting relationships between different ancient poets. The groupings of portraits appears to have two principal effects: the first is to reflect, materialise or even institutionalise formal canons or groupings (such as the three tragedians) through the conspicuous juxtaposition of closely related poets; the second is to assert canonicity, or high poetic quality by display alongside established canonical poets or within privileged spaces. We hear about these later cases when they are controversial, such as in the

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[107] Cassius Dio *Roman History* 69.4.6.
[108] These recent studies, as noted throughout these paragraphs, are principally Too 2010, Hendrickson 2013 and Petrain 2013.

case of the Quintus Pompeius Capito's portrait being set up next to that of Menander, or the case of the venerable Greek poets whose portraits were expelled from Roman Imperial libraries. As for sculpture, the way it is grouped and how it works within loose assemblages can add an important contextual layer to its interpretation. The portraiture of poets allows for a particular type of contextual interpretation relating to canon, canonicity, and literary history. The context of a poet portrait within a sculptural ensemble allows for the materialisation of literary-historical links between ancient poets.

4. Living Poets

The previous chapter shows how the *physical* contexts of poet portraits could locate poets within literary history and canons of *dead* poets. This chapter, by contrast, demonstrates how the *literary* contexts of poet portraits could position poets of the past in relation to *living* poets. I explore a range of cases where poets describe the portraits of earlier poets, or where poets' engagement with portraits is described by other writers.

The tombs and portraits of poets feature in a broad range of literary interactions, the most common of which is literary epigram from the Hellenistic period onwards. This begs the question: why do these material monuments form such a productive and appealing motif for poets hoping to engage with their predecessors? In response to this same question, chapter five explores how material objects such as portraits allow us to supplement our (otherwise purely literary) reception of poets with something more tangible. They promise (perhaps deceptively) to allow us to encounter the dead poet face-to-face, in a way that allows us to satisfy our desires to imagine the author as a whole person, rather than just a literary construction.

In this chapter, however, another reason comes to the fore: portraits (and indeed tombs) are useful objects for literary interactions with dead poets because as art objects they necessitate a viewer. When a writer describes an encounter with a poet portrait, he not only describes that object, but he also constructs a viewer of that object (possibly himself, possibly another). As such, literary encounters with the portraits and tombs of poets allow writers to construct their own literary relationships with the dead poets depicted (through their role as viewer), or to construct divergent (possibly inferior) approaches to the poets and their portraits.[1] I explore these ideas in reading various texts in the course of this chapter.

Although portraits and tombs have in common that they require a viewer (whose relationship to the poet can be constructed through their manner of viewing), they differ in several ways: first, portraits, as figurative sculpture, can be subject to art-critical analysis in

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[1] I explore the possibility of the constructed viewer being inferior in my discussions of Theocritus' epigrams (below, 187-200), and the two Roman examples from the second part of the chapter (below, 208-219).

literary descriptions, which (as noted in chapter two)[2] could complement and work metaphorically with the literary critical analysis applied to the poet depicted;[3] second, portraits could more straightforwardly express ideas of character, and for poet portraits these characters could contribute to literary reception.[4] It is worth noting that many of the literary engagements with poets' tombs also manage to express a poet's character (if less straightforwardly) through the character of the epigram, or even the way nature expresses itself around the tomb.[5] The portraits of poets therefore become a particularly useful way of exploring the relationships between living and dead poets. Contextualised within literary interactions, the portraits become objects through which living writers could position themselves (and their poetry) and others in relation to dead poets, and thereby key objects in literary reception.

Many literary engagements with poet portraits are, perhaps unsurprisingly, written by poets. They have a unique relationship to past writers, particularly when the living poets who are viewing the portraits of past poets are highly aware of their own places in literary history. Although less numerous than poems about poets' tombs, there survive several Hellenistic poems that dwell on the portrait of a dead poet. In the first part of this chapter, I analyse a range of these poems to explore how they construct the depicted poet, and how they construct the viewer. In many cases, the portraits work as a symbol for the poetic oeuvre itself of the depicted poet, and therefore an object whereby a living poet can make creative but indirect reference to the verses of a literary forbear.

This role as a symbol whereby the portrait stands directly for the poet and his works is at the heart of the other most commonly attested mode of engagement with poet portraiture: namely the devotion to, display or contemplation of the portrait of a poet as a method of indulging in an enthusiasm for, or meditating upon a poet's works. The second part of this chapter considers the famous example of Silius Italicus and the portrait of

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[2] See above, 122-133.

[3] This comes to the fore particularly in the case of Posidippus' poem on the portrait of Philitas, below, 175-187.

[4] As, for example, in the case of Leonidas of Tarentum's epigram on the portrait of Anacreon, below, 200-207.

[5] For the character of Anacreon's tomb, and its spontaneous adornment by nature, see Gutzwiller 2014. For scholarship on the tombs of the poets: Kimmel-Clauzet 2013; chapters in Graziosi and Goldschmidt 2016 (forthcoming).

Virgil—as described by Pliny the Younger—where poetic devotion is expressed through the intermediary of poet portraiture. I analyse this example in parallel with the description of the poet Thersagoras in Ps.-Lucian's dialogue *In Praise of Demosthenes*. I explore the idea that both Silius' and Thersagoras' devotion to the portraits are presented as symptoms of their amateurism by the more sceptical Pliny and Ps.-Lucian.

In all the examples analysed, this chapter explores both sides of the literary interactions: how the poet portrait can work as a symbol for the poet and his works, allowing a periphrastic analysis of that poet's oeuvre and character; how the viewer of the portrait is constructed, either so that the writer of the literary interaction can position *himself* in relation to the depicted poet, or so that he can construct an often inferior alternative mode of viewing these objects—a straw man, or foil. Ultimately, when found in the context of literary interactions with living poets, the portraits of poets become objects whereby later writers can explore the literary receptions (whether their own, or others') of the poets.

4.1 Living Greek Poets on Portraits of Poets

Hellenistic epigram is preoccupied with an issue at the heart of this study: how poetry and objects (in this case, portraits) can be related. As James Porter puts it, 'Hellenistic poetry... is frequently object-oriented, even object-obsessed: it is drawn to things in the material world, even if at times those things exist only, or ambiguously, in the mind's eye.'[6] This might have several causes, but surely among them is the history of the epigram itself, as verses inscribed on or alongside an object. At some point in the fifth or fourth centuries (an open debate), the epigram made a transformational escape from the materiality of inscription into being a literary or book genre also.[7] The writers of literary epigram seem to remain intensely aware of its history. As Squire puts it, 'liberated from its traditional generic function as epideictic inscription chiselled into stone, epigram became acutely sensitive to its

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[6] Porter 2011, 272. On Hellenistic epigram's self-conscious negotiation of the relationship between inscribed and literary verse, and how the potential of this negotiation is poetically exploited, see in particular: Bing 2009 (1995).

[7] Accounts of this process are many and various. Brief, and relatively modern such accounts include: Gutzwiller 1998, 47-53; Bing 2009 (1995), 86-90; on pre-Hellenistic literary accounts of epigrams, Petrovic 2007.

newfound status within the poetic anthology.'[8] Alternatively, in Peter Bing's words, the epigrams (often featuring apparently redundant deictics and references to physical contexts) become 'self-consciously… unmoored.'[9]

A result of this unmooring is that readers of the epigrams are invited, in what Bing describes as an *Ergänzungsspiel*, to supplement the details of context and viewing that the literary context of the epigram does not straightforwardly provide. Indulging in the literary potential of this *Ergänzungsspiel,* epigram develops a fascinating tendency to meditate on several interesting relationships: between the verbal and the visual (the art work and its accompanying inscription); between the inscribed and the literary epigram; (bringing us full circle to the world of visual art) between real objects in the world, and the mimetic art that creates illusions of them; and crucially (as expressed above) in the context and strategy of viewing.[10]

A whole subgenre of Hellenistic epigram takes as its theme the tombs, memorials and portraits of dead poets, and more importantly the act of *viewing* these tombs, memorials and portraits.[11] Paul Zanker invites a study of these epigrams to demonstrate the 'range of associations a viewer might have made' and how such epigrams 'try to evoke reminiscences of [a poet's] life and work'.[12] I show that an examination of these epigrams reveals something even more interesting: these epigrams consider the portrait both as an object through which to think about the nature of the depicted author's works, and also use the portraits as objects through which to contemplate the issues related with illusionistic art and portraiture in general. Most importantly, by inviting the reader to investigate the implied viewer in these epigrams, the epigrammatist places himself (or the straw-man or foil he constructs) front and centre in the poems, which can therefore become expressions of their author's literary relationship with the depicted poet. These are not a one-way descriptions, but *ecphraseis* that invite us to investigate the viewer just as much as the depiction of the objects at hand.

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[8] Squire 2010(b), 214.
[9] Bing 2009 (1995).
[10] See, for example, Goldhill 1994.
[11] Further discussions of epigrams on material culture relating to dead poets are: Bing 1993; Acosta-Hughes and Barbantani 2007 (which focuses upon how lyric poets are particularly common as the subjects of such epigrams).
[12] Zanker 1995, 158.

I consider a group of texts, mainly epigrams from the third and second centuries BC. First I consider a now famous epigram by Posidippus of Pella that describes the portrait of Philitas. This epigram demonstrates how a description of the material portrait works as a metaphor for a description of the literary texts of the poet depicted. I then examine an equally well-known set of epigrams by Theocritus, all of which address illusionistic portraiture, and portraiture's ability to express the character of poetry. More importantly, by closely imitating inscribed epigrams, I argue that they offer a commentary on honorific portraits, their appropriation as cultural capital by communities, and the canonisation of poets can all affect the way in which these poets were read and understood. Finally I consider an entertaining epigram by Leonidas of Tarentum that vividly describes a portrait of Anacreon. This final case is an example of where a later poet wholeheartedly subscribes to the reductive image of a poet created in the process of literary life-writing and canonisation. I conclude by addressing the question of how portraits work as intermedial go-betweens that relate immaterial poetry, material poets and representations of them, and, importantly, of how they help living poets define themselves, as well as their earlier colleagues.

Posidippus of Pella and Philitas of Cos

Posidippus 63 AB, an epigram that describes a bronze statue of the poet Philitas, has become a well-known poem since its discovery in the Milan papyrus and publication in 2001.[13] The papyrus itself preserves one hundred and twelve epigrams. Two of these poems were known already and had previously been attributed to Posidippus of Pella. The stylistic consistency of the rest of the papyrus has led to the attribution of the whole collection (and possibly also its organisation) to the poet. The poems are divided into smaller collections on various topics, from medical cures, to augury. Epigram AB 63 belongs to the section entitled "*Andriantopoiika*" ("On Statue-Making"), and follows the first epigram in it (AB 62). AB 62 has been read as a programmatic introduction to the "*Andriantopoiika*" whereby Posidippus sets out his stall as one who prefers, and even promotes, contemporaneous and recent sculptural styles (particularly that of Lysippus) over those of the Classical and Archaic

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[13] The collection was first published in two related editions: Bastianini, Gallazzi, and Austin 2001; Austin and Bastianini 2002.

periods.[14] This sculptural preference inevitably has a poetic counterpart. I explore below how Posidippus' asserted preference for a modern, detailed, and accurate sculptural style helps to construct him as an approving viewer of Hecataeus' portrait of Philitas, and an approving reader of Philitas' poetry (and therefore to set out his own poetic stall). This introduction to the group of epigrams has cast the epigrams that follow it in the light of this particular aesthetic preference, and indeed poems AB 62 and AB 63 have strong thematic links. Here however it is not Lysippus who is credited with the statue of Philitas, it is the sculptor Hecataeus' successful adoption of a modern and realist sculptural style that is the key object of Posidippus' praise.

> τόνδε Φιλίται χ[άλ]κον [ἴ]σον κατὰ πάνθ' Ἑκ[α]ταῖος
> ἀ]κ[ρ]ιβὴς ἄκρους [ἔπλ]ασεν εἰς ὄνυχας,
> καὶ με]γέθει κα[ὶ σα]ρκὶ τὸν ἀνθρωπιστὶ διώξας
> γνώμο]ν', ἀφ' ἡρώων δ'οὐδὲν ἔμειξ' ἰδέης,
> ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀκρομέριμνον ὅλ[ῃ κ]αταμάξατο τέχνῃ
> πρ]έσβυν, ἀληθείης ὀρθὸν [ἔχων] κανόνα·
> αὐδήσ]οντι δ' ἔοικεν, ὅσωι ποικίλλεται ἤθει,
> ἔμψυχ]ος, καίπερ χάλκεος ἐὼν ὁ γέρων·
> ἐκ Πτολε]μαίου δ' ὧδε θεοῦ θ᾿ἅμα καὶ βασιλῆος
> ἄγκειτ]αι Μουσέων εἵνεκα Κῶιος ἀνήρ.[15]

'This bronze, equal by all measures to Philitas, Hecataeus has precisely shaped right to the tips of his toes; having followed the human gauge of his height and body, he mixed nothing from the image of heroes, but with all his art he cast the old hair-splitter, keeping the right canon of truth. But he seems about to speak, he is so embroidered with character, alive, though he is a brazen old man. And for Ptolemy, the god and at once the king, the Coan man is set up for the Muses.'

Hermesianax also describes a portrait of Philitas in Cos, and identifies the image of the poet with performance of a particular part of his oeuvre: poems about Bittis (otherwise only attested in Ovid).[16]

> οἶσθα δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀοιδόν, ὃν Εὐρυπύλου πολιῆται
> Κῶιοι χάλκειον στῆσαν ὑπὸ πλατάνῳ

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[14] Stewart 2005; Stewart 2007; von den Hoff 2007.

[15] Posidippus AB 63 in Austin and Bastianini 2002, 86-87. On this Posidippus epigram see also Stewart 2007. Stewart uses this epigram to illuminate a fascinating discussion on the nature of Hellenistic realism and naturalism.

[16] There is some debate as to whether Bittis is a female character about whom Philitas wrote poetry, or whether it is a misreading of 'Battis' (as the name is recorded in Ovid), which might be a clever pun for a wordiness, or stuttering. It has been suggested that this Battis may in fact be a personification of Philitas' scholarly interest in *hapax legomena* (difficult words that occur only once in archaic poetry). For a recent account of this debate, see Bing 2003.

Βιττίδα μολπάζοντα θοήν, περὶ πάντα Φιλίταν
ῥήματα καὶ πᾶσαν τρυόμενον λαλιήν.[17]

Lightfoot translation (LCL): 'And you know that even the bard set up in bronze by
Eurypylus' folk in Cos, beneath a plane, sings of the flighty Bittis: Philitas, well-
worn in every utterance and all the forms of speech.'

Posidippus and Hermesianax seem to testify to the existence of at least one, if not
two ancient portraits of the poet. The descriptions in the verses above suggest that either
there was one portrait in Cos, dedicated by Ptolemy II Philadelphus and set up with the
active cooperation of the Coan people, or that there was one portrait set up by Ptolemy in
the Alexandrian court, and one set up in Cos by the Coan people.[18] It is possible that neither
of these two literary sources are referring to real objects. In chapter one I mention a
surviving portrait of Philitas of Cos (fig. 7).[19] There is no evidence that this portrait type
relates to the portrait by Hecataeus as described by Posidippus nor to that mentioned by
Hermesianax in his *Leontion*. It is entirely possible that the surviving portrait emulated a
different object to those mentioned in both these sources, or that it was an original Roman
invention: the question remains open.[20]

Some scholars have interpreted Posidippus' epigram straightforwardly as evidence
for the history of portraiture and how it was viewed in the Hellenistic period. Graham
Zanker, for example, relies on lines 7-8 for proof of the characterising capability of
portraiture. These lines refer to the somewhat clichéd suggestion that a statue looks so alive
that it seems either to walk or talk (or indeed both), even though it is made (in this case) of
bronze. However here it is not the sense of *life* in the statue that contributes to this
impression (the floating adjective ἔμψυχος (alive) is posited by modern editors but is not
central in the grammatical construction), but the sense of *character*: ὅσωι ποικίλλεται ἤθει
('he is so embroidered with character'). For Andrew Stewart the force of the epigram (on the

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[17] Hermesianax *Fragments* 3.75-79 (=Athenaeus *Sophists at Dinner* 13.597b = Hermesianax *Leontion* 3.75-79).

[18] Some of the key points in this question are addressed by Hardie 2003. More recently, see Prioux 2007, 23-28.

[19] See above, 42-43.

[20] Posidippus 63 AB, and Hermesianax *Leontion* fr. 7.75-78 Powell = Athenaeus *Sophists at Dinner* 13.198e-f. For a collection and detailed discussion of nearly all the relevant sources see Prioux 2007, 19-74. Alex Hardie's discussions are useful explorations of the issue, and include plausible ideas such as the presence of a portrait of Philitas in a Coan *gymnasium*: Hardie 1997; Hardie 2003. See also Hollis 1996.

subject of character) is as a vindication of physiognomy.[21] Posidippus' epigram implies that sculpture has the capability not only to depict the typified civic character-types of the fifth and fourth centuries, but also *idiosyncratic*, or *individuated* characters,[22] and this allows the physiognomical principle (that character can be discerned from physical characteristics) to be applied to portraiture more accurately and profitably.[23] For G. Zanker and Stewart, this epigram is important because it describes a portrait that offers not only the civic ideals (or anti-ideals) of character, but an intricate and individuated character based upon the true appearance of the portrait's subject. For these scholars, it serves as textual evidence that Hellenistic sculpture could depict vivid and highly individual characters.

My analysis, by contrast, moves beyond the corroboration of a psychological approach to the portrait to say more about this portrait's relationship to Philitas' *literary* character. Posidippus uses language throughout this poem that directly invokes well-known elements of ancient art and poetic theory. Évelyne Prioux discusses the meanings and implications of the art-historical terminology in this epigram, and my discussion is indebted to her investigation.[24] The result of Posidippus' use of this sort of terminology is to reinforce how this epigram is using visual culture (a portrait) in order to discuss literary culture (a poet), and (*vice versa*) using literary culture (a poet-portrait) in order to discuss the progress of art (Hecataeus' use of a modern, realistic Hellenistic style). Not only is the portrait of a poet a particularly privileged object to allow this sort of metaphor to be played out elegantly in an epigram, but such an approach also raises the poet portrait from being merely a character portrait, depicting the poet's psychology in broad brush-strokes, to being an object with which a critic can explore subtler stylistic and generic elements of the subject's poetic output. To explore this, I look at three key elements where the portrait shares a characteristic

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[21] For the perception of *ēthos* in art before this date see, for example, Xenophon *Memorabilia* 3.10, discussed above, where Socrates convinces artist Parrhasios of his ability to depict *ēthos* in painted bodies; Aristotle *Poetics* 1448b24-28, where Aristotle compares the relative abilities of different painters to depict *ēthos*.

[22] This important development from 'role portraits' to 'psychological portraits' was notably described by Pollitt 1986, 59-63. This orthodoxy, expressed in this case by Pollitt, has characterised most, if not all, discussion of Classical and early Hellenistic portraiture since that decade (though it has been nuanced, and various different terms have been applied).

[23] For the history and development of physiognomic theories, see Evans 1969; Swain 2007.

[24] Prioux 2007, 34-74. This is also observed and discussed in two chapters by Andrew Stewart: Stewart 2005; Stewart 2007.

with Philitas' poetry: the materiality of bronze for poet and portrait; the aesthetics of *poikilia* and *akribeia*; and the appeal of the sub-heroic.

In line 8, Posidippus tells us that the portrait has such a detailed and multifaceted character that he appears to be about to speak, 'though he is a brazen old man'. At its most simple level this is an example of the well-known idea that a statue is so realistic that all it lacks is a voice, or that it appears to be on the verge of speaking.[25] However, in this case there is more to be observed. First, the idea of a bronze poet recalls Homer's appeal to the Muses before the "Catalogue of Ships" (*Iliad* 2).[26] Homer asks the Muses to tell him who were the leaders of the Achaeans, but notes that he would not be able to list the whole multitude of their men. He says that this would be beyond his capability even if he had ten tongues, ten mouths, an indestructible voice, and a bronze heart inside him:

> πληθὺν δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω,
> οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν γλῶσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἶεν,
> φωνὴ δ' ἄρρηκτος, χάλκεον δέ μοι ἦτορ ἐνείη,[27]

> Murray and Wyatt translation (LCL): 'But the multitude I could not tell or name,
> not even if ten tongues were mine and ten mouths and a voice unwearying, and
> the heart within me were of bronze,'

This form of *recusatio* soon becomes a literary trope which is adopted by Ennius, Virgil, and Ovid among others, and is noted as a tired cliché by the time of Persius in the mid-first century AD.[28] It is typically (as in Homer) used by poets as a rhetorical statement to explain that they are choosing to focus on a particular set of details due to the insurmountable scale of the subject as a whole. Posidippus' description of Philitas' statue offers us precisely what Homer says he would need to be: a bronze poet. However, this bronze poet is only on the *verge* of speaking: [αὐδήσ]οντι δ' ἔοικεν… καίπερ χάλκεος ἐὼν ὁ γέρων· ('But he seems about to speak… though he is a brazen old man'). Thus Posidippus wittily inverts Homer's famous *recusatio*: a bronze heart does not in fact give a poet unlimited capacity to speak or sing, but leaves him forever *about* to sing—Homer got it wrong. This focus on materiality, and the object's lack of a voice draws the reader's attention to the gulf between the portrait and the man depicted. As has been observed in other

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[25] How epigram deals with illusionism in sculpture is examined in Squire 2010(b).
[26] My thanks to Barbara Graziosi who pointed out this correspondence to me.
[27] Homer *Iliad* 2.488-490
[28] These uses are reviewed in Gowers 2005.

ecphrastic epigrams, the focus on material and the illusionistic virtuosity of the sculptor undermines that very illusionism.[29] Here, however, the language used to describe the material and the illusionism of the object also alludes to a famous poetic *recusatio*. Homer could not list the Greek fighters because he was not made of bronze; this statue *is* made of bronze, and yet cannot speak at all. This emphasises the great distance between the illusionistic object and the *poet* that was its model: this is not a real poet made of bronze (as Homer imagined), but the product of Hecataeus' virtuosic artifice.

Second, Posidippus' focus on the *ēthos* evident in the portrait activates a double meaning in the word χάλκεος whereby it becomes not only 'made of bronze' but also (metaphorically) 'brazen,' 'tough,' or even 'stubborn.' The materiality of the portrait (bronze) complements the character of the depicted individual (in this case a tireless and dedicated scholar) and his poetry, which is ironically the opposite of his reportedly frail physique. Not only does the portrait depict the character of the poet and his work; through metaphor and materiality it *shares* that character.

The second area in which this portrait is presented as sharing characteristics with the poetic character of its subject is in its focus on the aesthetics of *poikilia* and accuracy. Mentioned briefly above, is the use of the verb ποικίλλω, meaning 'to embellish,' 'embroider,' or 'decorate' with fine surface detail, colour and texture. Most straightforwardly, this reflects the talent and ability of the sculptor: ποικίλλω is a verb based firmly in material culture, and in an ecphrastic epigram such as this one it must evoke the crafting of fine surface detail on the object. However, it is not the portrait itself that is the object of the verb ποικίλλω, but the portrait's ἦθος (conventionally translated 'character'). *Ēthos* is a term used extensively in literary criticism both to describe the characters constructed within poetry and rhetoric.[30] A ποικίλον ἦθος is very different from the polarised ethical categories described by Aristotle.[31] It implies a detailed, varied and multi-faceted character, which in the sculptural medium must have manifested itself as an individuated portrait. This is not the first time these two words have been used together. Significantly, in early classical and archaic symposium culture a ποικίλον ἦθος referred to a

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[29] A good account of this feature of ecphrastic epigram is given in Squire 2010(b).
[30] See e.g. Gill 1984.
[31] Aristotle *Poetics* 1448a1-6: κακίᾳ γὰρ καὶ ἀρετῇ τὰ ἤθη διαφέρουσι πάντες. 'For all characters are divided between bad and good.'

character that could change according to the requirements of company and circumstances, perhaps even to the extent of adopting a poetic *persona* at the correct point of a symposium.[32] Here however, it is more likely that the *poikilia* of Philitas' *ēthos* has to do with the poet's interest in the close examination of detail, such as in his studies of Homeric *hapax legomena*, and the writing of smaller-scale, sub-heroic, finely textured poetry, as discussed below.

Similarly, the first six lines, as many have pointed out, cleverly equate the realism and accuracy in appearance of the sculpture (and therefore the diligently accurate character of the sculptor) to the commitment to truth and accuracy ascribed to Philitas the subject.[33] Philitas, we are told, was a nit-picker and a pedant in his poetry (ἀκρομέριμνον… [πρ]έσβυν, 'old hair-splitter'). This fits well with the literary-biographical reception of the poet. Philitas is perhaps the first and most famous example of the 'scholar-poet' or 'poeta doctus'. In an often-quoted fragment he sets out in no uncertain terms how poetic ability and expertise is achieved:

> Οὔ με τις ἐξ ὀρέων ἀποφώλιος ἀγροιώτης
> αἱρήσει κλήθρην αἱρόμενος μακέλην,
> ἀλλ' ἐπέων εἰδὼς κόσμον καὶ πολλὰ μογήσας
> μύθων παντοίων οἶμον ἐπιστάμενος.[34]

> 'I, the alder-wood [writing-tablet] will not be taken up by some hopeless yokel, carrying his mattock. Rather I will be taken up by one who knows the ordering of verses, and knowing through much toil the way of all sorts of tales.'[35]

Bing suggests plausibly that the 'alder' (κλήθρη) of this fragment refers to an instrument of writing or the composition of poetry, and (on the basis of the alder-wood writing-tablets found at Vindolanda, in Northumberland) that it is to writing-tablets that the poem refers.[36] What is most important here, however, is that Philitas sets up these objects as the property of the learned scholar 'πολλὰ μογήσας' ('having toiled greatly'). Poetry, or at least commendable poetry, is for Philitas the province of the bookish critic rather than the inspired farmer. Hard scholarly effort leading to physical degradation is a crucial recurring feature of Philitas' biography. Philitas was known for his painstaking pursuit of Homeric

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[32] See, for example, Neer 2002, 14-23.

[33] Stewart 2007, 132. Prioux 2007, 32-34.

[34] Philitas Fr. 25 Spanoudakis. Text from Spanoudakis 2002, 93.

[35] This translation is heavily indebted to the translations and discussions in two articles by Peter Bing: Bing 1986; Bing 2003.

[36] Bing 1986; Bing 2003.

hapax legomena and similar philological puzzles, to the extent that he had a reputation for extreme frailty on account of the over-assiduousness of his studies. Philitas' physical degradation and thinness became almost proverbial: later writers even invented the stories that Philitas had to wear weights in his shoes in order not to be blown away, and that he died through frustration over a riddle.[37] It has also been suggested that Philitas' slight frame (whether or not it was visible in his portrait) was compared to the well-known slimness (*leptotēs*) of Hellenistic verse.[38] This same parallelism between the character of the poet or artist and the character of his output (poetic or sculptural) has been observed more broadly as a programmatic theme within the *Andriantopoiika* by Alexander Sens.[39]

The observation made by several scholars is that the portrait subject's literary character is matched (according to Posidippus) by the portrait-maker's artistic technique: ἴσον κατὰ πάνθ' Ἑκαταῖος / ἀκριβὴς ἄκρους ἔπλασεν εἰς ὄνυχας ('equal by all measures [to Philitas], Hecataeus has precisely shaped [this bronze] right to the tips of his toes'). The parallel between ἀκριβὴς ἄκρους of line 2 and ἀκρομέριμνον of line 5 has been noted by many,[40] and the phrase ἴσον κατὰ πάντα seems to invite us to search for such parallels and equivalencies. The perfectionism of Philitas and Hecataeus are quite clearly paralleled in this epigram, and thus the nature of the portrait and the nature of the man it represents are craftily presented as sharing the same nature.

Several moments in Posidippus' poem illustrate Horace's famous phrase 'ut pictura poesis'.[41] Particularly evident in the above passages is the phrase εἰς ὄνυχας ('to the nails'). As pointed out by Prioux, this must recall a phrase (most likely from Polyclitus' *Canon*) that we find quoted later by Plutarch: ἣ Πολύκλειτος ὁ πλάστης εἶπεν χαλεπτώτατον εἶναι τὸ

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[37] Aelian *Historical Miscellany* 9.14. Athenaeus *Sophists at Dinner* 9.401d-e. See Bing 2003; Spanoudakis 2002.

[38] Prioux 2007, 51-56.

[39] Sens 2005, 215-225.

[40] Most recently, and thoroughly Prioux 2007, 33.

[41] This phrase, taken from Horace, has been considered (rightly or wrongly) an elegant affirmation about how poetry can be considered with the same critical apparatus and terminology as art, and *vice versa*. Awareness among poets and artists of this idea leads to poetry and art reflexively using each other for self-examination and exploration. The relationship between poetry and art has been one of the most long-standing motifs in the creation of both literature and art, and a topic of much scholarship. Some important studies and collections are the following: Lessing 1984 (1766); Elsner 1996; Tanner 2006; Newby and Leader-Newby 2007; Squire 2009; Barkan 2013; Elsner and Meyer 2014.

ἔργον, ὅταν ἐν ὄνυχι ὁ πηλὸς γένηται.[42] ('For this reason, Polyclitus the sculptor said that the work was the hardest when the clay is on the nail.'). Whether or not the nail referred to in Polyclitus' phrase is the nail of the sculpture, or that of the sculptor is unclear, though with the evidence of Posidippus' epigram, it is more likely to be the statue's own nails.[43] What *is* clear is that this phrase describes the process of adding intricate detail and accuracy to a sculpture—or indeed a poem.

Posidippus' use of the term ἀκρομέριμνος to describe Philitas' scholarly precision is also significant with regards to the shared language of artistic and poetic theories. As noted above, there is a clear verbal echo between this and the terms ἀκριβής and ἄκρος used elsewhere in the epigram to describe the precision of Hecataeus' sculpture. This pairing, as noted by just about every commentator on the epigram, aligns Hecataeus' sculptural style with the character, poetry and scholarship of Philitas. However, with an eye to possible art historical references, it is possible tentatively to go further with this unusual phrase ἀκρομέριμνος (a *hapax legomenon* itself). One of the most famous anecdotes about accuracy in artistic depictions is that described by Pliny. Whether the anecdote was in circulation in the time of Posidippus cannot be known, but the story may well capture artistic aspirations already felt in the early third century. The story records that Apelles drew a particularly thin line across a panel prepared for painting, belonging to the painter Protogenes. Protogenes returned home and draws an even finer line over the original. Apelles, not to be outdone 'split' ('secuit') the two lines by drawing an impossibly fine line over the two already there.[44] Philitas is described as a 'very keen thinker': ἀκρομέριμνος derives from μέριμνα ('thought', 'worry'). However, μέριμνα itself derives from μερίς (a 'share' or 'division'), and is related to μερίζω (to 'divide' or 'allot'). If ἀκρομέριμνος retains any of the sense of its etymological origins, it may be read as a 'very keen divider', which is precisely what Protogenes and Apelles find themselves to be when in competition for artistic superiority. This possible and oblique reference to an important anecdote of ancient art history is precisely in line with the shared focus on both the artist and the portrait subject in this

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[42] Plutarch *Table Talk* 636C.
[43] Prioux offers an extended discussion of this usage: Prioux 2007, 34-42.
[44] Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 35.81.

epigram. It brings to attention the shared qualities between the *poiesis* of the artist, the *poiesis* of the poet and the appearance of the portrait.

The final point of correspondence between the sculpture and Philitas' literary nature (namely, the interest in sub-heroic themes) can be observed in further Polyclitan and art-theoretical language used by Posidippus. We are told that Hecataeus has used the ἀληθείης ὀρθὸν… κανόνα ('correct canon of truth'). κανών has a variety of ancient meanings, ranging from a straight pole, stick, or bar (used in any number of situations where its unbendingly straight nature is key), to a philosophical principle, model, rule or standard.[45] It is with regard to Polyclitus that we see the most often repeated use of this term in its meaning as a model or standard in art. He is said not only to have worked out a perfect geometry whereby to depict human figures in sculpture, but also to have set down these rules in a book that used in its name the very word κανών, now generally referred to as *Polyclitus' Canon*.[46] Here again Posidippus has adopted specific art historical terminology. However, in this case he rejects one established canon, and instead claims that the yardstick by which Hecataeus has worked is one of ἀλήθεια ('truth'). Rather than some geometrical *schema*, Posidippus suggests that Hecataeus' guide is life itself.[47] The technical language of Classical art history is invoked, only to be inverted.

Making this re-appropriation of the terminology even clearer, it is specified that the sculpture has not inherited anything of the heroic cliché, ἡρώων δ'οὐδὲν ἔμειξ' ἰδέης ('he has mixed nothing from the image of heroes'). Most straightforwardly, this refers to the iconographical practice of borrowing elements from one or another sculptural type in order to evoke their particular ethical or moral connotations, and thus contributes to the art historical language on display in this epigram. However, Alexander Sens has noted that this not only reinforces the distancing of Hecataeus from Polyclitus and even earlier sculptors, who might indeed be said to mix in elements from heroic iconography.[48] It can *also* be read as a direct reference to an epigram attributed to Asclepiades on the subject of the Lysippan portrait of Alexander (the attribution to Asclepiades may be wrong, and this epigram may in

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[45] Vardi 2003.

[46] For the state of evidence regarding Polyclitus' *Canon* see Stewart 1978.

[47] Stewart thinks at length on this distinction and tabulates qualities of realism in mimesis both in Stewart 1993, 33, and in Stewart 2007.

[48] Sens 2005.

fact post-date that of Posidippus, though there are several clues to the contrary).[49] It is often remarked about the Alexander portrait that it did indeed appropriate elements of the iconography of gods, heroes and even lions,[50] and Posidippus' remark might therefore have worked even in the absence of Asclepiades' epigram. But several verbal parallels between Posidippus and Asclepiades suggest that this epigram makes direct reference to that about Alexander. The effect is both political, art historical and poetic:

> τόλμαν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ὅλαν ἀπεμάξατο μορφὰν
> Λύσιππος· τίν᾽ ὁδὶ χαλκὸς ἔχει δύναμιν;
> αὐδασοῦντι δ᾽ ἔοικεν ὁ χάλκεος ἐς Δία λεύσσων·
> 'γᾶν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοὶ τίθεμαι· Ζεῦ, σὺ δ᾽ Ὄλυμπον ἔχε.'[51]

> Paton translation (LCL): 'Lysippus modelled Alexander's daring and his whole form. How great is the power of this bronze! The brazen king seems to be gazing at Zeus and about to say, "I set Earth under my feet; thyself, Zeus, possess Olympus."'

Sens points out several verbal echoes between this epigram and that of Posidippus: ὅλη καταμάξατο τέχνῃ surely recalls ὅλαν ἀπεμάξατο μορφὰν; and αὐδήσοντι δ᾽ἔοικεν recalls αὐδασοῦντι δ᾽ ἔοικεν. Given these clear intertextual references, the differences between the two statues described become particularly clear. Alexander's Lysippan portrait is the heroic, godly image of a self-proclaimed ruler of the world. Philitas' portrait by Hecataeus, on the other hand, depicts a little old scholar, worn away by years of labour in the library. The ethical effects of these two portraits could not be more distinct, and Posidippus' epigram, by deliberately echoing that of Asclepiades, sets up these two images as a pendant, with which we can meditate on the different psychologies of the two men, as well as the different approaches taken to their depiction in portraiture. As Sens points out, there is also a poetological point that can be observed here: Alexander is presented almost as a God, dictating to Zeus the terms on which he will share reign over creation. As such, Alexander's portrait is presented as an evocation of the heroic, or epic world. On the other hand, Philitas' portrait is conspicuously sub-heroic, even anti-heroic. It is possible that this reflects the developments in genre and taste of the Hellenistic courts for didactic or sub-heroic poetry, rather than traditional heroic epic.

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[49] For a discussion of the attribution and dating of this epigram, see Sens 2005, 213-14.

[50] L'Orange 1947. More recently and thoroughly see Stewart 1993.

[51] *Planudean Anthology* 120 = Gow-Page: Asclepiades of Samos 43.

The verbs used by both Posidippus and Asclepiades (καταμάσσω and ἀπομάσσω respectively) point us towards another epigram still (though there is no evidence for intentional intertextuality here), and one that more specifically refers to the changing tastes for poetic genres in the Hellenistic courts. Callimachus' epigram on Aratus of Soloi uses the very same word ἀπομάσσω in order to describe how Aratus emulated the style and subject-matter of Hesiod.[52] Though this is unlikely to be a direct intertext, it at least demonstrates how this term is among those many that can be used both for art historical and literary theory. There is, therefore, a potential (if silent) metaphor of literary emulation in Posidippus' use of the term καταμάσσω, further contributing to the use throughout this epigram of the shared language of literary and art historical theories.

Art theoretical language suffuses this epigram, and both implicit and explicit references made to other sculptures (Lysippus' Alexander portraits in particular) and previous art theories (Polyclitus' *Canon*). This is scarcely surprising, given the clear art-historical interest of the *Andriantopoiika* as a set of epigrams. What is important for this study, however, is how this art historical language (as so often) is also used in literary and poetic theories. Moreover, Posidippus' avowed *preference* for an 'accurate' Lysippan *sculptural* style (in AB 62) must resonate in this epigram (AB 63) with regard both to sculptural and poetic style. When we read AB 63 alongside AB 62, it becomes not only a description of Philitas and Hecataeus' shared "accurate" and "detailed" style, but also an explicit *approval* of it. These poems construct Posidippus as an approving viewer and reader of this aesthetic, and as such, AB 62 and 63 together can be read as a programmatic statement of Posidippus' *own* poetic aims and priorities: his viewing relationship to the poet portrait can be read as an assertion about his own poetic identity and style.

On the simplest level, Posidippus describes how Hecataeus' portrait of Philitas depicts the character, and thereby the poetic character of Philitas, and how the portrait and poetry are thereby related. He goes further by equating Hecataeus' own personal style to that of Philitas, thereby invoking the familiar metaphor between literary and poetic *poiesis*: or as Prioux puts it, 'ut statua poesis'.[53] Posidippus goes further *still*, however, by using a

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[52] *Palatine Anthology* 9.507 = Callimachus *Epigrams* 27 (Pfeiffer). For this epigram see, in particular, Hunter 2009, and more recently Hunter 2014, 292-301, esp. n. 28 on ἀπομάσσω.
[53] Prioux 2007, 51-73.

range of art-historical vocabulary that is customarily adopted for literary criticism. The poem thereby explores theoretical parallels between art and text, and how a portrait can not only *depict* the character of a poet and his works, but through its own stylistic choices it can even *imitate* the style of that poet and his works. As observed by Prioux, the poet portrait is the ideal object with which to explore this relationship.[54] However, the portrait is also *transformed* by this relationship: a focus on the metaphors and parallels between art and text transforms the poet portrait from a depiction of the external features of a dead writer into an object wherewith one can consider the particular stylistic traits and poetic outlooks of the writer. The poet portrait becomes an object for negotiating the poetic reception of a poet, not merely in biographical or psychological terms, but also in terms of style, genre and poetic theory. Finally, I observe that Posidippus' explicit approval of a modern, accurate, and detailed sculptural style in AB 62 resonates in *this* poem (AB 63, that also focusses on accuracy and detail in the work of both Philitas and Hecataeus). The poet therefore constructs himself as a highly approving reader of Philitas' poetry and viewer of Hecataeus' sculptural style: through the portrait of a *dead* poet, Posidippus positions *himself*, a living poet, within literary history and theory.

Theocritus' Epigrams on Portraits of Poets

Of the epigrams that describe the portraits of poets, Posidippus' poem *alone* treats a contemporary or near contemporary poet. If there was a trend in the third century for epigrams about poets (and it seems there was),[55] it was by and large concerned with pre-Alexandrian poets. Of the epigrams on *portraits* of poets, four are attributed to Theocritus. Whether or not they constitute the remnants of a group conceived as such by the author is unclear, though there are certainly thematic similarities between them.

I consider these epigrams and investigate the issues they raise about the portraits of poets. One recurring feature of these epigrams is an implied scepticism about the honouring, depiction, and reception of these poets in material terms. These poems frequently approach

[54] Prioux 2007, 4-5.
[55] Rossi 2001, 81-91. Rossi collates the epigrams about poets and notes how the majority (and the most creative) are by writers of the third century BC.

the honorific portraits they describe (and the honorific epigrams they imitate) with a thinly veiled irony that challenges overly reductive or pragmatic receptions of the great poets of the past. In these epigrams Theocritus expresses unease at how honorific practice and the process of canonisation can lead to over-simplified impressions and politically instrumental uses of these poets.[56] A key concern is whether portraiture is always inherently reductive, and how we can distinguish between the man, his works, and his portrait. In the epigram on the statue of Anacreon (discussed below),[57] the potential of portraits to be over-simplifying and misleading is a primary interest. These methodological questions about how we should approach portraiture of poets also seem to be important in the epigram on the epic poet Pisander:

> Τὸν τοῦ Ζανὸς ὅδ᾽ ὑμὶν υἱὸν ὠνήρ
> τὸν λεοντομάχαν, τὸν ὀξύχειρα,
> πρᾶτος τῶν ἐπάνωθε μουσοποιῶν
> Πείσανδρος συνέγραψεν οὐκ Καμίρου
> χὤσσους ἐξεπόνασεν εἶπ᾽ ἀέθλους.
> τοῦτον δ᾽ αὐτὸν[,] ὁ δᾶμος, ὡς σάφ᾽ εἰδῇς,
> ἔστασ᾽ ἐνθάδε χάλκεον ποήσας
> πολλοῖς μησὶν ὄπισθε κἠνιαυτοῖς.[58]

> 'The son of Zeus, the lion-fighter, the quick-handed, this is he who first of the poets in former times wrote about him for you, Pisander, the man from Camirus, and he has sung of how many labours he [Heracles] accomplished. So that you may know clearly, the people have set up the man himself here having made him bronze after many months and years.'

Little is known about the poet Pisander, to whose statue this epigram refers. He is thought to have been a seventh- or sixth-century epic poet, known for his work the *Heracleia* in two books (according to the *Suda*), relating some (but possibly not all) of the labours of Heracles.[59] Sotera Fornaro speculates that the city of Camirus might have erected a statue to him during the Hellenistic era because he glorified (in Heracles) a mythical ancestor of the Ptolemies.[60] Unlike Posidippus' epigram on the portrait of Philitas, this epigram self-

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[56] A very similar idea is explored through the texts of Apuleius by Yun Lee Too in Too 1996.
[57] See below, 200-207.
[58] Gow-Page 16 = Theocritus 22 = *Palatine Anthology* 9.598. For commentary see Gow and Page 1965, 533.
[59] *Suda* s.v. "Peisandros" = Adler pi,1465.
[60] Fornaro 2006(b).

consciously poses as an inscription on the base of a posthumous honorific statue of the poet.[61]

An important recurring element in these epigrams (that has been observed by several scholars) is that they problematize the relationship between the subject of representational art, and the art object itself.[62] As Peter Bing puts it, the 'essential distinction between a statue and a living person is... an important issue' for these epigrams.[63] They are, of course, not alone in this preoccupation with the reality or otherwise of objects or objects presented in illusionistic art. Epigram is by its nature a deictic form due to its historical role as a text attached or associated with real world objects. Even before epigram expands into being a literary genre also, epigrammatic texts seem to have mused on the nature of their relationship to objects.

The epigram above addresses precisely this issue. The gulf between the real man and the image is highlighted by a peculiar phrase to describe the setting up of the portrait: τοῦτον δ' αὐτὸν, ὁ δᾶμος, ὡς σάφ' εἰδῇς, / ἔστασ' ἐνθάδε χάλκεον ποήσας ('So that you may know clearly, the people have set up the man himself here having made him bronze'). As Michael Tueller observes, this "bronze self" (as Tueller translates τοῦτον δ' αὐτόν… χάλκεον) is a strange construction that both emphasises the realism of the object, but also problematizes illusionistic sculpture.[64] The very fidelity of sculpture and (imagined) poet underlines the gulf between them. The illusionistic realism that makes this portrait a "bronze self" is further undermined by the final line of the epigram that emphasises quite how posthumous (and therefore imaginary) this portrait is: the portrait may look realistically like an epic poet, but there is no way it can have looked like Pisander because he had been dead for πολλοῖς μησίν… κὴνιαυτοῖς ('many months and years').

An ambiguity in the grammar of lines 6-7 points to another suggestion that Theocritus wishes to take a more critical look at the purpose and value of poet portraiture. It is possible, as Gow and Page point out,[65] that the phrase τοῦτον δ' αὐτόν is in fact the object of ὡς σάφ' εἰδῇς, rather than ἔστασ' in which case the paradox of a "bronze self" might be

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[61] For an outline of this practice see Ma 2013; Dillon 2006. For more discussion and bibliography see above, 173-174.

[62] Tueller 2008. This is particularly emphasised by Tueller in his eleventh chapter, 178-184.

[63] Bing 1988(b), 118.

[64] Tueller 2008, 178-184.

[65] Gow and Page 1965, 533.

diluted somewhat. If εἰδῇς takes τοῦτον αὐτόν as its object, the statue is put up, 'so that we might clearly know the man himself'. In this case the portrait is presented as a guide to the character, biography or poetry of Pisander: an object through which we might know the poet. How and what might we know of a poet from his portrait? The first half of this epigram suggests that what is important to know about Pisander are certain details about the subject matter of his verse: precisely the sort of information a portrait could not provide.

In fact the first four lines of this epigram construct the whole identity of this poet around details about his poetry. The name Pisander is delayed until the fourth line and references to the subject of the epigram in earlier lines (and below) are thickly entwined with references to Heracles, as the subject of Pisander's verse. The epigram begins not with ὅδε ὁ ἀνήρ, but with Τὸν τοῦ Ζανὸς... υἱόν, 'the son of Zeus'. It is not impossible for an epigram to name the subject of a statue in the accusative, and this beginning to the epigram (though brief, as ὅδε soon interjects) sets up the tone of ambiguity between the statue's subject and the poet's subject, and therefore the epigram's subject.[66] The second line offers two epithets for Heracles, only half way through the third line do we get a hint of what 'this man' did to 'the son of Zeus', when we are told that he was the first of all the poets to *write* about him. Rossi points out how all we know about Pisander's poetry is that it told some, perhaps all, of Heracles' trials, and that the first he recounts was Heracles' defeat of the Nemean lion. Furthermore we know that Pisander specified that Heracles used his bare hands to kill the beast. Rossi therefore suggests that line two, τὸν λεοντομάχαν, τὸν ὀξύχειρα, is 'a precise allusion to both the structure and the narrative details of Pisander's work'.[67]

The identity of the poet Pisander is largely eclipsed by the subject of his poetry: the work outshines the man in Theocritus' epigram. Furthermore, it is not the character or style of Pisander's verse that Theocritus prioritises, but the details of its subject matter. What, therefore, might we 'clearly know' from the portrait statue? Unlike Posidippus, for whom a portrait can reflect the intricacies of style and character, for Theocritus even 'the man himself made bronze' is incapable of communicating the most important facets of Pisander's work. Moreover, given that our engagement with this epigram would most probably have been in a book form (rather than on visiting the inscribed monument itself in the unlikely case this

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[66] On the grammar of statue-dedication and epigram formulae, see Ma 2013.
[67] Rossi 2001, 332.

epigram was actually inscribed),[68] we cannot even see this portrait that supposedly is able to inform us so greatly about the poet. In fact, crucially, it is the *epigram* that reveals what Theocritus would have us 'clearly know' about Pisander—the epigram that we have in front of us as evidence—not the portrait. These themes are present in all four of Theocritus' epigrams that I discuss here, but particularly so in this epigram on Pisander and that on Anacreon.[69] It is perhaps not overly conjectural to propose a particular Theocritean attitude to poet portraits on the basis of these shared themes.

At first glance this epigram is harmless, and so much so that it 'has been interpreted as a real inscription.'[70] But as Rossi points out, 'elements that betray the literary nature of the composition rather than its possible real setting are undoubtedly present.'[71] As soon as we begin to examine the epigram with closer attention, we find that it isolates and questions several issues in how ancient readers and viewers approached the portraiture of poets. First, it plays with the borders between the poetry's subject, the poetry itself, the poet, and the portrait: reference to the subject of the poetry is interwoven with reference to the poet, and details of the poem's structure are referred to in the epithets of the poem's subject. Secondly, the distinction between the portrait and the 'real man' is called into question through use of the peculiar "bronze self" phrase. Finally it tells us that the statue has been put up so that we might *learn*, and yet what this epigram would have us learn is beyond the capability of the portrait described. This epigram affects to be straightforward, and to barge affirmatively straight through the methodological concerns about looking at portraiture. In its feigned bluntness, it calls into question several important questions about how useful or otherwise the portraiture of poets is.

An epigram attributed to Theocritus on the subject of a portrait of the poet Epicharmus at Syracuse raises some of the same issues about approaches to and the utility or otherwise of poet portraiture.

> Ἅ τε φωνὰ Δώριος χὠνὴρ ὁ τὰν κωμῳδίαν
> εὑρὼν Ἐπίχαρμος.
> ὦ Βάκχε, χάλκεόν νιν ἀντ' ἀλαθινοῦ
> τὶν ὧδ' ἀνέθηκαν

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[68] See Rossi 2001, 333-334.
[69] See below, 200-207.
[70] Rossi 2001, 333.
[71] Rossi 2001, 334.

τοὶ Συρακούσσαις ἐνίδρυνται, πελωρίστᾳ πόλει,
οἵ᾽ ἄνδρα πολίταν.
σοφῶν ἔοικε ῥημάτων μεμναμένους
τελεῖν ἐπίχειρα·
πολλὰ γὰρ ποττὰν ζόαν τοῖς παισὶν εἶπε χρήσιμα.
μεγάλα χάρις αὐτῷ.[72]

'Both his tongue and the man are Doric, the inventor of comedy, Epicharmus. O Bacchus, to you they have dedicated him (in bronze, not flesh), to you the Syracusans have set him up in that mightiest of cities, since he was a fellow citizen. It was right for those mindful of his wise words to pay him his worker's wage. For while he was alive he said many things that are useful for the young. Great thanks be to him.'

This epigram has strong thematic links with the epigram on Pisander. Pisander's tenuous claims to being a *prōtos heurētēs* ('first inventor' or 'discoverer') of Herculean epic is mentioned in the first epigram, and here Epicharmus is credited with the invention of the comic genre. Likewise, two of the issues discussed for the above epigram also feature here: namely the paradox of naturalistic art, and the fluid boundary between the author and his works (and perhaps even his *reader*).

This last issue is what my analysis begins with, since the epigram itself begins with this intriguing sentence: Ἅ τε φωνὰ Δώριος χὠνήρ, 'Both his tongue and the man are Doric'. It is entertaining that the first word of the epigram, the miniscule pronoun ἅ, is a Doric form for ἥ. Of course, it is no surprise that Theocritus writes in the Doric dialect. This is one of the signatures of his verse, and another epigram tells us that μοῦσαν δ᾽ ὀθνείην οὔτιν᾽ ἐφελκθησάμην ('I never pursued a foreign Muse'),[73] that he was proud of his Doric dialect. This line that begins with such an emphatic Doricism thereby trumpets the *shared* Doric (and more specifically Syracusan)[74] heritage and dialect of Theocritus and Epicharmus. In fact, the opening words of this epigram leave it uncertain whether they relate to Theocritus or to Epicharmus. Through the ambiguous opening to this poem, Theocritus hints at the

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[72] Gow-Page 17 = Theocritus 18 = *Palatine Anthology* 9.600. For commentary see Gow and Page 1965, 533-534.

[73] Gow-Page 27 = Theocritus 25 = *Palatine Anthology* 9.434

[74] Rossi points out that Epicharmus is not always considered Syracusan. Theocritus' assertion of Epicharmus' origins can therefore be considered as an intervention into a philological dispute as to his birthplace. The insistence of this epigram on this point also helps to confirm the supposed Theocritean authorship of this poem. Rossi 2001, 287-288.

possibility that the epigram is in fact commemorating *himself* (which, of course, is precisely what it does as part of Theocritus' enduring oeuvre).[75]

This first line sets up a relationship between Theocritus, the epigrammatist, and Epicharmus, the fellow Syracusan poet. Theocritus' self-identification with Epicharmus as a Doric, Syracusan poet might be taken up again later in the epigram, where portrait honours are presented as rewards for poetic euergetism. The portrait is described in terms of exchange, using the word ἐπίχειρον ('wage'), and the act of setting it up is combined with the statement μεγάλα χάρις αὐτῷ ('great thanks be to him'), which likewise sets up the portrait as an offering of thanks for services rendered to the city. It is possible that Theocritus' subtle promotion of this honouring of euergetic poets might constitute a hint to the Syracusans that he too could be considered worthy of sculptural commemoration in Syracuse, not unlike how Posidippus hints the same to the people of Pella in his "seal" poem.[76] By writing epigrams that explore the nature of the commemoration of poets through portraits, and by exhibiting a somewhat sceptical attitude to this mode of engagement with dead poets, Theocritus looks ahead to his own commemoration, and future readers' engagement with him. Theocritus' probing, sceptical attitude to these portraits of long-dead poets forewarns us to be circumspect about how to engage with *his* portrait once he is dead.

This opening phrase also sets up the commonalities between two of our familiar protagonists: poetry and poet. Here they are φωνή and ἀνήρ, the tongue and the man. Little is given away here about their relationship, except that they have in common that they are Doric. For the man this is an ethnic distinction, for the tongue it is a poetic and dialectic one (though perhaps an ancient reader would not have felt it necessary to make the distinction between ethnicity and dialect). This line raises the familiar doubt about where a historical poet ends, and where his works begin. Pointing out what the poet and his verse have in common (so closely in common that they can share a single adjective) emphasises the fluidity between biography and literary reception for these long dead poets. As above, these probing observations about the distinction between Epicharmus as man and poet reflect

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[75] With thanks to my supervisor B. Graziosi for this suggestion.
[76] Austin-Bastinanini 118.17-18. Gutzwiller 1998, 152-154. See also Klooster 2011, 177-183 for a discussion with more recent bibliography.

back on Theocritus. How are we to distinguish φωνή and ἀνήρ for Theocritus, if he finds this distinction problematic for other poets?

As mentioned above, this epigram shares with the poem on Pisander an interest in the distinction between reality and representation: Theocritus feels the need to spell out that Epicharmus is set up in bronze, rather than in flesh (χάλκεόν... ἀντ' ἀλαθινοῦ). When Theocritus makes this absurd and unnecessary specification, he draws our attention forcefully to the distinction between the real poet and the representation, how 'a bronze person, while nominally a person, in some way falls short of reality.'[77] Or as Bing puts it, 'the poet compels us to acknowledge the distance between life and art.'[78] The epigram therefore raises doubts about three relationships: the poet and his community (and how they remember him); the poet and his verses; the poet and his portrait. All these relationships are deftly problematized by Theocritus' epigram, and just as they ask us to be sceptical about how we engage with Epicharmus' portrait, so too they ask us to consider how we will engage with Theocritus' portrait after his death, and how we will negotiate the questions he has raised in this epigram.

This epigram thus maintains some of the themes of Theocritus' epigram on Pisander. They both talk about the mimetic value and capabilities of portraiture, and, 'at a time when virtuosic descriptions of *tromp l'œuil* sculptural realism were very much current,'[79] choose (rather than revelling in the compelling characterisations offered by poet-portraits) to problematize their convincing, entertaining and lifelike nature. Theocritus asks how sure we are that the sculpture, however 'naturalistic', can offer us any real insights into the character of the poet. Furthermore (and importantly for my study) he asks where we draw the distinction between the poet and his poetry, and whether the sculpture can enlighten us at all about the latter. By deliberately directing our doubt to these issues, Theocritus identifies for us what must have been (or perceived by Theocritus to have been) a wide-spread way of looking at the sculpture of poets. His dissent is some of the strongest possible evidence for what he is dissenting to, which is the credulous and captivated attitude to portraits, approaching them for poetic and biographical insights.

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[77] Tueller 2008, 182. For Tueller's thoughts on several poet's use of this paradoxical "bronze self" phrase, see his chapter 11, 178-184.
[78] Bing 1988(b), 122.
[79] Bing 1988(b), 118.

Theocritus' epigram on the statue of Archilochus has less critical intrigue for the purposes of my study, though some key themes recur. This epigram has been described as 'bland yet informed,' and yet the author of that remark also notes its subtle use of obscure meters to signal a very close engagement with Archilochus' verse: 'the author of this epigram knows a lot about Archilochus, but chooses not to tell all.'[80] It has been suggested that it is not in fact an epigram about sculpture, but a sepulchral epigram, and that it is the *tomb* of Archilochus to which Theocritus directs our attention.[81] Tueller's suggestion that the imperatives in the first line are formulae belonging to sepulchral epigrams is weakened by the fact that they are likewise found frequently in ecphrastic epigrams, and indeed tombs often featured portraits. There is little evidence to determine either way whether this is a sepulchral or a sculptural epigram.

> Ἀρχίλοχον καὶ στᾶθι καὶ εἴσιδε τὸν πάλαι ποιητάν
> τὸν τῶν ἰάμβων, οὗ τὸ μυρίον κλέος
> διῆλθε κἠπὶ νύκτα καὶ ποτ' ἀῶ.
> ἦ ῥά νιν αἱ Μοῖσαι καὶ ὁ Δάλιος ἠγάπευν Ἀπόλλων,
> ὡς ἐμμελής τ' ἐγένετο κἠπιδέξιος
> ἔπεά τε ποιεῖν πρὸς λύραν τ' ἀείδειν.[82]

> 'Stand and look at Archilochus, the poet of iambics from ancient times, whose great fame spreads from the sun's setting place even unto its rising. Yes, surely the Muses and Delian Apollo loved him, for he was made harmonious, and skilled not only in making verses, but also in singing them to the lyre.'

As for the previous two epigrams discussed, this epigram also concerns itself with the monument of a *prōtos heurētēs* ('first inventor' or 'discoverer'): Archilochus was widely held to have invented iambic poetry. This is perhaps reflected in the phrase πάλαι ποιητάν / τὸν τῶν ἰάμβων ('the poet of iambics from ancient times'). It has been suggested that the term πάλαι in this epigram reflects the sense of distance felt by the poet Theocritus between his own milieu and the archaic Parian context of Archilochus. Moreover it is suggested that

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[80] Klooster 2011, 37-38: the epigram 'may have served the purpose of teaching schoolchildren all they needed to know about Archilochus'. Klooster, as in the case of Theocritus' epigram on Anacreon (discussed below) suggests that these highly ludic, literary poems worked in fact as straight-forward educational mnemonics that encapsulated key details about a poet, his work and life. As explained below with the example of Anacreon, I prefer to read them as sceptical parodies of precisely these reductive encapsulations of a poet's life and work; the portraits—as a medium prone to reductive presentations—are the perfect objects by which to deconstruct reductive or caricaturing presentations.
[81] Tueller 2008, 183-184. See also a brief discussion with bibliography in Klooster 2011, 37-38.
[82] Theocritus 21 = Gow-Page 14 = *Palatine Anthology* 7.664.

this term might reflect the style of the sculpture being described, in that it may have depicted the poet Archilochus in a vividly realistic and dramatic way, which is a style often observed in Hellenistic portraits of long-dead Classical and Archaic poets, or alternatively a conspicuously archaising style.[83]

One theme this epigram does share with Theocritus' epigram on the portrait of Anacreon (below) is its sense of the role played by travel and geography in the dissemination and reception of poetry. Theocritus mentions that Archilochus' fame is known from east to west, which implies travel on the part of his verses. This is contrasted with how the final line refers to Archilochus *in performance*, and therefore located either on (most probably) Paros or Thasos. Perhaps this reflects the sense of geography, felt most particularly by scholars in the Hellenistic kingdoms, working in libraries that contained texts from around the Greek world. Archilochus' performances, and his statue may have been statically located at Paros, but his fame and his transcribed verses have travelled and continue travelling 'from the sun's setting place even unto its rising.' The distinction between the travelling verses and the static poet also applies to this epigram itself, which, posing as an inscribed poem, affects immobility and yet as a literary epigram is patently mobile. The epigram on the portrait of Anacreon (discussed immediately below) addresses a similar awareness of the travel (either of poet, written verses, or audience) involved in the reception of poetry, through its address to what is a literary tourist.

Unlike the epigram on the portrait of Archilochus, Theocritus' epigram on the portrait of Anacreon shares many of the critical concerns and themes of the epigrams on Pisander and Epicharmus. Like the above epigrams it addresses the issues of how we differentiate a poet, his poetry, his portrait, and his biographical reception. More clearly than in the cases above, this epigram also appears to take aim at the reductive nature of portraiture, and how it is part of a tradition of literary reception that simplified and pigeon-holed poets according to a limited number of salient characteristics. Of these epigrams it is the epigram on the portrait of Anacreon that has received the most scholarly attention, both

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[83] See my discussion above, 44-47, on the likely but poorly evidenced proposition in Zanker 1995, 146, that Hellenistic portraits of long-dead poets would have had a particularly highly characterised and realist style.

on its own terms and because it has frequently been compared to Leonidas of Tarentum's epigram on a portrait of the same poet.[84]

> Θᾶσαι τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦτον, ὦ ξένε,
> σπουδᾶ καὶ λέγ', ἐπὰν ἐς οἶκον ἔνθῃς·
> "Ἀνακρέοντος εἰκόν' εἶδον ἐν Τέῳ,
> τῶν πρόσθ' εἴ τι περισσὸν ᾠδοποιοῦ."
> προσθεὶς δὲ χὤτι τοῖς νέοισιν ἄδετο,
> ἐρεῖς ἀτρεκέως ὅλον τὸν ἄνδρα.[85]

> 'Look carefully at this statue, foreigner, and tell, when you get home, "I saw the image of Anacreon in Teos, one of the greatest among the poets of old." But add to this that he loved young men, and you will have accurately described the whole man.'

There are two stages in the interpretation of this epigram: one is a straight reading, and a second that explores the ironic possibilities. Patricia Rosenmeyer's understanding of this epigram is that it is reductive and dismissive of Anacreon's complexities of biography, oeuvre and character: Theocritus 'does a disservice by claiming to define the whole man in two lines, but at the same time he achieves and perpetuates the popular reduction of Anacreon's image to a few hedonistic elements.'[86] Michael Tueller similarly offers a straightforward reading of the poem: 'the viewer seems to have gained a clear impression of Anacreon's song, at least, from a close examination of the statue.'[87] Graham Zanker approaches this poem in a similar way and considers it to be an affirmative statement that 'if you just add the biographical detail of Anacreon's pederasty, the statue is so complete in its depiction that you will carry away an accurate impression of the whole man'.[88] G. Zanker takes Theocritus' epigram as an assertion of the capabilities of portraiture to express all we could want to know about a poet. Jacqueline Klooster, on the other hand, acknowledges that the impression of Anacreon given by this epigram (in combination with an imagined portrait) is one-sided and bland, but rather than investigating any irony in this reductive image, suggests that this rendering of Anacreon is deliberately reductive in order for it to be a more appropriate text for use in education.[89] Rather than reading Theocritus as *sceptical* of

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[84] See below, 200-207.
[85] Gow-Page 15 = Theocritus 17 = *Palatine Anthology* 9.599.
[86] Rosenmeyer 1992, 25.
[87] Tueller 2008, 182.
[88] Zanker 2003, 68.
[89] Klooster 2011, 40-41.

simple, caricaturing impressions of the poets, Klooster suggests that he in fact *contributed* to the propagation of such reductive impressions by composing epigrams as educational mnemonics.

I follow a different reading. By suggesting that Theocritus subscribes to the belief that everything one could possibly wish to know about Anacreon can be learnt from an examination of the portrait, and selected supplementary facts, these readings underestimate Theocritus' wit and subtlety. Whether or not we could describe it as 'dissenting', his epigram on the portrait of Anacreon surely calls into question a straightforward reading of the image he is considering, and acts as a caution to any suggestible viewer of portrait sculpture. More boldly, it seems that Theocritus is parodying a popular approach to the portraiture of poets.

Peter Bing's interpretation is useful here. He reads the whole as a conceit that emphasises the distance between Theocritus and Anacreon in time, the distinction between an Anacreontic verse and Anacreon's verse, the distinction between a real inscription and a literary epigram, and the distinction between a mimetic representation of a man and the man himself. Bing sees Theocritus' use of both an Anacreontic metre (in this poem that declares itself not to be by Anacreon), and a Doric dialect (in a poem that poses as an Ionic dedication),[90] as cleverly literary devices that comment first on poetic emulation of Anacreon through adopting his metrical forms,[91] and secondly on how book epigrams pose as verse inscriptions (through its Doric dialect, the epigram belies its supposed role as an Ionian inscription).[92] Through these subtle poetic hints Theocritus calls into question how we read verses that purport to be *by* Anacreon (through their metrical forms), and those that pose as inscribed epigrams.

It is however in the subject matter of the poem that Theocritus addresses the role of portraiture in biography, and indeed how epigrams such as Leonidas' (discussed below) relate to such portraiture. He states, outright, that if we look, and look σπουδᾷ (in earnest), at the statue, note that he was a great poet (τῶν πρόσθ' εἴ τι περισσὸν ᾠδοποιοῦ), and

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[90] This oddity is noted in Gow and Page 1965, 532.
[91] Theocritus slightly predates the blossoming of the *Anacreontic* tradition (as far as it survives). However, it is possible that emulative poems on Anacreontic themes and in Anacreontic metres were already being produced in the third century.
[92] Bing 1988(b), *passim*.

finally remember his pederasty (προσθεὶς δὲ χὤτι τοῖς νέοισιν ἄδετο) then we shall accurately know the whole man (ἐρεῖς ἀτρεκέως ὅλον τὸν ἄνδρα.). The idea that in these three lines we could gain an accurate impression of the whole biography and oeuvre of Anacreon is patently absurd, and this is precisely Theocritus' point, as Bing also argues. Moreover, Theocritus denies us any clues as to how to imagine the portrait in question. As Prioux points out, we are denied any ecphrastic *enargeia* ('vividness') with which to visualise the portrait.[93] Since he has not presented us an image to imagine and examine, Theocritus' instruction to 'look carefully' must take up a different role. Perhaps we are invited not to 'look carefully', but to be careful about how we look—to use the terminology introduced in chapter two, we are encouraged to look in the manner of the πεπαιδευμένος (the educated man), rather than the ἰδιώτης (the common man).[94]

This concern is emphasised particularly by the balancing of the first and last lines: Θᾶσαι τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦτον, ὦ ξένε, invokes our gaze, and sets up this gaze as the principal concern of the whole epigram, as in many ecphrastic epigrams (though this epigram can scarcely be called ecphrastic, given its starkness). But most importantly we note the use of ἀνδριάς, which must be recalled in the ἀνήρ of the last line. The statue is contrasted with the man, and the perversity of taking one for the other is emphasised.[95] This balance of the two reinforces Bing's interpretation of the epigram as one that draws the contrast between the actual object and its mimetic representation. Theocritus cleverly parodies the gullible literary tourist (we are, after all, referred to as ὦ ξένε), who from gazing at a statue and its accompanying inscription takes home the barest of biographical facts under the misapprehension that he has learnt about the 'whole man', and that 'accurately'.

Theocritus is aware of how, in its vivid characterisation, portraiture can be extremely convincing *but* has the capacity to give a reductive and distorted understanding of the personality and the poetry in question. He therefore satirises this credulous perspective of

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[93] Prioux 2007, 12-18.

[94] See above, 94-97. On the development of a rational, critical mode of viewing in the Hellenistic period, see first Tanner 2006, esp. 205-276.

[95] This sort of perceptual error reaches its apotheosis in scenes such as Encolpius' mistaking a mosaic for a real dog at Trimalchio's house (Petronius *Satyrica* 29.1).

the gullible ξένος, the foolish literary tourist.[96] In this epigram there is much play with the concepts of the material, the literary and the real. Bing's dialectical and metric analyses of the poem (as mentioned above) make it quite clear that the epigram is foregrounding its own fakery: it is not by Anacreon, and it is not really on Teos. The artifice of the poem directs our attention to the artifice of the statue and the gulf between the ἀνδριάς and the ἀνήρ. Theocritus is sceptical of the validity of this role for portraiture: we are asked critically to examine how we are looking.

These four epigrams of Theocritus, and more specifically those on Pisander, Epicharmus, and Anacreon, share several important themes and concerns. All these three share the concern (characteristic of so much Hellenistic ecphrastic epigram) about the boundaries between illusionistic art and reality, and (light-heartedly) the risk of taking one for the other. All three epigrams share a concern about how and whether we can learn about important elements in the poets' biographies and works from the portrait, and all three at least seem to approach the issue of how a reader can differentiate between the poet (and his biography) and the poet's works (and their reception). The role of the portrait as a symbol for the poet and his works is very much at issue here, but for Theocritus it is a symbol that cannot be relied upon. Theocritus, it seems, is a sceptical viewer of portraits: not only is he cautious about illusionistic art, but he is also doubtful at the value of highly characterised (and perhaps caricaturing) poet portraits to teach us what is important about the poet in question.

Leonidas of Tarentum on Anacreon

Perhaps Theocritus' epigrams are so self-consciously featureless, un-indulgent, and sceptical because contemporary epigrammatists were producing verses about art that did involve ecphrastic *enargeia*, and that seem wholeheartedly to have enjoyed the potential role of the portrait to act as a symbol for the poet and his works. Leonidas of Tarentum, for example, is far more willing than Theocritus to engage in a psychological viewing of a

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[96] Theocritus' parody of a misguided ancient tourist viewing the statue of Anacreon is not unique, and a similar process is occurring in Callimachus' sixth *Iamb* according to Petrovic's analysis: Petrovic 2006.

vividly realistic portrait of Anacreon, as I show in the paragraphs below. If he too had concerns about the reductive nature of caricaturing poet portraits or whether they too straightforwardly conflate the characters developed in poetic reception with the character of the poetry itself, they are not his focus in his epigram on a portrait of Anacreon. Instead, Leonidas' epigram explores positively how a portrait can embody, materialise, and symbolise key characteristics of the oeuvre of a poet.

Anacreon was a particular focus for epigrammatic attention: as Bing reports, 'Antipater of Sidon… wrote no less than five sepulchral poems on *Anacreon alone*.'[97] Anacreon is, therefore, far from typical. However, I suggest that the epigrammatists' focus on Anacreon for their literary deliberations is not because the points that can be made about Anacreon's portrait are unique to Anacreon, but because he is a poet whose literary reception and portraiture were particularly characterful. He was "bon à penser" for the problem of poet-portraiture and its relationship to literary reception.

I suggest that the image of Anacreon conjured up by Leonidas' epigram engages with a biographical tradition that is derived directly from (a selective reading of) Anacreon's verses. It can be considered a direct embodiment of Anacreon's oeuvre. Finally, I explore the consequences for the interpretation of this epigram of attempts to construct its implied material or performative context.

There is only one extant sculptural portrait type of Anacreon and, despite some debate on the matter,[98] the majority of scholars consider it a fifth-century sculpture, on the basis of style (fig. 25).[99] I discuss this portrait above,[100] and it is clearly not the portrait described by Leonidas' epigram.[101] Several other portrait types have been postulated: there also appears to have been a seated portrait, in a type of representation often used for lyric poets that is recalled both on Tean coins of the 90s AD, and in a mosaic in Autun of the

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[97] Bing 1988(a), 58-59.

[98] For some contributions to this debate see above, 115 n. 117, and Ridgway 1998, 729-736; Rosenmeyer 1992, 24-25, quoting Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1913, 105; Zanker 1995, 22-25; Richter 1965, 77-78.

[99] The best example of this sculpture is a full length version now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. I.N.491.

[100] See above, 118-122.

[101] On which Gow, Page and Rosenmeyer are all agreed: Gow and Page 1965, 340-341; Rosenmeyer 1992, 24.

second century AD; there is no reason to believe that these two shared a model.[102] Scholars have hypothesised that the epigrams of Theocritus (above) and Leonidas (below) relate to real portraits, but there is no justification for this assumption.[103] Nor in fact is there any proof that *either* portrait existed (though it is plausible that Theocritus' reference to a portrait on Teos reflected the common practice of setting up posthumous honorific portraits to poets in their home towns).

In any case, it is unclear how far an epigrammatist's knowledge of a sculpture was acquired through autopsy or through knowledge of a literary tradition about a sculpture, or even whether or not a portrait existed.[104] Although it is likely that some of the portraits described by epigrammatists *did* exist, many scholars consider it unlikely that the particular portrait described by Leonidas existed, on account of the scandalous nature of its characterisation of the poet.[105] In some ways it makes little difference: the mobility of literary epigrams on papyri is such that many readers would not have seen the portrait in question, even if it *did* exist. Indeed, viewing the particular portrait described was not essential for the appreciation of this poem. Rather it depends on the reader's knowledge of the genre of portrait sculpture of poets and its general characteristics, which is something that the epigrammatist could assume in his readers.

> Πρέσβυν Ἀνακρείοντα χύδαν σεσαλαγμένον οἴνῳ
> θάεο δινωτοῦ στρεπτὸν ὕπερθε λίθου,
> ὡς ὁ γέρων λίχνοισιν ἐπ' ὄμμασιν ὑγρὰ δεδορκὼς
> ἄχρι καὶ ἀστραγάλων ἕλκεται ἀμπεχόναν·
> δισσῶν δ' ἀρβυλίδων τὰν μὲν μίαν, οἷα μεθυπλήξ,
> ὤλεσεν· ἐν δ' ἑτέρᾳ ῥικνὸν ἄραρε πόδα.
> μέλπει δ' ἠὲ Βάθυλλον ἐφίμερον ἠὲ Μεγιστέα,
> αἰωρῶν παλάμᾳ τὰν δυσέρωτα χέλυν.
> ἀλλὰ πάτερ Διόνυσε, φύλασσέ μιν· οὐ γὰρ ἔοικεν
> ἐκ Βάκχου πίπτειν Βακχιακὸν θέραπα.[106]

'See old Anacreon, stuffed with too much wine, bent over on that rounded stone,
see how the old man moistly stares with hungry eyes, and how his shawl falls

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right down to his ankles. Of his two shoes, the drunk has lost one, and into the other is crammed his wrinkly foot. He sings of lovely Bathyllus or Megisteus, holding up in his hand his love-lorn lyre. But father Dionysus, watch out for him. For it would not be seemly for the servant of Bacchus to collapse at Bacchus' hand.'

The sculpture that Leonidas describes concurs with a particular tradition of Anacreon's reception, namely the clichés of him as a drinker and a lover that are gained from a selective reading of his poetry.[107] The portrait has synthesised them into a single image. He has lost a shoe in his stupor, a symbol apparently associated with Dionysiac abandon;[108] his robe is falling from his shoulders and gathering about his ankles. The Anacreontic clichés (of the poet as a lover and a drinker) seem to develop in the third and second centuries BC (though they have clear antecedents in the fifth and fourth centuries BC) and go on to characterise most discussion of the poet at least until the second century AD.[109] The most famous expression of this trend in Anacreon's reception is the so-called Anacreontic corpus, a large group poems found in an appendix to the *Palatine Anthology*, dating from the first century BC to the fifth century AD. These poems focus exclusively on Anacreon's three reported enthusiasms: singing, wine-drinking and love-making. Leonidas' description of this statue never errs from this caricature, and therefore might be considered not a depiction of the historical (or biographical) Anacreon, but an embodiment of the oeuvre of Anacreon, as reduced to the level of caricature by a selective reading.

Unlike Theocritus' sceptical approach, Leonidas' epigram seems to confirm and work in consensus with the statue that he describes and offers us some biographical details that the imagined portrait itself could not convey, such as the names of his (would-be) lovers, Bathyllus and Megisteus. This role fits what Bing describes as 'the traditional dialectical function between a statue and an inscription, that is to provide a sufficient supplement for what cannot be conveyed in the visual experience.'[110]

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[107] This is a well-studied phenomenon. In recent years Rosenmeyer 1992 has characterised it in the terms of a positive feed-back loop, and Lambin 2002 uses the simile of a chemical reduction, or concentration. For an overview, see Budelmann 2009; Wallis 2014; Bing 2014.

[108] Prioux 2007, 10 with n. 8.

[109] Notably this cliché is referred to unquestioningly by Cicero *Tusculan Disputations* 4.71.8-9 and by Seneca *Letters* 88.37.6-9. On the literary-biographical tradition of Anacreon see Rosenmeyer 1992.

[110] Bing 1988(b), 121. A subtler exploration of the relationship between art work and epigram (with a particular focus on honorific statuary) is given in Platt 2007.

Beyond the characterisation of Anacreon, I suggest that this epigram is all about *looking*: how we look at Anacreon and how he ogles us in return. The invocation to 'look' (θάεο) comes early in Leonidas' poem at the start of the second line. This is common in inscribed epigrams, which often address imagined passers-by and direct their attention to the object with which the inscription is associated, and even more characteristic of literary ecphrastic epigram that (disconnected from its notional object) needs to signal that it is about an art-work. In the following line Anacreon's gaze is also described in some detail ('how the old man moistly stares with hungry eyes'), and the consequences of this are discussed below.

The result of this focus on how we are *looking* at the statue (and how it is looking back at us) is first of all to remind us that we cannot see the statue in the first place. Our encounter with this epigram is not on a statue base, but in front of us, in a book (or rather a papyrus scroll) or being performed. The base of the statue (the supposed location of any inscribed epigram) is explicitly referred to in the epigram: δινωτοῦ στρεπτὸν ὕπερθε λίθου ('bent over on a carefully rounded stone'). Of course what is carefully crafted and rounded is not the stone base but the poem itself. Leonidas' reference to the statue base works much the same as his invocation to us to 'look': both remind us how we cannot see the statue, or its base.

This poem and Theocritus' epigrams on the portraits of poets (and many other ecphrastic epigrams) all foreground their own escape from their notional origins on statue bases, into books and performance. The contrast is therefore brought to mind, that just as Anacreon's poetry has been *embodied* by the sculpture, the epigram has been *disembodied* from its own (notional) statue base origin.[111] In fact there is a chain of embodiment and disembodiment: Anacreon's poetry has been embodied by the sculpture (an image of a text), the sculpture has been disembodied by the epigram (an inscribed text of an image), and the epigram *itself* has been disembodied by no longer being in its (purely notional) home as an

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[111] See for comparison Squire 2010(b), 604: 'The image of the "lying" artist pertains equally to the "lying" poet; it recalls the paradoxical warning, descended from Hesiod, but particularly resonant in the poetry of Callimachus, against believing all that we read.'

inscription on the marble statue base (a text of an inscribed text).[112] This then is a 'text of an inscribed text of an image of a text.'[113]

Dislocated from any inscribed context and from the object it purports to describe, this epigram invites its reader to imagine a situation in which the encounter with Anacreon's portrait and its inscription may have taken place.[114] The epigram's symposiastic subject-matter and style suggest we are invited to imagine this encounter taking place as part of a *kōmos*, the drunken procession through the streets that could follow an evening of drinking at a symposium.[115] Anacreon is just as much associated in his literary reception with the *kōmos* as with the symposium. Particularly the early images of Anacreon (and Anacreon-like figures) on Attic pottery often involve komastic scenes.[116] Not only is the komastic procession the natural habitat of Anacreon just as much as the symposium, he has lost his shoe, which is surely a more likely result of a drunken procession through the streets than of a polite and controlled (if inebriated) setting of the symposium.

Leonidas' portrait thus offers us an Anacreon mid-procession and this context can be reflected back upon the reader. If the reader is to imagine this portrait as a public honorific statue, it is likely to be in a public space in the open air (although most likely a regulated and defined public space such as a sanctuary or agora). As such, our encounter with such an object is most likely to be imagined when out and about in the streets, and possibly when taking part in our own *kōmos* procession. Coming across a vividly depicted Anacreon portrait while drunkenly parading through the streets, he might well become a fellow reveller in the mind's eye, and the occasion would be fully ripe for an elegant, if intoxicated, address to the portrait. The invocation to Dionysus not to let the statue topple over might take on a new immediacy as one gazes up at it, a weighty piece of bronze tottering several cubits above you upon its raised statue-base.

Not only does the viewer find himself observing a statue on the verge of falling, he also becomes the *object* of a drunken and lecherous gaze from Anacreon (his eyes are λίχνος, and his stare is described as ὑγρός). There is a potential metapoetic interpretation in

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[112] These poems' nature as images of the poet or poetry at a 'third degree' is considered several times by Prioux 2007, esp. 1-18.

[113] Paraphrased from a chapter title in Squire 2011, 357.

[114] Bing's *Ergänzungsspiel*: Bing 2009 (1995).

[115] With thanks to B. Graziosi for this idea.

[116] Boardman and Kurtz 1986; Price 1990; Salskov Roberts 2002; Wallis 2014.

Anacreon's λίχνος eyes. Though it seems at first that Anacreon's gaze is purely erotic, it is

intriguing that λίχνος is used in metaphors for a lust after culture, literature and

information: the listener in Callimachus' *Iamb* 6 is described as λίχνος for information about

Pheidias' Olympian Zeus (motivated by what Callimachus perhaps regards as the *wrong*

priorities), and later Polybius uses the term in a simile where it describes a lust for

literature.[117] Given that Anacreon's lecherous look is described in terms that are occasionally

used to describe literary appetite, and he was famous for desiring the younger generation,

his lustful gaze might well be directed at Leonidas, the poet viewing and describing the

statue. There is a suggestive ambiguity as to whether Anacreon's gaze is erotic or literary.

Leonidas (as the constructed viewer) becomes a younger poet after whom Anacreon lusts,

and Leonidas' verse is thereby transformed into an item of desire to one of his great

forbears, Anacreon.

Anacreon's gaze is surely contrasted with that of the viewer: where Anacreon's gaze

is lustful, Leonidas' is surely amused and pitying. This dissonance and lack of reciprocity of

gazes make Anacreon's look of love seem all the more ridiculous and pitiable, in that it is

not reciprocated with similar lust; rather with amusement and even concern that he may fall.

However, just as Anacreon's apparently erotic gaze might also have a literary meaning, so

too Leonidas' pitying gaze can have a literary significance.[118] By adopting the tone of the

amused but pitying onlooker of this drunken old man, Leonidas positions himself in literary

history as part of a younger poetic generation. He observes the antics (and poetry) of the

ancient Anacreon with a certain degree of distaste, and yet has sufficient respect for the old

poet (and his poetry) to wish that he will not topple over and disgrace himself. As such,

Leonidas presents himself as a far more controlled, less drunken and lusty, and crucially a

younger (that is, later) poet, with a distinctly equivocal opinion of Anacreon's verse.

Kathryn Gutzwiller has interpreted the invocation against Anacreon's fall in the light

of frequent references in Hellenistic epigram to the immortality Anacreon gained through

his poems: there is a paradox in a poet who follows to oblivion his enthusiasm for wine,

love, and song, and yet who achieves poetic immortality through his poetic expressions of

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[117] Callimachus *Iamb* 6 fr. 196.45-46 Pfeiffer; Petrovic 2006, 33. Polybius *Histories* 3.57.7. Euripides uses this word twice (though in both cases the verses have been doubted by some as interpolations) to express curiosity: *Hippolytus* 912-3; *Fragments* 1063.8.
[118] As kindly suggested to me by Barbara Graziosi.

those enthusiasms. Both Anacreon's immortality and his fragility emanate from his devotion to Dionysus. As such Leonidas' description of Anacreon's near-fall becomes a critical observation of a paradox relating to Anacreon's poetry: its immortality both relies on and is in tension with its intense focus on all-too-mortal desires (and desires which at times, such as in the case of heavy drinking, in fact heighten our mortal fragility).[119]

Ultimately, looking at Anacreon's portrait—and (in return) being ogled by *it*—is a productive exercise for Leonidas' literary self-positioning. By expressing distaste balanced with concern for Anacreon, Leonidas presents himself as a younger (later), more self-controlled and composed poet. Leonidas describes *Anacreon's* gaze such that Leonidas himself can be understood as its object, thereby positioning himself once again not only as a younger poet, but also as a poet who (whose works) might have been desired by an earlier poetic generation. Anacreon and Leonidas were separated by centuries, but by describing a face-to-face encounter with the portrait of this much earlier poet, and by characterising so vividly the respective attitudes and gazes of himself and Anacreon's portrait, he can present a poetic relationship across centuries as a directly personal encounter, and the nature of that poetic relationship as immediate relational emotions.

In conclusion, for all the poets whose poetry is discussed in the above paragraphs the portraits of their poetic predecessors are considered a way to think about the poetry of those predecessors. Some poets indulge in this role of portraiture, such as Leonidas and Posidippus, for whom describing a portrait becomes a way of elaborating on the depicted poet's style and character. Theocritus' approach is far more critical: he parodies or satirises a naïve approach to poet portraiture that takes it as a biographical document by which we can 'clearly know the whole man accurately'. However, all of these poets are conscious of how the poet-portraits, and indeed their own epigrams, cross boundaries of materiality and medium: between text and image and back again. Many use verbal parallels to interrogate the distinction between the portrait and the real man, and deliberately signal the immateriality of the poems themselves. The result of this is to reveal that the poets in question, surely reflecting to some degree their third-century intellectual milieu, have a clear curiosity about how they and others consider the portraiture of ancient poets to be related to their works, biographies and literary reception.

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[119] Gutzwiller 2014.

The role of the portrait as a symbol for the poet and his works is exploited, explored and problematized in all of these epigrams. For Posidippus, the portrait works quite well as a symbol: the aesthetic characteristics of the portrait can mirror the literary characteristics of the poet. For Theocritus, this role is far less simple. The distinction between the poet and his works is examined, and (more importantly for this study) Theocritus aims sceptical irony at the role of the portrait as an object by which a poet can be simplified in literary history or exploited as cultural capital by honorific practice. Leonidas, by contrast, indulges in the role of the portrait as a symbol for the poet's works, and the way in which a portrait can offer a vivid (if unsubtle) characterisation of a poet. His epigram on the portrait of Anacreon is at once a rich *ecphrasis*, and also an exploration of how poetry, portraiture, and performance can create exciting and memorable characters. Many of the epigrams discussed in this chapter also use the portraits of poets in order to help the epigrammatist define his own position in ancient literary history, and their relationships (either literary or personal) with earlier poets. What these poems all demonstrate is how a portrait's role as a symbol for a poet and his works was not only used by Hellenistic poets as a way in which to engage with earlier poets and define their relationships with them, but also critically examined and at times undermined.

4.2 Living Roman Poets and Portraits of Poets

The Hellenistic poets found these portraits useful because they could use them as symbols, or in metonymy, for the works of the poets themselves. They are objects through which these poets could express their relationships with these earlier poets. The enactment of relationships with antecedents through devotion to portraits is a phenomenon familiar in the ancient world. Accounts of such relationships are particularly prevalent in Roman sources, possibly due to the long-established use of wax ancestor images in Roman houses. Sallust relates how Fabius Maximus and Publius Scipio were stimulated by exemplary fervour on gazing at wax images of their ancestors.[120] Julius Caesar's distress at feeling

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[120] Sallust *On the Jugurthine War* 4.5-6. On the exemplary role of wax ancestor masks see Flower 1996, esp. 220-221. See also e.g. Valerius Maximus *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* 5.8.3.

inadequate before an image of Alexander the Great is another well-known case of the exemplary role of portraits for Roman statesmen.[121] It is not only among generals and statesmen that portraits could assume this devotional role: in chapter two I mentioned the particular Epicurean devotional use of portraiture, as reported in Cicero and elsewhere.[122] Cicero's dialogues likewise link him and his friends to different thinkers through their relationship with the portraits of those individuals.[123] The second-century AD Roman sophist Favorinus, whose oration to the Corinthians (hoping to have his portrait remain in their public library) is preserved by Dio Chrysostom, offers the argument that his portrait would be a useful exemplar for generations to come.[124] The use of portraits for the contemplation of exemplars is thus an important element of Roman engagements with portraiture.[125] Another account of such engagement through portraiture with moral and philosophical exemplars can be found in the writings of Seneca.

> Suspiciendi tamen sunt et ritu deorum colendi. Quidni ego magnorum uirorum et imagines habeam incitamenta animi et natales celebrem? Quidni ego illos honoris causa semper appellem? Quam uenerationem praeceptoribus meis debeo, eandem illis praeceptoribus generis humani, a quibus tanti boni initia fluxerunt.[126]

> Gummere translation (LCL): 'They [our philosophical predecessors] deserve respect, however, and should be worshipped with a divine ritual. Why should I not keep statues of great men to kindle my enthusiasm, and celebrate their birthdays? Why should I not continually greet them with respect and honour? The reverence which I owe to my own teachers I owe in like measure to those teachers of the human race, the source from which the beginnings of such great blessings have flowed.'

This is familiar from the personal devotion shown to Epicurus through the cultivation of his portrait, as studied by Bernard Frischer.[127] Here Seneca outlines his reasons for keeping portraits: as 'incitamenta animi' ('incitements to the mind'), that is, as exemplary images to inspire useful philosophical thought in him. It is clear from his account that he has

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[121] Cassius Dio *Roman Histories* 37.52.2; Suetonius *Lives of the Caesars* "Divus Julius" 7.1; Plutarch *Caesar* 11.3.

[122] See above, 82-94.Cicero *On the Limits of Good and Evil* 5.3; Frischer 2006.

[123] On Cicero's pairings of his friends with portraits of historical thinkers, see Zanker 1995, 205. On portraits, garden sculpture, and villa culture in Cicero more generally, see Marvin 1993.

[124] Dio Chrysostom, *Orations* 37.8.

[125] In the context of libraries (such as that in Corinth, where Favorinus' statue was set up then removed), it is discussed by Nicholls 2005, 262-263.

[126] Seneca *Letters* 64.9.

[127] Frischer 2006.

a limited number of portraits of individuals who are particularly important exemplars for him, and that he has a devotional relationship to these objects that is quasi-religious ('ritu deorum', 'with divine ritual'), and quasi-familial ('natales celebrem', 'celebrate their birthdays'). Seneca advocates an approach to the portraits of philosophers as exemplary images, and defends his almost worshipful behaviour towards them.

Roman elites seem most ready to adopt statesmen, orators and generals as exemplars. Even when portraits of intellectual exemplars *were* sought, the surviving sources suggest that philosophers were far more prevalent than poets. This may be because Roman philosophical writers were for some reason more willing than poets were to announce how their engagement with material culture supported their intellectual interests. Self-identification with an intellectual community definitely appears to be one of the motives for portrait display in the case of Epicureans.[128] However rare, there *are* isolated cases where writers refer to individuals treating poet portraits as devotional objects and exemplary images. The cases of Silius Italicus and Thersagoras (a probably fictional poet described by Ps.-Lucian) are useful in this regard, and this pair forms the case study for the remainder of this chapter. Although the two texts that feature these figures have different concerns, as I describe presently, they have in common that they address cases where individual poets develop a close relationship with the portraits of their predecessors, and where the writers describing this relationship adopt a somewhat sceptical attitude.

Silius Italicus and the Portrait of Virgil

Silius Italicus' interaction with Virgil's portrait (and other material culture relating to Virgil) is described by Pliny the Younger, in a letter on the death of Silius:

> Erat φιλόκαλος usque ad emacitatis reprehensionem. Plures isdem in locis uillas possidebat, adamatisque nouis priores neglegebat. Multum ubique librorum, multum statuarum, multum imaginum, quas non habebat modo, uerum etiam uenerabatur, Vergili ante omnes, cuius natalem religiosius quam suum celebrabat, Neapoli maxime, ubi monimentum eius adire ut templum solebat.[129]

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[128] Frischer 2006.
[129] Pliny the Younger *Letters* 3.7.8.

'He was a lover of beauty to the extent that he was scolded for always buying
works. He possessed many villas in the same place, and neglected the older ones
for love of the new. Everywhere were many books, many statues, many portraits,
which he did not only own, but also worshipped; and that of Virgil before all
others, whose birthday he celebrated more religiously than his own, at Naples in
particular, where he was accustomed to attend his tomb as if it were a temple.'

Silius Italicus was a successful politician who, having achieved consular rank under
Nero, turned to poetry during his retirement. Virgil is a conspicuous presence in all the first-
century epicists: Lucan, Valerius Flaccus, Statius, and Silius Italicus. Silius' epic poem, the
Punica (an account of the Punic Wars between Rome and Carthage) relates directly to
Virgil's *Aeneid* by presenting itself as an account of the fulfilment of Dido's prophecy
(delivered in *Aeneid* 4.590-629) of Carthaginian revenge for her abandonment by Aeneas,
thus placing his narrative as a succession from that of Virgil. An emulative relationship to
Virgil is an important, and well-studied feature of Silius' verse, and the *Aeneid* is a primary
intertext for the *Punica*.[130]

Pliny uses the language of religious veneration to describe Silius' relationship with
the material culture associated with Virgil, his most important literary model. We are told
that he did not simply *own* Virgil's portrait 'uerum etiam uenerabatur' ('but even
worshipped it'). Although "ueneror" was not exclusively used of gods and could also
describe reverence between mortals, it had strong associations with religious devotion.
Similarly when Pliny tells us that Silius celebrated Virgil's birthday 'religiosius quam suum'
(more religiously than his own), he uses a term ("religiosus") that could be used to describe
strict scrupulousness in moral affairs, but was more commonly used to describe
fastidiousness in religious observances. Finally, Pliny describes Silius' attendance at Virgil's
tomb 'ut templum' ('as if it were a temple').[131] Here there is no ambiguity, and Pliny casts
Silius' behaviour in a religious light.

Silius' veneration of material culture relating to Virgil was a metaphorical
supplement for his literary devotion to Virgil's poetry. I suggest that Pliny's evocation of a
religious paradigm for Silius' behaviour (that raises the question as to whether his normal
admiring, emulative relationship with his exemplar was in fact a transgressive and unusual

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[130] Hardie 1993, esp. e.g. 64-65. See also chapters in Augoustakis 2010, esp. Ganiban 2010, and
Klaassen 2010.

[131] On the later attempted identifications of Virgil's tomb and its role in scholarly, artistic and popular
culture, see Trapp 1984; Trapp 1986; Hendrix 2016 (forthcoming).

religious obsession) is a rhetorical technique used in order to emphasise more clearly the depth of Silius' otherwise normal admiring, emulative relationship with his exemplar. Silius' relationship with Virgil's tomb and portrait are central to this effect because it is Silius' interaction with *material* culture that can be compared to the paradigm of interactions with religious material culture (worshipping a cult image, or attending a temple). We know that Silius' strove in many respects to emulate Virgil, and therefore it is reasonable to assume that Virgil's portrait and tomb (Virgil was buried near Naples) became objects of emulative contemplation for Silius, much like how portraits were used as exemplary stimuli by the Roman statesmen, generals, orators and philosophers mentioned above,[132] except that Pliny uses the simile of religion in order to make it clear that Silius' emulative devotion to Virgil's portrait and tomb was particularly fervent.

Pliny's account of Silius' death, life and habits in retirement comes at a significant point in the third book of *Letters*. John Henderson has analysed the book as a self-portrait of Pliny and a hand-book for the curation of the "self", concocted from literary portraits of others, both exemplary and non-exemplary, such as Titus Vestricius Spurinna and Pliny the Elder.[133] At the heart of this book, according to Henderson's reading, is letter 3.6, in which Pliny describes a piece of sculpture he has bought (a statuette of an aged man), that he will dedicate in a temple accompanied by Pliny's name, and a record of his principal achievements. Directly before this letter (i.e. in letter 3.5) comes a brief overview of Pliny the Elder's life and habits, directly afterwards (i.e. letter 3.7) is the letter from which the above passage is quoted, on the death and life of Silius Italicus. A common theme throughout the book is how an aristocrat might best engage in leisured study, and this is undoubtedly at issue in the letter about Silius Italicus. These letters of Pliny seem to focus on the curation of the self through the observation of positive and negative exemplars, and often engage with material culture relating to these exemplars. It is in this context that we can best understand this description of Silius Italicus' self-cultivation through devotion to Virgil, expressed and indulged through his devotion to the poet's statue.[134] Given its role in this collection of letters, we are invited to consider where Silius is forming a positive exemplar, and where he

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[132] See above, 208-210.
[133] Henderson 2002.
[134] Henderson 2002.

is a negative exemplar: I explore the argument below that Silius' devotion to Virgil's portrait is subtly presented as a slightly ridiculous habit that is symptomatic of his amateurism.

Silius Italicus' relationship with Virgil's *portrait* is not the only way he expressed admiration for his literary forbears. He bought and restored the so-called tomb of Virgil near Naples, where he was said to celebrate the poet's birthday with great dedication. Pliny also refers to Silius Italicus' penchant for villas, but what he does not mention is that one of these had belonged at one point to Cicero.[135] These facts are picked up by Martial, who dutifully (Silius Italicus was probably a patron) interprets them as Silius would have wished. Martial declared that Silius was a successor to Cicero in prose, and Virgil in poetry by asking who could more appropriately take charge of their physical remains than Silius (Cicero's property, Virgil's tomb).[136]

For Jean-Michel Hulls, Pliny's description of Silius' devotion to the portrait of Virgil casts the later poet's attitude to his predecessor in the light of a collector, rather than a truly inspired successor.[137] We are told by Pliny that Silius' poetry was written 'more through effort than through talent' ('scribebat carmina maiore cura quam ingenio'),[138] and for Hulls it is telling that Silius' relationship with Virgil is mentioned *only* in a passage that relates his reprehensibly zealous collecting practice. For Hulls, Pliny is thus suggesting that Silius' relationship with Virgil is alike to his relationship with villas and objects: Virgil is monumental, immutable, something that can be grasped as a whole and acquired. Hulls suggests that this attitude is the result of "ancient reading systems," and in particular the use of Virgil as a school text that was learnt as a literary monument, or a fixed point of cultural reference. A portrait of Virgil (or a copy of the *Aeneid*) is described in precisely this sort of school room setting by Juvenal, blackening with the soot of the students' lamps.[139]

Whether or not Pliny does present Silius' conception of Virgil as "monolithic", Hulls' reading is surely correct in suggesting that Pliny's description of Silius' relationship with Virgil is not entirely positive. Silius' collection of material culture relating to Virgil and

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[135] Martial *Epigrams* 11.48.

[136] Martial *Epigrams* 11.48. For further discussion see Vessey 1974, where Martial *Epigrams* 7.63 is also discussed fruitfully in this light.

[137] Hulls 2011.

[138] Pliny the Younger *Letters* 3.7.5.

[139] Juvenal *Satire* 7.226. Whether this refers to a statue, book, or painting is unknown. (Friedländer and Courtney consider portraits more likely, Mayor and Stramaglia are undecided).

Cicero is presented as part of his role as an aristocratic amateur. That Silius' zealous collection of tombs, villas, and portraits relating to Virgil and Cicero does not make him their true literary successors is clear from how Pliny judges that Silius' poetry was written 'maiore cura quam ingenio.' No matter how devoted Silius was to these literary forbears, that devotion alone cannot make him a worthy successor or equal to them—he was a man who could expend great effort, but could not rely on talent. Silius' devotion to these poets when juxtaposed with the aristocratic and academic amateurism of his writings (as perceived by Pliny) makes him look ever so slightly foolish. Just as Theocritus' epigrams discussed earlier in this chapter express scepticism about the profitability of close or devoted engagement with the portraits of dead poets, so too Pliny seems to be rather cynical about the benefits of Silius' devotion to Virgil's portrait.

Henderson's study reminds us that Pliny and his "cultivation of the self" are present in the background at all times: this is not merely a literary image of Silius Italicus contemplating a material image of Virgil; it is a literary image of Pliny the Younger, contemplating a literary image of Silius Italicus contemplating a material image of Virgil. The letter, fundamentally is about Pliny and his various models for the good life (some good, some bad), the role played by Silius here is as a model or anti-model of how to live. That Silius himself is depicted in the act of considering his own exemplary model (Virgil), makes Pliny's own model-seeking behaviour all the more clear. Whether Pliny's approach to Silius' literary portrait is as a positive or negative exemplar is not explicit, but we suspect (along with Hulls) that it is subtly negative, and that Silius' devotion to Virgil's portrait presents him somewhat in the guise of a misguided old amateur.

Ps.-Lucian, Thersagoras, and the Portrait of Homer

Although some level of engagement with portraits of exemplary figures was not unheard of, it is clear that Silius Italicus' attempts to cultivate a close relationship with these figures through their homes, tombs and portraits was unusual, as is evident from the fact that Pliny and Martial see fit to remark on it. However, this use of the portrait in order to engage with an exemplary figure is not unique to Silius Italicus. A useful and illustrative comparison (though not used elsewhere in scholarship for this purpose) can be found in

near-contemporary literature, though of a very different genre to Pliny's letters. In Ps.-Lucian's dialogue *In Praise of Demosthenes*, the probably-fictional poet Thersagoras is depicted visiting the portrait of Homer on that poet's birthday and praying that Homer will grant him poetic talent and inspiration. Thersagoras also recites to the portrait the fruits of those prayers: his own verses (the success of which he attributes directly to Homer).[140] The attribution of this dialogue to Lucian is disputed on the basis of judgements of its quality and the inability of some scholars to detect parodic or satirical material in the dialogue (though these features are present, as I discuss below). Some scholars have questioned these judgements as bases for doubting Lucianic authorship, and the question remains open—it is, in any case, a debate of little consequence for the purposes of my discussion.[141] In the passage quoted here the poet Thersagoras describes to the dialogue's first-person narrator why he is near the portrait of Homer:

> πολὺ μέντοι πρότερον, ἔφη, προσειπεῖν τουτονὶ δεόμενος ἥκω—τῇ χειρὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον ἐπιδείξας· ἴστε δήπου τὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ τῶν Πτολεμαίων νεώ, τὸν καθειμένον τὰςκόμας—προσερῶν τε οὖν αὐτὸν ἀφικόμην, ἔφη, καὶ προσευξόμενος ἀφθόνων διδόναι τῶν ἐπῶν.
> Εἰ γάρ, ἔφην, ἐν εὐχαῖς τὰ πράγματα εἴη. πάλαι γάρ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν ἐνοχλεῖν μοι δοκῶ τὸν Δημοσθένην ἐπικουρῆσαί τι πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ γενέθλιον. εἰ οὖν ἡμῖν ἐπαρκέσει τὸ εὔχεσθαι, συμβουλοίμην ἄν σοι· κοινὸν γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸ ἕρμαιον.
> Ἐγὼ μέν, ἔφη, καὶ τῶν νύκτωρ τε καὶ τήμερον πεποιημένων δοκῶ μοι τῆς εὐροίας τὸν Ὅμηρον ἐπιγράψασθαι· θείως γάρ πως καὶ μαντικῶς εἰς τὴν ποίησιν ἐξεβακχεύθην. κρινεῖς δ᾽ αὐτός· ἐπίτηδες γάρ τοι τουτὶ τὸ γραμματεῖον περιηγόμην, εἰ ἄρα τῷ σχολὴν ἄγοντι τῶν ἑταίρων περιτύχοιμι. δοκεῖς οὖν ἐν καλῷ μοι σὺ τῆς σχολῆς εἶναι.[142]

> MacLeod translation (LCL): 'But a much more particular reason for coming here was that I wanted to pay my respects to this gentleman" (he pointed to the figure of Homer; I'm sure you know the Homer I mean, the one to the right of the temple of the Ptolemies, the one with the flowing locks.) "Well" he continued, "I've come to have a word with him and to pray him to give me of his abundance of poetry." "Oh!" said I, "if only that could be had by prayer! For in that case I think I would have followed your example long ago and been pestering Demosthenes to give me some help to mark his birthday. If then prayer will help us, I'd join in your wishes; for you must share your luck with me."
> "For my part," said he, "I think I can credit Homer with the fine flow of my compositions of both last night and this morning. For a heaven-sent frenzy has brought me poetic inspiration. But you will judge for yourself. For I've been

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[140] Ps.-Lucian *Encomium of Demosthenes* 1-2. See Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 188.
[141] Baldwin 1969; Wilshere 2015, 175-188.
[142] Ps.-Lucian *Encomium of Demosthenes* 2.

> carrying this tablet round with me on purpose in the hope of meeting a friend who was at leisure; and you, I think, are well placed for leisure."'

The poet Thersagoras has approached the statue of Homer with the explicit hope that devotional behaviour will be rewarded by inspiration. Homer is referred to as a teacher whose instruction acts as a metaphor for Thersagoras' familiarity with the Homeric texts. However, Thersagoras' remarks are suffused with religious language, which suggests that Homer's role is also alike to that of a divinity, who can send down inspiration as a response to prayer.

His interaction with Homer is described with ambiguous language: at first he uses the terms προσεῖπον and προσερέω (both meaning 'address' or 'speak to'), and then uses the term προσεύχομαι' ('to pray') to describe his interaction with the statue. The first two do not imply anything unusual in the nature of his address; they might well be applied for an address to a living human. The latter of the three terms used refers specifically to the address of a mortal to a god. This mix of registers in his approach reflects the mixed role that Homer plays here: the statue of Homer is used by Thersagoras partly as an exemplary teacher, and partly as a cult image. The offerings that Thersagoras brings to the statue (namely, his poetry) are also described ambiguously. Shortly before the quoted passage, the first-person narrator describes them as τὰ τροφεῖα τῆς παιδεύσεως ('wages for education'), and Thersagoras describes his offering with the term ἀπάρχομαι ('to dedicate the first-fruits').[143] Once again, the terminology of engagement with a mortal teacher is used alongside that for a devotional relationship with a deity. When it comes to describing the rewards of his devotion Thersagoras is less ambiguous and describes them not in terms of teaching or instruction, but in terms of divine mania: θείως γάρ πως καὶ μαντικῶς εἰς τὴν ποίησιν ἐξεβακχεύθην ('For how divinely, and prophetically was I frenziedly driven to the poetry'). This shifting of register between the terrestrial and the religious is also noted by Flore Kimmel-Clauzet, who interprets it as a signal of the irony intended in the use of religious language.[144] As noted by Kimmel-Clauzet, the less credulous voice of the first-person narrator does seem to act as a foil to Thersagoras, which suggests that the latter may

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[143] Ps.-Lucian *Encomium of Demosthenes* 1.
[144] Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 188.

indeed be viewed as a genuine believer in the power of his devotions to bring about inspiration.[145]

It is unlikely that we are supposed to take Thersagoras entirely seriously. Not only does his mixing of religious and territorial language seem somewhat absurd, but his faith in the productivity of his devotion to the portrait also seems slightly ridiculous when contrasted with the narrator's cynicism: Εἰ γάρ, ἔφην, ἐν εὐχαῖς τὰ πράγματα εἴη ('"Oh!" said I, "if only that [poetic inspiration] could be had by prayer!"'). However, the most comic element of Thersagoras' character relies on the framing of the scene: he has been waiting around town with the specific hope of foisting his latest compositions on someone. Thersagoras is precisely the sort of poet one would wish not to meet. He is keen to recite his most recent work to any amenable passer-by, whether or not they are remotely desirous to hear it. I suggest that in Thersagoras, Ps.-Lucian presents us with something of a comic character: he is a buffoon, and his confused quasi-religious devotion to Homer's portrait is a symptom of his buffoonery. Just as in the case of Silius, whose devotion to Virgil's portrait is a symptom of his misguided amateurism, so too here we have a case where quasi-religious devotion to a poet portrait is regarded not as a legitimate material expression of a literary relationship, but part of a second-rate poet's tedious over-enthusiasm.

This is not the only occasion on which attitudes to Homer are subjected to Lucian's satirical examination. In his surreally parodic travel narrative (usefully explored by Froma Zeitlin in this light), *A True Story*, Lucian interrogates Homer regarding several controversial and long-running ancient scholarly questions about the poet.[146] Lucian's Homer responds with provocatively terse answers that run against the grain of most ancient Homeric scholarship: he is not an Ionian Greek, but a Babylonian named Tigranes; he wrote all the passages that are regarded as interpolations; he began the *Iliad* with the wrath of Achilles not through study and not (at least not explicitly) through the help of the Muses, but simply because it 'just came into his head that way';[147] he wrote the *Iliad* before the *Odyssey* (which despite agreeing with modern views on the sequence of these texts, goes against the

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[145] Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 188.

[146] Lucian *A True Story*, 2.20. This passage is analysed usefully by the following: in relation to visions and materialisations of Homer in Zeitlin 2001; in relation to poetic biography and criticism in Kim 2010, 162-168; more generally in Georgiadou and Larmour 1998, 201-203.

[147] Lucian *A True Story*, 2.20, Harmon translation (LCL).

majority of ancient opinions, as Lucian himself points out). Lucian rounds off this dialogue (the longest of several brief encounters with the poet during Lucian's stay on the Isle of the Blessed) by observing that Homer is quite obviously not blind.

It is not altogether clear quite who or what is in the crosshairs of Lucian's satirical sights, but it is likely that one of the principal themes of *A True Story* is at play here: authorial reliability and mendacity.[148] Not only does Lucian declare his purposeful mendacity at the opening of this work, he also refers explicitly to the mendacity of one of Homer's heroes, Odysseus.[149] In fact, Homer's reliability or mendacity is a point to which Lucian returns at several points in his oeuvre.[150] We are left doubting not only what authors say about others, but (in the case of Homer) also what they say about themselves. Lawrence Kim has gone further than this minimalistic interpretation. He has interpreted Homer's surprising and at times absurd answers to Lucian's questions not merely as an example of poetic falsehood, but as a rejection of the whole exercise of reconstructing authorial biography and intention.[151] Whatever the subtleties and intricacies of its elusive and allusive satire, at its most straightforward this passage of Lucian—like that discussed above—asks us sceptically to interrogate how we imagine authors, and how we value physical or imagined encounters with those authors as a way to gain greater insights into their poetry. In other words, we are asked to be sceptical of the value of imagining a poet as an individual and sceptical of engaging with others' sculptural imaginings of the poet as a material person.

Questions of transgressive or unusual behaviour notwithstanding, both these cases present us with clear examples of living poets engaging with portraits of dead poets. In both cases their engagement with the portraits is related to their own poetic practice: Silius' emulative relationship with Virgil is well known and evident in his own verses; Thersagoras makes it clear that his relationship with the portrait of Homer has a direct effect on the success of his poetry. As discussed above, it is not altogether clear to what extent their engagement with these portraits is merely symbolic and metaphorical, or whether

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[148] See e.g. Georgiadou and Larmour 1998, 1-3.

[149] Lucian *A True Story*, 1.2-3. That Lucian attributes mendacity to Odysseus but not Homer here is looked at in closer detail in Kim 2010, 151-156.

[150] As observed in Georgiadou and Larmour 1998, 2.

[151] Kim 2010, 162-168: 'Lucian implicitly severs any causal relationship between Homer's life and the 'meaning' of his poetry… Homer's 'true' origin offers no insight into his poetry, nor does knowing anything about his poetic motivations—all we need is the poetry itself.' (168).

(particularly in the case of Thersagoras) they might genuinely believe that their devotion to the poets could be reciprocated with heaven-sent inspiration. What is important is that the portrait of a dead poet was considered by these two poets (whether real or fictional) to be a productive way in which to supplement literary engagement with poetic texts. Just as (if not *more*) important, however, is that both Pliny the Younger and Ps.-Lucian seem to look at this behaviour with an archly raised eyebrow. Silius' devotion to and cultivation of a relationship with Virgil is amusing because (for Pliny) Silius is no Virgil: his poetry is conceived of effort rather than talent. Thersagoras' obeisance to Homer is ridiculous because he truly believes it is responsible for his poetic successes, and because it forms part of Thersagoras' more generally ridiculous characterisation as the zealous and imposing poet. It may not have been unusual for poets to cultivate a literary relationship with dead poets through their portraits, but those who do so seem to run the risk of making fools of themselves. Just as Theocritus' epigrams discussed above seem to express scepticism and cynicism regarding the value of portraits of dead poets as ways to engage with those poets, so too Pliny and Ps.-Lucian also appear to adopt a sardonic attitude to this practice.

Conclusions

Living poets engaged with the portraits of dead poets in a variety of ways. The first section of this chapter explores how living Hellenistic Greek poets described the portraits of dead poets in order to discuss these poets and their reception periphrastically. In many of these epigrams the portraits of the poets appear to work as symbols or metaphors for the works of the depicted poets. Furthermore, in some cases these epigrams use the portraits to construct a relationship between an epigram's author and the poet depicted in the portrait that features in the epigram. Ultimately, these epigrammatists find the portraits of dead poets useful for engaging with those poets and their receptions. In the second part of this chapter, I consider some Roman sources that describe how some living poets (real or fictional) engaged with portraits of dead poets. These cases fundamentally follow the paradigm of other exemplary images: there are countless instances where portrait images of

a great exemplar are described as stimulating emulative zeal.[152] In both these two cases (where the exemplar is a poet) we find that the contemplation of the exemplary image is described in the hyperbolic terms of quasi-religious devotion. Both these poets are therefore described as having unusually close relationships with the portraits of their exemplars—relationships, moreover, which cast some doubt on the standing of these poets. It seems that these living poets felt a need to supplement their literary engagement with their poetic exemplars with a *material* engagement, and that this was most conveniently found in the form of a portrait.

In conclusion, whether they were Greek epigrammatists or second-century AD Roman epicists (real or imagined), these ancient *living* poets found the portraits of dead poets to be important objects through which to complement their literary interactions with earlier poets. However tempting the portraits were as modes of engagement with earlier poets, this use of the portraits remained controversial, and potentially even ridiculous: the viewer of portraits must judge whether to indulge in the objects as a mode to engage with the long-lost poet, or whether they are objects that are not to be trusted, and that cannot reliably help us to engage with poets of the past. As I explore in the next chapter, this question was raised once again in the Renaissance, and has remained until the present day an area of tension in how we relate to ancient portraits.

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[152] Some of them are described above, 208-210.

5. Modern Viewers and Scholars

The first three chapters of this thesis considered the roles and interactions with portraits of poets in their most important physical and institutional contexts: Greek cities, the milieu of the Roman private villa, and groups of portraits within Greek and Roman public institutions. The fourth chapter explored, through a selection of texts, how living poets and writers examined the relationship between portraits of poets, the poets represented, and their works, and how they defined their own roles in relation to the portraits of earlier authors. In this final chapter, I explore one important later context that defined the ancient portraits: that of the early modern scholars who rediscovered them, and established particular ways of displaying and writing about them that still affect us today.

Today we find the portraits of ancient poets in museums, as parts of collections that began to accumulate in the sixteenth century. More often we find photographs of them published in books of ancient portraiture, or as the frontispieces of editions and studies of the poets depicted. Perhaps most people's interaction with the portraits of ancient poets is on the "Wikipedia" pages devoted to those poets, where a marble bust (or Renaissance engraving) often adorns the top right corner of the web-page, sometimes with little regard for the identification (or lack of identification) of the portrait.

Our encounters with the portraits of ancient poets are not so different from those of early modern viewers. Printed books with engraved portraits (whether copied from ancient portraits or not) must have been the most common medium through which viewers encountered portraits of ancient poets. A privileged few encountered ancient poet portraits within antiquarian collections, and some must have come across images of ancient poets within the decorative schemes of libraries. These contexts were established in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, by and large in Italy. As portraits of poets began to surface and be identified, the question of how they might fit modern intellectual and literary context gained urgency. The question was met with a huge array of answers, many of which stem from a

self-conscious emulation of antiquity but are fundamentally novel. Indeed, as I suggest above, they shaped the contexts in which ancient author portraits feature today.[1]

At the heart of this chapter is a balance or tension between two important sixteenth-century approaches to these objects. One the one hand we find texts and images that appear to approach the portraits as objects that offer the true faces of their subjects, objects by which the poets depicted can be made present to the viewer, and objects that can materially and visually supplement our literary engagement with ancient poetry. On the other hand, we can observe a more sceptical approach that presents the objects as fragmentary material culture, objects that cannot give us the reliable likenesses of their subjects, and objects from which we can learn little about the portrait subjects, but a lot about the display and production of portraiture. Although these approaches seem somewhat unrelated, this chapter will show how sixteenth-century publications of and settings for ancient portraits often managed to embrace both. Often they are juxtaposed awkwardly, but at times these approaches seem almost complementary and mutually supportive.

A similar tension (between indulgence in a portrait's ability to make its subject present and a more sceptical approach that examines the portrait's institutional role) was observed in the previous chapter among the ancient writers who describe their engagement with ancient portraits. Some, such as Leonidas of Tarentum in his epigram on Anacreon, or Silius Italicus and Thersagoras as presented by Pliny the Younger and Ps.-Lucian respectively, were willing to suspend disbelief and indulge in the illusion of presence and character that a portrait can offer.[2] Others (with greater and lesser degrees of subtlety) were sceptical of such a use of portraiture: the epigrams of Theocritus subtly undermine any straightforward understanding of the relationship between portrait, author, and works; Pliny the Younger and Ps.-Lucian cast Silius' and Thersagoras' faith in the portraits of Virgil and Homer as naïve and even buffoonish. Importantly, Silius and Thersagoras are presented as amateurs rather than poets in the fullest sense. This is directly comparable to the two balancing approaches that this chapter observes in the sixteenth century: sometimes writers and illustrators seem to relish the impression of presence that a portrait can provide (though

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[1] In her account of digitising Orsini's publications, Federica Matteini gives an evocative description of the antiquarian and philological fervour surrounding these objects: Matteini 2003.

[2] Such as Leonidas of Tarentum and Posidippus. See above, 175-187, 200-207.

often fully aware that this is the construction of the viewer and artists); at other times writers and illustrators acknowledge absence of the portrait's subject, and appear to acknowledge the impotence of a fragmentary ancient portrait to resurrect that subject. In that latter case, the figure of the professional scholar, rather than the amateur, begins to emerge.

This tension is present in modern approaches to ancient portraiture, both within the academy and without. In fact, one of the most significant movements within the study of ancient portraiture in the last decades has been a move away from subjective, psychologising analyses of ancient portraits, and from the idea that these portraits might in fact reflect real-life appearances of their subjects. Instead, scholars have studied portraits within their institutional contexts, have taken more interest in anonymous portraits, and few if any now ask whether ancient portraits reflected true likenesses of the figures they depict. As I will show in this chapter, tensions between the need for presence and the acknowledgement of absence are expressed in the sixteenth century, and the case studies that I consider are particularly interesting for how much they reveal about such tensions.

This chapter takes two case studies from sixteenth-century Italy. The first case study considers portraits of ancient poets in the publications associated with the collection of the sixteenth-century Roman antiquarian Fulvio Orsini. Specifically I look at two publications closely connected with the collection: Orsini's *Imagines et Elogia* of 1570, and Theodoor Galle's *Illustrium Imagines* of 1598 (republished with a Latin translation of Orsini's notes in 1606). I examine how these books balance their archaeological roles with their aim to resurrect the personalities depicted through their portraits. First, after introducing Orsini and his collections, I examine literary evidence for his way of approaching ancient portraits. Specifically, I look at how the framing texts of the publications present the portraits. In places, these texts look readily to ancient antecedents that dwell on the capability of ancient portraits to resurrect, or render their subjects *present*. Elsewhere, however, they focus on the archaeology and ancient role of these objects, their fragmentary nature, and how they might not reflect true likenesses of their subjects. Second, I consider how the styles of illustration of portraits in these two portrait-books contribute to this balance between the effort to resurrect the figures depicted, and the effort to offer an archaeologically precise account of the objects. I consider various examples (again from the publications associated with Orsini) that demonstrate how different styles of illustration (within the same publications) appear to

reflect different interpretative priorities. Within the same publications we find portraits that are conspicuously enlivening, and portraits that are archaeologically precise.

My second case study considers a physical context for ancient poet portraits in the sixteenth century, in particular by examining the library designed by Pirro Ligorio for the Castello Estense in Ferrara, and the role he envisaged for the portraits of ancient authors therein. Ligorio's own writings and diagrams, as well as other contemporary sources and decorated libraries help to build a picture of libraries ornamented with ancient portraits in order that they might supplement and complement the literary engagements innate to libraries. In many cases, rooms decorated with famous individuals of the past have been thought of as providing exemplary images to stimulate virtuous emulation, and it is clear that this is indeed the case in many examples. However, a group of sixteenth-century sources (including the textual evidence about Ligorio's design in Ferrara) focuses more precisely on how the images of ancient authors in libraries offer a complementary mode of engagement with the ancient authors whose works were kept in those libraries. The tension described above (between an approach in which the portrait makes its subject present so as to supplement literary engagement, and the archaeological approaches that acknowledge the absence of the subject and take more interest in the contextual histories of the portraits) is present in this case study too. Ligorio insists on genuine ancient objects for the library, and this specification causes problems for the acquisition of the objects required. Ligorio's negotiation of this issue reflects how different approaches to these objects can be both complementary and problematic.

Before considering these in detail, however, I introduce the early modern approach to a portrait which was considered able to make its subject present. The idea that images could in some respect make their subjects *present* was well established in both the ancient world, and in the Renaissance.[3] Religious imagery in its iconic role had consistently been understood as capable not only of *representing* a depicted saint or divine figure, but even of making them *present* (such that praying before an icon becomes an effective way to engage with such a figure).[4] However, such a role could also be attributed to profane images, and in

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[3] For discussions of images as substitutions, and their ability to make their subject present, see (for the ancient world): Bettini 1999; Steiner 2001.

[4] See Belting 1994 for an exploration of this role of religious art.

particular to portraiture. For example, Leon Battista Alberti, a man with a not inconsiderable interest in portraiture and other forms of self-presentation,[5] wrote in 1435:

> Nam habet ea quidem in se uim admodum diuinam non modo ut quod de amicitia dicunt, absentes pictura praesentes esse faciat, uerum etiam defunctos longa post saecula uiuentibus exhibeat, ut summa cum artificis admiratione ac uisentium uoluptate cognoscantur... Itaque uultus defunctorum per picturam quodammodo uitam praelongam degunt.[6]

> For painting indeed has in itself a truly divine capability, not only in that (as they say of friendship) painting makes the absent present, but even shows the dead to the living after the long centuries, so they might be recognised with great admiration for the making, and great pleasure in the viewing. In this way the faces of the dead continue a lengthy life in some way through painting.

As pointed out by Lina Bolzoni, Alberti here refers to Cicero's *On Friendship*, where it is held to be a capability of friendship that it allows one friend to imagine the other as if he were present.[7] Alberti's understanding of painting is that it not only offers a representation of the absent individual, but that a portrait stands as a substitute for the original, thereby rendering the absent present. At the same time, Alberti's emphasis on the role of the artist in creating this effect ('artificis admiratione') undermines it somewhat: as in the Hellenistic epigrams discussed above, here too we encounter the paradox that illusionistic art is the product of virtuosic artifice, and that as soon as we begin to notice that artifice the illusion is broken (or at least undermined).

Another example of this role in action is from Pomponio Gaurico, who in his *De Sculptura* of 1504, voices a strong desire for a personal encounter with Homer. His remarks are principally directed at the possible applications of physiognomy. Along the way, however, he puts voice to a desire to encounter the images of the ancients, and commends sculpture's ability to make a historical figure 'present,' or to place them before us: 'praesentare'.

> Apud statuarios uero tanti erit, ut nobis illum ipsum qui tantopere desideratur Homerum, Ipsisque graeciae sapientes Cleobulum, Periandrum, Solonem, Thalem,

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[5] His self-portrait on a small bronze tablet is well known; see Syson 1994.

[6] Alberti 1435, 2.25.

[7] Bolzoni and Pich 2008, 7. Cicero *On Friendship* 7.32. The interrelation of memory (which is deeply implicated in this "presence") and visual culture in the Renaissance is explored elsewhere by Bolzoni in Bolzoni 2001.

> Chilonem, Pictacum, Biantem, Atque e nostris utrumque Catonem, ipsissimos praesentare faciliter possint.[8]

> It shall be of such [utility] among sculptors, that they should easily be able to make present before us that man who is so greatly desired—Homer—as well as the very persons of the Greek sages themselves—Cleobulus, Periander, Solon, Thales, Chilon, Pittacus, Bias—and from among us Romans, either Cato.

Gaurico's understanding that there is a general desire for visual encounter with these figures is clear. The phrase 'tantopere desideratur' ('so greatly desired') emphatically expresses the desire that Gaurico and his peers have for a face-to-face encounter with the poet. Furthermore, the repetition of 'illum ipsum' ('the man himself'), 'ipsisque' ('and of those very ones'), and 'ipsissimos' ('the very persons') emphasises the iconic role of portraiture for Gaurico: the portrait makes the real individual present for the viewer, it is not merely a representation. In this passage Gaurico expresses a faith in the ability of physiognomy to recreate these faces. The seven philosophers that Gaurico mentions are the so-called "seven sages," a group of seven pre-Socratic philosophers who were often depicted together in visual art.[9] Just as Alberti does, Gaurico expresses a faith in the ability of portraiture to make the absent present. At the same time, the emphasis on the ability of sculptors works against the illusionistic effect of art. This was a well-established mode of looking at and understanding portraits in the Renaissance. In this chapter I explore how this approach to portraits affects their use in relation to poets, and how such an approach was balanced with the archaeological interests of those involved with my two case studies.

5.1 Orsini's Collection in Portrait-books: Archaeology or Resurrection

This section explores literary and visual evidence for the balance and tension of the two approaches to ancient portraits of poets described above: the idea that portraits of ancient poets and authors were considered appropriate and useful to complement literary engagement with ancient writers, and an archaeological approach that treats them far more

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[8] Gaurico 1969, 131.
[9] Richter 1965, 81-91.

circumspectly as evidence of the ancient institution of portraiture. The key sources in this section are the framing texts in the publications associated with the antiquarian collection of Fulvio Orsini, and the illustrations within those volumes.

First, I describe the earlier book (Fulvio Orsini's *Imagines et Elogia* of 1570) of the two that form my case study in the first two sections of this chapter. I then analyse the texts that introduce this work, and particularly the introductory verses by Lorenzo Gambara, in order to explore how they present the portraits of ancient authors as part of a complete personal engagement with ancient writers: they are presented as resurrections of these authors that will allow us to encounter them face-to-face.

The *Imagines et Elogia* is a book of ancient portraits prepared by Fulvio Orsini, who lived from 1529 to 1600.[10] Orsini's early years were spent under the charge of a Canon of the Church of St John Lateran, Gentile Delfini (1505-1559), an active humanist and collector. Delfini's connections introduced Orsini to a range of prominent Roman humanists, including the then president of the Roman Academy, Angelo Colocci (1457-1549), whose gardens in Rome were at the time a centre of scholarly activity.[11] By adulthood, between the associations of his benefactor Delfini and his own personal and scholarly connections, Orsini was associated with nearly all the leading humanists of his day, on both sides of the Alps.[12] Orsini's correspondence is to be found throughout the archives of humanist Europe, and his library, collection, and services as a guide to Rome's antiquities and modern art works were essential benefits to visiting scholars (often given graciously, sometimes unwillingly).[13]

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[10] Pièrre de Nolhac's three studies (of Orsini's collections of antiquities, art works and his library) remain the most comprehensive. In particular his study of Orsini's library (1887) is useful, as it contains a lengthy account of the scholar's life. Nolhac 1884(b); Nolhac 1884(a); Nolhac 1887. More recent (if more fragmentary) contributions to Orsini's biography include Durme 1950; Ruysschaert 1987; Kätzlmeier-Frank 1993; Bracke 1998; Matteini 1999; Cellini 2004; Matteini 2011; Matteini 2013.

[11] On Angelo Colocci and the Roman Academy, see Rowland 1998, esp. 182-5 on the Horti Colotiani by the Aqua Virgo.

[12] These included Antonio Agustin, Annibale Caro, Pedro Chacón, Benedetto Egio, Lorenzo Gambara, Paolo Giovio, Latino Latini, Pirro Ligorio, Justus Lipsius (Joost Lips), Paolo Manuzio, Onofrio Panvinio, Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, Gianvincenzo Pinelli, Joannes Sambucus (János Zsámboky), Andreas Schott, Carlo Signonio, Achilles Statius (Aquiles Estaço), Jacopo Strada, Friedrich Sylburg, and Pietro Vettori, among many others. See Nolhac 1887, 4-78. On particular associations and friendships, see Ronchini and Poggi 1879; Nolhac 1884(c); Crawford 1913; Durme 1950; Crawford 1993; Bracke 1998.

[13] Testament to Orsini's popularity as a guide to visitors is his complaint to Gianvincenzo Pinelli about their great numbers and variable intellectual quality. See Nolhac 1887, 55-57. On his role as a

Suffice it to say that it is clear that from the middle of the century until his death Orsini was a central figure, both in the intellectual life of Rome, and indeed in Europe as a whole.

The role that would shape Orsini's scholarly activity was as librarian and secretary to successive Farnese cardinals (Ranuccio, then Alessandro, and finally as tutor to the young Odoardo).[14] Orsini seems to have been in the service of the Farnese family from at least 1558 onwards,[15] and for much of his life he resided in the Palazzo Farnese in Rome.[16] It was in the Palazzo Farnese that Orsini was to amass his own vast collection of antiquities and paintings, books and manuscripts. Orsini's library was large, comprising significant parts of the libraries of Angelo Colocci, Pietro Bembo and Scipione Forteguerri (Crateromachus), and included many books and manuscripts annotated by distinguished earlier humanists, as well as some manuscripts of great antiquity, such as the *Virgilius Vaticanus* (Vat. Lat. 3225) and the *Codex Bembinus* of Terence (Vat. Lat. 3226).[17] Much of his library, as inventoried in his will, passed to the Apostolic Library on Orsini's death.

Orsini's collection of antiquities comprised four hundred engraved gems, one hundred and fifty inscriptions, fifty-eight marbles, seventy gold coins and medallions, around one thousand nine hundred silver coins and medallions, and more than five hundred bronze coins and medallions. It was bequeathed to Odoardo Farnese at Orsini's death, and despite several disappearances, much of this collection remains today in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli. The provenances of his collection can be studied in some detail thanks to the inventory that originally accompanied his will, and a copy of this (the original having been lost) was discovered by Pierre de Nolhac in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, in Milan.[18] There are many testimonies to the willingness with which he

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willing guide and tutor to visiting scholars (to the extent of people referring to a 'scuola Orsiniana', see Bracke 1998. More recent, and with greater detail and discussion is Stenhouse 2005.

[14] Orsini's role in the Farnese employ was not as wide as some (Nolhac in particular) would have had it, and probably did not involve diplomatic errands. Matteini has discovered that *three* different Orsini have been at times conflated: Flavio Orsini (1530-1581), Fulvio Orsini (1500-1581), and our Fulvio Orsini (1529-1600), all three of whom had worked in some function for Alessandro Farnese. For the untangling of this puzzle, see Matteini 2011.

[15] As is deduced by Nolhac and others through various documents: Nolhac 1887, 8-9; Matteini 2013.

[16] Nolhac 1887, 26-27.

[17] For the development over time and principal acquisitions of Orsini's library, see Nolhac 1887, 79-111. On the paintings in Orsini's collection, see Hochmann 1993.

[18] Nolhac 1884(a).

guided visitors around his collections, and availed them of the use of his library.[19] It was his hope, and we can speculate that it reflects his management of the library during his life, that his and the Farnese collections would eventually operate as a 'scuola publica'.[20]

Orsini's publications straddle the divide between literary and antiquarian scholarship, and include a study of the influence of Greek texts on Virgil, an anthology of Greek lyric poets (featuring a coin portrait of Sappho), commentaries on Caesar, Cicero, Cato, Varro and Columella among others. Apart from these literary, historical and philological works, however, Orsini also published more iconographical works.[21]

In 1570 Orsini spent a scant twenty days preparing for publication his *Imagines et Elogia*.[22] This book contains portraits (many are fragmentary, including headless herm bases) of fifty-five ancient figures, and epigraphical evidence relating to many more. Twenty poets are featured with portraits (again including headless herm bases, and many fragmentary portraits),[23] and seven more are included only with epigraphical evidence.[24] Several of these are unfamiliar to us, and particularly unfamiliar as *poets*, either on account of Orsini's errors of identification, or his unconventional classification of some figures as poets. Despite the patchy coverage of the ancient poetic canon, and despite the highly fragmentary nature of

[19] There are many accounts of Orsini's value as a guide to these collections. Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle recalls Orsini's guidance around the Farnese collections in a letter of 20th August 1566, printed in Nolhac 1884(c), 251. Likewise, Theodore Galle describes Orsini's guidance with high praise in the preface to his *Illustrium Imagines*: 'Collegit is pridem ingenti sumptu librorum ueterum, marmorum, numismatum, ex auro, argento, aere et gemmarum incredibilem copiam. Quem penes se thesaurum seruat, non incubat tamen, ut Hesperidum horti custos ille draco, sed eruditis peregrinisque hominibus Antiquitatis Studiosis identidem ostendit, digitoque commonstrat.' ('This man [Orsini] has for a long time and at great cost collected a great quantity of old books, marbles, coins (of gold, silver and bronze), and gems. With such a treasure in his care, he looks after it, but does not keep it private, like that dragon who guards the garden of the Hesperides, but to learned and travelling men of antiquarian study habitually displays it, and with a finger points things out.'). Galle 1598, 6-7. More generally on this role, see Nolhac 1887, 55-57.
[20] The development of private collections, closely guarded by their antiquaries, into something more resembling a public museum or library during the late sixteenth century is explored by Stenhouse 2005. Orsini expresses his desire for his collection to become such a public museum in a letter to his employers, which is now published in Ronchini and Poggi 1879, 65-66; letter 21 (8th April, 1589).
[21] A useful survey of Orsini's publications is found in Nolhac 1887, 37-54. A more thorough list (including subsequent editions of each work) is offered by Cellini 2004, 249-258.
[22] The figure of twenty days is offered by Orsini himself: Orsini 1570, 7.
[23] In the order that Orsini addresses them: Homer; Hesiod; Sophocles; Euripides; Aristophanes; Moschion; Callisthenes; Menander; Philemon; Aratus; Pindar; Sappho; Eucharis; Theocritus; Terence; Asinius Pollio; Gallus; Horace; Persius; Solon.
[24] In the order that Orsini addresses them: Lysippus; Pronomus; Carcidamus; Valerius Pudens; Lucretius; Claudian; Menophilus.

many of these portraits, this nevertheless constitutes the first large published collection of portraits of ancient poets that derive from the ancient objects. Though interest in the appearance of ancient Greek portraits long pre-dated Orsini's publication, it is only in 1569-70 that this interest is answered in published collections of images. Orsini's book stands at the start of the modern study of Greek portraiture.

Imagines et Elogia was published in Rome one year after one Achilles Statius (Aquiles Estaço) published his *Inlustrium Virorum*.[25] Achilles Statius's book likewise illustrated a corpus of ancient portraits, but without any commentary, and with a particular focus on the herm format. It has been suggested that Orsini was finally convinced to publish his portrait collection due to his low opinion of Statius's effort of the previous year.[26] Others have considered them integral and successive volumes.[27] The impetus for both is often supposed to be the attention given to assemblages of headless inscribed herms around Tivoli during the mid-century by Pirro Ligorio, who was Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este's antiquarian.[28] Many of these herms feature in both Statius and Orsini. Statius's publication offers a set of images with minimal commentary, and often with incorrectly transcribed inscriptions. Orsini, on the other hand, shows a greater range of images, has far more (and far more critical) commentary, and does seem to transcribe the inscriptions correctly. Furthermore, as pointed out by Orsini himself, Statius illustrates several herms restored with the wrong heads. Orsini strives to avoid this error, though not always successfully.[29]

Both these books were published by Antoine Lafrery, who specialised in engravings of the antiquities of Rome,[30] and in books of engraved portraits.[31] However (perhaps due to the large quantity of text in Orsini's *Imagines*, which would have been highly time-consuming to engrave on copper rather than print with moveable type), Lafrery arranged

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[25] Statius 1569.

[26] This is proposed by Jongkees 1960, 5: 'It is evident that Statius' criticless [uncritical?] publication was the cause of Orsini's energy.'

[27] As did, for example, the collector who bound together the British Museum's (now British Library's) copies of the works. Shelfmark: 551.e.6.

[28] Particularly important are the assemblages from the Villa Adriana, the Villa dei Pisoni, and the Villa Caiana Germanica. On Ligorio's studies of ancient portraiture, see Palma Venetucci 1992.

[29] Jongkees notes that Miltiades (Orsini 1570, 12) and Aeschines (p. 79) have the wrong heads. Jongkees 1960, 5 n. 9.

[30] Zorach and Dubin 2008.

[31] Clough 1993, 185-186, 189.

for a fellow Frenchman, the printer Pietro Dehuchino, to print the volume in Venice.[32] Orsini wrote to Aldo Manuzio the Younger late in 1569 explaining that the volume was to be printed in Venice, and asking Manuzio to supervise the work of Dehuchino in order that the pagination might not be disrupted, that the various prefaces and appendices might be included correctly (including Lorenzo Gambara's prefatory verses), and to guard against typographical errors.[33]

The *Imagines et Elogia* has been considered innovative and important in the study of iconography for various reasons. A large proportion of the subjects of the *Imagines et Elogia* are Greek. Before 1570 several portrait-books of ancient figures had been produced, but nearly all had focused on the Roman emperors and generals whose images were easily accessible and identifiable through the growing numismatic corpus.[34] Strategies of illustration is another area for which Orsini has been considered innovative, and these are discussed below.

Closely related to the *Imagines et Elogia* is a set of publications from three decades later. In 1598 Theodoor Galle published his *Illustrium Imagines*, which was a collection of portraits from Orsini's collections (and other collections for which Orsini arranged access) drawn and engraved by Galle, with identifications and occasional provenances provided by Orsini.[35] Galle was an engraver from Antwerp, closely associated with the Plantin press there, and son of the more famous engraver Philip Galle. Orsini made extensive notes for this publication that were not published until eight years later in 1606. This was six years after Orsini's death, once the notes had been edited and translated into Latin by Joannes Faber and Gaspar Schopp.[36] The two editions of the *Illustrium Imagines* are often referred to as "later editions" of Orsini's *Imagines et Elogia*. However, their conception, scale, contents, arrangement, and appearance are *all* different.[37] Galle's publication contains far more images

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[32] An outline of Dehuchino's printing career in Venice is given in Pesenti 1993.

[33] Letter of 22nd December, 1569, printed in Pastorello 1960, 315-316, no. 1436.

[34] Such books as Fulvio 1517, discussed at length in Cunnally 1999. Later offerings in the same vein include Huttich 1534; Micyllus 1544; Vico 1548; Panvinio and Strada 1557; Goltzius 1557 (This last is explored by Dekesel 2005). See also chapters in Stahl and Gretchen 2009. For an excellent and concise general overview, see Haskell 1993, 13-41.

[35] Galle 1598.

[36] These seem to have been published both separately (Faber, Schopp, and Orsini 1606), and as part of the second edition of Galle's 1598 book in Galle et al. 1606.

[37] A point emphasised by Cellini 2004.

(one hundred and fifty-one), and (as I discuss below) takes a different approach with regard to their format and presentation.[38] These publications form useful comparanda throughout this section for Orsini's *Imagines et Elogia*, as they deal with similar material and similar concerns, though often in slightly different ways. They are particularly useful below where I discuss the different strategies adopted in the illustration of the portraits.

First, however, I explore how Orsini's *texts* negotiate the tension between his book's archaeological role, and its role as a portrait-book. This balance between the archaeological concerns of this publication and its role as a book of portraits of famous ancient figures is evident in the book's texts. I now take a closer look at those texts, to explore how they present the objects illustrated within the book. In particular, I examine these texts with an eye to whether they do present these portraits as 'making the absent present' in such a way that we are provided with a satisfying illusion of personal engagement with an ancient poet.

Orsini's Texts in the Imagines et Elogia *(1570)*

This section looks first at how Orsini positions his publication within the genre of portrait-books—a genre that offered collections of often highly characterful (and often invented) portraits of famous figures of the past, sometimes explicitly in order to allow their readers to indulge in the illusion of a face-to-face encounter. Second, it considers how elsewhere in his framing texts to this publication, Orsini seems to prefer a far drier, more critical and archaeological approach to these objects. I note the tension inherent in this situation, and that Orsini does little to reconcile the two approaches.

Orsini's preface *begins* by describing the books of portraits of famous men compiled by Atticus and Varro.[39] Varro published a portrait-book named *Groups of Seven or On Images* (*Hebdomades vel De Imaginibus*; it may be that it was officially entitled *Hebdomades* but unofficially known as *De Imaginibus*) in the late first century, which contained images of seven hundred Greek and Roman worthies, most probably arranged into groups of seven.[40]

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[38] See below, 252-253.

[39] Orsini 1570, 5. Orsini is citing Cornelius Nepos *Life of Atticus* 18, and Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 35.11.

[40] Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 35.11; Aulus Gellius *Attic Nights* 3.10.1; 3.11.3. Skydsgaard 1992; Geiger 1998; Small 2003, 129-134.

Cornelius Nepos informs us that Atticus composed a book of Roman magistrates, and that

he included brief verse descriptions (no more than four or five lines) alongside the portraits

of famous men. It is unclear whether this was part of his publication on Roman magistrates,

or part of another publication altogether.[41] Pliny is particularly effusive about the merits of

these portrait-books. In a passage that is partially quoted in the opening lines of Orsini's

preface, Pliny explains the unique value of these books:

> imaginum amorem flagrasse quondam testes sunt Atticus ille Ciceronis edito de
> iis uolumine, M. Varro benignissimo inuento insertis uoluminum suorum
> fecunditati etiam septingentorum inlustrium aliquo modo imaginibus, non passus
> intercidere figuras aut uetustatem aeui contra homines ualere, inuentor muneris
> etiam dis inuidiosi, quando immortalitatem non solum dedit, uerum etiam in
> omnes terras misit, ut praesentes esse ubique ceu di possent. et hoc quidem alienis
> ille praestitit.[42]

> Rackham translation (LCL): The existence of a strong passion for portraits in
>
> Rackham translation removed to maintain "fair use" quotation extent.

In this passage (of which only the first half is quoted by Orsini, who stops at 'contra

homines ualere'), we find a clear case where the portrait is presented as capable of making

an absent person present over a great distance and in many places at once ('ut praesentes

esse ubique ceu di possent').[43] Here Pliny straightforwardly commends the view of

portraiture by which it can make the absent present: there is no emphasis on artifice—the

language is that of benefaction. Furthermore, Varro's publication of portraits is presented in

a quasi-divine light. His achievement is something that 'even the gods might envy,' because

by preserving the portraits, the book endows immortality to its subjects: it can even resurrect

the subjects of its portraits once they are dead ('immortalitatem… dedit'). This passage

unequivocally supports the view of portraits as objects that can make the absent present

('praesentes'). Partly quoted in the first lines of Orsini's preface to this portrait-book, this

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[41] Cornelius Nepos *Life of Atticus* 18.5-6. That this was produced in a book form is clear from Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 35.11.

[42] Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 35.11.

[43] See Zeitlin 2001, 212.

passage strongly signals to what genre this book belongs, and with what expectations and ways of viewing we should approach the portraits. These are the established *comparanda* used by the other portrait-books of the sixteenth century, such as Andrea Fulvio's *Illustrium Imagines* of 1517 (which is generally considered the first printed portrait-book dedicated to the ancient world).[44] Through this reference, Orsini signals that the *Imagines et Elogia* ought to be considered within the generic framework of the portrait-book: a book that provides a gallery of reliable images alongside brief biographies, and that these images should provide us with an illusion of present encounter with the figure depicted.

This genre-positioning is confirmed further by the title to Orsini's publication. In the terms 'imago' and 'elogium,' it adopts the terminology not only of Varro's *On Images*, but also of near contemporary sixteenth-century portrait-books such as Andrea Fulvio's *Illustrium Imagines*, or Paolo Giovio's *Elogia Veris Clarorum Virorum Imaginibus Apposita* of 1546, and its various related publications. Giovio's portrait-books are considered the archetypal portrait-biography books of the sixteenth century, and particularly when reprinted in 1577 *with* the portraits (as was originally intended).[45] Giovio's books were based upon the contents of his gallery at his villa by Lake Como. This included over four-hundred portraits, collected between 1520 and his death in 1552, many of which had brief biographical notes and sketches (*elogia*) about their subjects.[46] There is some debate as to how precisely Giovio's *elogia* relate to the ideas (few of them ever mentioned in such terms by the author) of personality, singularity, coherence, exemplarity, character and individuality.[47] Giovio makes it clear, however, that he feels the portraits to be a vital supplement to the *elogia*. He writes about his *elogia* in a letter to fellow humanist Daniele Barbaro that 'sine effigie mutae prorsus et sine genio uiderentur' ('without the portrait they would seem completely changed, and without spirit').[48] For Giovio a textual encounter with an individual of the past (through his biography) is not only complemented by a visual

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[44] Fulvio 1517. Reference to Atticus and Varro's portrait-books is made on f.3v (in the unpaginated preface: folio numbers are only *printed* on f.5 and after.)

[45] Giovio 1546; Giovio 1551.

[46] Klinger [Aleci] 1991; Zimmermann 1995(a); Eichel-Lojkine 2001.

[47] The most divergent approaches seem to be that of Eichel-Lojkine who seems to view the *Elogia* as largely exemplary, and that Price Zimmerman, for whom they use exemplary rhetoric in order to form distinct individuals. For two points of view: Eichel-Lojkine 2001; Zimmermann 1995(b); Zimmermann 1995(a), 206-207.

[48] Zimmermann 1995(a), 207, n. 47. This is also noted by Clough 1993, 198, and by Maffei 1999.

encounter, but that visual encounter is *essential* for the textual engagement to be effective. Without the portraits, any literary engagement would be 'sine genio'.

The genre positioning made by the title is reinforced by the terms with which Orsini refers to this publication in his correspondence with Aldo Manuzio the Younger about its printing. Orsini describes the book as 'un mio libro de imagini d'huomini illustri' ('a book of mine of images of famous men').[49] In this rendering the archaeological concerns of the book are entirely subordinated to its role as a book of famous faces. The phrase 'huomini illustri' is familiar from the collected biographies that flourished as a genre during the Renaissance, as well as from antiquity. Collections of exemplary biographies (after models such as Suetonius) began to be made in the late fourteenth century (such as, to take an important early example, Petrarch's *De Viris Illustribus*), and the genres of biography, autobiography and collected biography flourished during the centuries that followed. Important writers of collected biographies include Boccaccio,[50] Platina,[51] and Giovio.[52] These biographical collections inspired visual counterparts in iconographical schemes of *viri illustres* almost as soon as the trend began: Petrarch's *De Viris Illustribus* became the model for the fourteenth-century *Sala Virorum Illustrium* in Padua (later redecorated as the *Sala dei Giganti*), as commissioned by Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara.[53] The decoration of rooms with assemblages of portraits of *viri illustres* became a significant trend in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[54] By describing his book as one of 'imagini d'huomini illustri' in this letter, Orsini signals its role as part of this important trend for galleries of exemplary figures.

Orsini's book, therefore, by reference to Atticus, Varro, and the near contemporary portrait-books and galleries of Giovio and others, sets itself up as a publication that will

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[49] Letter of 22nd December, 1569, printed in Pastorello 1960, 315-316, no. 1436.

[50] Boccaccio wrote his *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* and *De Mulieribus Claris* between 1455 and 1475. A modern edition of the latter is available in Brown 2001.

[51] Platina published his *Vitae Pontificum* in 1479. For a recent edition see D'Elia 2008.

[52] Giovio's two collections of *Elogia* are the most well-known examples of the collected biography genre in the Renaissance: Giovio 1546; Giovio 1551.

[53] Mommsen 1952.

[54] On the classical sources that inspired this trend, see Joost-Gaugier 1982. For a particular focus on the sources used by scholars who recommended this mode of decoration (such as Poggio), see Joost-Gaugier 1985. Some of the better-known examples are the *Studiolo* of Federico da Montefeltro at Urbino that features portraits by Justus of Ghent (Cheles 1986), and the *Stanza della Segnatura* in the Papal apartments of the Vatican, that features large murals of famous men by Raphael (Gombrich 1972; Orth Bell 1995. The most famous such gallery was that of Paolo Giovio, see Klinger [Aleci] 1991.

provide us with images and guiding texts that will allow us to indulge in a visual encounter with the great authors of the ancient world. Beyond the above passages, however, Orsini's texts in this book pay little attention to how the images might relate to their subjects' biographies, or how they might allow us a visual encounter with the depicted figures.[55]

First, the preface does not dwell on the use of the portraits for emulation, or the satisfaction of readers' imaginations of authors and historical figures, nor on any fulfilled desire to encounter these figures visually. Rather, Orsini's framing texts are simply a collection of the relevant ancient sources and evidence relating to aspects of ancient portraiture and libraries, from which he at times draws deductions. In fact, Orsini makes it explicitly clear how *unreliable* the images in the book are:

> E quibus Plinii uerbis illud quoque, quod ad institutum hoc nostrum maxime pertinet, colligimus, fictas fuisse quorundam imagines ab antiquis, nec in omnibus ueros uultus expressos esse.[56]

> 'From which words of Pliny we understand this also (which is of great relevance to this my study): that there were invented portraits of certain people ever since antiquity and that true faces are not depicted in every case.'

Far from promising encounters with the real faces of the figures depicted in the book, Orsini explicitly states that the faces are not to be trusted. Indeed, where Pliny only mentions an invented portrait of Homer, Orsini (wisely) applies the lesson of this case to portraiture in general: we cannot trust all ancient portraits to record true likenesses. Far from indulging in the illusion of presence that these images give us, he warns us to be on our guard, and acknowledges the *absence* of reliable faces. His preface also warns the viewer not to trust the identifications of ancient portraits more generally, on the grounds that their bases were inscribed with names by modern collectors, or heads were attached to unrelated herms: 'uolui uos admonuisse, ne, ueritatis ignoratione, falsa illa, ac subdititia inscriptione deciperemini' ('I wished to warn you, lest, ignorant of the truth, you should be deceived by this falsehood or by a counterfeited inscription').[57] Despite his title and *parts* of his preface positioning this book as one that will provide visual encounters with the likenesses of important ancient poets, writers, and thinkers, most of Orsini's preface is concerned with

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[55] On this theme, see above, 222-223.

[56] Orsini 1570, 6.

[57] Orsini 1570, 6.

compiling a group of sources relevant to the ancient use of portraiture, and in places he explicitly warns us about putting too much faith in the images he will offer.

Likewise, Orsini's commentary on the portraits rarely attempts directly to relate these objects to the biographies or writings of those depicted. Biographical and literary historical information is given alongside occasional brief remarks on the objects' or a poet's physical characteristics, but these two elements are rarely combined. The general pattern for these commentaries is an account of birthplace and family, followed by a short description of the figure's main works in life. The character or intellect of the figure in question is only rarely mentioned. The circumstances of the figure's death are often included, though without considering how the circumstances of death may relate to a poet's character. Orsini then occasionally mentions the physical characteristics or archaeology of the illustrated object. More often, however, he neglects to mention it, and simply describes those ancient sources known to him that report the existence in antiquity of a portrait of the subject in question. These commentaries rarely extend beyond twenty lines of text.

On the rare occasion that Orsini mentions the character or appearance of a figure, he does so briefly. Two such cases are Menander and Terence. Orsini notes Menander's squint and his intellect in the same sentence: 'fuit Menander aspectu strabo, sed ingenii acumine insignis.' ('Menander had a squint, but was famous for the shrewdness of his nature').[58] This is among the most expressive physical and character descriptions that we find in Orsini's *Imagines et Elogia*. Terence also receives a degree of physical description, with the qualifier 'dicitur' ('it is said'): 'fuisse autem statura Terentius dicitur mediocri, gracili corpore et colore fusco.' ('Terence is said to have been of moderate stature, slender body, and dark colour').[59] This is a close paraphrase of Suetonius' *Life* of Terence, as quoted by Donatus.[60] Beyond quoting this sentence, Orsini does nothing to integrate it into the biography of Terence, or to relate it to the appearance of the image illustrated. In fact the *only* example where Orsini does integrate the portrait's appearance and its subject's biography is that of Persius, whose reported 'forma… modesta et pulchra' ('modest and beautiful form') is used

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[58] Orsini 1570, 32.
[59] Orsini 1570, 42.
[60] Donatus/Suetonius *Life of Terence*, 6. An edition can be found in Goldschmidt 2013(b).

as evidence for the object's identification.[61] These cases are unusual in the *Imagines et Elogia*, and they do little to promote a vivid quasi-personal interaction with the portrait in question.

Orsini's reticence to indulge in physical description, or depiction of character was not a foregone conclusion. Several important contemporary portrait and biography books engage deeply with questions of character, physical appearance, and in some cases the interrelation between the two. The most important near-contemporary book of collected portraits and biographies was that of Paolo Giovio (although in fact the portraits were omitted until the second edition, the portraits and texts were always intended to be viewed together).[62] Giovio's text indulges extensively in the description of character, and frequently describes features of the portraits. Sonia Maffei points out how vivid, ecphrastic language is used by Giovio to describe the portraits, particularly in the second collection of *elogia*, that of men illustrious in warfare.[63] Sometimes the coherence or incoherence between character, literary style, and appearance are noted, as Zimmerman points out is the case for the portraits of Pontano and Nifo,[64] for both of whom their appearance is ironically incoherent with their literary style. Giovio's vivid character descriptions of his portrait collection's subjects, notwithstanding that they work within a broadly exemplary framework,[65] guide the viewer to a character-based appreciation of the images at hand. The combination of characterful biography with portrait help us to build a sense that in viewing the image we encounter the subject as if we were face-to-face. These issues of character and appearance enter only rarely into Orsini's commentaries on the ancient portraits he publishes. By contrast to many contemporary portrait-books, he declines to encourage this sort of personal, character-based readings of the portraits. Instead they are accompanied by a relatively dry account of the ancient sources.

In Orsini's genre-positioning for the *Imagines et Elogia*, his preface and his commentary on the portraits, the inherent tension between two approaches to these objects (as true portraits that can make their subjects present and as fragmentary archaeological

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[61] Orsini 1570, 46.

[62] Zimmermann 1995(a), 207, n. 47. This is also noted by Clough 1993, 198, and by Maffei 1999.

[63] This closer attention of the 1551 *Elogia* to the portraits (as compared to the 1546 *Elogia*) is noted in Maffei 2004, 234-236.

[64] Zimmermann 1995(b), 48.

[65] This is a disputed area. For expressions of both sides of the debate see: Eichel-Lojkine 2001, 113; Zimmermann 1995(b), and Zimmermann 1995(a), 206-207.

evidence for the ancient institution of portraiture) is neither negotiated nor reconciled. Instead the two approaches seem to sit together rather awkwardly. Below, when discussing illustrations, I show how the engravings in Orsini's *Imagines* also offer an unresolved juxtaposition of highly characterful images with more archaeological depictions. First, however, I consider some of the other framing texts that help to define this book, and guide the reader-viewer's approach.

Lorenzo Gambara's Text in the Imagines et Elogia

Within the other framing texts to Orsini's book we also find suggestions of the value of its portraits to a reader of literature, and their capability figuratively to keep dead figures alive. Although Orsini himself signals only limited interest in this approach to portraiture, it is more enthusiastically adopted by another contributor to the *Imagines et Elogia*, Lorenzo Gambara. Moreover, where in Orsini's texts this approach to ancient portraiture sits rather uneasily with Orsini's own archaeological concerns, Gambara reconciles these approaches, and harnesses the very fragmentariness of the objects to support their validity as true likenesses that can provide us with the illusion of their subjects' presence. In order to achieve this, he eludes a problem that Orsini mentions explicitly, namely that authentic ancient portraits may not be authentic representations of real faces. Gambara's gamble is this: careful archaeological scholarship leads to the truth, and truth is equated (even if often just implicitly) with a true likeness of real ancient poets.

Gambara (1495-1585), was himself a poet and humanist from Brescia.[66] He is most famous for his long poem *Columbiade*, about the reaching of the Americas by Cristoforo Colombo. He also happened to be a colleague of Orsini's and wrote the Latin verse dedication to the *Imagines et Elogia*. Orsini was enthusiastic that this poem be included in the printed volume, as is clear from his communication with Aldo Manuzio the Younger, whom he asks to supervise the printing of the various framing texts to the work, and to whom he lays particular emphasis on Gambara's poem: 'massime [i] versi di Gambara' ('most of all: the verses of Gambara').[67]

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[66] An outline of his life and works is found in Gagliardi 1993, 11-18.

[67] Letter of 22nd December, 1569, printed in Pastorello 1960, 315-316, no. 1436.

Much of this poem is praise for the dedicatee (Antonio Elio, a senior member of the Curia, and one time secretary to Alessandro Farnese).[68] However, there are some interesting passages that expand upon the capability of these authoritative ancient portraits to resurrect their ancient subjects, and to offer us satisfying face-to-face encounters that complements our textual engagement with the figures depicted.

Praestantes uirtute uiri, quorum hic liber ora	1
Viua refert, propriosque habitus e marmore & aere	
Caelatos, multo quondam cum nomine uitam	
Duxere in terris…	4
Sed, quum tempus edax illorum ex marmore formas	16
Fregisset, meritosque una delesset honores,	
Totque uirum clara in tenebris monumenta iacerent;	
Quam famam merito debet, laudemque referre	
Fuluius Ursinus? Qui tot simulacra uirorum	20
Hoc uno in libro, ueros imitantia uultus,	
Collegit, lucisque illos reuocauit ad oras	
E tenebris, uitamque dedit, quae munere Fului	
Tertia nunc illis uita est. Hi namque per ora,	
Ora uirum uolitare tuis felicibus audent	25
Auspiciis nunc, o Aeli...[69]	

Men outstanding in virtue, of whom this book brings back living faces and returns to us the personal appearances, carved in marble and bronze, that once led their lives on earth with such famous names… But, when gnawing time has broken their marble images, and completely destroyed their deserved honours, and when so many famous monuments of men lie in darkness, what great fame for his merit, and what praise is owed to Fulvio Orsini, who has brought together here in one book the likenesses of so many men, which imitate true faces, and has recalled from the darkness those lights to the faces, and has given them life, which by Fulvio's labour is now their third life. For these men dare to fly on the lips, yes, with your good blessing, o Aelio, to fly about on the lips of men…

These extracts come from the thirty-eight line verse dedication that is the first thing the reader encounters after the title page. Positioned at the opening of the book, this dedication forms part of the framing for the contents; it directs the reader's expectations, advising him as to an interpretative approach. It is therefore significant then that Gambara presents the images as he does. Its role is also to address and praise a patron, and therefore engages, to some degree, with the politics of literary patronage.

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[68] Byatt 1993.

[69] Gambara 1570, 3-4. ll. 1-4, 16-26.

Gambara tells us that the portraits illustrated inside the book are *true* images: 'simulacra' and 'ueros... uultus'. He must know that this is, in most cases, not so. In the preface to this very volume, Orsini quotes Pliny the Elder where he explains how the portraits of those poets were often conceived from imagination. There is no chance that Gambara was unfamiliar with these famous chapters of the *Natural History*. Gambara nevertheless describes these faces as the 'true', 'particular', faces and appearances of the ancient worthies in order to facilitate the use of this book for face-to-face encounters. The reader can suspend his disbelief in these images in order to create the sense of interpersonal engagement that is so strongly desired.[70] As seen in the case of Pirro Ligorio's library design in Ferrara below,[71] what matters to Gambara is not whether these really are true likenesses able to give us an insight or encounter with the poet depicted. Instead it is merely necessary for a plausible image to enable the viewer's own construction and imagination of authorial presence. Gambara encourages the suspension of disbelief in these portraits.

Gambara's promise of a face-to-face encounter is enhanced further by his repetition of the metaphor of death and life in portraiture. The first line of his dedication is a bold statement of the book's (metaphorical) intent. Not only does 'praestantes uirtute uiri', have a stirringly antique virility to it, but the following enjambed phrase heroises the book and its author as a latter-day Orpheus or Asclepius, who can bring people back from the dead: 'ora/ Viua refert' ('It brings back living faces from the dead). This resurrection role is later transferred to Orsini himself who is owed 'fama' and 'laus'. Gambara presents our hero not only collecting the faces in a book, but recalling them (their souls?) 'from darkness to the shores of light.' Not only does he recall them from over the Styx, but he endows them with life, and (in a perversion of Christian or Asclepian resurrection) this is their *third* life. As

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[70] The importance of an image's authenticity for its use as an object for contemplation or emulation is best exemplified in how (particularly in the middle-ages) religious icons were only considered appropriate for prayer and contemplation if they carried with them some myth of authentication. The icon might claim to be part of a chain of replication directly from an artist's autopsy of the saint, at other times the icons are confirmed as authentic by dreams in visions, in which Christ or a saint appears, thus giving the individual subject to the dream the ability to declare the authority or otherwise of a holy image. For some discussion of these ideas see Belting 1994, 4. Sixteenth-century debates as to the relative value of fictional or authentic portraits, and what constitutes a 'true' portrait, are discussed by Perkinson 2002.

[71] See below, 267-274.

Gambara would have it, this is not merely an archaeological study, but a resurrection; a chance to have a real *face-to-face* encounter with ancient culture heroes.[72]

There is a conspicuous and ironic gap between Gambara's description of this book's contents, and the reality. Gambara must have been aware that most of the portraits were conceived from the imagination of ancient sculptors (as described in a passage of Pliny the Elder, quoted in the preface to Orsini's book).[73] Likewise he must have known that much of Orsini's material is highly fragmentary and gives no hint of face or appearance: the portraits have conspicuously failed to commemorate their subjects eternally, having spent several centuries in the Italian soil. Instead of simply ignoring this problem, Gambara uses the fragmentariness of the portraits (mentioned above) to emphasise the objects' archaeological provenance, and therefore their authority and reliability. The fragmentary nature of the objects also allows Gambara to stress the importance and necessity of Orsini, as the antiquarian who has interpreted the portraits. Gambara achieves this by dwelling on the objects' materiality ('habitus e marmore & aere / Caelatos'), and their fragmentation ('Sed, quum tempus edax illorum ex marmore formas / fregisset').[74] In this way, the apparent disjunction between Gambara's promise of true faces and the contradictory multiple types of faceless and fragmentary portraits is reconciled: the very fragmentariness of the objects is evidence of their authority. Gambara hopes that the viewer will be convinced by the sheer antiquity of these objects and will either dismiss or forget the likelihood (even inevitability) of ancient invention of imaginative portraits.

Gambara places clear emphasis on how these are real portraits, and how they therefore have the capability to reconstruct a real personal encounter with the figures depicted, an idea that is described through the metaphor of resurrection. Some more subtle elements of this poem focus on how this material encounter can be thought of as parallel with literary encounters, supplementing literary engagement to produce a vivid personal

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[72] 'Os' recurs with deliberate frequency in this dedication, the irony of which could not be lost on the reader of pages 13-19 that show successive headless busts.

[73] Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 35.9-11. Orsini 1570, 5-6.

[74] 'tempus edax illorum' recalls two instances in Ovid. First, *Metamorphoses* 15.234-6: 'tempus edax rerum, tuque, invidiosa vetustas,/ omnia destruitis' ('Time, devourer of things, and you also, envious age, you destroy everything.'). Second, *Metamorphoses* 15.871-2: 'Iamque opus exegi, quod nec Iovis ira nec ignis/ nec poterit ferrum nec edax abolere vetustas.' ('And now I have completed my work, which neither the anger of Jove, nor fire, nor steel, nor devouring age can destroy.').

interaction. A Virgilian allusion in Gambara's poem exemplifies the complementarity of engagement through literary texts and material depiction, but also calls into question their relative merits. Gambara writes 'per… ora uirum uolitare' (ll. 24-25). This references a tangle of ancient texts related to poetic immortality and commemoration. Gambara's rendering of this phrase is most similar to that of Virgil *Georgics* 3.8, where Virgil describes the consequences of his poetic fame as being lifted from the soil and flying about through the speech (mouths/faces) of later generations:

> temptanda uia est, qua me quoque possim
> tollere humo uictorque uirum uolitare per ora.[75]
>
> Adapted Rushton Fairclough translation (LCL): 'A path must be tried, by which I too might rise from the earth and, triumphant, fly upon the lips of men.'

Virgil in turn is adapting a well-known couplet, said to have been Ennius' self-written epitaph: 'uolito uiuus per ora uirum'.[76] This is the relevant passage in Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*:

> poetae nonne post mortem nobilitari uolunt? unde ergo illud?
> "Aspicite, o ciues, senis Enni imaginis formam:
> Hic uestrum panxit maxuma facta patrum."
> mercedem gloriae flagitat ab iis, quorum patres adfecerat gloria, idemque:
> "Nemo me lacrumis decoret nec funera fletu
> Faxit. cur? uolito uiuos per ora uirum."[77]
>
> 'Surely poets wish to be honoured after their deaths. For what else can the following passage mean?
> "Behold, citizens, the sculpted image of old Ennius. This man recorded the great deeds of your fathers."
> He demands the reward of glory from those whose fathers he made glorious. The same man wrote:
> "May no one honour me with tears, nor weep over my burial. Why should they? I shall fly alive on the lips of men."'

Cicero and Virgil play with a metaphor of materiality for conventionally non-material poetic fame. 'per ora uirum' has a double meaning: it can mean both 'on the lips of men', and 'before the eyes of men'.[78] The former is entirely literary, the latter is visual and

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[75] Virgil, *Georgics* 3.8-9.

[76] I thank Dr Nick Freer of Durham University for pointing this out to me. For further discussion of these passages (particularly from the point of view of poetic reception) see Goldschmidt 2013(a), 50-51; Martelli 2016 (forthcoming).

[77] Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 1.34.

[78] This is pointed out in Mynors 1990, 180.

material. Furthermore, Virgil's adaptation of this phrase includes the words 'tollere humo' ('rise from the soil'), which contributes a *material* element to his poetic resurrection: here again we find play on the metaphorical equivalence of literary and material commemoration and resurrection. If Gambara knew the quotation of this text in Cicero (which is entirely possible, and even likely, as the text would have been available to him), he would surely have noted there how it is directly preceded by a text that purports to be an epigram on a *portrait* of Ennius (possibly the portrait supposedly set up on the tomb of the Scipiones).[79]

By adopting this established phrase that is used by Virgil as a material metaphor for literary fame, Gambara also compares material and literary encounters with poets. In comparing these two, Gambara confirms the perceived complementarity of text and portrait as modes of engagement with an author. Gambara's use of these verses in a *dedicatory* poem is also interesting. He tells Antonio Elio (the dedicatee) that the ancient authors who 'fly about on the lips [/before the eyes] of men' will make their way particularly to meet with *him* ('occurrunt tibi praecipue').[80] However, the allusion to Ennius and Virgil in the directly preceding metaphor defines this meeting as a literary encounter, through reading the works of those represented. This, of course, requires Elio to make the effort to read the works: the efficacy of the portrait collection and the value of Elio's engagement with ancient authors relies on him allowing them to 'uolitare per ora' ('fly on the lips'), and Elio's 'ora' ('lips') in particular. By promoting engagement with poets and authors Gambara is prioritising his own particular artistic medium (poetry) as appropriate for patronage. This is not dissimilar to how poems discussed in the previous chapter dwelt not only on the portraits of ancient poets, but (through those portraits) also on how ancient portraits ought to be patronised and honoured more generally.[81]

Only two years before the 1570 publication, Gambara had contributed Latin verse translations for an edition of Greek lyric poets compiled and edited by Fulvio Orsini. Just as for the *Imagines et Elogia*, Gambara also provided a verse dedication for the book. That poem uses many of the same metaphors and terms that Gambara would apply to his dedicatory

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[79] Livy *History of Rome* 38.56. For discussion of the portrait of Ennius on the tomb of the Scipiones, and related issues, see: Badian 1972, esp. 154; Gruen 1990, 111; Goldschmidt 2013(a), 50-51, 102-103 n. 10; Martelli 2016 (forthcoming).
[80] Gambara 1570, l. 29.
[81] See above, 187-200.

verse for the portrait-book. Here, though talking explicitly about the recovery of ancient

poetry, Gambara once again indulges in the metaphors of materiality and resurrection.

> Fuluius ast horum uariis Ursinus in oris   15
> Dispersas has relliquias collegit in unum,
> atque manu ueluti medica sarcire poetas
> Iam longo laceros aeuo est conatus, et illos
> in lucem dedit, antiquam formamque, suumque
> Resitituens decus; atque aliquot me uertere iussit   20
> Sermonem in Latium: quos nunc tibi magne dicamus
> Farnesi. tuque hos uates uelut alter Apollo
> Defendes, ne iterum monumenta haec lecta tenebris
> Deliteant, aut Lethaeis mergantur in undis.[82]

> But Fulvio Orsini has collected together from diverse shores, these remains, and
> has tried, like a doctor, to restore poets, wounded for such a long time, and he has
> brought them into the light, restoring their ancient form, and their glory. And he
> ordered me to translate some of them into Latin, which we now dedicate to you,
> great Lord Farnese. And you defend these poets like a second Apollo, so that these
> choice monuments should never again slip into darkness, nor should they sink
> beneath Lethe's waves.

This poem describes the scholarly recension of poetic texts in strikingly similar terms

to those Gambara was only shortly later to use for the recovery of material portraits. Once

again we find the metaphor of resurrection and re-illumination: 'in lucem dedit'; 'ne…

tenebris/ deliteant.' In this poem, however, we also find reference to a medical role for the

philological scholar in the phrase 'ueluti medica.' Where Gambara casts the scholar as the

doctor, the poets' works are inevitably cast as the patient. More specifically, it is clear that if

the scholar is operating on a body, it is surely a body of works, or literary *corpus*. This recalls

the presentation of the scholar as Asclepius and the works as a mutilated body that is found

in many earlier descriptions of literary discoveries such as the letter from Francesco Barbaro

to Poggio Bracciolini, as mentioned below.[83]

The poets' works are metaphorically materialised in the phrase 'antiquam formam'.

Though this metaphor is so familiar that it is easy to overlook, the use of the term 'forma'

unequivocally refers to *material* shape. With its adjective 'antiqua,' it is highly evocative of

sculpture, since sculptural objects are the most conspicuous 'ancient shapes' or 'forms' with

which sixteenth-century scholars engaged. Gambara also uses the term 'monumentum' in

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[82] Orsini and Gambara 1568, f. *5r.
[83] See below, 248 and nn. 85-88.

this poem, which though not explicitly material (it can simply mean memorial), is frequently used for material monuments, and therefore once again evokes sculptural materiality. Just as he will for Orsini's portrait-book two years later, Gambara also lays emphasis on the fragmentariness of the corpus in 'dispersas… relliquias [*síc*] collegit in unum'. Not only does this once again invoke the idea of medical restitution of a mutilated body; by focusing on fragmentation it (once again) lays emphasis not only on the authenticity of the texts, but also the degree of scholarship required to reconstruct them. However, most important here is that the materiality of the metaphors and the focus on fragmentation are highly suggestive of the fragmentary sculpture with which humanists of the day would have been familiar (and Orsini in particular).

Closely related terminology can be found in the framing texts for other publications of Orsini's collection: in his later publication of Orsini's portrait collection (the *Illustrium Imagines* of 1598 and 1606), Theodoor Galle adopts similar terms to describe how the portraits from Orsini's collection can complement literary engagement with the figures depicted. The opening words of the preface to the *Illustrium Imagines* set out its stall clearly: these portraits give great pleasure to the viewer, and they are to be viewed in parallel with the writings of those depicted. Galle is more straightforward about this approach than either Orsini or Gambara:

> 'Singulari Dei immortalis beneficio accidisse arbitror, illustrissime Princeps, ut in tanta Gothici temporis barbarie non solum praestantissimorum ingeniorum scripta pleraque a temporum sint inuria uindicata, sed et imagines ipsorum atque effigies marmoribus ac gemmis sculptae, et numismatis cusae, artificum opera atque industria superstites existant.'[84]

> 'I hold that a singular beneficence of immortal God has occurred, most illustrious Prince, since through such great barbarity of the Gothic age not only have the writings of the most outstanding intellects have for the most part been recovered from the wounds of time, but also that the images of these very men, and the portraits sculpted in marble and gemstones and minted on coins, the work and industry of artifice are extant survivors.'

Galle aligns 'ingeniorum scripta' directly with 'imagines ipsorum'. Although his portrait-book in fact contains a diverse range of professions, Galle choses in the opening sentence of his preface to highlight the portraits of *authors*, and how their narrative of

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[84] Galle 1598, 3.

portraits' survival is parallel to the writings, 'scripta' of those same authors. Both writings and portraits underwent the 'barbarity of the Gothic age,' and both have emerged in the guise of survivors from battle: the former lacerated by the 'wounds of time,' the latter classed as 'superstites' ('survivors'). This shared history of rediscovery contributes to how these objects can work together with the texts to create a sense of personal engagement with an author. Galle adopts a similar line to Gambara in presenting these objects as ideal complements for ancient literature.

A similar set of metaphors can be found in various earlier Renaissance engagements with fragmentary texts. The idea of humanists bringing ancient figures back from the dead or from exile through their scholarship is familiar from a range of early modern texts, some of which use a similar vocabulary to Gambara's poem. The best known is Petrarch's letter to Homer, in which he celebrates finally seeing translations of some passages of Homer, and describes the experience as if he were seeing a longed-for friend returning from far-off.[85] Likewise, Petrarch's letter to Quintilian invokes the language of death, damage, and exile, and takes Virgil's accounts of Hippolytus and Deiphobus as models.[86] A similar set of metaphors were adopted by Poggio Bracciolini and his supporters upon the occasion of the rediscovery of the entire twelve books of Quintilian's *The Orator's Education*. Here too, the restoration of texts is described in terms of resurrection, restitution from exile, and material (sculptural) fragmentation. Poggio's letter to Guarino Veronese is the first to take up this group of metaphors,[87] but Francesco Barbaro, Leonardo Bruni and Cencio Romano soon take it up and elaborate on it to congratulate their colleague Poggio on his discovery. Francesco Barbaro's letter to Poggio is particularly rich in its metaphors of materiality, monumentality, fragmentation, and (doctor-like, and Asclepius-like) resurrection.[88]

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[85] Petrarch *Rerum Familiarum Libri,* 24.12. See Pertusi 1964, 73-112.

[86] Hippolytus: Virgil *Aeneid* 7.761-782; Deiphobus: Virgil *Aeneid* 6.495-7. On the theme of ancient texts presented as being in exile more generally see Giamatti 1984, 12-32.

[87] Printed in Latin in Quondam 1999, 45-54. Printed in translation in Gordon 1991, 193-196, and more recently in King 2014, 27-32.

[88] Letter of Francesco Barbaro to Poggio, 6th July 1417. Giamatti 1984, 12-32; Gordon 1991. Distinct but intriguingly similar explorations of the embodiment of texts are found in the writers of Reformation northern Europe in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see: Coats 1992; Coats 1994; Finney 1999; Winkler 1999. On the monumentalising of texts and authors more generally in the sixteenth century, see Gaylard 2013. Also on engagements with texts that could hint at interpersonal engagements, see Grafton 1997: 12 on an illustrated manuscript of Lorenzo Valla's translation of

However, the important observation from this section is that Gambara describes Orsini's textual and archaeological rediscoveries in broadly similar terms. In both cases the texts and objects are described in terms of loss, darkness, and oblivion, and in both cases the scholar has been capable of resurrecting the ancient writers associated with the texts and objects and allowing us to encounter them personally. Furthermore there is a reciprocity between Gambara's description of textual recoveries and material discoveries: Gambara describes Orsini's textual rediscoveries in terms of material and form, whereas he describes his material discoveries in terms of literary and personal encounter with dead poets and writers. It is clear that, for Gambara at least, literary engagement with the poets of the past is complementary to visual engagement through their portraits. For Gambara, the combination of literary and visual engagement can create a vivid quasi-personal interaction, and viewing the portraits of poets therefore become a highly desirable accompaniment to reading those poets' works. The problematic archaeological issues that accompany these objects—that so many lack heads, that those with heads are often contradictory, that ancient sources warn us that many of the portraits cannot be trusted to give a likeness—do not trouble Gambara. Indeed, he reacts to this tension (between the presence he would like the portraits to give, and the gaping absence that so many headless herms in fact provide) positively, and presents the fragmentary nature of these objects not only as evidence of their antiquity (and therefore authority), but also as parallel to the fragmentary nature of the texts that they complement. Where Orsini's contributions to this volume react to the two roles of the portraits (as vivid present portraits and as archaeology) awkwardly, Gambara embraces the tension the better to promote the portraits as a vital part of the reception of ancient literature.

Illustrations in Orsini's Imagines et Elogia

The texts examined above show how authors and collectors of portraiture during the sixteenth century valued portraits of poets for how they could complement literary encounters with their works. Now I examine the visual evidence from Orsini's *Imagines et*

Thucydides; 32-33 on Angelo Decembrio's account of Giovanni Gualengo's perception of his books in his library as like the tombs of their authors.

Elogia, and consider what the policies of illustration reveal about the expected interpretative approach of the viewer. First, I consider how the formats and layouts of the portraits do, or in some cases do *not*, contribute to creating a convincing collection of vivid and engaging portraits. Issues arise such as whether to standardise the formats of the portraits, whether to illustrate badly damaged portraits, and whether to show divergent portrait types of the same individual. Second, I examine the stylistic decisions made in the publication of this book. Many of the portraits illustrated in Orsini's books (as in contemporary publications and manuscripts) enliven the portraits to a significant degree by exaggerating facial expressions, and adding greater detail to hair and eyes. Others illustrations show the objects with a sober accuracy and add no drama or character to the marble objects they depict. I therefore analyse these illustrations in detail, and where possible compare them to the ancient objects on which they are based. As in the texts discussed above, all these decisions seem to revolve around the balance or tension between an approach that uses the portrait to help create the illusion of presence, and an approach that acknowledges the absence of the portrait subject, and treats the portrait as an archaeological object.

This section explores the significance of the decisions made about how to illustrate the ancient portraits, but it is not always clear by whom those decisions were made. For several reasons it is unlikely that Orsini exercised close control over the stylistic details of the engravings in the *Imagines et Elogia* (1570) or the *Illustrium Imagines* (1598, 1606). Achilles Statius's publication *Inlustrium Viror, ut Exstant in Urbe, Expressi Vultus* of the previous year (1569) contains at least nineteen objects that are also illustrated in Orsini's book.[89] Of these, six engravings in Orsini's book are obviously based on the drawings of these objects used by Achilles Statius, and there are several more cases where this is likely, though not so obvious.[90] That at least six of the preparatory drawings had already been produced for another book a year previously, suggests that Orsini had little control over their execution, and if he had minimal control over these six, there is no reason to imagine that he was particularly stringent in his control of the stylistic details of other illustrations. It is probable that he specified *which* objects were to be illustrated, and had requirements about their accuracy, but did not necessarily supervise the stylistic execution of the portraits.

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[89] Statius 1569.

[90] Statius's prints II, III, IV, V, VI and XV, correspond to Orsini's, 12, 87, 89, 27, 51 and 76, respectively.

Both Statius's and Orsini's publications have a mix of engravings and woodcuts; although often similar, none of these are shared by both publications (even where apparently identical, they differ in scale). The publisher Lafrery's artist for the frontispiece of Orsini's *Imagines et Elogia* was possibly the little-known Andrea Marelli, a pupil of Giorgio Ghisi. Giuseppina Cellini observes that a monogram used by Marelli once elsewhere appears on the frontispiece of the *Imagines et Elogia*, and that the only other contemporary engraver of the initials "AM" (Alexander Mair, as suggested by Jongkees)[91] was only ten years of age at the time of publication.[92] It is possible that Marelli was also the maker of the engravings and woodcuts of the portraits, though a remark made by Andreas Schott to Orsini in a letter concerning the publication of Theodoor Galle's *Illustrium Imagines* mentions a figure named Hiron or Heron as an engraver of images in the 'first edition' (by which we assume he refers to the *Imagines et Elogia*).[93] It is possible that more than one engraver was employed, and indeed the varying styles and techniques employed within the book would fit such a conclusion.

Whoever the illustrator(s), the images reveal a set of decisions that can shed much light on the interpretative strategies proposed in this book. Certain policies taken by Orsini set him clearly apart from his contemporaries. Although the stylistic execution of the engravings may have been out of his control, we can be reasonably confident that certain broader policies were set by Orsini,[94] and it is plausible that they reflect his scholarly, archaeological interest in these objects. As observed above for the texts, here too we find that Orsini's archaeological approach coexists in tension with the temptation to provide vivid and characterful images that could give the viewer a sense of the subject's presence.

First, where Orsini is confronted with multiple, divergent images of the same individual, he prints all of them in the *Imagines et Elogia*. Moreover, these are often images in different media, such as sculpture in the round, reliefs, coinage, medals and engraved gems. Through this method of comparative iconography, Orsini was able to posit identifications of uninscribed portraits, by comparing them to images of close resemblance that *were* inscribed,

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[91] Jongkees 1960, 5, n.8.

[92] Cellini 2004, 264-5.

[93] Letter published in Jongkees 1960.

[94] Correspondence between Orsini, Galle and their colleagues about the 1598 *Illustrium Imagines* and its revised edition, make it clear that displaying multiple portraits was considered methodologically important by Orsini, though not by Galle. Jongkees 1960, 39.

whether on medallions, coins or gems. This technique was to become central to later scholars exploring of the iconography of Hellenistic and Roman rulers in particular, where free-standing sculptural portraits can be identified by their resemblance to numismatic portraits.


Figure 39: Orsini 1570, 29, showing a headless herm of Aristophanes.

A second development that is almost unique to Orsini, is the publication of damaged portraits whose heads and faces have been lost. The illustration of ancient objects and monuments in their damaged condition was not unusual. It was unusual, however, to publish images of such fragmentary objects in a book that in many respects presented itself as a book of *portraits* (rather than solely an archaeological treatise on portraiture), as described above. As observed by Frances Haskell,[95] after encountering so many portrait-books that depict their subjects in smart, regular frames, unified formats, and single portrait types, Orsini's publication must have seemed disappointing if not *bewildering*.

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[95] Haskell 1993, 39.

In preparing a later publication of Orsini's collection, Theodoor Galle was to realise thirty years later that several of Orsini's policies for illustration damaged readers' faith in the reliability of the images as true portraits. For Galle's 1598 *Imagines Illustrium* Orsini had acted as Galle's guide around the collection, apparently with some care.[96] Galle's drawings appear to have undergone scrutiny by Orsini, whose corrections and addenda are seen today in the manuscript and are included in the 1598 volume, though he had little control over the eventual printing and engraving process (much to his frustration).[97] Their eventual appearance must reflect the combined input of artist and scholar. Galle's renderings of these portraits can be seen in their originals in the *Codex Capponnianus 228* in the Vatican library. They are discussed at length by Jongkees and Kätzlmeier-Frank, and a small selection have been printed by Cellini.[98] Some of their quality was lost in the engraving process, and Galle quite frequently neglects to reverse his engravings, with the result that the printed illustration is a mirror image of his original drawing.[99]

Galle's drawings are often closer representations of the original objects than the engravings in the *Imagines et Elogia*. However, unlike Orsini's earlier publication which featured a high proportion of headless portraits (almost half of the sculptural portraits), Galle's 1598 *Illustrium Imagines* contains only nine headless portraits (of one hundred and fifty-one).[100] For a reader approaching this book not from an archaeological perspective, but expecting a gallery of reliably accurate images, this later volume has a far less jarring effect than the sometimes stark, disappointing or simply contradictory images of the *Imagines et Elogia*.

However, the most striking difference is that Galle in only one case publishes more than one portrait of a particular figure. Galle realised that the illustration of multiple conflicting portrait types undermined their claim to be reliable likenesses. Only in the case of

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[96] As Galle gratefully describes in his dedicatory preface: Galle 1598, 6-7.

[97] Jongkees 1960, 6. *Codex Capponnianus 228*, *passim*.

[98] Jongkees 1960; Kätzlmeier-Frank 1993; Cellini 2004.

[99] We note this in the example of Theophrastus. Here Galle has copied his drawing directly onto the copperplate, all except the Greek letters, which obviously would be nonsensical were they reversed. They seem to have been nonsensical to Galle either way, as evidenced by his mis-transcription of both the theta and the phi in Theophrastus' name.

[100] They are: 13 Andocides; 34 Aristogeiton; 46 Cimon; 89 Maximus; 109 Phocion; 110 Pindar; 137 Speusippus; 147 P. Valerius Popicola; 149 Xenocrates.

Socrates is more than one portrait illustrated.[101] Galle's reasoning for his policy is made clear in a letter from Andreas Schott to Fulvio Orsini. Schott explains not only that Galle has a young family to support in a turbulent country, and therefore is keen not to invest any more than necessary in this book, but also that that if multiple portraits of each individual were depicted, trust would immediately be lost in the portraits: 'Sin [*síc*] dissimiles sunt Icones, statim fidem [demunt] numismatum, marmorum, ac picturae.'[102] ('If the icons are dissimilar, trust will immediately abandon the coins, marbles and drawings.') Galle considers the efficacy of his book to rely on the trust the viewer has that these are true likenesses, and this reflects his expectation that the book will be approached as a portrait-book, rather than an archaeological work. Galle understands that for the viewer to be able to indulge in the imagined presence that these portraits can help create, the viewer needs to feel that the images are at least plausibly true, even if Galle himself is aware that many were invented or rather arbitrarily identified. Orsini, by contrast, by comparing different images supposedly of the same individual offers a more accurate picture of the often heterogeneous iconographies of great figures of the classical past. Orsini's strategy has the potential to disrupt the plausibility of these images as true likenesses, and therefore the potential to disrupt the viewers' engagement with the imagined presence of the author that they derive from the portraits. In the contrast between these two closely related publications, we see two responses to the tension between these books' roles as compilations of vivid, reliable portraits that allow a face-to-face encounter, and as archaeological treatises on the ancient art of portraiture.

This tension is in evidence within the varying *styles* used for the portraits within Orsini's *Imagines et Elogia*. In some portraits (Miltiades, Leodamas, Socrates, Herodotus, and Thucydides), the relatively inexpressive faces of late classical sculpture are represented appropriately inexpressively, without eye-details. Hair (for which illustrators were wont to take some creative licence) is represented in a manner credible for marble sculpture. The most important difference in these portraits, and the element that makes them look like illustrations of marble objects rather than real human heads, is the accurate depiction of un-

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[101] Socrates is depicted in two portraits of the same type, though in different formats. Galle et al. 1606, nos. 133 and 134.

[102] Letter from Andreas Schott to Fulvio Orsini, dated March 1st, 1600. Vat. Lat. 4103 fol. 114. Edited and printed as "Appendix I" in Jongkees 1960.

drilled eyeballs in these five portraits. A good example of this might be an illustration of a bust of Miltiades.[103] Miltiades' blank eyeballs reveal to the viewer that this is not a real face, but a lump of marble: no windows to the soul are present because there is no soul. Miltiades' hair is treated appropriately for marble. Although some curls extend away from the face, none separate themselves from the general bulk of the coiffure, or hang unsupported. In short, nothing in Miltiades' treatment is irreconcilable with its nature as a marble object.

In other illustrations, however, (including all the poets whose heads are depicted) pupils and irises have been depicted in the eyes, and hair is depicted in a considerably less sculptural way, with greater articulation between individual locks and curls. Conveniently, a useful example of this treatment is another bust of Miltiades printed directly before the one just mentioned.[104] This Miltiades' eyes are presented as real human eyes, with a shaded iris, and a black pupil. Incision and drilling of sculptural eyes was common practice from the early second century AD onwards, but that effect is different from what is depicted in this illustration. Instead of an inscribed circle with a drilled hole at its centre (the sculptural technique used when and if eyes were depicted in stone), the illustration shows a dark area for the iris. Rather than attempting to represent any drilled eyes the portrait might have had, this illustration seems to be trying to imitate the appearance of a living human eye. Likewise Miltiades' hair in this portrait is not presented as the incised surface of a contiguous marble object, but rather as a series of self-contained locks and individual hairs extruding from the head. For both the eyes and hair there are no ancient sculptural techniques that could be either accurately depicted or effectively evoked through this treatment.

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[103] Orsini 1570, 12.
[104] Orsini 1570, 11.
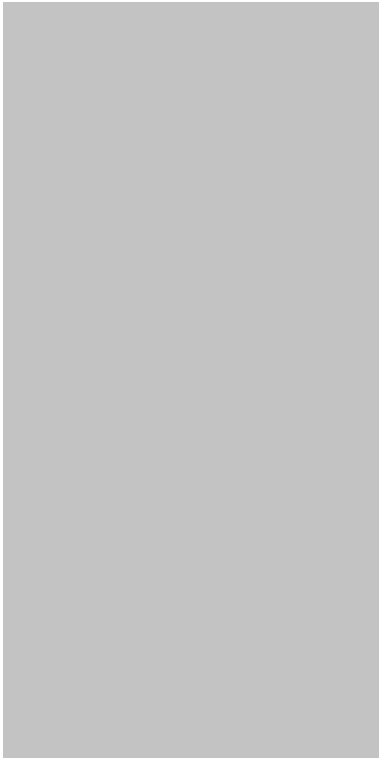
Figure 40: Herm of Miltiades from Orsini, 1570, 11.

Figure 41: Herm of Miltiades from Orsini, 1570, 12.

This comparison between the two Miltiades portraits usefully exemplifies the two principal modes of illustration of marble heads in both the 1570 work, and indeed the 1598

and 1606 publications (in which a similar distinction can be made regarding the eyes, though treatment of the hair is more uniformly creative).

Among these more lifelike portraits in the *Imagines et Elogia*, some appear to be distinctly enlivened with exaggerated expressions, as well as creative eyes and hair. In several cases where eye details have been added, the faces stare at eccentric angles, and the expressions of these portraits have been greatly exaggerated to endow several pieces of late classical portraiture with an intensity of expression and character more suited to the high Hellenistic. For several of these engravings we are able to compare them to their models. When side-by-side, the interventions of the illustrator become evident. The portrait of Theophrastus is a useful example because it can be compared to the object on which the engraving was based. It is taken from a Roman herm reproducing the head of a sober early third-century portrait of the philosopher (fig. 42). Though Theophrastus does indeed wear something of a scowl, it pales in comparison to the piercing stare of the engraving (fig. 43). The contours of the face are heavily exaggerated as is the volume of the hair. In all respects this portrait is intensified.
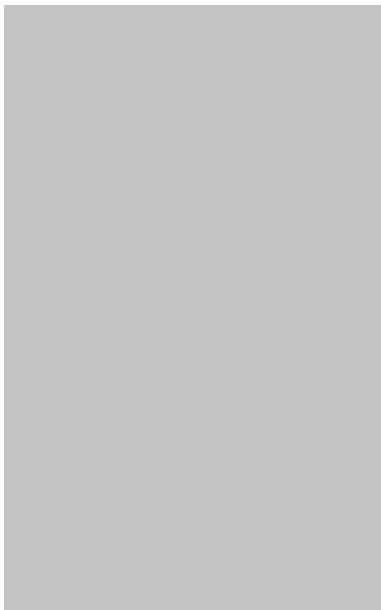
Figure 42: Herm of Theophrastus from the Villa Albani.

Figure 43: Herm of Theophrastus from Orsini, 1570, 59.

All of the poets depicted with heads in this volume (Aristophanes and Pindar are represented by headless objects) exhibit these lively, personal features. These poets are shown with pupils and irises, and many have highly detailed hair and facial expressions. The case of Sophocles is not untypical. Two heads are shown for the poet, each in a different format. Sophocles is shown in a marble *tondo* in three-quarter profile and as a disembodied head (probably detached from a herm shaft) which is illustrated frontally.

Figure 44: Heads of Sophocles, illustrated in Orsini 1570, 25.

The object that is illustrated in second of these two images is lost, along with a similar marble *tondo* portrait of Menander. This Menander and Sophocles were reportedly found together as part of a monument near the Aurelian Gate.[105] Given the stylistic liberties taken by Orsini's artists, it is difficult to know what form the object might originally have taken. *Tondo* portraits, shield portraits, or *imagines clipeata* (all terms for busts depicted within a round, shield-like frame) were popular formats for portraiture throughout the Roman Imperial period. However, although there is some evidence that suggests they were

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[105] Galle et al. 1606, no. 90.

used in the first century BC for author portraits,[106] the only surviving examples of poet and intellectual portraits in marble shields date from the late second century AD onwards.[107] Other surviving *tondo* portraits of Menander show stylistic features of this later period (most obviously, large drilled eyes), and it is therefore possible that the *tondos* of Sophocles and Menander were late antique. Which ancient object formed the model for the first of the two images of Sophocles is also unclear. It is an illustration of the *Farnese Type Sophocles* (as is recognisable from the distinctive moustache), but there is no distinguishing feature that can identify its model as any particular example of this type.

Figure 45: *Farnese Type Sophocles*. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 6413.

The first of the two images shows areas of damage across the figure's chest and on the figure's nose. The depiction of this damage plays a double role: it both reflects the real state of this object as a piece of archaeology, and endows it with the authority of antiquity. Just as Gambara's remarks on the fragmentation of the objects emphasised their genuineness, so here the minor damage to this object adds to its credibility and authenticity.

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[106] Hendrickson 2013, 108-109, 173 (Table C1), where he lists the sources that testify to portraits in libraries, including Tacitus *Annals* 2.37 and 2.83, from which it is deduced that *clipeate* portraits were used in the library of Palatine Apollo. See also, Too 2010; Hendrickson 201; Petrain 2013.
[107] Smith 1990, 131; Dillon 2006, 34, with references.

Although in Orsini's case the motivation was surely accuracy, the possible rhetorical effect of fragmentation was not lost on others, such as André Thévet. Thévet, a French Jesuit cosmographer, produced a monumental book of portraits and biographies in 1584, described in relation to Orsini by Eugene Dwyer.[108] Several of the images in this book were adaptations of the objects illustrated in Orsini. Thévet on more than one occasion adds a body to a portrait type that is otherwise only a head (often only in relief). Despite the fact that the body is pure confection, Thévet nevertheless depicts figures with sculptural breaks, most often at the elbows. For example, his portrait of Sappho (fig. 46), adapted from a small coin portrait in profile, shows the poet restored from waist up, with a bird that holds a scroll in its beak in her right hand, and her left arm broken at the elbow. A similar technique is used in several other cases. Although, as Eugene Dwyer notes, Thévet's readers probably were not taken in by Thévet's inventions (and perhaps were not supposed to be), the suggestive power of sculptural breaks to imply genuineness and antiquity is used to its full extent here.[109] Though the breaks in Orsini's publication are surely not misleading or rhetorical in intention, they nonetheless contribute to the authority of his images as *portraits*, as well as in their role as archaeology. If, as I have expressed above, it is the *plausibility* of these images as authentic portraits that matters for the viewer hoping to engage in a face-to-face encounter with the depicted ancient writer, these sculptural break add greatly to that plausibility, and therefore help to make the portraits more effective as objects with which to indulge in the imagined presence of the figure depicted. That, in essence, was Gambara's gamble, and we see it reflected in the use of fabricated damage in the visual rhetoric of the less scrupulous contemporary portrait-books such as Thévet's.

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[108] Dwyer 1993.

[109] Dwyer 1993, 478.

Figure 46: Sappho, from Thévet 1584, 55.

Both images of Sophocles show highly detailed eyes, with both irises and pupils. Depending on the date of the model, the original for the *tondo* portrait may have had drilled eyes. If the model for the herm portrait is the example from the Farnese Collection (as is most likely), the eye details on this engraving are a sixteenth-century addition. The effect of these eye details, as observed above for the case of Theophrastus, is to transform the portrait from an unseeing marble object into a human likeness. Here too, the depiction of eye details helps to create a far more engaging portrait. In the case of Theophrastus, the artist has significantly enlivened the image, giving greater volume to the hair, and greater intensity to the expression. For Sophocles the model itself is rather expressive and dramatic, and the engraved versions translate this well, with particular attention to the steeply curved eyebrows.
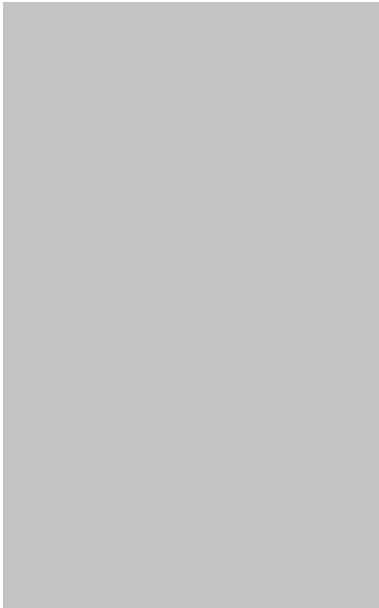
Figure 47: Herm of Aeschines from Orsini 1570, 79.

Most striking about this presentation of Sophocles is the frontal pose of the first image. By far the majority of illustrations in Orsini's *Imagines* show figures in three-quarter profile. However, portraits of Sophocles, Menander, Junius Rusticus, Lysias, and Aeschines (misidentified) are represented frontally. The illustration of the portrait of Aeschines demonstrates why this was a less common choice. The artist has struggled with the foreshortening of the bridge of the nose and the meeting of the eyebrows and the result appears very unusual (fig. 47). In some cases, however, the frontal presentation of a portrait is effective, and works to create a sense of direct face-to-face encounter. Sophocles and Menander stare straight out at us (figs. 44 and 48), and we are encouraged to meet their gaze. If, as Gambara's verses suggested and as Leonidas of Tarentum implies for the portrait of Anacreon (as discussed in the previous chapter),[110] viewing a portrait, reading poetry, and meeting the poet (resurrected if necessary) are all metaphorically equivalent to each other and complementary, surely this frontal view with its reciprocal gaze is most reflective of that idea. Menander and Sophocles meet our gaze directly and we experience a sense of immediate personal interaction.

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[110] See above, 200-207.
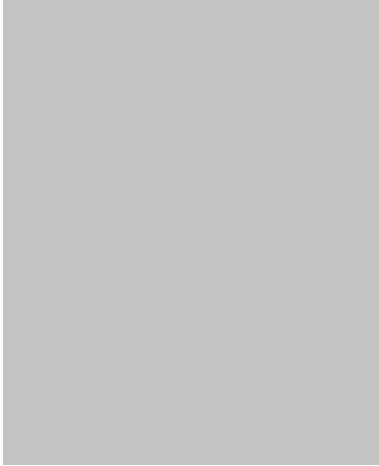
Figure 48: Head of Menander from Orsini 1570, 33.

If a portrait does *not* return our gaze head-on, often this does not mean that they are facing *away* from us. The case of Hesiod, who is depicted in three-quarter profile, but is still largely frontal, demonstrates this well (fig. 49). The detail devoted to the eyes and hair of this head are characteristic of many of the poets represented in the *Imagines*, and the enlivening effect of this detail is clear here: once again the illustration of the portrait fails to evoke marble above the neck. Although the frontal illustration is strikingly engaging, the more conventional three-quarter profiles that make up the majority of the illustrations in the *Imagines* are still often vivid, characterful and engaging.
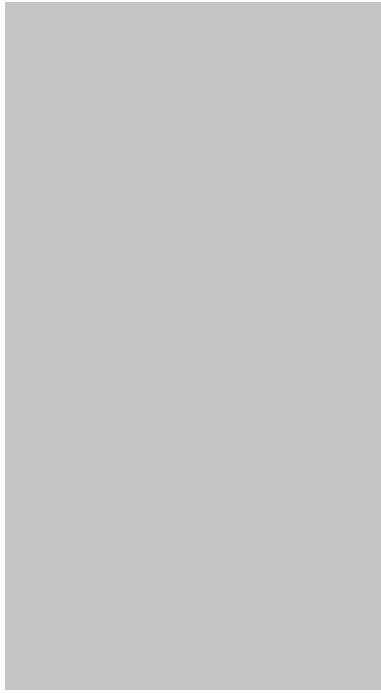
Figure 49: Illustration of Hesiod from Orsini 1570, 23.

That Renaissance viewers had a taste for imagining ancient poets as vividly characterised is strongly suggested by a sixteenth-century black marble bust inscribed ΕΥΡΕΙΠΙΔΕC ('Euripides'), which was published in Statius 1569 and Orsini 1570, in the belief that it was ancient (fig. 50). This object was found on the Avetine hill along with a near identical (but uninscribed) portrait.[111] The object itself now resides in the Galleria Estense (inv. 7486) in Modena, and is stylistically unlike any antique sculpture.[112] A near identical object is displayed in Florence in the Galleria degli Uffizi, and is now inscribed OMEPOC ('Homer', fig. 51). Nothing about their style is ancient, and whatever their role (a deliberate pair of forgeries, a series that was passed off as whichever poet was needed?), they must have been produced and inscribed to suit the Renaissance art market. It is possible that the story of their discovery was concocted in order to support the claimed authenticity of the objects and increase their price at sale.

Both the original object and the illustration depict so-called Euripides in a highly characterised manner. He sports eccentrically long hair and beard, and his sidelong glance is intense. The viewer has a strong impression of the character of the figure depicted in this

[111] Palma Venetucci 2003, 79.
[112] Corsi 1996.

peculiar object. If portraits were considered able to make present and resurrect their subjects, surely this lively presentation of Euripides would fulfil that brief very effectively.


Figure 50: Sixteenth-century bronze bust inscribed "Euripides," illustrated in Orsini 1570, 27. Now in Modena, Galleria Estense.
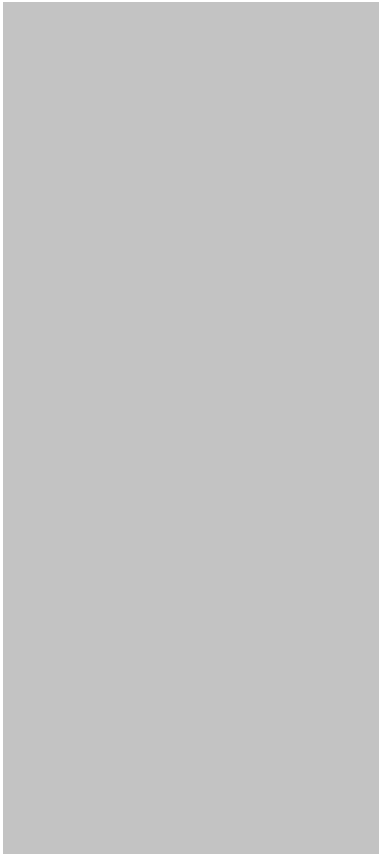
Figure 51: Sixteenth-century bust inscribed "Homer". Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

If these images represent how sixteenth-century artists and buyers hoped to see Euripides and Homer, they demonstrate an appetite for highly-characterised, vividly personal and idiosyncratic portraits. Although I have suggested that he was responsible for some of the broader illustration policies (showing damage accurately, displaying multiple portrait types in multiple media, and displaying headless portraits), the exaggerated expressions and characterisations of these faces were not something *necessarily* intended by Orsini.

In the illustrations for this volume we find the same tension at play that characterises the texts discussed above. We are constantly reminded of the absence of these poets: their faces are fragmentary or mutilated; the likenesses of some figures are cast into extreme doubt by the existence of contradictory portraits; some poets lack heads altogether. These features are ideal metaphors for the ultimate irrevocability of the actual poets represented. At the same time, however, the portrait-book offers us a range of highly intriguing faces: they gaze out of the page with convincing eye-details and with bushy hair and beards that belie the marble materiality of their models; their expressions are in some cases exaggerated

to create a more vivid and engaging likeness; in some cases the poets look out at us directly and their frontally presented faces imply that our gaze is reciprocal. Early modern readers of ancient poetry described the process of reading as a personal encounter with the active, present poet. These illustrations offer the ideal visual supplement to that literary reception by inviting us to indulge in the illusion that the portraits' engaging and relatable faces really do make those poets present to us.

5.2 'In sembianze et in parole': Engagement with Poets and their Portraits in Libraries

If portraits of ancient authors were thought capable of complementing the writings of those authors, we might expect to find them in those places where those writings were found, be that the book frontispiece, the private study, or the library. In the final part of this chapter I consider the case of the library in the Castello Estense in Ferrara, which was designed by Pirro Ligorio to feature the portraits of ancient authors, poets, and philosophers alongside its bookcases, and which has recently been the subject of important scholarship by Beatrice Palma Venetucci and Antonella Ranaldi and her colleagues.[113] Ligorio's motivation for this mode of decoration is investigated with reference to contemporary correspondence, but I also consider various sixteenth-century texts on library management and the history of ancient libraries, which recommend that portraits should accompany the books in libraries. In Ligorio's library design at Ferrara we find once again that the portraits of authors are considered particularly valuable for how they can complement the writings of their subjects in such a way as to provide the viewer-reader with a satisfying illusion of a real interpersonal encounter. Once again this approach is met with the frustrating reality that the ancient material record only rarely lends itself straightforwardly to this approach.

Pirro Ligorio and the Castello Estense in Ferrara

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[113] Ranaldi, Mercuri, and Tempesta 2013; Ranaldi 2014.

In 1570 the Castello Estense in Ferrara was badly damaged by an earthquake. Pirro Ligorio (1513-1583), the long-time architect and antiquarian of the Este family,[114] was put in charge of reconstruction and renovation.[115] Part of this work was the restoration of the long-standing and important library.[116] An account of a visit to the (now lost) library gives a *terminus ante quem* for its completion of 1574.[117] We learn of Ligorio's plans for a library through the letters of Orsini himself. Orsini reported to his patron in a letter of 11th September 1571, that Alessandro de' Grandi had been engaged by the Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara to acquire a range of ancient portraits for display above bookcases in the library:[118]

> Il S.r Duca di Ferarra per disegno di Pirro mette insieme la sua libraria di scritti a mano, fatta de'libri del Manutio, del Statio ed d'altri; et sopra i pilastri che parteno li armari mette teste antiche di philosophi et letterati. Et S.or Alessandro de' Grandi ha cura di procurarle; il quale n'ha messe insieme già quante n'erano in Roma in luoghi, donde si sono potute havere. Io sono stato richiesto darli alcune che ne ho di philosophi et poeti, che sono forse le più rare che si vedano; ma ho riposto che non l'ho comprate per rivenderle, et che io non ho cosa che non sia prima di V.S. Illma che mia.[119]

> The Duke of Ferrara is putting together a manuscript library to Pirro Ligorio's design, comprising the books of Manutio, Statio and others; and he plans to put heads of ancient philosophers and literary men on the pilasters that support the bookcases. Alessandro de' Grandi has the task of acquiring them; he has already gathered what there is in Rome, from those places where they can be had. I have been asked to give him some heads of philosophers and poets that I have, which are perhaps the rarest one comes across; but I replied that I had not bought them for resale, and that I have nothing that is not more Your Grace's than my own.

Although portraits were not forthcoming from Orsini's collection, de' Grandi did manage to gather some objects. He seems to have been charged with finding eighteen portraits, of which he found at least fourteen, and possibly more.[120] There is evidence that several poets were included in the library, and that these included Homer, Sophocles and Euripides (the same black marble portrait of Euripides illustrated by Orsini, figs. 50 and

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[114] On Ligorio and his antiquarian work, see first: Mandowsky and Mitchell 1963; Palma Venetucci 2003; Coffin 2004.

[115] On Ligorio's work at the Castello Estense, see: Coffin 1955; Corradini 1987, esp. 173-175; Ranaldi, Mercuri, and Tempesta 2013; Ranaldi 2014.

[116] Its early history is discussed (in relation to the emulation of antiquity in its management) in Grafton 1997, 19-35.

[117] Coffin 1955, 180.

[118] Ranaldi, Mercuri, and Tempesta 2013, 114.

[119] Ronchini and Poggi 1879, 49-50; letter 3 (11th September 1571).

[120] Coffin 1955; Palma Venetucci 2003, 75-79.

51).[121] This is suggested by their presence in the Este inventory of 1584, and by the numbered asterisks that Ligorio marked next to their illustrations in his manuscripts and that have been interpreted as signals that he intended the marked objects to feature in the library. Some of the portraits de' Grandi gathered never completed their journey to Ferrara: several were lost in a ship-wreck and only recovered in the 1930s and 40s, since which time they have been displayed in Ravenna.[122] These recoveries have been matched up to drawings in the manuscripts and publications of Ligorio, Orsini and Statius, and bear out the observation that the library featured a range of literary and intellectual figures. Ligorio had identified these figures as Themistocles, Miltiades (twice), Plato and Carneades. Although an inventory of the ancient figures depicted is not available to us, it is thus clear that a range of literary and historical figures were represented in this library.[123]

Ranaldi describes how Ligorio's manuscripts show a particular interest in the reconstruction and re-imagination of the idyllic academic villa garden and library, but it is Ligorio's description of how the portraits will work in a library that is of most interest.[124] In particular Ligorio looked to what becomes something of a *locus classicus* for inspiration: Pliny's brief description of Asinius Pollio's library.

> ove raccolse le opere di quanti haveano scritto innanzi a lui et non essendo contento di havere le parole di quelli in scritto, fece la sua biblioteca si ampla e si bene accomodata che vi pose li ritratti di marmo di tutti quanti, acciocché in sembianze et in parole fossero godute: et non potendo havere le effigie di Homero come l'altre. Ne fece accomodare una come scrive Plinio.[125]

> [Asinius Pollio's Library] where he collected the writings of all who came before him. And not content to have their words in writing, he made his library so large and well-appointed that he displayed there the portraits in marble of all these writers, so that they might be enjoyed both in image and in words. Not being able to have a portrait of Homer as for the others, he made do with one as Pliny describes.[126]

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[121] See above, 264-266.

[122] Ranaldi, Mercuri, and Tempesta 2013.

[123] The various pieces of evidence that help us to determine which portraits Ligorio requested or sought are complex. They are discussed by Coffin 1955; Palma Venetucci 2003, 75-79; Ranaldi 2014.

[124] Ranaldi 2001, 98-122.

[125] Ligorio, *Turin manuscripts*, vol. 23, f. 85. As quoted in Ranaldi, Mercuri, and Tempesta 2013, 118. See also Ranaldi 2014.

[126] The puzzling reference to Homer relates to the fact that Pliny's account of Pollio's library follows shortly after his remarks about how fictional portraits were often created of long-dead poets such as

Ranaldi rightly focuses on Ligorio's phrase 'in sembianze et in parole', which makes it clear that Ligorio's plan for a library is one in which the reading of texts can be paralleled by engaging with the relevant portraiture. Orsini recorded that Ligorio hopes to display these herm heads on top of pilasters to form "Telamones" (male figures as columnar supports), either side of the book-cases. Some of the surviving drawings among Ligorio's manuscripts show this arrangement. With the faces displayed so close to the books, *sembianze* and *parole* would indeed be kept side by side. Ligorio's phrase strongly suggests that the author depicted can be appreciated through both of these two parallel media (writing and portraiture). Just as discussed above in the case of the portrait-books, here we find that portraiture of authors is considered the ideal supplement for literary engagement.

The potential of this idea in libraries is noted by several other sixteenth-century writers.[127] Theodoor Galle describes the utility of this mode of library decoration in his preface to his 1598 publication of Orsini's portrait collection.

> Quin et in bibliothecis Romae statuas et imagines eorum collocatas, auro, argento, aere, ductas, marmore fictas obseruaui, quorum immortalis ingenii monumenta ibi legerentur, loquerentur, ac tantum-non uocem emitterent.[128]

> And indeed I have seen their statues and portraits collected in the libraries of Rome, cast in gold, silver or bronze or made in marble, portraits of those people whose monuments of immortal character are read there, monuments that speak and that almost let out a voice.

Galle gives a first-hand account ('obseruaui') of the juxtaposition of portraits and books, and writes suggestively about its effect. We encounter the portraits, he tells us, in the place where their subjects' works are 'read,' or 'gathered' ('ibi legerentur'). The passage is infused with textual-material ambiguity: Galle describes the texts (we presume) as 'immortalis ingenii monumenta' ('the monuments of an immortal character'). Although 'monumentum' simply means memorial and is not specifically *material*, it is most often used to describe physical objects, and when used to describe textual memorials is accompanied by

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Homer. The orthodox interpretation of this passage in the Renaissance made Pollio the first man to commission an imaginary portrait, despite the fact that no such connection is made in Pliny.

[127] A brief survey of some so-called "pictorial catalogues" from the sixteenth century onwards is given by Masson 1981.

[128] Galle 1598, 5.

a simile of material commemoration.[129] However, it is not entirely clear that Galle is referring only to the *texts* in his term 'monuments': we are immediately told that these same monuments 'speak', and all but make sound. Combined with the portraits in a library, the books are no longer simply read, but become speaking texts: full interpersonal, face-to-face encounters. All that the experience lacks is 'vox', the voice or sound itself of the poet or writer, and that is nearly heard. Galle informs us that the portraits of writers are particularly useful when gathered in libraries because they can complement literary engagement in such a way that we can indulge in the fantasy of an interpersonal interaction with the writer. The literary 'monumenta' of an author combine with the material 'monumentum' such that the writer is not only read, but even *speaks* to us, albeit without a 'voice.'

Justus Lipsius' (Joost Lips) *De Bibliothecis Syntagma* (1602, 1607) is similarly sympathetic to the aims of Ligorio's Ferrara library, and is particularly useful for its clarity about the use of portraits. Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) was a Flemish humanist and neo-stoic philosopher who had a huge output of scholarly work (most importantly editions of Seneca and Tacitus), and who had encountered Fulvio Orsini and almost certainly was familiar with the essay "A Bibliothecis" that was appended to the 1570 *Imagines et Elogia*.[130] Lipsius' *De Bibliothecis Syntagma* collected the important sources of information on ancient libraries. This book is often described as the beginning of library history, and it was certainly highly influential.[131] In the tenth chapter of this work (in its expanded form for the 1607 edition), Lipsius describes the ancient practice of setting up portraits of poets, philosophers and other writers in libraries. Taking this ancient practice as a model, Lipsius advocates displaying portraits alongside literary texts in the library:

> sed uel praecipuus ornatus, et imitandus meo iudicio, nondum hodie imitatus,
> sunt *Imagines* siue et *Statuae* doctorum, quas una cum libris disponebant. Nonne
> pulchrum, et suaue oculis ac cogitatione fuit? … Homeri, Hippocratis, Aristotelis,
> Pindari, Virgilii, Ciceronis, et alia scripta uideres aut libares oculis: una etiam

[129] Such as in Horace *Odes* 3.30: 'Exegi monumentum aere perennius'; Rudd translation (LCL): 'I have finished a monument more lasting than bronze'.

[130] On the relationship between Lipsius and Orsini, see Bracke 1998. The *Imagines et Elogia* is discussed at length above. On Lipsius' approach to visual and material culture and its complementary role to texts, see Papy 2004.

[131] The textual history of this work is outlined by Thomas D. Walker and J. De Landtsheer: the work was republished shortly after Lipsius' death in 1607 (as part of his *Opera Omnia*) with various changes that are usually attributed to Lipsius himself, and twenty-five Latin editions were made (mainly from the 1607 text), as well as several translations. Walker 1991; De Landtsheer 2009.

imaginem scriptoris adiunctam. iterum repeto, pulchrum: et, te illustrissime
praeeunte, cur non usurpamus?[132]

'Particularly decorative, however, (and worthy of emulation in my opinion,
though yet to be emulated) are the portraits or statues of the learned, which [the
Romans] used to set up alongside their books. Was it not beautiful, and pleasing to
both mind and eye? … For you would see or taste with your eyes the writings of
Homer, Hippocrates, Aristotle, Pindar, Virgil, Cicero and others, even as you look
at the juxtaposed image of the writer. Again I repeat: it would be beautiful: and,
with you famously leading the way, why shall we not make use of this idea?'

This passage illustrates how Lipsius understands the ancient use of portraits, and
their modern potential within libraries. Before elucidating the benefits of this idea further,
Lipsius offers the simple idea that this use of portraits would be 'suaue oculis ac cogitatione'
('pleasing to both mind and eye'). It is made clear that this mode of furnishing libraries is
not simply decorative, it does not only please the eye, but it is also intellectually satisfying or
'sweet' ('suauis'). Lipsius' intellectual satisfaction in this effect seems to derive from the
complementary nature of book and portrait, as made clear by phrases such as 'una cum
libris', and 'una etiam imaginem scriptoris adiunctam.' The processes of textual and visual
engagement with these books and portraits are linked by the application of the same verbs
(video, 'to see'; libo 'to taste', 'lick', 'sip', or 'take a little') to both book and portrait. The use
of a word meaning 'to taste' is highly suggestive of the intense experience of an author that
can be gained through contemplating his portrait when also reading his works. These texts
show not only that Ligorio was not alone in advocating the decoration of libraries with the
portraits of poets and philosophers, but also that he was far from unique in valuing such
decorative schemes because of how they could offer complementary textual and visual
engagements with ancient intellectuals.

Ligorio is pragmatic as to the identities of the portraits, and he is known for having
subordinated archaeological rigour to decorative and architectural expedience.[133] If some of
the portraits' attributions are invented (the portrait of Homer in the passage of Pliny that
Ligorio quotes here is explicitly identified as an invented portrait) that is of no matter to
Ligorio: it will work just as well to produce the *effect* of presence that the library user desires.
In allowing the viewers of these portraits to be deceived, Ligorio demonstrates that he
considers the effect of the portraits to be constructed entirely within the viewer: it matters

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[132] Lipsius 1602, 29 (chap. 10).
[133] Palma Venetucci 2003, among others.

not whether these objects truly reflect a likeness of their famous ancient subject, it simply matters that they should be *believed* by the viewers to reflect such likenesses. Ligorio's pragmatism in relation to the identities of the portraits reflects an understanding that the author, and the visual encounter with him that a portrait appears to promise, is simply a construction of the reader-viewer: the real appearance or identity of the figure are immaterial, so long as the viewer can engage with a *plausible* representation of a poet or philosopher in such a way as to aid that viewer's constructions of authors and their biography.

On the other hand, Ligorio does seem to have specified that the portraits displayed be *ancient*. Presumably this is because an ancient portrait inspires confidence in the viewer with regards to its authority as a likeness (even if the identification is arbitrary) simply on the basis that it is very old, but it is also a matter of prestige and value. Just as there is an effort to separate true and pseudepigraphic literature, so here the intent is to collect ancient artefacts. Above I observed how the illustrations in Orsini's *Imagines* combined accuracy regarding the objects' fragmentation with a style that endows the portraits with a lively presence (often at the expense of a wholly accurate rendering of hair, eyes and expression). So too here, the authenticity of the objects as *ancient* is important to Ligorio, but whether or not the objects' ancient identities correlate with those that Ligorio gives them is less important than the *effect* of presence and encounter that they can create. The display of a plausible ancient object has the outcome that reader-viewers can proceed in their own constructions of ancient authors through material as well as literary culture. Just as Gambara above encourages Orsini's readers to view the objects as resurrections of ancient intellectuals and a chance to meet them face-to-face even though he knows many of them to be headless, or invented, so too Ligorio encourages the viewers of the objects he collects to indulge in the self-willed illusion of authorial presence and encounter even though he is perfectly aware how arbitrarily many of his objects are identified.

This case exemplifies well the approach to portraits of writers that I have examined in this chapter. The written sources relating to the design and development of this library explicitly identify its peculiar value lying in how it combines both images and texts ('sembianze et parole') of the writers depicted in a way that is satisfying for the reader-viewer. I propose that this satisfaction stems from the same phenomenon examined

throughout this chapter: when portraits of poets are combined with their texts they work complimentarily to enhance our impression that our engagement the poetic work is an interpersonal engagement with a real, once living poet behind it, rather than with a depersonalised ancient text.

Conclusions: Acknowledging Absence, and Imagining Presence

The sources examined above consider questions (if indirectly) that still dominate the study of literature and portraiture today: how do we relate literature to its author, and how do we relate a portrait to its subject? Arising from these questions, we can observe two broad positions as to the utility of portraits: in one the portraits are presence-creating likenesses that can re-personalise literature by poets who are otherwise dead; in the other, the portraits are unreliable pieces of material culture with minimal or no relationship to ancient literature: their subjects are not the actual authors, and actual authors are irrecoverable anyway. We might describe these positions as "imagining presence" and "acknowledging absence" respectively.

Although rarely expressed in terms of explicit positions, both perspectives are observable and indeed in evidence in the sixteenth century. In the sources I have examined in this chapter, sixteenth-century scholars suggest that the creation of presence is a valuable role for the ancient portraiture of writers. Metaphors of resurrection and materialisation are consistently used in relation to portraits of authors, as well as to the recension of their texts. The texts that frame the portrait-books associated with Fulvio Orsini's iconographic collection in Rome emphasise this: the portraits will resurrect the authors who have also been resurrected in the rediscovery of their texts, and the portraits will allow us to enjoy a face-to-face encounter with such authors. A chief role given for these portraits is then precisely the personalisation of authors and their texts that would otherwise be distant or depersonalised. We see this desire for the portraits to personalise and resurrect their subjects in how they are illustrated: inexpressive late classical sculptures are enlivened and invigorated by the various illustrators. Within the same publications, however, we find a far

more sceptical approach that expresses the idea that these portraits cannot be trusted to be true likenesses, and that declines to indulge in a biographically driven viewing of the portraits in question.

Second, I considered how ancient portraits were put to use by a colleague of Orsini, Pirro Ligorio. Pirro Ligorio was in charge of the design of a library at Ferrara for which he specifies ancient portraits as decoration. In writing about the project, he specifically states that the benefit of such decoration is that it allows the viewer to enjoy complementary visual and literary encounters with ancient authors. However, Ligorio's willingness to forge inscriptions for these portraits, and to attribute identities to them based upon his need rather than any archaeological evidence reveals that he too is something of a sceptic: what matters is the *effect* upon the viewers when they feel that by engaging with an authentically ancient portrait they are engaging with the ancient individual depicted. By inventing identities for many of the portraits he displays, Ligorio reveals that for him the portraits cannot truly recreate presence or personality except through the wilful self-delusion of the viewer.

These complex attitudes to the portraiture of poets are deeply informed, indeed in dialogue, with attitudes expressed in antiquity, as explored in the previous chapter. However, they also characterise many more recent engagements with portraits. The modern interest in portraits of poets was demonstrated by a recent public exhibition. The National Portrait Gallery had a large touring show from May 2014 to March 2016 entitled "Picture the Poet": it displayed photographic portraits of twentieth- and twenty-first-century poets alongside brief extracts of their poetry. Visitors were encouraged to consider how portraits of poets could complement their writings. In his rationale for the exhibition, curator Paul Moorhouse invites us to think about the personalities conveyed by the photographs, and how the personality is achieved in art: 'This exhibition is… about all these different kinds of poets and as you would expect these portraits are also very diverse; they bring out all the different individuals: young, old, men, women, some are serious, some are smiling.'[134] At the heart of these remarks is the idea that the individual personality of the poet depicted is an important consideration for readers, and that a portrait is a useful way for them to explore the poetry.

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[134] Moorhouse 2014.

This attitude has a clear correspondent in sixteenth-century culture, as do current archaeological approaches to ancient portraiture. Scholarship on ancient portraiture has, in recent decades, been at pains to distance itself from the so-called "biographical fallacy," the idea that a portrait can most usefully be interpreted (or identified) through reference to its subject's biography, or that the appearance of a portrait can inform us about its subject's biography. Similarly, where past scholars strained their often considerable intellectual musculature to argue (often against the balance of probability) that a portrait transferred the true likeness of its subject,[135] many modern scholars of portraiture quickly dismiss this possibility. Still, many acknowledge the captivating power of objects to give us an impression of personality.[136]

The Renaissance, and particularly the second half of the sixteenth century, was a crucial period in the story of how the portraits of poets have been interpreted in relation to literary reception. As these portraits emerged from the Italian soil in greater numbers than ever before, questions were asked of them rigorously and imaginatively in terms that still resonate through contemporary debates. This period forms, I contend, a vital part of the history of these objects and how they have been, and at times still are, related to literary reception.

This thesis chooses to "acknowledge absence" rather than to "imagine presence"; that is, it approaches the portraits in terms of their contexts and interactions rather than through the characters we can read into them. By examining a range of contexts and interactions that shape the interpretation of these objects (political, sculptural, literary, and intellectual) I have demonstrated how the ancient portraits of poets form an integral part of the literary reception of their works. I have shown that the contexts (ancient and early modern) for these portraits help to position the poets they represent within a range of

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[135] The question is addressed generally in Richter 1965, 18-20, where she argues that terracotta 'sketches' might have preserved the features of important individuals, and that posthumous portraits may have been based on these. Her discussion of the statue of Socrates reflects a desire for the object to reflect the philosopher's true appearance. Through it, she writes, 'we learn to know Socrates in various aspects,' (p. 119). John Henderson's exploration of the methodology used here and how it relates to Platonic scepticism about visual art more generally is particularly insightful: Henderson 1996.

[136] Sheila Dillon, while offering the most influential recent proposal for a study of portraiture that is less reliant on biography, acknowledges that 'some portrait statues do, of course, ask to be read in this way [i.e. in direct relation to biography].'

different structures, be they social, political, literary historical, or intellectual. The range of cases I have offered demonstrates a variety of important ways in which the ancient portraits of poets were a significant part of their reception.

In several cases I have noted that the role for portraits attracted controversy and disagreement among ancient and early modern viewers: how valid is material culture in claiming intellectual or civic control over a poet; how does a viewer react to assemblages of poet portraits that do not agree with his view of literary history; to what degree does the appearance of a poet portrait allow us to engage with the poet's real personality and works? The sixteenth century provides a particularly useful perspective on these controversies because it helps reveal how the ancient debates about how to view and *use* portraits are related to modern methodological concerns about how we *study* portraits. The collections and publications of portraits in the sixteenth century balanced their roles as assemblages for the satisfaction of the viewer with their roles as collections for antiquarian study and research, and as such we find a conflict in their presentations between different interpretative frameworks that helps us to reflect on how our *own* methodological concerns relate to ancient discourse about viewing portraits. Ultimately this thesis demonstrates, without resorting character analysis and the related problems of the "biographical fallacy," how the ancient portraits of poets take part fully in ancient literary reception, and how they have continued to take part in that process (though in different ways) from the Renaissance onwards.

For all the methodological concerns of this thesis, the portraits remain tantalising and intriguing objects to the modern viewer. Our literary encounters with authors, through their own works or through biographical materials, help us to construct these figures in our imaginations and discourse. Portraits help us to materialise these constructions and allow them to become more vivid and convincing as both literary and historical personalities. The capability of a portrait to "flesh-out" a historical figure, to provide us with a face-to-face encounter with their personality, is a familiar one that is important to the modern individualistic approach to portraits in general. However, the range of contexts and interactions considered in this thesis might prompt us to think more carefully about how the contemporary contexts of these objects (now by and large in European and North American museums, libraries, universities, and grand private collections) affect the literary reception

of their subjects' works. Although these contexts and their implications are different to those of antiquity, it would surely be just as fruitful to consider how modern institutional, geographical, and social situations affect how we read and discuss the poetry written by the men and women depicted in the portraits.

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