THE NATURE OF COLLECTING IN THE CLASSICAL WORLD: COLLECTIONS AND COLLECTORS, c. 100 BCE - 100 CE.

VOLUME ONE

Alexandra Bounia

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Department of Museum Studies

University of Leicester.

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Alexandra Bounia

ABSTRACT

Contrary to general traditional belief, the origins of collecting, as a systematic activity that refers to the satisfaction of symbolic rather than actual needs, was not an invention of the Renaissance. Collecting made its first appearance in European prehistory, was a subject of interest and debate for the ancient Greeks and Romans, and has been present continuously ever since. This thesis aims to address a gap in the history of collecting and to contribute to the discussion of its origins and nature through an analysis of collecting in the classical Graeco-Roman world.

As a result, the subject of this thesis is the nature of classical collecting as this is illustrated by the works of four Latin authors, M. Tullius Cicero, Gaius Plinius Secundus, M. Valerius Martialis, and T. Petronius Arbiter. This analysis aims to take a long view of the collecting attitudes in the classical world, and trace the seeds of this practice and mentality in a shared tradition that runs through European thought. Consequently, the views on collections and collecting expressed by the four writers are seen within the longer Graeco-Roman tradition, and are approached through four parameters that have been identified as fundamental for structuring the collecting discourse: the notion of the past and the role of material culture as a mediator between people and their perception of it; gift-exchange as a social tradition with deep social roots, that structures relations between people, people and the Gods, and people and material culture; the notion of identity, at a communal and individual level and the capacity of objects to shape and structure it; and finally, the notions of time and space, our understanding and appreciation of which require the mediation of material culture. The discussion of each of those parameters comes together in the four chapters on the Latin authors. The reading of the ancient texts has been influenced by philosophical concerns about issues of interpretation and appropriation, and in particular by the ideas of Barthes and Ricoeur.

By presenting specific case-studies, and placing them within a long-standing theoretical stance (the collecting discourse of the European tradition) this study embarks on a quest to enrich our understanding of an era of profound changes in the appreciation of material culture, and to illuminate the origins of a phenomenon with important bearings upon the history of collecting in the long term, the creation and the perception of the museum idea, and the relationship between society, the individual and material culture in the Western tradition.

Department of Museum Studies
University of Leicester.

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PREFACE

This thesis developed as the result of the wish to combine my interest in the classical past, and my belief that it is only through thorough examination of the origins of museums and collections that we will be able to reach the dismantling of the modern museum and its reassemblage in an abstruse metamorphosis; this requires extensive research in the ancestry of the cultural institution of the museum and collecting, a field which has much to offer. The subject of this thesis is the nature of classical collecting as this is illustrated by the words of four Latin writers, Marcus Tullius Cicero, Gaius Plinius Secundus, Marcus Valerius Martialis and Titus Petronius Arbiter, who lived and wrote during the first century BCE and the first century CE. The main references to collections and collecting in their work are presented in Appendix A. The passages included there have been numbered as Texts 1-292 [T1-292].

The thesis comprises nine chapters, an introduction and conclusions in the first volume, two appendices and bibliography in the second volume. There are also a number of diagrams and very few plates; these are presented in the relevant chapters.

The transliteration of Greek words follows accepted usage with, as I fear, the usual inconsistencies. The language used in this thesis is non-inclusive, not as a result of a sexist intention, but just in order to save a few words towards my word limit and to avoid the inelegant double types.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAHG	*Anzeiger für Altertumswissenshaft, hrsg. von der Österreichischen Humanistischen. Gesellschaft,* Innsbruck, Wagner.
ad Attic.	Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Ad Atticum.*
ad Fam.	Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Ad Familiares.*
ad Lucil.	Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium.*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology,* New York, Archaeological Institute of America.
AJPh	*American Journal of Philology* (Baltimore).
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, Berlin.
AP	*Anthologia Graeca (=Palatina),* ed. by Beckby, 4Bde, Munich, 2nd edn., 1965-68.
Appian *BellCiv*	Appian, *Bella Civilia.*
Arist., *Cael.*	Aristotle, *De caelo.*
Arist., *De part. an,.*	Aristotle, *De partibus animalium.*
Arist., *Inc.*	Aristotle, *De incessu animalium.*
Augustine, Cat.	Augustine, *De Catechizandis Rudibus* (399 CE).
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique,* Paris, de Boccard.
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*
BSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens.*
Budé	Collection des Universités de France, publiée sous le patronage de l' Association Guillaume Budé (Paris).
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin, 1863-)
CRAI	*Comptes rendus de l' Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris, Klincksieck.
De brev. vit.	Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *De brevitate vitae (Dial. 10).*
De invent.	M. T. Cicero, *De inventione.*
De Leg.	M. T. Cicero, *De Legibus.*
De Off.	M. T. Cicero, *de Officiis.*

Demetrius, *Eloc.*	Demetrius [Phalereus], De Elocutione = Περι Ερμηνειας.
Dessau *ILS*	H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, 1892-1916.
Div.	M. T. Cicero, *De divinatione*.
EAD	*Éxplorations Arhaeologiques de Delos.*
Ep.	*Epistles* (of Horace, Pliny the Younger, or other authors).
Eu.	Aeschylus, *Eumenides*.
FdD	*Fouilles de Delphes*.
FGrH	Jacoby, F. *et al.* (eds), *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, in progress, Leiden, 1923-.
Fin.	M. T. Cicero, *de Finibus*.
frg.	fragment(s).
Fronto, Nab.	Marcus Cornelius Fronto, edn. S. A. Naber (Leipzig, 1867).
FS	R. Barthes, *The Fashion System*, trans. M. Ward and R. Howard, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
Geo.	Vergilius Maro, Publius, *Georgics*.
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, Durham, North Carolina.
IDélos	*Inscriptions de Délos* (1926, Paris: Champion); (1929, ed. by Durrbach, F., Paris: Champion); (1950, ed.by Plassart, A., Paris: Champion); (1972, ed. by Courpy, J., Paris: Depositaire Éditions E. de Boccard).
Il.	Homer, *Iliad.*
Inst. Orat.	Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius, *Institutio Oratoria*.
JDAI	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,* Berlin, de Gruyter.
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies,* London.
Josephus, *BellJud*	Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum*.
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology.*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*, London.

L.L.	Marcus Terentius Varro, De *lingua Latina.*
Loeb CL	*The Loeb Classical Library* (co-published by William Heinemann, London, and the Harvard University Press in Cambridge Mass.).
LS	Long, A.A. and Sedley, D.N., 1987, *The Hellenistic Philosophers*, 2 vols, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
MDAI (R.)	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Röm. Abt.),* Berlin, Mann.
MEFR	*Melanges d' Aechéologie et d' Histoire de l' École Française de Rome*, Paris, de Boccard.
MEFRA	*Melanges d' Aechéologie et d' Histoire de l' École Française de Rome, Antiquité*, Paris, de Boccard.
Mem.	Xenophon, *Memorabilia Socratis.*
Met.	Ovidius Naso, Publius, *Metamorphoses.*
Od.	Homer, *Odyssey.*
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, edited by P. G. W. Glare, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976-1982.
PCPhS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society.*
Phys.	Aristotle, *Physics.*
Pindar, *Pyth.*	Pindar, *Pythian Odes.*
Plut., *De Pyth. Orac.*	Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis.*
Plut., *Lys.*	Plutarch, *Vitae Parallelae, Lysander.*
Plut., *Quaest. conv.*	Plutarch, *Quaestionum convivialum.*
Plut., *Quaest. Graec.*	Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae.*
Plut., *Sept. Sap. Conv.*	Plutarch, *Convivium septem sapientium.*
Plut., *Thes.*	Plutarch, *Vitae Parallelae, Theseus.*
Pro Arch.	M. T. Cicero, *Pro Archia.*
R. R.	Marcus Terentius Varro, *De re rustica.*
RE	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa, *et al.*, Stuttgart, 1893-.
REL	*Revue des Études Latines.*
RhM	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.*

Rose	Rose, V., *Texts and Testimonia of fragments of Aristotle's works*, Leipzig, 1866
S-B	Loeb translations of Martial's Epigrams, by Shackleton Bailey, 1993.
SVF	H. von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, Leipzig, 1903-.
TAPA	*Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, Chico, Cal., Scholars Press.
TAPhS	*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Philadelphia, Indepedence Square.
Tertullian, *Apol.*	Tertullian, *Apologeticus*.
Tranq. An.	Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *De Tranquillitate animi*.
Tusc. Disp.	M. T. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*.
Wehrli	Wehrli, F. E. (ed.), *Die Schule des Aristoteles* (frgs. of the Peripatetic philosophers), 10 vols., Basel, 1944-59.

INTRODUCTION

'Like Noah's Ark, those great civic collections, the library and the museum, seek to represent experience within a mode of control and confinement. One cannot know everything about the world, but one can at least approach closed knowledge through the collection. Although transcendent and comprehensive in regard to its own context, such knowledge is both eclectic and eccentric. Thus the ahistoricism of such knowledge makes it particularistic and consequently random. In writing of collecting one constantly finds discussion of the collection as a mode of knowledge.'

(Stewart, 1993: 161)

'Collecting is the desire of the Museum.'

(Elsner, 1994a: 155)

I. Introduction.

The phenomenon of collecting as a systematic activity that refers to the satisfaction of symbolic rather than actual needs, is traditionally taken to originate in the middle of the fifteenth century, when the collections of the Medicis and the first cabinets of curiosities were formulated as a result of the Renaissance Humanism, and 'the fundamental Humanist concept that Man could be understood through his creations and Nature through the systematic study of Her manifestations...' (Cannon-Brookes, 1992: 500).

Nevertheless, the practice of collecting had started long before that; its genesis can be located in the European prehistoric communities of around 3,000 BCE. Since then and up to the present day, it has been through different phases, each characterised by a set of notions, whose deployment will contribute invaluably to the discussion concerning collecting and museums. Pearce (1992: 90; 1995: 55) discusses the history of collecting in the long-term (*longue durée*) of European tradition, and discerns four phases of development: the 'archaic

prologue', the 'early modern', the 'classic modern' and the 'post-modern'. Out of those four, the first one, i.e. the 'archaic', which includes the early hoards and grave goods, the accumulations of Greek temples and open-air shrines, the royal collections of Hellenistic kings, the art and curiosity collections held by the Romans, and the relics treasured by the medieval princes and churches, has attracted the least attention. Its presence in the 'pre-history' of collecting is acknowledged unanimously by historians of museums and/or collecting, but there has been no attempt at a closer examination of that phase, which was both very long-lasting and as critical as are all early phases for the crystallisation of a phenomenon.

This thesis aims to address this gap, and to offer a contribution to the history of collecting that will go beyond historical knowledge, an analysis of the origins of the phenomenon that has defined Western tradition, and continues to do so.

The introduction will be structured in the following manner: first, we will discuss briefly the relation between collecting and museums, in order to put the subject of collecting in the wider context of the museological discourse. Then, we will present a literature review: the historiography of collecting, approaches to collecting theory, and background literature on classical collecting (the focus of this thesis) will be discussed. Then the aims of the thesis and its justification will be presented, along with a few methodological concerns regarding the discussion of the nature of collecting and the use of the data assembled. Finally, a thesis outline will be provided.

II. Museums and Collections.

The role and importance of the museum as an inseparable part of the cultural identity of modern societies has been acknowledged for a long time, and in various ways. The museum's importance lies in the fact that it holds the

> 'true data ... upon which in the last analysis the materialistic meta-narratives depended for their verification. With this is linked the other side of the unique museum mode, the ability to display, to demonstrate, to show the nature of the world and of man within it by arranging the collected material in particular patterns which reflect, confirm and project the contemporary world view.' (Pearce, 1992: 4).

Museums, in other words, occupy the unique role of being 'the defining source of the phenomenon of the *original*, while simultaneously generating its circulation in reproduced form as a part of a commodity culture' (Sherman and Rogoff, 1994: xvii, emphasis in the original). During the last decades of the twentieth century, and due to rapid changes in fields like cultural theory, anthropology and philosophy, and of theoretical apparatuses like those devised by post-structuralism, post-modernism and feminism (Porter, 1991; 1994), museologists became aware of the multiple possibilities which exist within museums to 'create', codify and often manipulate cultural and historical knowledge, in their attempt to 'naturalise the concreteness of the social and historical processes in which they participate.' (Sherman and Rogoff, 1994: x). As a result, the need for a closer critical inspection and intervention of museums' development and history seems mandatory for contemporary cultural historians, in order to acquire a clear picture of the development of our society and its interrelation with museums (Duclos, 1994: 6; Pearce, 1992: 115-116).

However, until recently, and despite the need for a more analytical approach to the history of museums, this has been limited to historical narratives concerning individual institutions. One way to replace this mode of thought would stem from examining in detail the traditional definition of the museum: an institution to collect, document, preserve, exhibit and interpret material culture and related information for the public benefit (e.g. Museums Association, 1994/5: 445; ICOM, Art. 3, Statutes). The history of the museum emerges from the public histories of collecting, documenting, preserving, exhibiting and educating, or, in the words of Sherman and Rogoff (1994: x), 'between the social histories of collecting, classifying, displaying, entertaining, and legitimating'.

In all this, major importance accrues to collecting, which is the dynamic process that lies behind the genesis of the museum and, consequently, of the other activities and histories. In Elsner's words: 'While the museum is a kind of entombment, a display of once lived activity (the activity whereby real people collected objects associated with other real people or living beings), collecting is the process of the museum's creation, the living act that the museum embalms.' (1994a: 155). Although the former part of this assertion can be contested as adherent to a static and monolithic approach toward museums, which denies interaction between past and present collecting activities, the latter part encapsulates the relation between museums and collections.

This relation has been the theme of many debates. The museum usually is connected primarily to the Public and the State, while collecting is considered as a private pursuit. Furthermore, museums are supposed to be in a condition of permanence, while the collector is always suspected of dispersing his collection. The museum, additionally, is supposed to be the holder of all the scholarship concerning its field of collecting. The collector, on the other hand, is thought to have a personal preoccupation, often illegitimate, if not illegal. The institutionalised collection is supposed to have its objects kept out of the market mechanisms, while the collector is actively involved in them. He is also thought of as 'culturally displaced and in a morally ambiguous position' (Thomas, 1994: 116).

As a result, collections and collecting have not been the subject of detailed studies except for those cases where they have been 'sanctified' by having formed a museum,[1] as in the case of renowned collectors and donors (e.g. the Trandescants,[2] Sir Hans Sloane,[3] Joseph Mayer, Ashmole,[4] Payne Knight,[5] and, more recently, Franks[6]). Nevertheless, closer examination of museums and collections demonstrates that the study of the history of collecting lies at the heart of every attempt to understand the nature of museums and the shaping of contemporary society. Museums and collections have always been public in the sense that they were formulated according to public and social perceptions and ideas (Pearce, 1992: 89). Even though collecting depends very much on the personal motives of collectors and the way they perceive their society, it is true that 'the collections of a given country at a given time are, taken as a whole, the co-extension of that country's culture at that particular time. They incarnate and make visible to us its culture' (Pomian, 1990: 275). Thus, all aspects of collecting, and not only the formal ones, deserve consideration and can contribute significantly to the study of human society. It has been through this rationale that private collecting and museums have been drawn together in self-reflexive attempts,[7] like the People's Show,[8] as well as recent introspective exhibitions and seminars examining the relation between museums and collections, like those held in the Natural History Museum, London (1997),[9] the Booth Museum of Natural History in Brighton (1997),[10] the Walsall Museum and Art Gallery (1997),[11] or the multi-site exhibition[12] entitled 'Collected' in London (1997).[13]

Understanding of the role of the museum thus can be enhanced. Museums are not only holders of material evidence and related information concerning technology, economy, art and so on, but since museums hold collections and since these form the realisation of deeply

rooted social beliefs and practices (Pearce, 1993),[14] museums are the holders of the state of mind which underlies the collections of which they consist. Consequently, the study of the history of collections, along with the historiography of museums, contributes to the museological discourse, and evokes the process through which the identity both of each museum separately, and also of the Museum as an institution, came into existence.

III. Historiography of collecting.

Since its very early stages, collecting practice has been accompanied by a heterogeneous body of literature, mainly written inventories, but also 'guides' for travelers, biographies of artists, descriptions of private and public museums, archives, and so on.[15] From the eighteenth century onwards, advice for collectors, monographs on collections and different categories of collectables, histories of specific collections and museums, as well as the first attempts to come with an overview became the pursuit of antiquarians, dealers, amateurs and dilettante, historians and art critics. In most of these cases, the focus was on individual works of art, and the mass of literature thus created was characterised by art-historical methods (Pomian, 1990: 3).

More often than not the history of collecting had been closely associated with the sociology and history of taste. Gradually all the acquisitions of the collector(s), and even the physical environment in which they had chosen to live, were taken into account, with the result that the boundaries between collecting and decorating tended to disappear, and 'taste' became the overriding concern. This perspective emphasised the personal aspect of collecting rather than the social one, and meant that whatever could not contribute to the identification of taste faded into insignificance; thus, collections were isolated from notions of the past, from questions of scientific interest, ideas on religion and patriotism, differences in age, social background, ideological and political agendas. Taste thus was taken as a strictly personal characteristic, and collecting was reduced to a set of preferences according to certain artistic parameters and 'imprisoned in the aesthetic sphere' (Pomian, 1990: 3-4).[16] This approach characterises much of the discussion on Roman collecting, as we will see further in our literature review.

As a result, both the overviews and the more specific works on collections which have been produced until recently, have been written within the traditional paradigm, concerned with the choice of 'important' men (in the sense of their political, social and artistic influence) and 'significant' collections (in terms of the artistic treasures they hold) that were presented in an encyclopedic or art-historical way, which attempted to produce chronologically arranged narratives illustrating the continuous evolution from 'primitive' collections to modern museums (Murray, 1904; Bazin, 1967; Briggs, 1947; Alexander, 1979).

Nevertheless, collections are not solely 'guardians of works of art' and 'testaments to taste' (Pomian, 1990: 4). Collecting is a multi-dimensional phenomenon, which in order to be comprehended has to be studied in the light of questions which originate from theorising about the collection as an anthropological event. This realisation led to the publication since 1980 of important wide-ranging papers and books devoted to the study of collecting and of museums, that would go beyond the limitations described above. It is a well-known *topos* that the inauguration of the new perspectives was signaled by the publication of a collection of essays edited by Impey and MacGregor (1985), which resulted from an international conference held in Oxford. Interest now focused on collections of natural curiosities, scientific instruments or other objects with no self-evident aesthetic importance, while new qualities started to be appreciated. The political aspect of the creation of museums, sociological approaches, and cultural politics involved in the creation of public and private collections were brought to the forefront, in order to support a broader understanding of the phenomenon (DiMaggio, 1982; Poulot, 1985; Coombes, 1988; Sherman, 1989).

The new direction was underlined by the first publication in 1989 of the *Journal of the History of Collections,* which became the forum for the exchange of ideas and the application of new approaches to collecting (although both innovative and traditional approaches often co-exist in its pages). The inauguration of the new era in the history of collecting and museums is signalled also by the publication in 1992 of Hooper-Greenhill's thesis which studies Renaissance collecting under the influence of Foucault and by using the 'effective history' approach.[17]

In 1990 (English edition - 1987 French edition), Pomian published his own views on collecting. He suggests that the collection has to be seen as an institution co-extensive with man both in terms of space and time, and therefore as a very complex phenomenon whose

history has to be discussed within geographical, political, religious, intellectual, artistic, economic, and social dimensions. He concluded:

> 'The collection is thus a unique domain, whose history cannot be consigned to the narrow confines of the histories of art, the sciences or history itself. It is, or rather should be, a history in its own right concentrating on "semiophores", or objects bearing meaning, on their production, their circulation and their "consumption" which most generally takes the form of mere viewing and does not, as such, involve any physical destruction. As the history of the production of semiophores it intersects with the histories of art, history and the sciences, as semiophores include not only works of art, but also relics of the past and objects found in the natural and exotic world. When the history of their circulation is examined, the history of economics cannot be avoided, especially when it comes to the evolution and development of the market in semiophores. Lastly, with the history of their "consumption", the history of the classification of objects and of the meaning vested in them, it comes into contact with intellectual history, while the history of those who place them on display and those who come and look at them intersects with social history. Placed at the cross-roads of several different currents of thought, the history of collections would seem to offer a valuable line of pursuit to cultural historians.' (Pomian, 1990: 5-6).

The multi-faceted history of collections was emphasised also in a book edited by Elsner and Cardinal, where it is defined as 'the narrative of how human beings have striven to accommodate, to appropriate and to extend the taxonomies and systems of knowledge they have inherited' (1994: 2). To emphasise this, the edited essays of the volume adopt a variety of stances and methodological approaches to their subjects.

The sociology of taste and consumption acquired a new dimension in the work of Bourdieu (1974; 1984; 1987), who places emphasis on the 'economy of cultural goods' and the conditions in which this operates. In particular, he locates the parameters that create taste in the social sphere, by suggesting that cultural needs depend on upbringing, social origin and education, i.e. the 'habitus', the cultural inheritance and environment, that characterises different classes and class fractions. Material possessions then - and especially works of art - stand for more than financial capital; they represent the symbolic and cultural capital an individual possesses, and ensure his participation in a cultural élite. The actual, material

possession of an artefact, along with the symbolic appropriation of it, i.e. the capacity to prove a genuine interest in its possession and an appreciation of its qualities, illustrate in the clearest way the 'internalisation of distinctive signs and symbols of power in the form of natural "distinction", personal "authority" or "culture".' (1984: 282) In other words, the quality of the person who acquires the objects is affirmed by his capacity to appropriate an object of quality. It is interesting to note that Bourdieu suggests an equivalence between practices of exclusive appropriation of quality objects, collecting being one of them, with the ostentatious destruction of wealth, a characteristic of the gift exchange tradition (we will come back to this shortly), as sharing the notion that 'being' is inseparable from 'having'. (1984: 282). Bourdieu's views provide illuminating insights into Roman collecting, as we will argue further in our thesis.

However, the most complete and innovative way of approaching the history of collecting is the one employed by Pearce (1995). She discusses collecting in its longevity in the European tradition, and aims to found it firmly in a cultural context. The annalist paradigm of historical time as dominated by three groups of processes, namely the long-term structures (*Longue-durée*), the medium term forces (*Conjonctures*), and the short term events (*Evénements*), is employed profitably to argue for the continuous presence of the phenomenon of collecting in the European tradition, and its interrelation to all aspects of knowledge and life. The division of the history of collecting into phases which we mentioned at the introduction finds its justification in this approach (see also fig. 1) (Pearce, 1995: 55).

IV. Approaches to collecting theory.

Early critical analysis of collecting dates back to the 1920s and 1930s, when essays were published by Adorno and Benjamin.[18] Children also were discussed as collectors (e.g. Burk, 1900; Whitley, 1929; Durost, 1932; Witty, 1931) as early as the beginning of the twentieth century. Art collecting was the theme of a long series of publications (e.g. Rigby and Rigby, 1944; Rheims, 1959; Herrman, 1972; Saisselin, 1984; Baekeland, 1981; Alsop, 1982; Moulin, 1984), while popular collecting had to wait until well into the 1980s for a more equal treatment from the academic interest (Dannefer, 1980; 1981; Olmstead, 1987; 1988, Butsch, 1984; Bryant, 1989; Martin, 1996; 1997; Pearce, 1998). Since then there have been

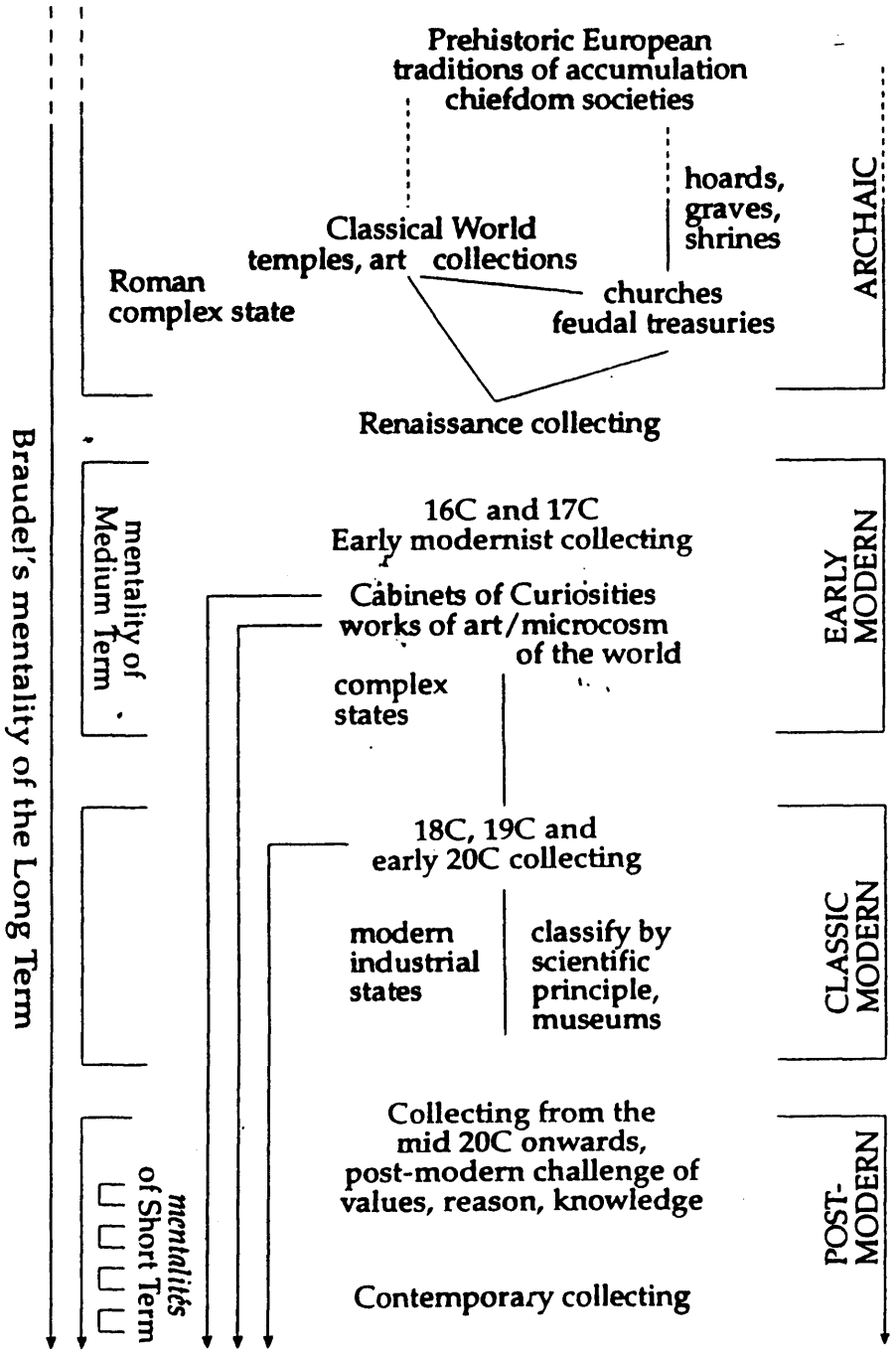

Figure 1: The European historical sequence of collecting (after Pearce, 1995: 55).

many attempts to codify the phenomenon of collecting (Danet and Katriel, 1989; Belk and Wallendorf, 1990; Pearce, 1992; 1995; Elsner and Cardinal, 1994; Pomian, 1990), to discuss interaction between people and objects (Appadurai, 1986; Kopytoff, 1986), and to interpret the phenomenon of collecting from different perspectives. Prominent among these is the psychological aspect (e.g. Perret-Clermont and Perret, 1982; Belk, 1988b; Lancaster and Foddy, 1988; Dittman, 1991), the psycho-analytic perspective (Baekeland, 1981; Fanti *et al*, 1982; Winnicott, 1953; Gamwell, 1996; Storr, 1983; Muestenberger, 1994), and the consumer research studies (e.g. Greenhalgh, 1988; 1989; Briggs, 1990; Belk, 1988a; 1988b, 1990; 1991; 1995, etc.).

Several attempts have been made to reach a definition of the phenomenon of collecting, and several characterisations have been attributed to collections. It would be interesting to start the discussion by offering some of those definitions, first for their own sake (since the attitude expressed by and through definitions has implications for the knowledge received on a subject - see also Bal, 1994); and second, as an intial step in order to present the basic characteristics of collecting, the motivation which lies behind collections, the different kinds of collecting and, finally, their relation to people and the past.

The first definition is one that dates back to 1932, often cited when referring to collections (Pearce, 1992; 1995; 1998):

> 'A collection is basically determined by the nature of the *value* assigned to the objects, or ideas possessed. If the *predominant* value of an object or idea for the person possessing it is intrinsic, i.e. if it is valued primarily for use, or purpose, or aesthetically pleasing quality, or other value inherent in the object or accruing to it by whatever circumstances of custom, training, or habit, it is not a collection. If the predominant value is representative or representational, i.e. if said object or idea is valued chiefly for the relation it bears to some other object or idea, or objects, or ideas, such as being one of a series, part of a whole, a specimen of a class, then it is the subject of a collection.' (Durost, 1932: 10).

This is the earliest example of a series of definitions emphasising the same points: the 'value' and 'use' of the objects of a collection, their 'sequence', the relation between 'whole' and 'part', and the role of 'specimen'. Although it is clear that this definition refers mainly to the traditional collections of stamps or natural specimens, the parameters mentioned are present in almost all discussions of collecting. Baudrillard (1968), Stewart (1993), Pomian

(1990), Pearce (1992), and Cardinal (1994), to name but a few, appreciate the importance of these factors to the creation and understanding of collecting, and devote much research in their attempt to define them and their interrelation to the creation of collections.

Pomian, for example, (1990: 9) has contributed to the discussion on value by suggesting that it is necessary for the natural or artificial curiosities forming a collection to be kept 'out of the economic circuit'. Thus, the objects can divulge their meaning (as 'semiophores'), which in its turn marginalises their usefulness, and lets the true value be revealed, i.e. the value to 'represent the invisible and therefore to have a share in the superiority and fertility it is unconsciously endowed with' (Pomian, 1990: 31). In other words, Pomian juxtaposes 'visible' and 'invisible' value, the former being monetary, and the latter one that is accrued only when an object is taken out of the economic circuit and acquires the status of 'priceless'. Collections rely heavily upon the latter, and collectors pursue it, in an attempt to grasp the 'invisible' and communicate with whatever exists beyond its borders. We will remember this juxtaposition when we discuss the case-studies, especially Pliny and Cicero, who base their views on collecting on issues of 'tangible' and 'intangible' value.

Stewart, on the other hand, believes that 'the collection represents the total aestheticization of use value' and therefore, 'the collection is a form of art as play, a form involving the reframing of objects within a world of attention and manipulation of context .... Yet unlike many forms of art, the collection is not representational. The collection presents a hermetic world ...'. Furthermore, she suggests that 'aesthetic value is clearly tied to the cultural' (1993: 151-2; 154). Pearce reads value as mainly symbolic, and associates it with political considerations, regarding notions of aesthetics, knowledge, morality and societal structure, but also traditions of the long-term, and individual poetics (1995: 285-307). In her view, cultural value is assigned to objects that embody high technical ability and express cultural norms and ideal views about the self and the world; similarly, it accrues to objects that are seen as holders of knowledge and power to communicate with the depth of self, other people, and the divine. The assemblage and holding of these objects bring to the owner moral quality and power deriving from their intellectual prestige. These notions of valuation bear particular reference to classical collecting, as we will see further on (see chapters 3 and 8).

'Seriality' has been another major issue in relation to collecting. Belk and his colleagues (1990: 8) defined collecting as 'the selective, active and longitudinal acquisition, possession and disposition of an interrelated set of differentiated objects (material things, ideas, beings, or experiences) that contribute to and derive extraordinary meaning from the entity (the collection) that this set is perceived to constitute.' We again can notice that the ideas of 'selection', 'set', 'meaning' and 'entity' are used in order to characterise and define collecting. Cardinal (1994: 71) also devised a similar definition: '(by collection) I mean a concerted gathering of selected items which manifest themselves as a pattern or set, thereby reconciling their divergent origins within a collective discourse'. Although Belk and his colleagues deal with collecting from the consumer research standpoint, while Cardinal does so from the academic art-historical point of view, it is obvious that they both agree on the importance of the same characteristics.

More of them are brought to the forefront through other definitions. Alsop (1982: 70) suggests: 'To collect is to gather objects belonging to a particular category the collector happens to fancy... and a collection is what has been gathered.' This definition places the emphasis on the mentality of the collector and the subjective element in collecting. The same idea underlies the definition given by Bal (1994: 100): collecting is 'a process consisting of the confrontation between objects and subjective agency informed by an attitude'. A similar motif had appeared before in the definition given by Aristides (1988: 330): 'collection...[is] an obsession organised'. This definition is further enriched with the idea of 'order'.

'Classification' and 'order' are two of the most important notions in collecting, and bear a series of implications for the formation of collections and our understanding of them. Collecting is the 'embodiment of classification' (Elsner and Cardinal, 1994: 2), and relates to the idea of 'completion'. Classification also marks the difference between 'collecting', and other forms of 'accumulating' and/or 'hoarding'. Collecting is an activity related to sociality and human relations (Baudrillard, 1968: 147-8).

'Completion' is another key issue of collecting. Danet and Katriel (1989: 266) offer five types of strategies that collectors pursue in order to reach 'closure/completion/perfection': 1. completing a series or set; 2. filling a space; 3. creating a visually pleasing, harmonious display; 4. manipulating the scale of objects; 5. aspiring to perfect objects. In this list lie the

roots of a very interesting approach to collecting, which relates to psychology and psycho-analysis. Storr (1983), for instance, argues that the need to classify, to put order into chaos, to master material culture, to achieve the completion of a series, relates to human insecurity and is a mechanism through which people try to control themselves and their environment, to achieve ultimate satisfaction.

We can summarise the ideas presented above by underlining the close interrelation among sets/preferences, aesthetic/use value, subjective/social identity, and mentality/culture; and by providing an interesting definition (*in lieu*) offered by Pearce (1992: 50): 'ideas like non-utilitarian gathering, an internal or intrinsic relationship between the things gathered - whether objectively classified or not - and the subjective view of the owner are all significant attributes of a collection, together with the notion that the collection is more than the sum of its parts'.

The motives behind the formulation of collections have been the subject of much speculation and research. Rigby and Rigby (1944) tried to understand collecting within five parameters: physical security, distinction, immortality, knowledge and aesthetic satisfaction. Rheims (1959), on the other hand, expressed his view with four categories: the need for possession, the need for spontaneous activity, the impulse to self advancement, and the tendency to classify and regularise things. Belk (1988: 548-552; also Belk *et al.,* 1991: 194-205) reached the following list of collecting motives: 1. collecting legitimises acquisitiveness as art or science; 2. collections serve as extensions of the self; 3. collections seldom begin purposefully; 4. collections tend toward specialisation; 5. addictions and compulsions pervade collecting; 6. post-mortem distribution problems are significant to collectors and their families; 7. profane to sacred conversions occur when items enter the collection; 8. there is a simultaneous desire and fear of completing a collection. Pearce (1992: 69-88) lists sixteen possible motivations for collecting: leisure; aesthetics; competition; risk; fantasy; a sense of community; prestige; domination; sensual gratification; sexual foreplay (these two may coincide); desire to reframe objects; the pleasing rhythm of sameness and difference; ambition to achieve perfection; extending the self; reaffirming the body; producing gender-identity; achieving immortality. Bal (1994: 103-4) notices the 'increasing urgency' of the above motivations and suggests that the underlying notion which connects them all is 'fetishism'.

This term has been used before by Stewart (1993: 164), and has a long and valid use besides the Freudian one (also, Gathercole, 1989; Ellen, 1988).[19] Having its origins in anthropology, this term connects the psycho-analytic narrative perspective, pursued by Freudians and now largely out-of-date (Baekeland, 1981; Muestenberger, 1994), with the Marxist-political critique (see also Pearce, 1992: 82-84). Possessions, and most specifically material ones, act as reminders and confirmers of people's identities (Pearce, 1992: 55; Martin, 1997). This idea has been common to writers on collecting since Rigby and Rigby (1944) (see also Rheims, 1959; Stewart, 1993). The famous assertion by Clifford (1988: 218) '(I)in the West, however, collecting has long been a strategy for the deployment of a possessive self, culture and authenticity' expresses this idea, while it identifies the West, i.e. Europe and the societies influenced by it, as the core area which encourages that kind of collecting behaviour.

Cannon-Brookes (1992: 500-501) distinguishes between 'object-centred' societies, where objects are important in the transmission of cultural traditions, and 'concept-centred' societies, where the cultural traditions are transmitted mainly orally. Within the same anthropological perspective lies the attempt by Pearce (1993; 1995) to explain European-style collecting. She traces its origins to materiality, which 'is inherent in the long-term mentality of European society, because this depends upon the twin notions of personal effort and accumulation and the idea of evidence, arrived at by the processes of discrimination in time, space and form' (1993: 98; 1995: 57ff). In other words, Pearce interprets collecting within the framework of three long-term themes of European society. The first theme is that of the family system that produces many competitive individuals, who have to make their own fortune, because of the inheritance tradition that benefits the male first-born; they therefore have a special relationship with the material world, evident also in the Indo-European linguistic tradition, where the notion of possession is clearly expressed through language which connects people with objects. The second theme is the oath/ordeal paradigm, that produces a way of thinking which distinguishes clearly between people and things, 'true' and 'false', 'reality' and 'causality'. Oath is defined as 'a formal invocation to gods/men to witness the contested validity of acts or intentions' (quoted in Pearce, 1995: 76), whereas ordeal is ultimately the validation of the oath. The dichotomy between word and object, man and the material world, that the pair implies carries the seeds of a particular relationship between people and the material world, which is regarded as 'Other', and therefore provides an arena for the exercise of the analytical qualities just described. In other

words, the oath/ordeal paradigm creates a society where one thing can be distinguished from another on the basis of truth and falsehood, with their companion ideas of 'reality' and 'causality'; the capacity for recognising these distinctions belongs not within a social group, but within each individual. Such a society is likely to see the accumulation, exchange and deposition of specially chosen objects as a prime way of creating relationships between men and men, and men and the divine (Pearce, 1995: 85). The final theme is that of the gift-exchange tradition, which within the above framework is a means of creating relationships between people, and people and gods. The implications of these themes in the discussion of classical collecting will be brought together later.

The motives for collecting have been organised into three types, each representing a category of collectors, firstly by Rheims (1959). He divided collections into those made by 'the dedicated collector', by 'the dilettante' and by 'the curio-hunter'. Pearce (1992: 68-88) also arrives at three types of collections (summarising her list of motives): systematic, souvenirs and fetishistic. Souvenir collections are those in which the objects take their relation unity from their association with either a single person and his/her life story, or a group of people, who function in this regard as if they were a single person. In fetishistic collections, emphasis is on the relationship between the objects and their collector. The collection plays a crucial role in defining the personality of the collector, who maintains a worshipful attitude towards his/her objects. Systematic collecting, finally, works by the selection of examples intended to stand for others of their kind and to complete a set. The emphasis is upon classification, in which specimens are extracted from their context and put into relationships created by seriality. Systematic collecting usually is considered a positive intellectual act designed to demonstrate a point (Pearce, 1992: 69, 78-84, 87). Unlike them, though, fetishistic collections have attracted the attention of psycho-analysts, who rather dismissively attribute collecting to notions of anxiety and tension (Muestenberger, 1994: 253), and provide the classic Freudian explanation that collecting relates to the tendency of the collector to direct his surplus libido to the inanimate objects, and that it corresponds to all three stages of his scheme of sexual development: oral, anal, and genital pleasures (Gamwell, 1996: 6). In this sense, collecting is related to childhood traumas and operates as an ego defense mechanism.

This is a very interesting approach, not for its interpretative merits, which are highly debatable, but because of the directions towards description and understanding of collecting

that it provides. We can call the metaphors which Danet and Katriel (1994) have identified in the collecting discourse to our aid. By interviewing (directly or indirectly) collectors they have isolated a list of five metaphors that operate in their discourse: collecting is hunting; therapy; passion, desire; disease; supernatural experience. Interestingly, three out of five metaphors relate to the 'pathological' reference to collecting, to the dismissive view of it as unnatural, or too intense to be proper. These account for descriptions of collectors common from literature (Edgar, 1997), but they can also be related to classical sources and their views about their contemporary collectors.

Finally, one of the issues most commonly associated with collecting is its relation to the past. Collections have been characterised as a 'unique bastion against the deluge of time', and supposedly combine several themes: 'desire and nostalgia, saving and loss, the urge to erect a permanent and complete system against the destructiveness of time' (Elsner and Cardinal, 1994: 1). The nostalgic aspect of collecting has been also recognised by other researchers like Rheims (1959), Starobinski (1966), Stewart (1993), Danet and Katriel (1989), Belk (1988a; 1988b) and so on. Benjamin and Adorno called collecting 'practical memory' (cited in Crimp, 1989). As an extension of the same idea there is the desire for immortality, which is the peak of the motives mentioned above (Danet and Katriel, 1989: 272).

Finally, a post-modern approach to the phenomenon is that by Harvey (1989). He attempts a more radical reading of the personal world of collecting, and describes the home as 'a private museum ...to guard against the ravages of time space compression'. His argument is that 'the personal collection, through metonymy and private classification, exemplifies the desire to fight the post-modern collapse of distance and temporality and "secure moorings" and "longer lasting values" in a constantly shifting world' (Harvey, 1989: 292, cited also in Duclos, 1994: 9). With this is connected the recently realised necessity to discuss the phenomenon of collecting as 'at once psychological and social that not only has its less than obvious material history, but is also a continuing contemporary presence' (Elsner and Cardinal, 1994: 5; also see Martin, 1997; Pearce, 1998).

V. Approaches to Roman collecting.

The study of the history of Roman collecting dates back to the nineteenth century. It has been a well-accepted fact that Renaissance collections were formed after the direct or indirect influence of the Romans, as part of both the general interest in the humanities and also the classical past that characterises that particular period, and the excavations in Rome and elsewhere in Italy, which had started long before to enrich private and public collections. However, the first history of Roman collecting as a separate phenomenon was published as late as 1867, by the chief curator of the Louvre, Edmund Bonnafé.

He studied in detail the ancient authors and some of the early publications concerning the amateur excavations at Rome, in order to make a list of the names of Roman collectors, and anecdotes about their preferences in collecting. Bonnafé claims that Roman collectors offered a major contribution to the contemporary art and culture of his time since they rescued important works of art for the successive generations. Part of his history is devoted to the desire to identify works of art housed in the Louvre with the ones which, according to Latin authors, belonged to ancient personalities. This was the result of the romanticism of the writer, who took the works of the ancient authors at their face value, without examining them critically. Furthermore, Bonnafé worked at a time when archaeology was more of an art than a science, and thus he was more concerned with fiction rather than with facts (Taylor, 1948). In addition, the political circumstances of his era (the Napoleonic empire had represented itself as heir to the Roman Caesars) and the character of the Louvre ('the last magnificent example of a museum exhibiting a Roman character') could not but lead its chief curator to such an approach (Michaelis, 1908: 24-6; Jenkins, 1992: 24; Déotte, 1995). Nevertheless, the study of Bonnafé is of primary importance both as a source of reference for the information it provides on Latin authors writing on collecting, and as a source concerning the museological approach toward collectors and collections in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The subject of Roman collecting was discussed in part of the voluminous work by Friedländer (1865-1871; 1921), as well as in essays written by Blümner (1873), and Hermann (1855). All three attempts romanticise the phenomenon, and have to be seen within the romanticism of the revival of the humanist spirit which characterises the German academic tradition (Whitley, 1987). They all argue that the Romans did not develop a valid

art sense (*Kunstsinn*), and that their collections were 'superficial' - assembled for their monetary value, and 'accidental' - the result of the Roman conquests and acquaintance with the luxurious and cultivated eastern way of life; they agreed, however, that subsequent generations should thank them for the preservation of Greek works of art that would have otherwise been lost. This debate over whether the interest of the Romans in art was 'real' or not, and whether this interest was enough to explain and justify collections, has been quite common in the discussion of Roman art and collecting from then onwards; and has thus largely defined the view toward classical collecting, limiting it to notions of taste and art historical appreciation. Naturally, the development of art history and the understanding of art plays an important role in art collecting. Nevertheless, it is not enough by itself to explain and justify the phenomenon.[20]

Since then, the history and nature of Roman collecting has been of interest to those attempting to produce an overview of the phenomenon, and universal histories of museums. Rigby and Rigby (1944), Taylor (1948), Rheims (1959), Economou (1934), Wace (1969), Bazin (1967), Alsop (1982), van Holst (1967), Salmon (1958), and even contemporaries like Belk (1995), devote part of their work to delineating the character of classical collecting, in an attempt to have a complete overview inclusive of the origins, supplemented with anecdotal perspectives. The Hellenistic and Roman periods usually form the prelude to the teleologically arranged development, so as to present the most 'primitive' of the appearances of the phenomenon of collecting, while ancient temples and Roman public buildings are thought of as the earliest museums. When their history is not discarded in a few lines, the appetite of the Hellenistic tyrants and the Roman *nouveaux riches* for Greek works of art, copies as well as originals is mentioned, and how they were prepared to go to extreme lengths in order to satisfy this, including plundering, looting and other criminal acts. The motives for the act of collecting are attributed more often than not to a 'philhellenic zeal', 'eastern luxury', 'political motives' or to merely the development of a 'world of refinement and culture'. Descriptive and generalised as these discussions are, they do not provide an insight into the real nature of Hellenistic and Roman collecting, or to its relation to the genesis of the idea of the museum.

From an archaeological point of view, interest in classical collecting has been limited to enquiries regarding ancient Greek and Roman sculpture and painting, and to the originality or provenance of works of art, as well as to their setting in public and private spaces of the

Roman world (Bejor, 1979; Fuchs, 1987; Manderscheid, 1981; Marvin, 1983). Major attention was attracted by the Roman copies of Greek works of art, in an attempt to identify lost Greek originals, or the influx of Greek art and artists to Italy (Bieber, 1977; Stewart, 1979; Richter, 1982; Ridgway, 1984; Marvin, 1989). Even when the Roman creative spirit was recognised, collecting was understood as aesthetically defined, an excuse for the assemblage and creation of works of art, and never as a separate and independent phenomenon (see, for instance, Ridgway, 1984; Marvin, 1989; Strong, 1976). The influence of Greek art and civilisation thus was overemphasised in terms of the Roman 'admiration' for it; and at the same time more general patterns inherent in Greek thought, that might have found a continuation and flourishing in the Roman society due to the different social and historical circumstances or the social patterns inherent in the Roman world, were ignored. The most thorough studies on the Greek influence on Roman art criticism and taste are those by Jucker (1950) and Becatti (1951). On the same subject Pollitt has also contributed some interesting views (1974; 1978; 1983).

In 1975, Strong published an article entitled 'Roman museums' in an attempt to examine the similarities and differences between ancient public collections and contemporary museums, as well as to examine the reasons behind their creation. He comes up with two main reasons: public benefaction and religious dedication. Other researchers offer suggestions regarding the influence of Epicurean, Stoic, or Neoplatonic philosophy, singly or in combination, to the arrangement of art within Roman households, and the planning of decorative programmes in temples and houses. These usually result in establishing iconographic norms, and thus explaining the existence of particular works of art in particular settings, by referring to generalised, socially determined taste, and not to conscious personal decision-making. There is no doubt that some very interesting and thought-provoking articles have been written in that spirit, although far-fetched conclusions created in a very contemporary manner have also been reached (see, for instance, Vermeule, 1967; 1968; 1977; Pantermalis, 1971; Warden and Romano, 1994, Sauron, 1980; Grenier, 1989; Zanker, 1978 and Preisshofen, 1978). These attempts, though, do not really tackle the issue of classical collecting *per se*; they are just recognition of the presence of the phenomenon in the classical world. This thesis will challenge some of these elaborate attempts, by suggesting that maybe a number of the questions usually posed regarding the social role of works of art in the ancient world would be better understood and more adequately explained in the context of the discussion of the nature of classical collecting. We will endeavour not to

impose contemporary views on the past, although contemporarily devised apparatus will be employed.[21]

The motivation behind collecting thus has been discussed in close relationship to questions on art criticism, taste and philosophy; and it also has often become associated with enquiries about iconographic and decorative programmes, or the social role of art. An interesting alteration to this pattern is provided in an article published by Bartman (1994), on sculptural collecting and display in the private realm. Although this is also confined to art collections, and indeed sculpture assemblages, it allows for the presence of more criteria that would permit a rather more personalised 'taste' to be expressed. The author lists five reasons that would have influenced Roman collectors' selection of statuary: appreciation of purely aesthetic qualities; appreciation of technical virtuosity; attribution of the work to a famous name; antiquity; (and this latter preferably combined with) distinguished genealogy. These parameters, despite their obvious limitations as far as the study of collecting as a social and personal phenomenon is concerned, provide a starting point for pursuing some interesting leads in our discussion of classical collecting.

The early collecting practices have been the subject of an important dissertation by Pape (1975). She is interested in the looting that occurred of Greek works of art and artefacts, and provides a complete list of all the material plundered from the Greek world during the Roman expansion. Pape distinguishes between the removal of works of art from the Roman provinces by the victorious generals, who had the 'right of the conqueror' to remove the artefacts and dispose of them, and the actual '*Kunstraub*', looting, which refers strictly speaking to the removal and extortion of works of art from the provinces carried out by the magistrates. She argues, though, that the latter, along with the '*Kunstsinn*', had received more attention than the former and the public display of art, and she therefore concentrates on the historical, cultural, civic, and religious law assumptions on the basis of which the accumulation of Greek works of art as war booty became known to Rome, and then the importance of the public presentation of these objects for the political, religious, and cultural life of the Romans. Consequently, Pape limits herself to the study of the public assemblages of works of art, and does not discuss private interests and collecting.

Individual collections and collectors have also attracted scholarly attention. A brief attempt to discuss collecting in the Hellenistic Pergamon (Howard, 1986), for instance, addressed the

questions of the formation of the Attalid art collection, the uses to which it was put, as well as the effects of these practices upon ancient and modern followers. Unfortunately, this is also a very art-historical oriented approach. A very good article, although written in the same spirit, is the one by Gualandi (1982) on Pliny and art collecting. Another attempt to deal with the issues involved in classical collecting has been the book by Chevallier (1991). Although his main interest is to present a social history of Roman art, he makes an important contribution to the study of Roman collecting, by posing questions as to the phenomenon. Lehmann has been concerned also with collecting as this has been presented through the ancient sources, and he published two articles on Martial, and the reconstruction according to some of his epigrams of a public collection of sculpture in the temple of Divus Augustus (1945 - for discussion see chapter 7), and on Philostratus (1941). Articles on the collecting activities of other personalities have also been published: on Cicero (Valenti, 1936); the 'museum' of Augustus (Reinach, 1889); Herodes Atticus (Neugebauer, 1934). Finally, a book published a decade ago by Neudecker (1988) combines archaeological and textual data and discusses in detail the sculptural finds of Roman villas in Italy. Undoubtedly interesting as they all are, these attempts have been fragmentary and largely descriptive; there has been no effort to put all the fragments together and to create a coherent picture of classical collecting, based on contemporary collecting theory, while firmly based on the information provided by the ancient world. That is the aim of this thesis.

VI. Aims and Justification.

The subject of this thesis is the nature of classical collecting as this is illustrated by the words of four Latin writers, Marcus Tullius Cicero, Gaius Plinius Secundus, Marcus Valerius Martialis and Titus Petronius Arbiter, who lived and wrote during the first century BCE and the first century CE.[22] Their selection as case studies, as well as the preference for this particular period of history, have been determined by a number of reasons. First, we should mention the need to fill a gap in the history and analysis of collecting, by discussing one of the earliest and most neglected appearances of the phenomenon.[23] Second, during the late Hellenistic - early Imperial period of Rome, broadly from the third century BCE to the first century CE, crucial developments took place in the ancient Mediterranean world. The collecting modes of the previous phases were summarised, while new notions and collecting issues of the future were introduced. More specifically, the period under

examination is the age of transition from collections as holy dedications and commemorations of triumphs, to collecting for its own sake as a social and intellectual phenomenon of indisputable status. Additionally, it is the age of attribution of new qualities to material culture, and inauguration of associated practices, as private art patronage, art market and art history. Furthermore, another innovation of this period is the active personal involvement in the formulation of collections. For the first time, individuals developed a wide range of collecting attitudes, according to personal, emotional and psychological motives, but also to social and ideological demands.

Elsner (1994a: 156) has summarised the importance of this period in his assertion:

> 'In suggesting that Roman Italy was constructed as the all-plentiful provider and the Ur-collection, I wish to address a dream lying wistfully behind the collecting impulse: namely the urge to evoke, even sometimes to fulfill that myth of a completion, a complete ancient world, which was once itself collected in the imperial splendor of Rome. For ancient Rome is more than just the supreme paradigm of collectors (its collections were and are our canon) and the ultimate exemplar for empires. It was these things not just because of its priority in the past of Europe but because (in the myth that it told to glorify itself) it succeeded. That myth, which brought fulfillment in the act of accumulation together with supremacy in the arts of government, may only have been propagated by the Romans and without total faith, but it was believed (and needed to be believed) by the myth-making collectors from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment whose activities have generated our cultural institutions, above all the museum.'

Déotte, in his discussion of museological texts of the nineteenth century (Quatremère de Quincy) and the creation of the Louvre, also records the deeply-rooted belief that 'Rome was in fact the archetypal museum' (1995: 222). The reasons for that are identified with the assimilation of the aesthetic principle of the museum with pagan religion, the mere fact that Rome was (and is) a large, open-air repository of works of art and architectural remains, but also the view of antiquarians and dilettante that in Rome they could see the interactive relationship developed between antiquities and objects of art, historical sites, mountains, roads, relative geographical features, memories of past local traditions, customs, and so on. In this sense, Rome has been considered a 'complete collection' of the natural and cultural world, brought together for the enlightenment of people (Déotte, 1995: 223). This view sounds remarkably familiar to the student of classical collecting, since its echoes are present

in the Elder Pliny's work, who thus propagated his belief in the success of the Roman world by presenting Rome as a complete, and three-dimensional 'inventory' of the world. The implications of his attempts for the nature of classical collecting, and for collecting in subsequent periods, will be discussed in chapter 6. However, this is not a study devoted to the early modern museum development in Europe, and therefore, a detailed comparison and discussion of the influence of the archaic tradition to that of the subsequent phases will not be undertaken here.

The reasons that this study has taken this particular shape and that these authors have been selected, relate to its aim, which can be described as being to focus on the motives behind the interest in collecting, and to provide some answers, more elaborate and analytic than the usual descriptive ones, to questions concerning the nature and character of the phenomenon in the classical world. The aim of this thesis, therefore, is neither to present another social history of Roman art, with collecting holding a secondary role, if any at all, or to present the interesting anecdotal incidents mentioned by ancient authors in order to suggest a fragmentary similarity with the general characteristics of collectors of successive phases.[24] Rather, the aim is to take a longer and more penetrative look at collecting attitudes in the classical world, and trace the seeds of this practice and mentality in a shared tradition that runs through European thought (in the light of Pearce's arguments: see 1993; 1995). Consequently, the views on collections and collecting expressed by the four writers mentioned at the beginning will not be considered in isolation. They will be incorporated into the Graeco-Roman tradition, and will be approached through the methodological aid of four parameters which have been identified as fundamental for structuring the collecting discourse: the first parameter is the notion of antiquarianism: this is defined as an inherent interest in the past, which takes shape in the systematic assemblage of artefacts, information, and anything else that can bring people closer to the past, to history, but also to accumulated knowledge. The second parameter is the gift-exchange tradition: this particular notion lies at the heart of collecting, as a parameter of valuation that responds to the need for objects to acquire genealogies, importance as bearers of value, and significance in a fetishistic manner. In addition, it is a mechanism of establishing connections between divine and human world. The third parameter is the notion of identity: people search to acquire a communal or individual identity through objects, to shape a model of themselves that they can hold onto and pass on to others. This is the notion which allows objects and collections to take part in the processes of defining the self and the 'Other'. In the particular period on which we have

chosen to concentrate, collections illustrate the conflict between individual and communal valuation, and collecting is experienced as a constant debate between individual and communities, private and public. The fourth parameter is the notion of time and space. Objects are parts of the tactile world, they occupy space, and they furnish an interesting relation with the notion of time: they literally help people to accommodate themselves in temporal and spatial terms, to tame, appropriate, define, and comprehend time and space. Within this framework, we aim to avoid epistemological anachronisms expressed through attribution of the phenomenon of collecting in the classical world to 'philhellenism' or the 'invasion of the eastern *luxuria*', that refer to historical symptoms more than to motivation.

Finally, we will have to justify the selection of texts, and 'textual collections', instead of archaeological data, for this research, as well as the choice of the individual authors, and discuss in brief a few of the methodological concerns that the decision to 'read' ancient texts as sources of data imply. The four authors were selected according to the extent to which their work survives, itself an indication of interest by subsequent generations, to the wealth of information on collecting it provides, to the possibilities offered in each of them to illustrate one or more of the parameters that we presented above, and to their chronological proximity and inclusion in the chronological limits set, as well as to personal preferences.

Naturally, any modern attempt to make sense of the ancient world inevitably strikes against several problems. We have to admit, firstly, that all perception and interpretation are culturally determined; and secondly, that we have limited access to that ancient world, especially to its conceptual universe, since the data available are often fragmentary and ambiguous. Therefore, there is a need for the development of methodological tools, which will help us to make sense of the ancient world, and overcome some, at least, of the delimitations that the factors presented above pose. In this attempt we can benefit from the use of cognitive discourses and disciplines concerned with the study of societies and artefacts, as well as with the processes of perception, reading, making sense and communication. These may be potential sources for the development of helpful epistemological tools. Indeed, these discourses and their epistemological principles can lead to the realisation that we need to place the texts that we want to study in their social, cultural, economic, political, religious and conceptual context, as well as to the construction of models of 'reading', which, despite their limitations, offer interesting insights. Finally, they may lead to the understanding that certain modalities, such as, for instance, the nature of

the process through which the reader makes sense of a text, brings into play the reader's prior knowledge and assumptions.

Following this line of thought, while insisting on notions quite contradictory to it like 'reconstruction' and 'neutrality', Sourvinou-Inwood (1995: 6-7) suggests two strategies for reading a text. The first involves the evidence being studied in the most exhaustive detail possible, without preconceived notions of what is important or representative, since such selections depend on *a priori*, inevitably culturally determined, judgments. This was only partially possible in my interpretation for several reasons: in order to comply with such a strategy I thought it necessary to 'collect' the data for the research through an extensive reading of the ancient sources (in translation and in the original) without having set in advance a certain set of criteria that would define my selection, but having the broad aim of assembling paragraphs relating to attitudes towards collectors/collecting or material culture. This resulted in quite an extensive range of material, not particularly uniform (in terms of length of paragraphs assembled, number of paragraphs from each author, content and so on); but I believe it to be quite representative. Nevertheless, the selection itself could not have been, and was not, free from culturally predetermined conceptions. Simply the fact that I had in mind a range of definitions regarding collections and collecting, was enough to suggest a certain bias.

The second strategy Sourvinou-Inwood (1995: 7) advocates involves the structuring of the investigation into a series of separate analyses. Besides the limitations posed by restrictions of length and time, the reasons I confined myself to the textual evidence were the beliefs that firstly, texts, despite their limitations (not being written to provide information of this kind, their fragmentary status, the problem of lost books, etc.) offer an insight into collections, since they are unrestricted by practical concerns, so in a way they offer a discussion of a wider range of collections; secondly, they offer people's (sometimes collectors') thoughts, feelings, receptions of/about collections/collectors, and therefore, confer a more coherent and comprehensive picture of the scene. Thirdly, material culture, and collections even more so can be and are read as texts; this similarity is explored further below. Finally, since to a considerable extent the textual evidence was largely available during Renaissance, it offered the model upon which Renaissance collectors/collections shaped themselves.[25]

The development of epistemological and methodological tools for my research thus has been tripartite: firstly, it has been structured around the concern for the relationship between writer and audience, since this applies to the relation/perception of the writer's *oeuvre* both by his contemporaries and ourselves; furthermore, it deals with the issues of the 'original' meaning and its 'original' reception. Secondly, a model has been constructed which will give us a lead in our understanding of the text and will facilitate reading, although it is by no means a model *of* reading or *of* understanding (see chapter 1). Finally, we have been concerned with if and how we can use documents, and particularly literary documents, to make sense of the past. Our assumption that collections 'operate like' documents is based on a long line of material culture research (e.g. Hodder, 1986; Shanks and Tilley, 1987a; 1987b; Tilley, 1990).

Sourvinou-Inwood (1995: 9) suggests two basic ways of reading a text/picture: the first involves treating the text/image as 'floating' artefact and thus reading it 'directly' and 'empirically'; in other words, we make sense of it according to our own assumptions and expectations. She finds this legitimate, but claims that since it produces different 'readings' in different circumstances, it 'fails to lead to the recovery of meaning, inscribed on it by its "creator" and "extracted" by his contemporaries'. The second involves anchoring the text in its historical context and attempting to recover the 'original' meaning. This is implicit in classical scholarship, and in order to be achieved it involves the reconstruction of relevant ancient assumptions and expectations, and the reading of the text through these filters. The impossibility, or rather improbability, of the success of such an attempt is acknowledged by Sourvinou-Inwood herself a few lines below: 'all reading and interpretation is a cultural construct, dependent on the assumption of the readings and interpreting culture' (1995: 10).

The first of the above 'ways of reading a text' refers to what can be called an 'empirical' reading/approach, one in other words which attempts to read the past as 'same', as readily accessible and easily intelligible. The second method refers to a past alien and dissimilar, that needs to be deciphered as such. In order to achieve that, the researcher has to neutralise herself and with a pure mind to plunge into the unknown. Both these methods of approaching a text/image convey parts of the 'truth', but not the whole of it, and, as is usually the case, they need to be combined in order to achieve the most effective and rewarding way of approaching the past. In other words, instead of falling into the common humanistic (and specifically classicist) fallacy of rendering the past more up-to-date by

seeking within it the direct confirmation of a contemporary interest, or instead of trying - albeit in vain - to 'purify' the researcher's conceptual and cultural universe, in order to achieve the closest possible to the 'original' - if that ever existed - reading of a text, this research takes the stance that the texts should be read in the light of the Analogue.[26] Besides the continuity that binds those texts to us, their substantial cultural otherness must be and is acknowledged too. In other words, without denying that the search for the notions of collecting/collections has been shaped by interests developed *a posteriori*, we are going to search for the archetypa of these, for the analogous notions, and read the ancient texts as referring to a 'similar' world (neither 'same' nor 'other').

VII. Outline of the Thesis.

The thesis starts with a discussion of the methodological strategies employed during our reading of ancient authors (Chapter 1), in order to provide a theoretical framework that will allow for the most rewarding 'reading' of the ancient texts, taking, of course, into account the limitations and concerns involved in the discussion of documents written so long ago.

After that, the thesis is divided into two parts, each of which consists of four chapters, that broadly correspond to each other. The chapters of the first part discuss the four parameters of collecting that we presented above, while the second part consists of the chapters devoted to the ancient writers.

Thus, Chapter 2 is a discussion of antiquarianism and the notions of the past that this implies. Objects and monuments and their use as evidence in the ancient historiographic tradition are examined, in an attempt to suggest that this gave rise not only to one of the best known categories of collections, that of antiquities as usually understood, but also to the cabinets of curiosities, and the encyclopedic collections that we commonly attribute to other sources. The systematic assemblage of artefacts in order to amass a complete inventory of all knowledge available is a common motif for all students of collections from the Renaissance onwards. Similarly familiar is the notion of the 'book' accompanying the actual collection, or substituting it in the form of a 'paper museum' (see, for instance, Cassiano dal Pozzo[27]). In this chapter we aim to trace the origins of this notion in the development of antiquarianism in the ancient world, and follow the expressions of it in the

work of Pliny (Chapter 6), which is an extensive discussion of the views and ideas on collecting presented by this author in his *Historia Naturalis*. The aim is to trace the relation between these two modes of thought within Pliny's own collecting activities, in addition to his major role as recorder of collections in the ancient world, and contextualise it within a broader philosophical and collecting discourse.

Chapter 3 refers to the gift-exchange tradition, as the origin of value assumptions regarding works of art and other artefacts. The discussion considers the nature of the tradition by presenting the vocabulary and institutions of gift in Homer and mythology, its appearance at the Geometric and Classical sanctuaries, and the institutions and vocabulary of value as these were developed there, the notions that the collections assembled in them embodied, and their legacy. This chapter corresponds with Chapter 7, on Martial and his epigrams. It is argued that Martial's poetry, besides offering information on collectors and collecting and providing the most vivid and realistic picture of the Roman collectors in practice, contributes toward our understanding of the interrelation between people, material culture, and literature in the Roman world. The poet propagates a 'real' value of objects, which derives from the gift-exchange tradition, incorporates this concept in his poetry and in his perception of the social and material world.

Chapter 4 is devoted to the individual as a cultural category, and the implications of the understanding of this notion for collectors and collecting in the classical world. The Hellenistic period traditionally is associated with the 'rise of individualism'. Collections, and the introduction of privately initiated collecting during this period, have thus been interpreted as symptoms of this phenomenon. The thrust of this chapter's argument is to re-examine this view in the light of the recently developed scepticism regarding individual and communal ideals during this period, and to suggest that the creation of individual collections is the result of a much more complicated process. Collections actually embody the struggle during this transitional period between individualism and community-oriented ideals. Although they signal the victory of the individual agent over restrictions posed by communal morality, they also attest to the attempt of collectors to reach their individuality through participation in a group. This group is not now that of the city-state, but is that of the highly educated, intellectual élite, with strong associations to the ancient Greek past, which share the moral quality that possession of art implies, and the intellectual prestige that knowledge entails. This ambivalent role of collections and collecting becomes evident in Chapter 8.

This is a discussion of Petronius' *Satyrica*, a novel written during Nero's reign. The main pattern of the discourse on collecting in this work revolves around the role of the collections as methods of inclusion in the cultural élite and, therefore, power and 'cultural capital'.

The aim of Chapter 5 is to investigate the notions of time and space as these appear in the philosophical, the anthropological, and the mythical thought of the classical world, in order to trace their impact on notions of order, knowledge and assemblage of material culture. It is argued that objects were used, as they are today, to evoke a sense of time or place, but also to structure people's relations to ritual spaces, and notions of sacred, profane, individual, communal, present and past. Furthermore, the spatial understanding of memory, and the capacity of objects to act as *aide-memoires* is examined. This chapter is complemented by Chapter 9, which discusses Cicero's collecting discourse. It is interesting to note that the orator's personal 'reading' of collections and collecting revolves around their power to structure time and space, and to appropriate it for their owner.

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[1] For example, the recent book by Alexander that discusses the 'biographies-in-relation-to-their-museum-establishing-activities' of prominent Americans (1997).

[2] For instance, MacGregor, 1983.

[3] e.g. Brooks, 1954; MacGregor, 1994.

[4] As in Hunter, 1983.

[5] See Clarke and Penny, 1982.

[6] For example, see Caygill and Cherry, 1997.

[7] The very first of these self-reflexive attempts must have been the exhibition organised in the Musée d' Ethnographie, Neuchâtel, Switzerland, with the title 'Collections Passion'. The catalogue that accompanied the exhibition contains interesting essays discussing collecting (Hainard et Kaehr, 1982).

[8] The 'People's Show' was the name given to an initiative of the Walsall Museum to display the private collections of the people of Walsall in the local museum; the objects in the collections ranged from toys and ties to pencil erasers. The initiative was greeted with much interest and led to a 'People's Show Festival' which involved more than fifty museums throughout Britain. See also Digger, 1995; Lovatt, 1995; 1997.

[9] The exhibition had the title 'Natural Mystery' and was an artist's view of the Natural History Museum; the artist in residence was Julian Walker (5 April - 19 May, 1997).

[10] This exhibition had the title 'Things, collecting and the experience of the natural world'; artist Julian Walker was again responsible for an artistic reflection on museums and collections (10-15 June, 1997).

[11] This exhibition was entitled 'Kissing the dust: contemporary artists working with collections'; the artists in residence were Ajamu Jane Grant and Michael Robertson (17 May - July 6, 1997).

[12] 'Collected' had the sub-title 'Exploring the depth and diversity of the collection... from Egyptian antiquities via 18th century paintings to Marilyn Monroe memorabilia'. The venues were the Photographers' Gallery, the

British Museum, Habitat, the Royal College of Surgeons, Hunterian Museum, Richard Lowe's flat, Selfridges, Paul Smith, the Wallace Collection, Sir John Soane's Museum, all in London. The exhibition was accompanied by a seminar held at the British Museum on May, 17th 1997. The duration of the exhibition was from April 26th to June 21st, 1997.

[13] In the same self-reflective spirit we may include the exhibition 'Museum Europa' held in the Danish National Museum (1993), the exhibition on the 'Grand Tour' organised at the Tate Gallery (1997), and the exhibition on Sir William Hamilton and his collection at the British Museum (Jenkins and Sloan, 1996).

[14] Martin (1996; 1997) argues that museums need to start communicating with contemporary collectors and collectors' clubs if they want to keep in touch with contemporary society and the post-modern world.

[15] Pliny's and Pausanias' works qualify for inclusion in this category; the same is true for the epigraphic archives of various sanctuaries.

[16] See also the collecting theories discussed later in this chapter. For approaches to the history of collecting like those described above see Taylor (1948), van Holst (1967), Alsop (1982).

[17] For an interesting review of literature on the history of collecting see also Herklotz, 1994.

[18] For collection of their essays and discussion see Crimp (1989), Benjamin (1969; 1979), Adorno (1967).

[19] The popularisation of the idea is attributed by Pearce (1992: 82) to Richard von Kraft-Ebbing (1892).

[20] For a modern approach to the development of art history in the ancient classical world, and its implications for collecting, among other social and artistic phenomena, see Tanner, 1995; his approach is developed from a sociological and art historical point of view.

[21] The article by Zanker (1978) presents a very interesting balance of these two aspects.

[22] The use of classical texts in order to support an argument regarding the ancient world is not uncommon; nevertheless, this thesis is innovative in its attempt to group these texts together and discuss them in their internal cultural relationship along the lines of a new subject, i.e. the history and nature of collecting. For attempts similar in their approach, although different in their aims and subjects, see, for instance, Elsner (1995) and Flower (1996).

[23] The need to study these deep origins of the phenomenon of collecting and of museums has been underlined by modern museologists; see Cameron, 1995.

[24] While this thesis was in progress it became apparent that discussion of specific issues that we touch upon here, like the role of women in the collecting tradition of the ancient world, the early 'Museums' and their influence upon the institution of the 'museum' developed in subsequent periods, the implications of classical collecting for the development of collecting paradigms in the Renaissance and afterwards, and even classical collecting before and after the chronological limits that I had to choose for myself, deserve a full length discussion of their own, which unfortunately is beyond the scope of this work.

[25] To these we should add the practical limitations regarding the survival of artefacts: even in the case of Pompeii and Herculaneum, where the context of catastrophe would be expected to produce undistrurbed by subsequent generations assemblages of artefacts, expectations have not been justified, since it seems that the inhabitants, having being warned for the catastrophe to follow, had taken their most valuable assets and run away; naturally, collections of small items must have been removed too (see Berry, 1997, and Pappalardo, 1990).

[26] See discussion below in chapter 1, and Ricoeur, 1984.

[27] For Cassiano dal Pozzo's 'Paper Museum', see the catalogue which derived from the exhibition held in the British Museum (*The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo*, 1993).

CHAPTER ONE

READING ANCIENT TEXTS : METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO INTERPRETATION AND APPROPRIATION

I. Introduction.

Before we start the presentation of the arguments of this thesis, and since our discussion is based on literary, textual, evidence, we need to consider in brief the methodological implications of our 'reading' of this evidence and the approach through which this 'reading' will take place.

The present chapter is structured around the paradigm that collections amassed during the Hellenistic and Roman periods will be treated as 'texts': the underlying idea being that material culture is a medium of thought, already an interpretation of reality, whereas collections are structures of the world (see Pearce, 1992; 1995; Tilley, 1991). Consequently, the classical texts that survive and have been selected to form the data for this thesis form the connotative level of a 'meta-language', i.e. the collections, of the world; the level, in other words, where the 'myths' of the world are created (see figures 1.1 and 1.2, and discussion below). The climax of this paradigm becomes *our* interpretation, which cannot but be another derivative system, greatly indebted to and dependent on the chain of receptions through which their continued readability has been effected. This paradigm owes a great deal to Barthes' analysis of the fashion system (1990), and shares the main point of it, that societies display a continuous activity of signification and rationalisation, simultaneously contradictory and complementary, in their attempt to structure themselves and the world around them.

In order to justify the selection of the above paradigm, analyse it and employ it profitably, we will plunge into post-structuralism and hermeneutics. Firstly, therefore, we present a selection of ideas by Ricoeur and Barthes on the role of the material culture as text, the

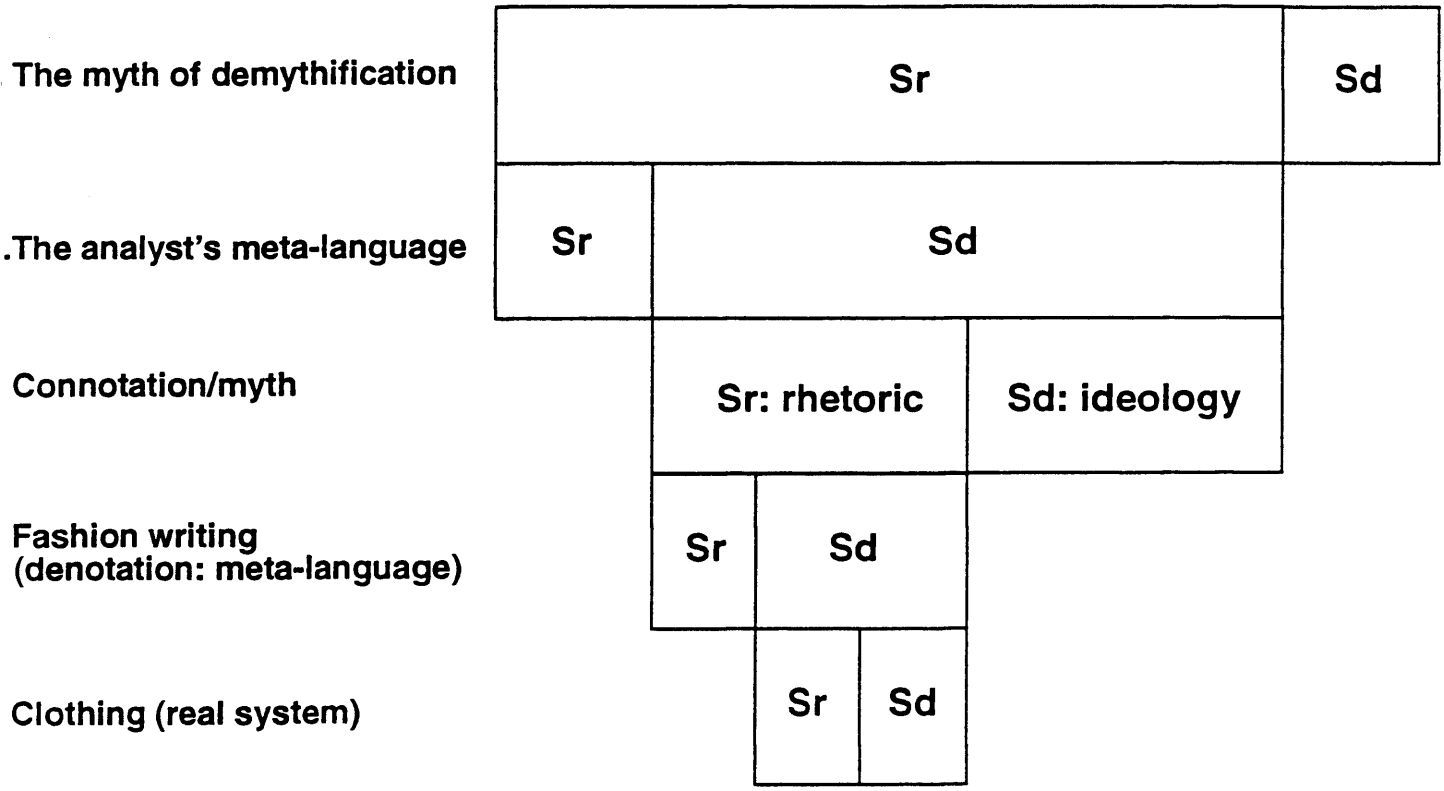


Figure 1.1: The 'rhetoric of fashion'; Source: Barthes' *The Fashion System*, figure 3.9, p. 37 (after Tilley, 1990a: 174).

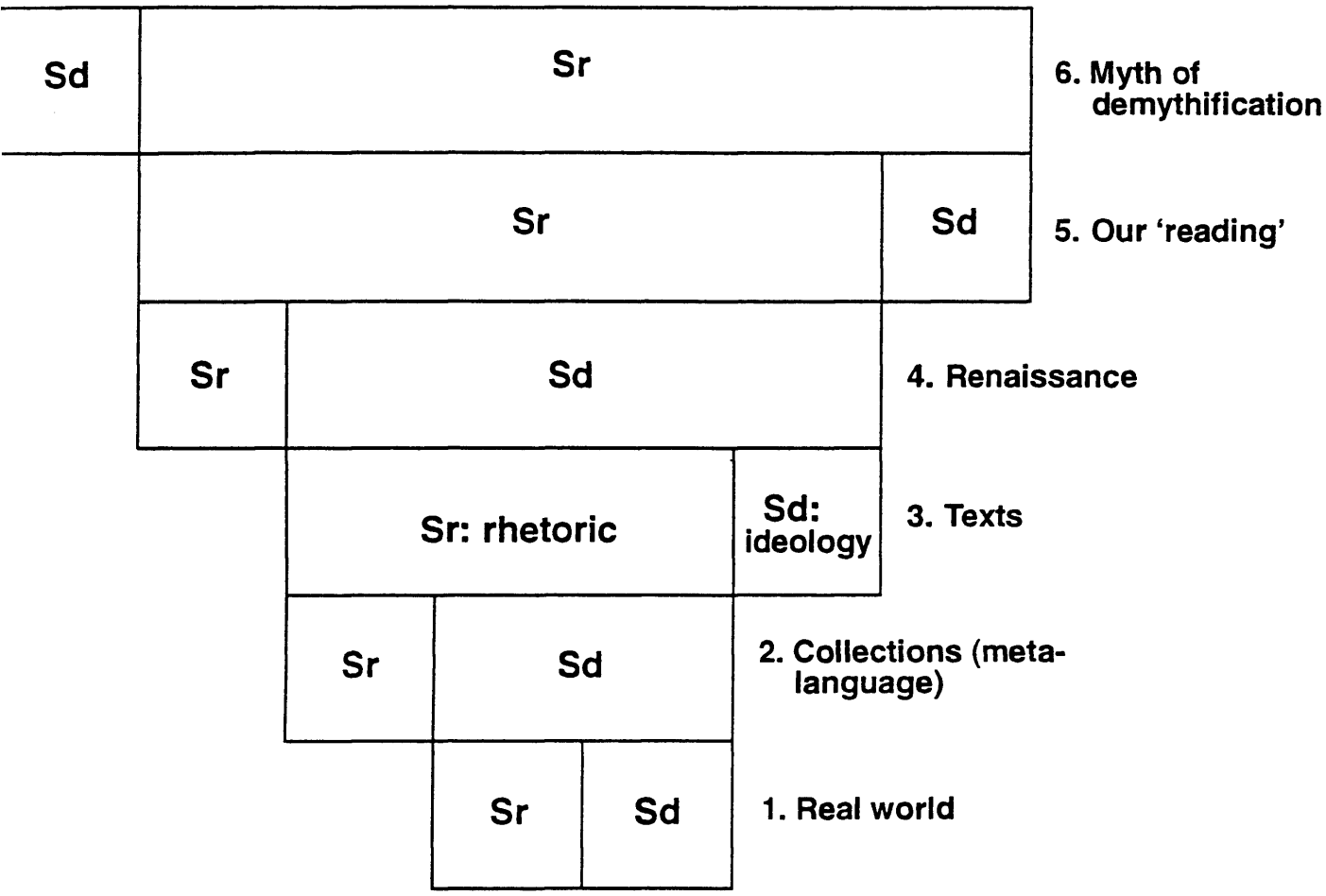
relations between single and multiple meanings, author and reader, interpretation and appropriation, the difficulties and restrictions of the endeavour to read 'readings', the past and its traces in the present. The relevance of those ideas is then indicated and their selection justified.

II. Ricoeur's views on interpretation.

Ricoeur responds to what he considers the insufficiencies of structuralism, i.e. the dichotomy of *langue* and *parole*, the subordination of diachronic to synchronic and the emphasis on language as opposed to the 'real world' (Tilley, 1990a: 58-60), with the development of a hermeneutical approach which responds precisely to those points. It stems from a theory of language based on the sentence and on the fundamental distinction between system and discourse. 'The transition to the level of discourse creates the possibility of a genuine semantics of the sentence, as distinct from the semiotics of the sign' (Thompson, 1981: 11).

According to Ricoeur, all discourse is produced as an event, being thus the counterpart of language, but is understood as meaning (1981: 137, 167). Initially the notion of meaning may be analysed into two basic dimensions, comprising both an objective aspect, or that which the sentence means, and a subjective aspect, or that which the speaker means (Moore, 1990: 91; Thompson 1981: 11). Following Frege (1970), Ricoeur further distinguishes between two components of the objective aspect of meaning: the sentence has both an ideal sense and a real reference. It is only at the level of the sentence that language can refer to something, that the closed universe of signs can be related to an extra-linguistic world (Thompson, 1981: 11). 'The "objective" side of discourse ... may be taken in two different ways. We may mean the "what" of discourse or the "about what" of discourse. The "what" of discourse is its "sense", the "about what" is its "reference".' (Moore, 1990: 91). This distinction is directly connected to that between semiotics and semantics. As opposed to language, where signs refer only to other signs, discourse refers to the world. This dimension of discourse is further linked to creativity of language, and to the necessity for interpretation.

The polysemy of words inherent in any natural language is linked simultaneously in a process where ambiguity is reduced through interpretation, and in an expansion through



Sd = signified

Sr = signifier

Figure 1.2: Model of analysis of texts and collections.

metaphor. Ricoeur challenges the traditional idea which wants metaphor to be a type of trope, and argues that it is a semantic innovation, which takes place at the level of the sentence (Moore, 1990: 92). 'Metaphor is ... a contextual change of meaning' (Ricoeur, 1981: 170); not the actualisation of one of the meanings of a polysemic word, but a solely contextual action opposed to lexical changes (Ricoeur, 1981: 169). Thus Ricoeur's working hypothesis proceeds 'from metaphor to text at the level of "sense" and the explanation of "sense", then from text to metaphor at the level of reference of a work to a world and to a self, that is, at the level of interpretation proper' (1981: 172).

Ricoeur turns to hermeneutics with his concept of the text. The text is a work of discourse, and hence it is a *work*: a structured totality irreducible to the sentences whereof it is composed, with a codified form which characterises its composition, and produced on a unique configuration which can be called its style (Moore, 1990: 93; Thompson, 1981: 13; Ricoeur, 1981: 136). Unlike the 'logocentric' tradition criticised by Derrida (Tilley, 1990a: 63), Ricoeur does not give priority to the spoken discourse instead of the written; they are both alternative and equally legitimate. But being written discourse, text is characterised by four traits, the four forms of *distanciation*:

> 'i) the fixation of meaning as opposed to the event of saying, ii) the dissociation of meaning from the mental intention of the author, iii) the non-ostensive nature of the text's references and iv) the universal range of the text's audience.' (Moore, 1990: 95)

These features provide the text with an autonomous status and determine Ricoeur's theory of interpretation.

According to the first two forms of *distanciation*, the 'objective' meaning of the text is different from the 'subjective' meaning of its author (Thompson, 1981: 14). Hence, 'the problem of the right understanding can no longer be solved by a simple return to the alleged intention of the author' (Ricoeur, 1981: 161). Furthermore, the other two forms lead to two attitudes toward the text: the first is that of structuralism, i.e. an attempt to explain the text through its internal relations; the second is to turn from 'sense' to 'reference' and to seek to understand the world toward which the text points. This is what Ricoeur calls 'interpretation' (Ricoeur, 1981: 153).

This line of thought leads to a series of important conclusions. Firstly, it means that Ricoeur does not exclude structuralism, but accepts its methodology, although not as being complete. Secondly, it bridges the contradiction between explanation and interpretation, which had been a very distinctive difficulty in the early hermeneutics. Thirdly, Ricoeur changes the emphasis, from the ability of the reader to transfer into the spiritual life of the writer, to the world which the work unfolds.

The culmination of Ricoeur's interpretation theory is his views on appropriation, which he defines as:

> '...the process by which the revelation of new modes of being ... gives the subject new capacities for knowing himself. If the reference of a text is the projection of a world, then it is not in the first instance the reader who projects himself. The reader is rather broadened in his capacity to project himself by receiving a new mode of being from the text itself.' (quoted in Moore, 1990: 97).

As a result, and in conjunction with the aim of hermeneutics of struggling against cultural distance and historical alienation, interpretation is understood as a process of 'bringing together', 'equalising', 'rendering contemporary and similar' (Ricoeur, 1981: 185).

> 'To understand is to follow the dynamic of the work, its movement from what it says to that about which it speaks. Beyond my situation as reader, beyond the situation of the author, I offer myself to the possible mode of being-in-the-world which the text opens up and discloses to me. That is what Gadamer calls the "fusion of horizons" ... in historical knowledge' (Ricoeur, 1981: 177).

With this definition, Ricoeur does not aim to avoid the structure known in the Romantic hermeneutic tradition as the 'hermeneutical circle'. The thinkers of that tradition believe that the understanding of a text could not be an objective procedure, in the sense of scientific objectivity, but that it was determined by a pre-understanding on behalf of the reader producing a circle between self-understanding and text-understanding. Ricoeur embraces this idea, which he identifies with appropriation, but he disagrees with the idea that the 'hermeneutical circle' connects the subjectivities of the author and the reader on the grounds that 'the emergence of the sense and the reference of a text in language is the coming to language of a world and not the recognition of another person.' (Ricoeur, 1981: 178). Secondly, he disagrees with the idea that the projection of the subjectivity of the reading itself relates to the previous suggestion.

> 'To understand oneself in front of a text is quite the contrary of projecting oneself and one's own beliefs and prejudices; it is to let the work and its world enlarge the horizon of the understanding which I have of myself. ... Thus the 'hermeneutical circle' is not repudiated but displaced from a subjectivist level to an ontological plane. The circle is between my mode of being - beyond the knowledge which I may have of it - and the mode opened up and disclosed by the text as the world of the work.' (Ricoeur, 1981: 178).

Consequently, interpretation encompasses both the apprehension of projected worlds and the advance of self-understanding in the presence of these new worlds.

III. Barthes's deconstructive reading.

The interpretation of cultural production was Roland Barthes's primary aim. It was to this aim that he devoted the whole of his attention, by introducing the theoretical approaches of semiology and post-structuralism to a wider audience and by applying those to cultural objects other than literary and linguistic texts. He questioned the 'myths' of 'naturalness' and 'universality' with which bourgeois society used to rationalise and dress up reality. He was opposed to the traditional notions of 'author as producer' and 'reader as consumer' and questioned the 'mimetic function of writing as a representation of reality or a "dress to thought"' (Olsen, 1990: 163).

Strangely enough, though, and notwithstanding the fact that Barthes was first and foremost a literary critic and wrote extensively on writing and the literary text, the ideas examined here come mainly from his attempts to apply his methodological tools in wider areas and more particularly to what he calls the 'Fashion System'. Nevertheless, as he said in an interview: 'fashion exists only through the discourse of it' (Sontag, 1982: xxiii). Although the reason for such an idea is elsewhere explained in terms of economic and social reasons (Barthes, 1990: xi-xii), his idea is very close to the case of our texts about collections. For different reasons, having to do mainly with the time that has intervened since they were 'written', our collections exist only through the written discourse that has survived. Furthermore, there is a peculiar feature in both cases: discourse refers to actual objects and there is a very intriguing and characteristic transition from the 'real' to the 'written' (for a discussion about the 'real world' and the traces of it, see the following section).

As has already been stated at the introduction, the classical texts that survive for us to study correspond to the third level (see fig. 1.2), the level of connotation/myth. We will thus start the discussion by presenting Barthes's ideas on myth, connotation, denotation and meta-language, and then we shall present his approach to the fashion system.

In the theoretical essay 'Myth Today' (1972), Barthes defines myth as part of 'semiology', the term used by Saussure to indicate the general science of signs. He claims that myth is a peculiar semiological system, since 'it is constructed from a semiological chain which existed before it: it is a second-order semiological system. That which is the sign in the first system, becomes a mere signifier in the second' (cited in Olsen, 1990: 168-9; Barthes, 1972: 114; Sontag, 1982: 99). Thus, 'myth' becomes what Hjelmslev called a *connotative* or *second-order* language. Barthes draws heavily on Hjelmslev from whom also he borrows the ideas of denotation (being the primary, direct or literal meaning), connotation (the mythical or symbolic meaning), and meta-language (Olsen, 1990: 169 and his fig. 4.1). The last concept especially becomes central in Barthes's studies. 'While the primary language (denotation) constitutes the plane of expression (signifier) of the second order language (connotation) it constitutes the plane of content (signified) in the meta-language' (Olsen, 1990: 173 and his fig. 4.2; Barthes, 1967: 150-1; 1967: 27-8). In other words, the meta-language is the one which 'speaks' *about* another language or system. Although Hjelmslev saw meta-language as neutral and scientific, opposed to connotations, Barthes rejected this neutrality by suggesting a political purpose behind semiology and by showing how a meta-language itself signifies by at least connoting 'science' (Olsen, 1990: 173).

Furthermore, Barthes distinguishes between the science of verbal signs, i.e. linguistics, and the science of object signs, i.e. semiology (1990: x). Thus Barthes inverts Saussure's classical formulation that linguistics is a part of semiology. The difference between linguistics and semiology is also located in the relationship between signifier and signified. In the linguistic sign the relation between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary, while in the case of the non-linguistic signs (objects, gestures, images) it is, at least partly, motivated (Barthes, 1990: 215-6; Olsen, 1990: 171).

Barthes analyses fashion as a rhetorical system (see fig. 1.1). He starts with the 'real' world (clothing/fashion/objects) with its signifiers and signifieds. Then this 'real' world is

described by a meta-language (fashion-writing/written vestimentary code) which created a simulacrum of the 'real' object. However, this meta-language itself becomes the denotative level of a connotative (second-order or mythical) system, making it into the rhetorical expression (signifier) of its ideological content (signified). On top of this, the analyst (e.g. the semiologist) constructs a meta-language in which fashion as a rhetorical and mythical system is analysed. This does not end there; it is taken over by another level (the myth of demythification) and so on (Barthes, 1990: 36-37; 293-4; Olsen, 1990: 173): there is no 'truth', only further levels of meaning. Thus, the analyst can not reach any external conclusions, but remains always based on the limits posed by his own social and historical circumstances. Barthes aims to use these ideas to show that society tends to establish signs, then naturalises them; this naturalisation in its turn becomes a sign, and so on, a continuous process of masking-unmasking... What we read is not a meaning, only the 'signifying of things' (Wasserman, 1981: 71).

Barthes is especially concerned with the text, the role of the writer and the role of the reader. He denies fiercely the tradition for the existence of the Author-God, who used the text in order to communicate a pre-conceived message. Instead, he argues that the role of the reader is more active since he brings to it areas and meanings far beyond the intentions of its author. The reader translates into the text the intervening history of economic and socio-cultural developments, and thus each text is a production of the present of the reader (Olsen, 1990: 179,181).

As with hermeneutics, Barthes believes that discourse begins beyond the sentence, and the text is what is created independently from any system. He proposes a structuralist 'science of literature' and searches for the universal nature of narratives. The most appealing part of his search has been the idea that a text is a multi-leveled, multi-dimensional space, open to different 'readings'; within the notion of 'inter-text',[1] there is a radical integration of readers in the production of texts (Olsen, 1990: 186). All these arguments aim to make possible the discovery of the idea of textual plurality, to destroy the unity and 'naturalness' of the text, and to reveal its polyvalence. Hence, Barthes introduces the deconstructive reading (Olsen, 1990: 187).

IV. Documents and historical reality.

The task of the historian is often defined as being to present the past 'as it *really* was'.[2] Archaeology and history depend upon evidence, the 'trace' of the past that survives in the present and constrains them. We are able to define the 'trace' as what is left by the past, and, therefore, what 'stands for it' or 'represents it' (Ricoeur, 1984: 1-3). The study of those 'traces', of the evidence, be then material or documentary, suffices to constitute history and archaeology as heuristic discourses different from the natural sciences. So powerful has been the impact of this documentary character of those disciplines, that positivism claims that we should allow the facts to 'speak for themselves' and that the ideal picture of the past would be the one that we could produce if we collected all the facts, or at least as many as possible to make it transparent and self-evident (Thomas, 1990: 18).

In recent years, archaeologists and historians alike have become more aware of their role and that history and archaeology are available to us only textually; and that in order to make sense of the past we have to create narratives and 'read' it (Thomas, 1990: 18). To achieve that, it is essential that the relation between narrative and trace is clarified, and that the nature of trace as a source of knowledge is researched.

The trace has been studied by the historian[3] in epistemological terms, in the sense of its value as proof, as evidence, rather than ontologically, i.e. in the sense of it being a source of a kind of knowledge with indirect referential character. This is an issue that needs to be further explored: what is the relation between the trace and the past as 'it *really* was'? What are the limitations that the adverb 'really' posits, and how does this delimitation influence our 'interpretation' of the past? These questions belong more to the area of philosophical enquiry rather than to historical investigation. We have been influenced mainly by Ricoeur in our understanding of these issues, and therefore it is in the light of his ideas that we are going to study the ancient texts as document-traces of the past, able to 'represent' it to us.

Ricoeur distinguishes between three tropes of historical writing: History-as-Same, History-as-Other and History-as-Analogue. Each of these is characterised by a particular understanding of the relation between past and present, or rather each attributes a different status to the written past (Thomas, 1990: 18). The first form, History-as-Same, is related to the re-enactment of the past in the present. It follows the idea of Collingwood (1993), and

calls for a conception of the past as history's *absent partner* (Ricoeur, 1984: 5). By re-enactment, Ricoeur means the *rethinking* of events, and definitely not its reliving (1984: 8). In order to reach this conclusion Ricoeur posits the question 'of what are the documents the trace?', to answer it immediately: they are the traces of *thought*, as he calls the inside of events. Naturally, the physical action can not be ignored, so Ricoeur suggests that the thought and the physical changes together form the *action*. The term 'thought' should be defined very broadly to include motivation, intentions, desires. Thus, the historian has to think of himself in action, in order to discern the thought of its agent. Thus, we are able to say that knowing *what* happened is knowing *why* it happened (1984: 7).

These limitations of the concept of historical evidence lead to the idea of re-enactment, which means re-thinking and incorporates the critical moment; this remains far from being a methodological tool. Re-enactment abolishes the temporal distance between past and present by rethinking what was once thought, and becomes the 'medium' of survival of the past in the present.

> 'One could say, paradoxically, that a trace becomes a trace of the past only when its pastness is abolished by the intemporal act of rethinking the event as thought from inside. Re-enactment, understood in this way, resolves the paradox of the trace in terms of identity; while the phenomenon of the mark, the imprint, and that of its perpetuation are purely and simply sent back to the sphere of natural knowledge' (Ricoeur, 1984: 11-12).

In opposition to re-enactment stands the concern with recovering the sense of temporal distance (Ricoeur, 1984: 15).[4] History in this sense attempts to make the past remote from the present and to produce an effect of strangeness. Thus, looking for the past becomes a sort of ethnological enquiry, at the service of the historian who attempts a spiritual decentring of our traditional Western history (Ricoeur, 1984: 15). Consequently, the idea of temporal distance is understood today in similar terms to the idea of the Other. This becomes the best analogue of historical understanding. Thus, the special characteristic related to the survival of the past in the present is eluded. Moreover, the otherness in this sense introduces the idea of difference, and we pass from the pair same-other to the pair identity-difference (1984: 17-18). The idea of difference may serve several uses. Ricoeur considers two of them: the question of individuality and the deviation. He argues that

> 'in order for the individual to appear as difference (*sic*), historical conceptualisation must itself be conceived of as the search for and the posing of variants ... . The historical fact would then have to be grasped as a variant generated by the individualisation of those invariants.' (1984: 18).

As far as deviation is concerned, it leads to a philosophy of history where the past is a 'pertinent absence' (1984: 23). But the question remains: 'how could a difference *take the place of* something which today is absent and lost, but once was real and living, being itself relative to an abstract system and as detemporalised as possible?' (1984: 24).

The difficulties inherent in both History-as-Same and History-as-Other can be overcome by History-as-Analogue. In order to define Analogue, we have a rhetorical theory of tropes, the primary position among them being held by metaphor (Ricoeur, 1984: 27). Ricoeur is concerned about the idea of re-construction of the past, and relies for his attempt to elucidate that on the efforts of White to present the 'representative' dimension of history through the theory of tropes (1984: 27; White, 1978). Ricoeur uses his ideas on History-as-Analogue to bridge the gap between his theories of narrative and metaphor. More specifically, in the *Rule of Metaphor*, he argues that metaphor makes an ontological claim and has a referential import (1978: 28). He hopes that the concept of the refiguration of time by narrative - i.e. the core of his mimesis III[5] - will be enriched by an enquiry into the role of figures in the constitution of the relation 'taking-the-place-of' or 'representing' (1984: 28).

According to White (1978), historical discourse has to comply with both the constraints related to the privileged type of plot and to the past itself, through the documentary material available at a given moment. The historian then has to render the 'narrative structure a "model", an "icon" of the past, capable of representing it' (Ricoeur, 1984: 29). For this to be achieved we need before to interpret discernible figures. In order to figure what happened in the past we need to *préfigure* as a possible object of knowledge the whole set of events reported in the documents (1984: 29). The tropes of rhetorical discourse offer a variety of figures of discourse for this prefiguration (metaphor-metonymy-synecdoche-irony). The most representative function among those belongs to metaphor (1984: 30). Thanks to the tropological frame of reference, the *being-as* of the past event is brought to language. Therefore, 'a certain tropological arbitrariness must not make us forget the kind of constraint that the past exerted on historical discourse through known documents, by demanding an endless *rectification* on its part' (1984: 33-34).

Although Ricoeur accepts White's ideas about the importance of metaphor and rhetorical tropes to the analysis of historical events, and believes that these offer credibility to his own ideas about the need for the succession through the Same and the Other to the Analogue, he cannot fail to notice that without the Same and the Other, White's ideas run the risk of erasing the dividing line between fiction and history (1984: 33). Thus, Ricoeur assigns to Analogue the role of fighting the prejudices that an historian's language should be transparent and that fiction can have no claim in reality. More specifically, Analogue presents the problem of the reality of the historical past with the solution of offering meaning to 'really' in terms of 'such as'. It holds within it the ideas of both re-enactment and distancing, in the sense that *being-as* is both being and not being. These ideas of Ricoeur do not aim to expose fully the relation of 'taking-the-place-of' or 'representing'. They are offered more as a contribution to what remains enigmatic in the pastness of the past as such (1984: 36).

V. Analysis of texts and collections.

All the issues presented above concerning the nature of meaning, the relationship between language and what it describes, 'the capacity of words to exceed their allotted functions of argumentation, demonstration and proof' (Bryson, 1994: 282), and the different constructions of the historical past, present classical scholarship with a series of new epistemological tools, capable of more profitable and thought-provoking insights into the classical texts.[6] The main argument strives against the monolithic approaches to classical texts that classical scholars traditionally attempt,[7] and urges a more flexible appreciation of their polyvalence. The positivist and historicist approaches which still dominate the study of ancient texts, can be, and are, severely criticised in the light of these epistemological advances.[8] The new 'readings', which come to replace the traditional ones, are based upon a greater self-awareness on the part of the reader/scholar. The notion of interpretation then acquires a further dimension than simply being a 'deciphering' of meaning; the appreciation of the status of the written past becomes more complex in terms of the philosophy of history, and the question of representation raises a number of important issues, the most timely among them being the rhetorical system of analysis.

Traditional approaches, in their search for the 'real' ancient world, invoke the notion of, and inscribe themselves within a discourse of, history, which seeks to ground itself in the actuality of the past (Kennedy, 1993: 7). Hence an artificial distinction is created - in the sense that it is projected as determining, whereas it is not - between past and present actualities, each supported in practice by historicism and textualism respectively. Historicism, on the one hand, aims to present the past as 'it really was' by constructing 'objective' representations of it. Thus, it leads to a presentation resembling the idea of the Same (in Ricoeur's terms), in the sense that the temporal distance between past and present acquires the leading role and the historian gestures towards a non-perspectival objectivity. Textualism, on the other hand, asserts that historical events are discursively selected, shaped and organised under a teleological shadow, and therefore, history is an accommodation of the past in the present interests (Kennedy, 1993: 7). Kennedy (1993: 7-13) therefore argues that the distinction created between these two modes of thinking about the past and its texts, far from being determining, is enabling. Following literary criticism and the renewed concern with representation in all its forms, from which stems the idea of language and textuality as operative metaphors for cultural production, he denies the existence of any world of objective facts to which language provides unobstructed access; instead he supports the notion that systems of representation always problematize and obfuscate the real as much as they reflect it (see also Dougherty and Kurke, 1993: 5). Therefore

> 'in order to depict and argue for the multiplicity of representations, it is necessary to project "representation" as a foundational term of transhistorical validity, a preoccupation "present" in the texts of the past; in order to argue for "differences" it is necessary to posit sameness or identity, and *vice versa*. A discourse of "representation" provides a set of terms which enable and determine the articulation of issues of reality, identity, control etc.' (Kennedy, 1993: 13).

'Representation' thus becomes a key issue in the study of classical texts due to its consequences. First, it provides a more accurate way of thinking about the past as Analogue, i.e. by substituting the 'real' with the 'such as' and thus combining History-as-Same and -as-Other; it consequently becomes the enabling aspect of the distinction. Second, as a discourse it opens up the way towards a rhetorical system of analysis, providing a new epistemological tool. Third, in representation as a discourse the key trope becomes metaphor, which not only is a very useful epistemological tool, but also leads to a different appreciation of interpretation. Finally, under the light of this interpretation the single

meaning is questioned. If we approach the past in terms of representation, the meaning of the past cannot be single and unique. Each of those points is important for our understanding of the ancient texts.

The three signs of historical writing that Ricoeur distinguishes offer a methodological tool towards the understanding of the approaches to the past devised by ancient authors. Naturally, having merely fragments of their works delimits the possibilities of comprehension. Nevertheless, it will still lead to some rewarding and thought-provoking insights into classical thought (undeniably a comment inspired by re-enactment). Furthermore, the categories of Same, Other and Analogue serve the ideas on interpretation that we chose to follow in this analysis.

Ricoeur defines interpretation as an activity culminating in the act of appropriation. These terms and ideas are closely interwoven (and therefore in accordance with the need for a 'reading' which combines both the Same and the Other). The classical texts have been used as sources of information. It would therefore be self-refuting to suggest that interpretation means anything else than an opening toward which the text points. As Ricoeur has argued, interpretation does not mean merely the projection of one's own world to the text. The deconstructing ideas of Barthes and Derrida concerning the open-endedness of the text diminish the role of the author too much for the aims of this thesis. Certainly, this does not mean that the text had/s an 'original' meaning, pre-conceived and intentionally pre-addressed to us. The writers of the texts wrote them with different aims in mind. Therefore, our task today is very different to theirs. Appropriation, as defined by Ricoeur, bridges this gap between the reader and the world of the text, and leads to the 'making of one's own something that was initially alien and distant' (1981: 159; Moore, 1990: 96).

Furthermore, the rhetorical connotations of appropriation with their emphasis on metaphor, make the point of multiple meanings very firmly. Metaphor extends the original meaning in both semiotic and semantic terms. Therefore, collections and texts can be pictured as extensions of each other and of the world from which they originate. Metaphor thus 'works' at multiple levels, and as a safeguard of multiple meanings. The 'texts' of the collections are related metaphorically to the world, whereas the paragraphs of the ancient authors are metaphors of the texts of the collections. Consequently, we need a rhetorical system in order to understand and analyse our paragraphs and texts.

This rhetorical system (set out in figure 1.2) is based on the one that Barthes devised for his analysis of the fashion system. We start with the 'real world' (objects/material culture) with its signifiers and signifieds. Then this 'real' world is described by a meta-language (collections), which creates an 'ideal' world, as this is the projection of the 'real'. However, this meta-language itself becomes the denotative level of a second-order system, making collections the rhetoric of its ideology. On top of this, subsequent generations (be it ours or that of, for example, the Renaissance) construct a meta-language in which collections as a rhetorical and mythical system are analysed. This does not end there; it is taken over by another level (the myth of demythification) and so on. For Barthes, there is no 'truth', only layers of meaning, and the analysts can not reach any external conclusions, as they depend on the limits imposed by their own circumstances. This cannot be but wholly true for the classical world and collections. We cannot reach the 'real' world through the means that are available to us. What we can reach is interpretations of this world, or perceptions of the interpretations of this world. In other words, what we have available to us is a second-order system, which is possibly even more rewarding than the first could be, for, although it does not offer to us either the 'real' or the 'ideal' world, it does offer the reception of these and the ideology based or modelled upon them. It is this ideology - the nature of which will be discussed later in the chapters on the individual authors - that was undertaken by subsequent generations, was interpreted according to the socio-cultural and economic circumstances, and gradually led to contemporary perceptions of museums and collecting.

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[1] The notion of inter-text has been borrowed from Kristeva and is a way of expressing the plurality of the text. It refers to the transportation of one text into another within the matrix of all texts (see Kristeva, 1986: 11; Olsen, 1990: 186).

[2] 'Wie es eigentlich gewesen' (Ranke, 1830s, quoted and discussed in Carr, 1986: 3).

[3] I use the term historian from now on to include archaeologists and all those whose interests lie in the past.

[4] The destruction of the notion of historical time is the disadvantage of re-enactment.

[5] Mimesis is a central idea in Ricoeur's theory of history, time and narrative. Narrative leads to the creation of a new work of synthesis: a plot. Plots mimic action, through a poetic refiguring of action. The dynamic of emplotment is central in the understanding of the relation between time and narrative. Emplotment consists of three moments of mimesis: mimesis 1, mimesis 2, and mimesis 3. Mimesis 1 involves the realisation that to imitate or represent action is first to pre-understand what human action is, in its semantics, its symbolic system and its temporality. Mimesis 2 has a mediating function which derives from the dynamic character of the configuring operation known as emplotment. Mimesis 3 marks the intersection of the world of the text and the world of the reader; that is the world configured by the plot and the world in which real action occurs and

unfolds its specific temporality. The transition from Mimesis 2 to Mimesis 3 is brought about by the act of reading (Moore, 1990:102-105).

[6] For contemporary literary theory see Suleiman and Crosman, 1980 (esp. pp. 3-45) and Fish, 1980.

[7] For contemporary literary hermeneutics and the interpretation of classical texts see Kresic, 1981; Galinsky, 1994; Martindale, 1993; de Jong and Sullivan, 1994 (where also extensive bibliography, see pp. 281-288), as well as the volumes of the journal *Arethusa* devoted to the subject, mainly, 7 (1974: Psychoanalysis and the Classics), 8, (1975: Marxism and the Classics), 10 (1977: Classical Literature and Contemporary Literary Theory), 16 (1983: Semiotics and Classical Studies), and 19 (1986: Audience-oriented Criticism and the Classics).

[8] At least when they are used as historical evidence. Nevertheless, alternative approaches have been, and are currently, developed, as the examples cited above display.

PART ONE

NOTIONS OF COLLECTING IN THE ANCIENT WORLD.

CHAPTER TWO

COLLECTING MATERIAL TESTIMONIES: ANTIQUARIANISM AND NOTIONS OF THE PAST

'thesauros oportet esse, non libros'
(Pliny, *H.N.*, Praef. 17)

I. Introduction.

The 'past' is largely defined by what interest people develop in it. In studying the growth of a particular society's historical awareness, it is necessary to pay close attention to the intellectual trends in the present that give rise to the awareness of the past. We should, therefore, ask questions like 'what are these trends, what forms do they take, what part of the past attracts their attention, to what purpose and to fulfill what functions, what is the role people have in the historical structure, how is this supported?', and so on (Finley, 1986b). People turn to past for a series of reasons: they seek to reaffirm and validate their present, to identify individual existence with what is memorable and, thus, give meaning, purpose and value to themselves, to receive guidance for the future, to enrich and lengthen their lives by acquiring links with events and people prior to themselves, to find alternatives to an unsatisfying or unacceptable present (Lowenthal, 1985: 41). Objects and material possessions form a means through which these aims are pursued. They are the material bridges that join the intellectual, spatial and temporal gap between people and their past. They are used as mnemonic tools to create, store, and retrieve a sense of past, that is by itself instrumental in managing social and individual identity (Belk, 1991: 114).

The aim of this chapter is to examine the first of the four parameters associated with classical collecting, i.e. the notion of material culture as evidence in the ancient Greco-Roman world, and the relation of the ancient society with its past through its collecting

activities. The starting and finishing point of this enquiry is the major importance that antiquity seems to have had in the eyes of the Hellenistic and Roman collectors. As a result, and following the kind of enquiry introduced mainly by Momigliano (1950), and worthily continued by Haskell (1993) and Schnapp (1996), we try to see how the ancient Greeks and Romans related to their past, in terms of their understanding of the role of objects and documents in the creation and appreciation of historical narratives. I argue that the notion of material culture as evidence existed and was firmly defined during that period, and that the intellectual trends concerning the past had a predilection toward monuments and objects, whose importance as sources of knowledge, although not pursued to its full extent, never ceased to be appreciated. This appreciation provided the motive and, perhaps, the most influential intellectual justification for the Roman collectors. Major evidence of this comes from Pliny's, Pausanias' and other minor antiquarians and *periegetes'* 'collections' of information on works of art and monuments; as Pliny explicitly asserted in the *Praefatio* to his *Historia Naturalis* (paragraph 17) Romans (or at least, some of them) seem to have believed that '*it is not books but store-houses that are needed*'.

There are two broad areas where intellectual trends concerning the past can be located: historiography and philosophy. We are going to be concerned with historiography, since it is with this particular trend that we can associate ideas surrounding material remains more directly. Traditionally, Western historiography's mainstream is concerned with the development of the historical narrative as a literary form, an intellectual problem and a social instrument. But this is only part of what concerns historiography, which can be more fully described as representing 'a complex series of relationships between members of a society in the present and the traditional and documentary evidences of its pasts... [It is imperative] to assert that these relationships cannot be confined to those which exist with its "histories", in the limited sense of its inherited narratives of events in its past' (Pocock, 1962: 213). It becomes, therefore, clear that a society's relationships with the past is mirrored in the kind of historiography this produces and *vice versa*, since it is a continuous two-way process.[1] The role of art and of material culture is not of less importance, but again it is defined by the space that historiography (in the broader sense of the term) offers to it. This chapter, therefore, examines the creation and development of Greco-Roman historiography as a discipline. It also attempts to distinguish the role of historiography in the study of the recent and distant pasts, as well as the ideas that led to the invention of the methodological approach which insists on truth and evidence.[2] All the above support my hypothesis that the

notion of material culture as substantial witness of the past and the present, self and 'Other', same and different, is familiar to Greek thought, enough to support collecting in its early formative stages. The development of historiography - and of antiquarianism in particular - is the most rewarding way to follow in our attempt to support this argument. Antiquarianism, besides being a kind of historical research immediately associated with collections, is also a strategy of definitions (of self and 'Other') and appropriations (see also Stewart, 1993; and discussion below).

II. Origins of the notion of evidence in historical thought.

Long before the need for 'history' as a discipline was realised, the past was taking shape through the 'art of memory', the major expression of which was myth and epic poetry. Herodotus introduced a radically new way of dealing with the past when he began his *Histories* with the phrase *Herodotou Halicarnasseos histories apodexis* - 'What Herodotus the Halicarnassian has learned by enquiry is here set forth' - and he presented as his aim 'the memory of the past not to be blotted out from among men by time, and that great and marvelous deeds done by the Greeks and foreigners and especially the reason why they warred against each other not to lack reknown' (*Histories*, I.I).[3] This novel way of accounting for the past is important for a series of reasons: firstly, the past is not seen as relating to only a few people, but it becomes a common enquiry - for Greeks and foreigners alike; secondly, history is introduced as a discipline and a new genre of writing, that has nothing to do with dedicatory and foundation inscriptions, or annals - as history was meant in the Eastern monarchies - or the timeless myth presented in poetry. Finally, a new notion acquires importance: this is *apodexis* (setting forth, publication, proof).[4] It is through this notion that the transference from the art of memory to history is accomplished. Instead of a discovery or narration of the past based on mystic enunciation from gods and divine mediators (priests and royals), Herodotus introduces a text whose authorship he retains for himself (*Herodotou Halicarnasseos*) and which is a product of reflection, experience and human labour (Schnapp, 1996: 43-45). Herodotus mediates between the epic tradition and history. The term *apodexis* implies oral publication (see Hartog, 1988: 276, nt. 57; also Thucydides, I.97),[5] and being in the preface of the work denotes the aim of the historian to both invoke the epic tradition and to rival it.[6] The balance is now transferred from somewhere out of the man (the Muse as in *Il.,* 1.8 and *Od.,* 1.3) to the man himself, and the

protagonistic role is given not to the heroes of the past, but to contemporary people, Greeks and foreigners alike (Hartog, 1988).

Writers before Herodotus had been λογογραφοι (logographoi), writers-down of current stories; Herodotus chose for his work the term *histories* (ιστοριαι), which means enquiries or investigation. The notion of enquiry was firstly introduced by the Ionian philosophers, together with their scepticism about myth. Although initially used in cosmography and metaphysics, Herodotus linked it with historiography. Therefore, he set out to pose questions and investigate in order to find out the 'truth'. It is this investigative process, (and this commitment) implicit in the word 'histories' that make Herodotus 'the Father of History' (Cic., *De Leg.*, 1.5).[7] Furthermore, by defining the subject of history as 'the deeds of men', Herodotus introduces a humanistic approach to the past, distinct from mythical and theocratic ones. He is interested in what humans do, but also in the reasons behind their actions. This definition, which also relates to the epic tradition (*klea andron*), with some expansion relating to the treatment of notable individuals, remained standard thereafter. History after Herodotus was *res gestae* (Fornara, 1983: 92, 96).

According to Collingwood (1993: 18-19) history has four characteristics:

> '(a) that it is scientific, or begins by asking questions, whereas the writer of legends begins by knowing something and tells what he knows; (b) that it is humanistic, or asks questions about things done by men at determinate times in the past; (c) that it is rational, or bases the answers which it gives to its questions on specific grounds, namely appeal to evidence; (d) that it is self-revelatory, or exists in order to tell man what man is by telling him what man has done'.

Herodotus introduced three of these characteristics (a, b, d), while the fourth (c) is taken up by Thucydides, who, by giving to it a central role in historiography, establishes one of the most important notions in the study of the past.

Although Herodotus was not unfamiliar with the idea of evidence (he used tradition, usually oral and epic, and visual remains, as e.g. the pyramids),[8] Thucydides was the one who emphasised the necessity of definite sources. He viewed them as signs or 'positive proofs' (*semeia - tekmeria*).[9] Sometimes, he used a form of argument that allowed him to reach probable conclusions by an appeal to *eikos* or *eikota*, which, for the most part, represent the probabilities of human behaviour (Hunter, 1982: 93). To summarise Thucydides'

methodology we can recount his vocabulary: probability (*eikos*), evidence (*semeion, martyrion*), reasoning (*eikazein*), and examination (*skopein*) (Marincola, 1997: 97). The central place, however, is given to *autopsy*, as the only real source of data. As a result, Thucydides regards as certain only events at which he himself was present; those which his contemporaries observed or could have observed themselves he accepts only when their report stands up to examination. This does not mean that the experience upon which historical knowledge (*saphos eidenai*) is based relies solely on sight, but that it is organised on the basis of the evidence that the latter procures (Thucydides, 1.1; 1.21; 1.22.2; 1.73.2). This had a major consequence for history in the strict sense of the term. If this methodological principle is applied to the letter, the only history possible is contemporary history (Hartog, 1988: 265-266). And this is what Thucydides and those historians following his tradition (e.g. Xenophon, Ephorus, Sallust, Polybius, Livy, Tacitus and others) suggest. In Finley's words (1986a: 31) 'serious Greek historical writing was about contemporary history', and according to Momigliano (1977), the most important historians are attracted by, and practice, this sort of history, which is the most innovative. Equally, this is used by orators and politicians to provide *exempla* drawn from the recent past.

III. History and antiquarianism.

In the middle of the fifth century BCE, two distinct types of history can be identified. The one had developed from the Herodotean and Thucydidean tradition, was interested in the recent past, i.e. in something that we can call contemporary history, and became the basis of the political science. In the other, the authors of local history, chronography, genealogy, erudite dissertations, and ethnographical works were interested in the distant past, and in the history of cities, institutions and private life. Their approach was descriptive rather than analytical, and aimed to serve the erudite man and the scholar rather than the politician (Schnapp, 1996: 61). Momigliano called the practitioner of the second kind of history 'antiquarian' and described him as

> 'a student of the past who is not quite a historian because: (1) historians write in a chronological order; antiquaries write in a systematic order, (2) historians produce those facts which serve to illustrate or explain a certain situation; antiquaries collect all the items that are connected with a certain subject, whether they help to solve a problem or not. The subject-matter contributes to the distinction between historians

> and antiquaries only in so far as certain subjects (such as political institutions, religion, private life) have traditionally been considered more suitable for systematic description rather than for a chronological account' (1950: 286).

Historical research in its antiquarian form was also distinguished by the extensive use of lists, inscriptions and monuments. Historians interested in contemporary history, though, from Thucydides to Polybius, and from Fabius Pictor to Tacitus, very rarely availed themselves of archives, and even more rarely did they quote *in extenso* the documents they happened to have found there; writing a history by a systematic search of the documents never became part of their methodology. The assemblage of documents became the business of the erudite men, the φιλόλογοι (Momigliano, 1990a).

Although history acquired its name right from the start, erudition had to wait longer. The most important word describing this sort of enquiry was the term 'archaiologia' (ἀρχαιολογία) which firstly appeared in Plato's *Hippias Major*. It was put in the mouth of the sophist Hippias, who in his discussion with Socrates proudly asserts that nobody is indifferent to his services, not even the Spartans; they do not show any interest in the subjects he mainly specialises in (i.e. astronomy, geometry, arithmetics, rhetoric, or language), but they are interested in the genealogies of heroes and men, traditions about the foundation of cities, and lists of eponymous magistrates - all those parts of a science called 'archaiologia':

> 'Socrates: Well, just what is it they love to hear about from you, and applaud? Tell me yourself; I can't figure it out.
>
> Hippias: The genealogies of heroes and men, Socrates, and the settlements (how cities were founded in ancient times), and in a word all '*archaiologia*'- that's what they most love to hear about. ... So because of them I have been forced to learn up on such things and to study them thoroughly.
>
> S.: Good lord, Hippias, you're lucky the Spartans don't enjoy it when someone lists our archons from the time of Solon. Otherwise, you would have had a job learning them.' (*Hippias Major*, 285d).[10]

This new word, the creation of the sophist movement - although perhaps not devised by Hippias himself - is not intended to describe a new discipline; rather it is a new term, devised in order to include all those descriptions of origins, of Antiquity as a period and the antiquities as objects of knowledge. In this sense, the term reveals an interest in the past which is less determined by the explanation than by the description (Schnapp, 1996: 61).

Unfortunately, tradition has not preserved for us the contemporary works that could bear the title 'archaiologia': *Περὶ Ἐθνῶν* (On Nations), *Ἐθνῶν Ὀνομασίαι* (On the Names of the Nations), *Κτίσεις Ἐθνῶν καὶ Πόλεων* (On the Building of Nations and Cities), *Νόμιμα Βαρβαρικά* (Laws of the Barbarians) by Hellanicus, *Ἐθνῶν Ὀνομασίαι* (Names of the Nations) by Hippias, *Περὶ Γονέων καὶ Προγόνων τῶν εἰς Ἴλιον Στρατευσαμένων* (On the Parents and Ancestors who went to Troy) ascribed to Damastes or Polus, and others (Momigliano, 1950: 287).[11]

After the fourth century BCE the term 'archaiologia' is not generally used. The notion was expressed, with a certain vagueness, by terms such as *κριτικός* (kritikos), *φιλόλογος* (philologos), *πολυΐστωρ* (polyistor), *γραμματικός* (grammatikos), *doctus, eruditus, literatus*. During the Hellenistic and Roman times 'archaeology' was used to indicate a work on archaic history, or a history from the origins. Dionysus of Halicarnassus' *Roman Archaeology,* for instance, is an archaic history of Rome, and Flavius Josephus' *Jewish Archaeology* is a history of the Jews from their origins to Josephus' own times. A work by King Juba, who wrote in the age of Augustus, was called either *Roman History* or *Roman Archaeology*. A poem attributed to Simonides on the origins of Samos was retrospectively given the name of the *Archaeology of Samos*, and even the *Atthis* of Phanodemus (fourth century BCE) was later called *Archaeology* because it dealt mainly with the archaic history of Athens. The term 'archaiologia' was even used to describe the first book of Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Thus, in the Hellenistic age the word 'archaeology' lost the meaning we find in Plato.

But the failure to create a permanent terminological distinction between history and other types of research does not imply that the distinction was forgotten, or felt only vaguely. According to Momigliano (1990a: 60-62) antiquarian research (or 'archaiologia') was of practical importance. A better chronology was established for the Greek world, based on the lists of the winners of the Olympic games prepared by Hippias, or the lists of the priestesses of Hera at Argos and of the winners of the Carnaean games at Sparta compiled by Hellanicus. Furthermore, the issues raised or implied by many antiquarian studies, like the origins of the cities, the comparison between foreign and Greek laws and customs, the search for the inventors of arts and crafts, were of great theoretical importance. They provided the necessary material for an evaluation of human nature and civilisation; antiquarianism was,

therefore, nearer to philosophy and an interest in the origins of culture than to any other subject. The systematic character of erudition was in tune with the systematic character of philosophy. It seems that sophists used their antiquarian research to buttress their political and legal views as well (Momigliano, 1990a: 63-64).

Philosophical research and erudition remained connected throughout the fourth century. Plato, although uninterested in history in the Thucydidean sense, encouraged research in customs and laws, to judge from his own work on the *Laws* and from the encyclopaedic activities of his pupil Heraclides Ponticus. The third book of Plato's *Laws* (which is an examination of the origins of civilisations according to the principles laid down by the sophists) and the books by Heraclides, *'On the Pythagoreans'* and *'On Discoveries'*, are typical examples of antiquarian research. 'Discoveries', *heuremata,* became a typical subject for systematic erudition, and many examples survive (see, for instance, Ephorus) (Momigliano, 1990a: 64).

Naturally, it was in the school of Aristotle that erudition and philosophy combined most closely. Aristotle's methods were in accordance with the Ionian tradition and practice of 'history', i.e. enquiry into things as well as into events.[12] He based all his conclusions, especially those on politics, on extensive systematic surveys and empirical knowledge. The close connection, for instance, between topography and historical interpretation is illustrated in his *Athenaion Politeia* (the only surviving from his 158 *Politeiai*). Aristotle was also responsible for a number of historical works, such as a List of Victors at the Pythian Games, the List of Olympic Victors, the *Nomima* or *Nomima Barbarika*, the *Dikaomata or Dikaiomata Poleon*, and the *Hypomnemata* (published under the name of Theophrastus) (de Ste. Croix, 1975: 53 and 57). Aristotle used what we would call antiquarian methods in his work. Coins, weights, measures, and inscriptions all served as evidence for historical purposes. Thus, he explained why the god Ammon and the vegetable silphion appeared on the coins of Cyrene (Frg. 528 Rose); he discussed the peculiar denomination of Himeran and other Sicilian issues (Frg. 510 Rose) as well as the use of the λάγυνος (laginos) by the Thessalians (Frg. 499 Rose), and quoted from an inscription in the *Tegeate Politeia* (Plut., *Quaest. Graec.* 5; Arist. Frg. 592 Rose). He may also have used 'archaeological' evidence if he had actually examined the discus upon which, according to Plutarch, the name of the Spartan Lycurgus was written, in order to synchronise the chronology of Lycurgus with other events (Frg. 533 Rose; FGrHist 6f2; *Politics*, 1271b25-26) (also Huxley, 1973: 281-2). In

other worlds, Aristotle and his pupils[13] used antiquarian methods: topography, examination of artefacts, attention to numismatics, reading of inscriptions, interest in material evidence, and an attempt to discuss historical research as a necessary condition for the study of their own society (de Ste. Croix, 1975).

IV. Greek and Roman Antiquarians.

The historical tradition of antiquarianism, supported by philosophical interest, prospered during the Hellenistic period, while the Thucydidean tradition declined. As Momigliano (1990a: 64) has suggested, antiquarianism prospers especially during periods of intellectual doubt. This is logical, since it is especially at these periods that people seek the consolation of the past and feel nostalgia. We are going to present in brief some of the Greek and Roman antiquarians, so that we can appreciate their interest in the past and the methods they employed. Our discussion is by no means comprehensive and the antiquarians mentioned are not the only ones.

Among the most celebrated Greek antiquarians was Dicaearchus of Messene (347- 287 BCE). He was the author of an important work entitled '*Βιος της Ελλαδος*', which was an attempt at a history of civilisation, tracing the 'life of Greece' from the dawn of history to the age of Alexander. It included an account of the geography and history, as well as the moral and religious condition of the country (Sandys, 1921: 98-100). He distinguished between primitive life and civilised life, and discussed at length the features of primitive life. In his accounts of more recent times he displayed a lack of interest in chronological order and a preference toward a systematic approach (Rawson, 1985; Cole, 1967).

Polemon of Ilium (early second century BCE) was also an important figure for antiquarianism. He wrote a work on the treasures of Delphi and was made a *proxenus* of that area in 177 BCE by Attalus in recognition of his work. He was a prolific writer on Greek topography, and his diligence in collecting, copying and elucidating inscriptions led to his receiving from an adherent of Crates in a later age the title of *stelokopas*.[14] Polemon was however more widely famous as a *periegetes*. His works were quoted by Didymus and Aristonicus, and by Strabo and Plutarch, the latter of whom eulogises his learning and his vivid interest in Hellenic matters. He devoted four books to the Votive Offerings on the

Athenian Acropolis alone; the question how far Pausanias is directly or indirectly indebted to Polemon has been much discussed.[15] His interests were not limited to topography; he also studied literary forms as, for example, the Greek Comedy (Sandys, 1921: 154-5).

The late second-century Romans were acquainted with the Greek antiquarian work, especially that of Aristotle and his followers, but also of other scholars. This acquaintance is attested in all three types of historical research developed in Rome during the first century BCE. The first of these was the traditional annalistic history, which usually started with the foundation of the city by Aeneas. This kind of enquiry had started much earlier, at first as an extension to diplomacy and gradually as an attempt to prefigure the domestic problems of the second century BCE. During the first century annalistic history became the subject of second rate writers who did not have the scholarly interest or the seriousness of purpose that the previous ones had had. The second type of historical research dealt with recent and contemporary history. Very important in this tendency was the influence of Polybius, who followed the Thucydidean tradition of writing on recent political and military history, which should explain and judge, rather than merely record events. This second type attracted the most prominent figures. Finally, antiquarianism developed separately, more closely related to *grammatica* rather than to rhetoric, and found its peak in the work of Varro, *Antiquitates* (Rawson, 1985: 217-218; see also below).

Well before Varro, Greek scholarly techniques like etymology and aetiology (the finding of origins-stories for surviving monuments and institutions) were employed. Junius Gracchanus (a friend of Gaius Gracchus) wrote a lengthy *De Potestatibus* on the traditional, and therefore proper, powers of the different magistracies. L. Aelio Stilo Praeconicus (c. 154-74 BCE) was characterised by Cicero (*Brutus,* 205) as a man of the profoundest learning in Greek and Latin literature, and as an accomplished critic of ancient writers and of Roman antiquities in their intellectual as well as in their historical and political aspects. Stilo's legal and antiquarian pursuits were noticed by Cicero in his *De Oratore* (I.193). His grammatical, and mainly his etymological enquiries were partly inspired by his devotion to Stoic philosophy (Sandys, 1921: 175-7; Rawson, 1985: 234).

The great annalists on the whole assume no very great change throughout the centuries in the Roman way of life, although they often refer to it as simpler, poorer and more virtuous (Rawson, 1985: 235). There were men in Rome, though, who did not encounter any

difficulty in understanding the past as something really different, strongly contrasted with the present, either for good (causing admiration) or for bad (causing contempt). This contrast with the past took shape and substance through material remains. Atticus' sense of the past, for instance, was formed in the house of his uncle, which he refused to alter after this uncle's death because of its *sal*, its character (Cornelius Nepos, *Atticus* 18.1; 13.2). In fact, Rome was an antiquarian's 'paradise', since, despite the natural disasters (floods, fires) that changed the appearance of the city, ancient remains were generally protected. It was a similar case in the old towns of Latium. Whatever the local stimulus, however, the antiquarian standards owed a great deal to the Greek traditions, too. Cicero and Atticus at least knew and admired Dicaearchus of Messene, whom they mention with enthusiasm in their work (*Tusc. Disp.* 1.77; *Ad Att.* 2.2.2; 12.4; 16.3; 6.2.3) (Rawson, 1985: 235).

M. Terentius Varro (116 - 27 BCE) was Stilo's most famous pupil. Cicero characterised him a *'diligentissimus investigator antiquitatis'* (*Brutus*, 60), and Quintilian (x.1.95) a *'vir Romanorum cruditissimus'*. Being a prolific writer, with wide interests, Varro wrote 620 books, which belonged to 74 separate works. Among them there were 41 books on *Antiquitatum rerum humanarum et divinarum*, with other antiquarian works *de vita* and *de gente populi Romani*, a book of 'origins' called *Aetia* (like the *Aitia* of Callimachus), and a treatise on Trojan families and on the Roman tribes (Sandys, 1921: 177). Varro was greatly respected by his contemporaries.[16] He was a collaborator of Pompey and a correspondent of Cicero, who addressed his book *Academica* to him. In the dedicatory letter, Cicero expresses his admiration and respect in the following words, which also reveal an interesting association of Roman people and material remains initiated by Varro:

> '..for we were wandering and straying about like visitors in our own city, and your books led us, so to speak, right home, and enabled us at last to realise who and where we were. You have revealed the age of our native city, the chronology of its history, the laws of its religion and its priesthood, its civil and its military institutions, the topography of its districts and its sites, the terminology, classification and moral and rational basis of all our religious and secular institutions, and you have likewise shed a flood of light upon our poets and generally on Latin literature and the Latin language, and you have yourself composed graceful poetry of various styles in almost every metre, and have sketched an outline of philosophy in many departments that is enough to stimulate the student though not enough to complete his instruction.' (Cicero, *Academica*, I.III.9).[17]

No Roman writer before him had collected so much historical evidence and had presented it in such a logical way. Varro's contribution was important for his data accumulation and the erudition this involved, but also, and mainly, because he suggested through his work that there is the possibility of acquiring positive knowledge about past societies. Social types, places, circumstances, material or immaterial constructions of previous generations are all capable of being organised as a kind of progressive and complete knowledge, and then the relation between human and divine things can assume a rigour close to that of the sciences of nature. Undoubtedly, this brings forth a novel way of looking at the past (Schnapp, 1996: 60-65).

Varro used for his work early poets and recorded traditional stories; but above all, he studied ancient documents, religious and legal. He even quoted from some of these at considerable length. Varro also studied inscriptions (Rawson, 1985: 236-7). As Momigliano (1950: 288) observes, no other Hellenistic antiquarian scholar seems to have been so broad and systematic in his scope; his impact on Rome was profound (it has been said that the Augustan restoration is inconceivable without him). Besides his shortcomings (he is criticised as not being original enough in his approach, or as critical as others), Varro certainly did stimulate antiquarianism in others (e.g. Fenestalla, 52 BCE- CE 19, Verrius Flaccus, fl.10 BCE, and so on) (Sandys, 1921: 200).

V. Other genres of erudition: biography.

The decline of Thucydidean history in the third century BCE put the erudite scholars at the centre of historical research. There are broadly five main lines in Hellenistic erudition, which these can be summarised as: the editing of and commenting on literary texts; the collection of early traditions about individual cities, regions, sanctuaries, gods, and institutions; the systematic description of monuments and copying of inscriptions; chronology; and, finally, the compilation of biographies (Momigliano, 1990a: 67).

The predilections of Greek biography were much the same as those of antiquarianism. Biography appears to have developed within the context of erudite research, reflecting its interest in phenomena apart from mainline Greek politics. The earliest known biographers,

Skylax of Caryanda, Xanthus of Lydia, Ion of Chios and Stesimbrotus of Thasus, were older contemporaries of Herodotus. Although Herodotus labeled them λογοποιοί (logopoioi) and Thucydides considered them among the λογογράφοι (logographoi), the pioneer historians, these writers actually share the logographers' preoccupation with mythographic treatises, geographical travelogues, and cultural histories of non-Greek civilisations; this places them rather in the antiquarian camp. Though some form of biographical writing thus is attested early in the fifth century BCE, the genre was not distinguished by receiving a name until the Hellenistic period. Scholarly attempts to find out the obscure genealogy of ancient Greek biography have credited both the Academy and the Peripatos with the invention of the genre (Cox, 1983: 6-7; Tarn, 1952: 289; Momigliano, 1993). Central to the development of biography is the notion of βιος (bios - life), which could be applied either to individuals, or to whole nations (Momigliano, 1990a: 67-8).

Dicaearchus' *Life of Greece* belongs to this tradition and so does the biographical information that the librarians of Alexandria included in their tables or guides, *Pinakes*. The biographical form we find in Suetonius and Diogenes Laertius is certainly in keeping with Alexandrian antiquarianism. As far as the collective biographies are concerned, Varro's *Life of the Roman people,* and perhaps another *Life of Greece* attributed to a Jason, imitate Dicaearchus (Momigliano, 1990a: 66; 1993).

An interesting by-product of the systematic and erudite biography is the work by Varro, *Imagines or Hebdomades*, in which seven hundred portraits of Roman and non-Roman famous men, from kings to statesmen and philosophers, historians, poets and so on, were collected, each accompanied by a short epigram characterising the man in question. Discussions in prose seem to have accompanied the poetic parts.[18] A similar attempt is recorded for Atticus, and both attracted the praise of Pliny, to whom we owe this piece of information[19]:

> 'The existence of a strong passion for portraits in former days is evidenced by Atticus the friend of Cicero in the volume he published on the subject and by the most benevolent invention of Marcus Varro, who actually by some means inserted in a prolific output of volumes portraits of seven hundred famous people, not allowing their likeness to disappear or the lapse to prevail against immortality of men. Herein Varro was an inventor of a benefit that even the gods might envy, since he not only bestowed immortality but despatched it all over the world, enabling his

> subjects to be ubiquitous, like the gods. This was a service Varro rendered to strangers.' (Pliny, *H.N.*, XXXV.II.11).[20]

This kind of erudition has to be placed within the Roman aristocratic tradition of '*imagines maiorum*' and the '*tituli*' of the ancestors. Varro and Atticus, however, revolutionise this tradition by extending it to include personalities from the Greek, as well as from the Roman world, and non-aristocrats, as well as members of aristocratic families. Augustus' decision to erect busts of great men with appropriate inscriptions in the Roman Forum and in other public places in Italy was probably inspired by these compilations; Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars* and the Renaissance collections and displays of portrait-busts can also be traced back to this kind of erudition.

VI. Ideas about the Past.

The distant past formed the centre of a considerable attempt by poets and philosophers alike, to answer two basic questions relating to the origins of culture: how did the human race come into existence, and how did it acquire its present cultural status? (Blundell, 1986: 1). Discussions of Greek thought concerning these questions usually distinguish two currents: the myth of Golden Age and the myth of human progress. The first - Hesiodic fantasy - is closely related to the cosmogonical myths which derive from sources dated as early as the eighth century BCE and as late as the fifth century CE, while the second relates to Ionian science, and from the mid-fifth century BCE acquired the leading role in offering explanations in this subject (Cole, 1967: 1).

The first current is a rather pessimistic approach that sees man falling from an original divine, or semi-divine, status to human. The Hesiodic vision of a Golden Race that lived at the beginning of man's history and descended gradually, through silver and bronze, to Hesiod's own race of iron is quite characteristic of this approach (*Works and Days,* 106-201). Homer, on the other hand, although his references on the subject are sporadic and very brief (e.g. see *Il.,* 1.272; 5.304; 12.383; 12.449; 20.287) glorifies a heroic age of power and splendour, vanished in his times. Other categories of thinkers sharing similar ideas with Homer and Hesiod are the primitivists, who also put the apex of human felicity somewhere in the remote past - although their motives are closely linked with nostalgia for a simpler

way of life, as well as with those suggesting a cyclical view of history (Blundell, 1986; Cole, 1967).[21]

The Golden Age theory was soon surpassed when Ionian philosophical thought started to replace the mythological. Since then, and starting with Thales, almost all writers express their personal ideas on the subject, although the ones who present a systematic and full-length treatise are few. Among them, the most important place is occupied by Plato's *Laws* (book III) and Lucretius *On the Nature of Things* (*De Rerum Natura*) (book V). Plato's account treats the origins of culture and society as a preface to the political history of Peloponnese, Attica and Persia, and offers a combination of technological and social history (Lovejoy and Boas, 1997: 155-168). Lucretius' attempt, on the other hand, is very much indebted to Epicureanism (Cole, 1967; Lovejoy and Boas, 1997: 222-242).

It is not the aim of this chapter to discuss in detail the ideas of each of those writers. We need only say that civilisation was seen as a process of constant improvement in the practical spheres of life - the ethical ones should be discussed separately since there was no unanimity on that aspect: progressivists suggested that the continuous evolution extended to all aspects of life, while the primitivists asserted that, despite the physical difficulties, life in the past was more simple and innocent, aspects lost with technical improvements (Blundell, 1986: 105).

Nevertheless, two important points concerning the scope of this thesis can be made. Firstly, since this area of interest is common ground between both philosophers and antiquarians, the relation between the two disciplines is better understood. Most of the treatises on this subject have been written by antiquarians - unfortunately now lost or fragmentary. The most ambitious of these, Dicaearchus' *Bios* (Frg. 47-66 Wehrli), schematised prehistory in three successive phases: food gathering, herding and farming (Cole, 1967: 4). Writers of universal history started sometimes with a piece on *Kulturgeschichte* (e.g. Diodorus Siculus, 1.8), and so did ethnographers and local historians. Sophists also composed cultural histories, and fragments from many pre-Socratics suggest that this was one of their principal interests. Further information about ancient theories on cultural origins comes from passages of an aetiological character (Cole, 1967: 7-9).

Secondly, the material/technological aspect of previous civilisations is the centre of interest, together with language, ethics and social norms. Antiquarians like Ephorus (*FGrH* 70T33d; F2-5, F104-6), Heraclides Ponticus (Frg. 152 Wehrli), Theophrastus (Diogenes Laertius, 5.47), Strato of Lampsacus (Frg. 144-47 Wehrli) and others tried to study different aspects of it, from the elementary ones (clothing, fire, and so on) that made possible man's survival, to more advanced aspects on which a complex civilisation depends (Cole, 1967: 5). Although this interest did not lead to an archaeological (in the contemporary sense) practice (see Schnapp, 1996: 68-73),[22] it undoubtedly offered the belief that objects, in the sense of technological expertise, indicate the level of civilisation of a society and can be a testimony to that (see Plato, *Laws*, III.677e-678a; Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, 925-962; 1011-1027; 1091-1104). In that sense, this idea is vital for the creation of collections.

VII. Objects and Monuments.

Tangible remains provoke a sense of curiosity since they speak equally to reason and imagination (Schnapp, 1996: 13). They add emphasis to memory and history, help to assure us that there *really* was a past, and are essential bridges between then and now. Certainly, they have their limitations as informants, since they require interpretation, and are static and subject to destruction. Nevertheless, they symbolise or memorialise communal links over time, and provide archaeological metaphors that illuminate the processes of history and memory (Lowenthal, 1985: xxiii; Belk, 1991: 121). As Vygotsky (1978: 51) asserts: 'It has been remarked that the very essence of civilisation consists of purposively building monuments so as not to forget. In both the knot and the monument we have manifestation of the most fundamental and characteristic feature distinguishing human from animal memory'. Monuments, therefore, are especially important in preserving aggregate memory.

Ancient Greeks and Romans could not have been indifferent to the attraction of objects and monuments. As we have already seen, technical evolution and materialism have been at the centre of the theories on the origins of humanity and the progress of civilisation. Objects and monuments have often been described in detail by poetry and literature, for instance the description of Achilles' shield by Homer, and the heroic tradition of exchanging objects as part of a complex social system lies at the heart of the large collections of offerings in the Greek sanctuaries (Schnapp, 1996: 56). But what were the roles that the objects and the

monuments held in the mind and the heart of ancient Greeks and Romans? And more specifically, what was their role as sources of knowledge about the past and metaphors of it?

As we have seen previously, both Herodotus and Thucydides used the observable vestiges as a source of data. Herodotus, as an early *periegetes*, had examined with care the monuments he had seen, which were ascribed into his narrative as a history. When it came to the pyramids of Egypt, for example, Herodotus made them stand for their period and dynasty, the embodiment of the great men who had built them. As Elsner (1994b: 233) has put it: 'The *monumenta* function as a material and present link ... to a past which might have been lost but that it can be evoked through them. The pyramidal evocation is more than a link to famous persons, it is a link to stories about these persons'. Similar is the case with other incidents where Herodotus verifies the actuality of a fact, or disproves it, by referring to particular objects and monuments; for instance, when he discusses Croesus (*Histories*, 1.50) he refers to his offerings to Delphi, compares these with the actual objects in the sanctuary, but also relies on witnesses to disprove the evidence offered by an object. Herodotus used the monuments as icons in order to define both the 'Other' (i.e. what was remote in time and space) and through it the 'self' (Elsner, 1994b).

Although Herodotus used monuments as metaphors, Thucydides was the one who observed the visible traces in the soil, and put them in relation to tradition, in order to analyse them materially, functionally and stylistically (Schnapp, 1996: 51). Thucydides used monuments - as well as inscriptions (Hornblower, 1987) - as a source in order to argue about the distant past, when ordinary cross-questioning and autopsy were inappropriate or impossible. Twice in his narrative Thucydides used objects and monuments to reach archaeological conclusions. The best known of these paragraphs is the one concerning the purification of Delos:

> '...for Carians inhabited most of the islands, as may be inferred from the fact that, when Delos was purified by the Athenians in this war and the graves of all who had ever died on the island were removed, over half were discovered to be Carians being recognised by the fashion of the armour found buried with them, and by the mode of burial, which is that still in use among them.' (Thucydides, I. VIII.1).[23]

Although contemporary archaeology is well aware that these tombs were Geometric (ninth-eighth centuries BCE), Thucydides's methods were undoubtedly well in advance of his period. In order to analyse these tombs he employed a typological and comparative

approach. In this sense, by moving the focus from the objects (or monuments) as signs of power to objects as elements of history, proper archaeological thinking was introduced (Schnapp, 1996: 27).

The second paragraph describes the ruins of Mycenae:

> 'And because Mycenae was only a small place, or if any particular town of that time seems now to be insignificant, it would not be right for me to treat this as an exact piece of evidence and refuse to believe that the expedition against Troy was as great as the poets have asserted and as tradition still maintains. For if the city of the Lacedaemonians should be deserted, and nothing should be left of it but its temples and the foundations of its other buildings, posterity would, I think, after a long lapse of time be very loath to believe that their power was as great as their renown.' (Thucydides, I.X.1-2)[24]

Once again Thucydides examines the ruins, compares sources, establishes levels of similarity, and thus reaches conclusions. His method suggests beyond everything else that observations acquire validity only through careful consideration, and that material evidence gets its value through a constant dialectic between imagination, reason, past, present and future perceptions, knowledge and critical ability (see also Schnapp, 1996: 49).[25]

After Thucydides, the study of the archaeological and epigraphical evidence was never again part of the business of the ordinary historian. By way of compensation, the old type of geographical description, the *periegesis* (introduced by Hecataios' *Periodos Ges*) was transformed to satisfy the needs of antiquarian research on monuments. The geographer became an antiquarian. In the second century BCE, Polemon probably called himself a *periegetes*. The antiquarian monograph could be so narrow as to include only the monuments of the Athenian Acropolis, or so wide as to embrace the whole of Greece - which is what Pausanias did later. Polemon went even beyond Greece and wrote on Carthage and Samothrace. Local histories became full of antiquarian details, and the greatest of the local historians of Athens, Philochorus, was also one of the most active writers of monographs on Attic inscriptions, religious institutions, and other antiquarian subjects (Momigliano, 1990a).

We have so far concentrated on objects and monuments used by historians and antiquarians to support their historical views, but we have not been concerned at all with the methods

they developed in order to acquire these tangible proofs, or tokens of the past, for their purposes, and the implications these entail for the understanding and appreciation of material culture. The active pursue of material remains is illustrated in a few paragraphs that have survived down to our days. Herodotus, for instance, records:

> 'In this former war with Tegea the Spartans had continually the worst of it, but by the time of Croesus, under their kings Anaxandrides and Ariston, they had got the upper hand. This is the story of their success: after a long series of reverses in the war they sent to Delphi and asked of which god they should beg favour in order to ensure their conquest of Tegea, and the Priestess promised them victory if they brought home the bones of Orestes, Agamnemon's son. Unable to find the tomb of Orestes, they sent again to inquire where the body lay, and the messengers received this answer: ... They searched everywhere; but all in vain until Lichas, who was one of the Spartan special agents called 'Agathoergi', or' good-service men', solved the riddle. ... Taking advantage of the better relations which existed at this time between the two towns, he went to Tegea and entered a forge where he watched some iron being hammered out, a process which caused him great surprise. The smith, seeing his astonishment, paused in his work and said: 'Well, my friend, your surprise at seeing me work in iron would be nothing to what you'd have felt, if you had seen what I saw. I wanted to make a well in the yard here, and as I was digging I came on a huge coffin - ten feet long! I couldn't believe that men were ever bigger than they are to-day, so I opened it - and there was the corpse, as big as the coffin! I measured it, and then shoveled the earth back.' Lichas turned over in his mind the smith's account of his discovery, and came to the conclusion that the oracle was fulfilled and that this was the body of Orestes. ... Then he dug up the grave, collected the bones and took them away to Sparta; and ever since that day the Lacedaemonians in any trial of strength had by far the better of it. They had now subdued the greater part of the Peloponnese (Herodotus, *Histories*, 67-68).[26]

A similar story has survived through Plutarch:

> 'And after the Median wars, in the archonship of Phaedo, when the Athenians were consulting the oracle at Delphi, they were told by the Pythian priestess to take up the bones of Theseus, give them honourable burial at Athens, and guard them there. But it was difficult to find the grave and take up the bones, because of the inhospitable and savage nature of the Dolopians who then inhabited the island. However, Cimon took the island, as I have related in his Life, and being ambitious to

> discover the grave of Theseus, saw an eagle in a place where there was a semblance of a mound, pecking, as they say, and tearing up the ground with his talons. By some divine ordering he comprehended the meaning of this and dug there, and there was found a coffin of a man of extraordinary size, a bronze spear lying by its side, and a sword. When these relics were brought home on his trireme by Cimon, the Athenians were delighted, and received them with splendid processions and sacrifices, as though Theseus himself were returning to his city.' (Plutarch, *Life of Theseus*, XXXVI).[27]

The same motif of the sacred relics unearthed and carried to the homeland of the hero (or heroine) is also present in Plutarch's *Moralia*, 577-78 (the tomb of Alcmene).[28]

Although these paragraphs do not imply that the Greeks or the Romans had any sense of archaeological curiosity, they are important because they testify the tendency to pursue and appreciate objects, not merely because of their role as historical sources in the epistemological sense, but mainly as symbols and reminders of an event, a personality, a specific action, and as sacred talismans that would protect them individually or as a community. These paragraphs are not only indicative of the use of archaeological methodology, but of a thinking that relates material remains with the past (glorious heroes of the past can be touched - literally and metaphorically - when their relics are brought forth), and according to which objects are evidence of that past, prove the divine provenance, or divine will, and deserve as such to be preserved and honoured;[29] this again is a notion related to antiquarianism and collecting. Schnapp (1996: 56) relates these approaches to ideas about the sacred, and argues that they imply an immediate connection to the objects collected in sanctuaries. He attributes these to the social role of the sanctuary, that has its origins in the tradition of 'presents' which is so familiar to Homer. The objects that heroes used have acquired a long history and the list of their proprietors is inseparable from their intrinsic quality. In Greece, where social distinction depended upon genealogy, the exchange of objects was part of a complex system of giving among heroes, kings and nobles. Thus, a genealogy of objects emerges, as important as the genealogy of people. This is where the importance of the *periegetes* and the antiquarian, who are the people to thesaurise this type of knowledge, comes from. The treasuries of the temples function as repositories of knowledge and collective memory and inheritance; they exhibit objects whose quality, rarity, antiquity and genealogy form reasons for their admiration by the people (see discussion of the gift exchange tradition and the treasuries in chapter 3).

In Rome none of these uses of objects and monuments was unfamiliar. Early Roman historians used largely monuments 'from the so-called tomb of Romulus in the *comitium* to the *tabulae triumphales* of victorious second-century proconsuls' (Wiseman, 1986: 88; 1994). During the early period, they were used as foundations for aetiological stories. Among the monuments, Wiseman (1986) mentions the tombs of Romulus, Faustullus, Hostus, Hostilius and other early heroes of Rome. Probably accurate knowledge about the true nature of such monuments did not survive to the time of Fabius Pictor, Cincius Alimentus or any of their successors. The stories about them must be part of the 'expansion of the past', the elaboration that the writers developed in order to have a 'detailed history' (Wiseman, 1986: 89). Gradually a methodological change took place, and by the time of Livy, antiquarian material (monuments, objects, toponyms, etc.) instead of being invested with legendary associations so that they acquired historicity, as was the case in the past, were used as documents, whose very presence guaranteed the credibility of legends or stories (e.g. Livy, I.25.14; 26.13-15; 36.5; 48.6-7; II. 10.12; 13.5; 13.11; 14.9; 40.12, etc.; Gabba, 1981: 61).

The active search for objects described in the previously mentioned paragraphs is only one aspect of the search for real tokens of the past. Strabo offers another insight into the same phenomenon when he describes the foundation of an Augustan colony in the first century BCE on the site of ancient Corinth, in these words:

> 'Now after Corinth had remained deserted for a long time, it was restored again, because of its favourable position, by the deified Caesar, who colonised it with people that belonged for the most part to the freemen class. And when these were removing the ruins and at the same time digging open the graves, they found numbers of terra-cotta reliefs, and also many bronze vessels. And since they admired the workmanship they left no grave unransacked; so that well supplied with such things and disposing of them at a high price, they filled Rome with Corinthian 'mortuaries', for they called the things taken from the graves, and in particular the earthenware. Now at the outset the earthenware was very highly priced, like the bronzes of Corinthian workmanship, but later they ceased to care much for them, since the supply of earthen vessels failed and most of them were not even well executed.' (Strabo, *Geography*, 8.6.23).[30]

Similarly, Tacitus refers to Nero's 'treasure-hunting' approach to material remains of the past (*Annales*, XVI, I-III).

We can therefore testify to an active involvement in the creation of this past, not mediated through prophecies and oracles but initiated by people. The underlying principle of object valuation remains more or less the same: objects are evidence that can bear information about the past, parts of the past that can be touched and owned. The emphasis, though, has been transferred from objects being markers of power, as was the case in the Eastern monarchies, or historical evidence, as in the case of Thucydides and those mentioned above, to becoming antiquities in the Augustan age that could be collected and exchanged (Schnapp, 1996: 28). The same attitude is developed toward monuments, which also become objects that could be collected to form part of the inventory of the Roman domination (Elsner, 1994b: 241). Pliny's encyclopaedia (see discussion in chapter 6), Diodorus *Library*, Pausanias *periegesis* are the products of this novel way of dealing with them. They share the role of recorder of art and history, and use monuments as a frame through which to explore and represent in some depth the identity of Roman self.

Stewart (1993: 140-3) argues that antiquarianism always displays a functional ambivalence: 'either a nostalgic desire for romanticism or the political desire of authentication. Thus the antiquarian seeks both to distance and appropriate the past'. In order to do so, he must alienate his culture by making it 'Other' - distant and discontinuous. The Roman antiquarians, therefore, motivated by this, sought to define themselves through the past, which is Other - Greek and distant in time - but also self, since now they have conquered Greece and own, literally, but still not metaphorically, its relics. Monuments and objects thus become tokens of that distant past, which need to be appropriated in order for the past to be appropriated, too. Tangible remains are, consequently, metaphors of this past for the present, and thus a medium through which to define the Roman self.

VIII. Conclusions.

Antiquity, as a notion which turns objects into desirable collectibles, is a recurrent theme in the ancient Greek and Latin authors. It was therefore felt necessary to attempt to throw some light onto the ideas of ancient Greeks and Romans on what constitutes antiquity and past,

how they placed themselves within it and what was the role of objects and monuments in their attempts to understand and define it.

In order to answer the first of those questions we examined the historiographical tradition, which mainly reflects the ideas and feelings of a society to its past. We discerned two different kinds of past: the recent and the distant. The first attracts the major attention, by the most celebrated historians: the reason for this preference is confined to the development in the mid-fifth century BCE of the idea that only the past for which personal testimonies acquired through autopsy can be collected deserves to be studied. As a result, only the recent past can form a legitimate subject for the serious historian. It is used to provide *exempla* to politicians and orators and is at the heart of the development of political thought.

Nevertheless, the distant past had its students as well. These are the erudite men and the antiquarians, who study the past systematically and collect all the available data that relate to it. They use lists of archons, winners, priests, other individuals, monuments, inscriptions, and archives. Their inquiry is also connected to philosophy, which denounces political historiography as dealing with the mundane and the particular, instead of with general truths. The philosophical interest in the origins of humanity and culture thus presents double interest for our enquiry. Not only does it legitimise erudition, but it also supports this by suggesting that the technological aspect of civilisation, i.e. arts and crafts, is an infallible indication of the level of civilisation, be it descending, from Gold to Iron, or ascending, from food-gathering to farming.

Another interesting point arising from the study of antiquarianism is the development of the erudite genre of biography. It became the archetype for the creation of the discipline of 'physiognomy', which in its turn influenced greatly the portrait collections of the Renaissance (Haskell, 1993).

All these ideas determined the values attributed to objects. The first in the series is the notion of evidence. Objects and monuments are not exactly the sort of evidence on which the initiators of this notion, Herodotus and Thucydides, put their emphasis. Nevertheless, by introducing it, they created the prerequisites for such a use. Material remains are, hesitantly at first, to be used as sources of information and knowledge. Gradually, they are used more and more as reminders of events, personalities and actions, and metaphors of a lost past.

During the Roman period the material remains acquired primary importance. Being ancient was a proper quality (see Arafat, 1992 on Pausanias) as such. But it meant more than merely that. Objects had acquired the unique role of being used as indications of both the 'Other' and the self. Defining the 'Other' is a major step toward defining self. The Romans of the imperial period had conquered almost the whole world known to them; thus, to find another way of defining this new self of theirs, they had to search for the 'Other' in the past. Objects and monuments then become a poetic metaphor of the 'Other' of the past, in the present, in the self. Consequently, they become of unique importance for the definition and understanding of Roman identity. As Pliny has put it, as early as the first century CE, it was not books that the Romans needed, it was store-houses. If books help people to learn the unknown, objects help them to re-know things more deeply (Hubbard, 1984).

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[1] To the Greco-Roman world the term 'history' was not synonymous with an aspect of time; therefore 'past' and 'present' were equally related to 'history' (Fornara, 1983: 91-92).

[2] This idea is related to the oath/ordeal paradigm, see discussion in Pearce, 1995.

[3] Translated in Loeb CL, by A. D. Godley, vol. 1, 1946.

[4] For a recent view that connects Herodotus' vocabulary of evidence and proof with late fifth-century Presocratics and early medical writers, see Thomas, 1997, where also bibliography.

[5] The word belongs to the oral tradition since its first meaning is 'showing forth, making known, exhibiting', all these implying oral presentation, see Lidell-Scott, 1966 edn., pp. 195-196, s.v. αποδειξις.

[6] About the oral tradition and orality in Greece and Rome, see Thomas, 1992 and Beard, *et al.*, 1991 respectively.

[7] The role of Herodotus in the development of the historical enquiry has been the subject of many and fierce discussions: for an account of the feelings and ideas on Herodotus see Hartog, 1988, part 2.

[8] The main difference between the two historians' notion of evidence is that Herodotus relates to the oral tradition, or rather he is in a transitive stage between oral and written culture. In this sense, Herodotus has evidence in his mind as this is understoood in orality, i.e. orally transferred information is more valid, or as valid as written information, or other tactile source (monument, document). For that reason, in Herodotus, 'I have heard' and 'I have seen' have the same importance. Herodotus was not readily prepared to accept all evidence that objects or documents bring along (and he is willing to exchange the information they provide with that of oral witnesses, who tell the truth the monuments, or documents conceal (see for example, 1.50; 1.93; 2.106; 2.125) (also Hartog, 1988: 279-280; 283ff).

[9] In the first two books of Thucydides, where major part of his methodology is presented, the terms '*semeion*' (sign), '*tekmerion*' (evidence), and '*martyrion*' (testimony) appear quite often. According to the rhetorical handbooks, there are differences between these terms: 'semeion' is a sign which may be fallible, pointing to a result. A '*tekmerion*' is an indication that the result will necessarily occur. Other terms used by Thucydides are: '*paradeigma*' (proof), and the phrases *'kata to eikos'* and *'os eikos'* (as usual/ as natural); also, the word '*abasanistos*' (untested), used to describe the methods of careless researchers. For a detailed discussion on the terminology of evidence in Thucydides see Hornblower (1987: 100-107).

[10] Trans. by Woodruff, 1982.

[11] For a detailed discussion of the use of the word 'ἀρχαιολογία' in the ancient sources, and subsequent generations, see Papaioannou (1997).

[12] Aristotle's ideas on political history have been the subject of much debate (Fornara, 1983: 90-98). In *Poetics* he defines history in opposition to poetry: 'The difference between a historian and a poet is not that one writes in prose and the other in verse - indeed the writings of Herodotus could be put into verse and yet would still be a kind of history, whether written in metre or not. The real difference is this, that one tells what happened and the other what might happen. For this reason poetry is something more scientific and serious than history, because poetry tends to give general truths, while history gives particular facts.' (*Poetics*, 1451b) Aristotle disapproves of political history, since he finds that dealing with particular facts instead of with general truths, does not contribute enough to human progress.

[13] His pupils Theophrastus and Dicaearchus developed their views on religion and civilisation on the basis of antiquarian research. A famous example is Theophrastus' survey of offerings and sacrifices to the gods (Diogenes Laertius, 5.47). One of the notable features of Aristotelian scholarship is the combination of antiquarian research with textual criticism and editorship (Momigliano, 1990a: 64).

[14] Στηλοκόπας is a noun, meaning tablet-glutton; it is also an epithet atrributed to Polemon, who copied the inscriptions on public documents (στῆλαι), see Herodic. ap. Ath. 6.234d (Liddell-Scott, 1966 edition: 1644, s.v. στηλοκόπας).

[15] The indebteness of Pausanias to Polemon of Ilium is completely disproved by Frazer (1898), the major translator and commentator of Pausanias in English.

[16] And the following generations too; see for instance the mixed feelings of St. Augustine, *City of God*, VI.3.

[17] Translated by H. Rackham, in Loeb CL, 1951.

[18] Aulus Gellius mentions a discussion in the chronology of Homer and Hesiod (3.11).

[19] About Atticus, see also his biography by Cornelius Nepos; the assembalge of portraits is mentioned in paragraphs 18.5-6.

[20] Translated in Loeb CL, by H. Rackham, 1952.

[21] Primitivism is discussed in detail in the book edited by Lovejoy and Boas, 1997.

[22] Wace (1969) suggests that the Greeks and the Romans had no real intellectual curiosity as regards ancient monuments or works of art. They were apt to regard them as curiosities and practically never indulged in any examination or discussion of them. They were never involved in scientific research in art history or archaeology. However, it seems that by contributing the idea that technological expertise indicates the level of civilisation, ancient Greeks and Romans created the basis for contemporary archaeological thought.

[23] Translated in Loeb CL, by C. Forster Smith, vol. 1, 1951.

[24] Translated in Loeb CL, by C. Forster Smith, vol. 1, 1951.

[25] We have seen above the views of Herodotus about objects as evidence, and we have discussed it, alas in brief, in relation to orality (see above, nt. 7). Here we can close our argument, by comparing it with Thucydides' views: the latter comes from a written tradition, and he has placed the emphasis on tangible evidence in a way that Herodotus was not prepared to do. Therefore, in his paragraph on Mycenae, Thucydides has to warn his readers about the 'traps' that material evidence *per se* includes. He argues that these have not to be taken at face value, but have to be compared with other information and critically discussed.

[26] Translated by Aubrey de Sélincourt, revised by A. R. Burn for the Penguin Classics, 1972 (originally published 1954).

[27] Translated in Loeb CL, by Bernadotte Perrin, 1914.

[28] This practice is associated with hero cult by Boedecker (1993); there are many other examples as well, see for instance, Pfister (1909: 196-208) and Rohde (1920: 122 and notes). Another very interesting example is mentioned elsewhere by Herodotus (5.77-81): when Thebes requested some help from Aigina, the latter complied with it by sending the Aiakids; we do not know exactly how this was possible, but the idea of 'borrowing heroes' must be related to the transference of relics (Boedecker, 1993: 173, nt. 7). Solon is also associated with 'excavations' of tombs in order to prove arguments (Diogenes Laertius, 1.48). See also discussion in Higbie (1997).

[29] Boedecker (1993) and Huxley (1979) discuss the incident about Orestes' bones recorded by Herodotus in social and political terms. It is interesting that both agree that the possession of the bones, although did not provide some kind of general right to hegemony over their neighbours, offered to the Spartans 'the power to defeat Tegea' (Boedecker, 1993: 167).

[30] Translated by H. L. Jones, in Loeb CL, vol. 4, 1954.

CHAPTER THREE

'GIFTS-TO-MEN AND GIFTS-TO-GODS'[1] : DEFINING (COLLECTING) VALUES

Telemachus: Stranger, you say these things out of a friendly heart, like a father to his son, and I shall never forget them. But come now and stay on, although you are anxious to be on your way: after bathing and enjoying yourself, you will return to your ship with a gift, rejoicing in your heart, a very fine and precious gift, which shall be an heirloom from me, such as dear friends give to friends. Athena, the grey-eyed goddess, answered: 'Do not detain me, as I am eager to be on my way. The gift, which your heart bids you give me, you will offer it to me on my return to take home. Choose a very beautiful one, and you will get an adequate one in return.'

Odyssey I, 306-18[2]

Kokkale: La! Kynno dear, what beautiful statues! What craftsman was it who worked this stone, and who dedicated it?

Kynno: The sons of Praxiteles - only look at the letters on the base, and Euthies, son of Prexon, dedicated it.

Ko.: May Paeon bless them and Euthies for their beautiful works. See, dear, the girl yonder looking up at the apple; wouldn't you think she will swoon away suddenly, if she does not get it? Oh, and yon old man, Kynno. Ah, in the Fates' name, see how the boy is strangling the goose. Why, one would say the sculpture would talk, that is if it were not stone when one gets close. La! in time men will be able even to put life into stones. Yes, only look, Kynno, at the gait of this statue of Batale daughter of Myttes. Anyone who has not seen Batale, may look at this image and be satisfied without the woman herself.

Ky.: Come along, dear, and I will show you a beautiful thing such as you have never seen in all your life....

Ko.: Only look, dear Kynno, what works of? are those there! See these, you would say, were chiselled by Athene herself - all hail, Lady! Look, this naked boy, he will bleed, will he not, if I scratch him, Kynno; for the flesh seems to pulse warmly as it lies on him in the picture; and the silver toasting-iron, if Myllos or Pataikiskos, son of Lamprion, see it, won't their eyes start from their sockets when they suppose it real silver!

And the ox and its leader, and the girl in attendance, and this hook-nosed and this snub-nosed fellow, have they not all of them the look of light and life? If I did not think it would be unbecoming for a woman, I should have screamed for fear the ox would do me a hurt: he is looking so sideways at me with one eye.
Ky.: Yes, dear, the hands of Apelles of Ephesus are true in all his paintings, and you cannot say that he looked with favour on one thing and fought shy of another: no, whatever, came into his fancy, he was ready and eager to essay off-hand, and if any gaze on him or his works save from a just point of view, may he be hung up by the foot at the fuller's!

Herodas, *Mimes*, IV, 20-40, 56-78[3]

I. Introduction.

Lavishly decorated gold and silver vessels, bronze tripods, chryselephantine statues, xoana,[4] clay figurines, marble statuary groups and reliefs, paintings, arms and armour, luxurious vestments, but also curiosities, they were all treasured in the ancient Greek and Roman world for reasons related to their intrinsic qualities. Most importantly though, it appears these objects were carriers of more profound value, ineradicably associated with their noble genealogy and skilled craftsmanship. Myths, the Homeric epic poetry, inventories chiselled on stone in Hellenic sanctuaries, along with collections of facts and images created by antiquarians and *periegetes*, like Polemon, Strabo and Pausanias, all argue for a hierarchy of values imposed on material culture, which transforms it from mere commodity to inalienable possession worthy of treasuring and appreciation.

Revealing this hierarchy and its relevance to collecting/treasuring of artefacts is the main aim of this chapter. Despite the bulk of publications devoted to specific archaeological or

architectural concerns (e.g. the architectural details of buildings,[5] the spatial organisation of the *temenos,*[6] the identification of certain works of art mentioned by ancient authors with specific fragments that have survived,[7] the organisation of chronological and typological sequences of artefacts and so on[8]), or behavioural patterns related to ritual and religious aspects,[9] there are very few hermeneutical discussions, reconstructing behavioural patterns, vocabulary, objects and institutions of value in their unity.

'Museum' is a term often attributed to ancient sanctuaries (Wernicke, 1894: 103; Kent Hill, 1944: 353; Wace, 1969: 204; Alsop, 1982: 197), but the attribution refers, more often than not, to the functional aspect of being repositories of *objets d' art* (at least as they are categorised by contemporary scholars) and arms (Snodgrass, 1980: 63). This chapter shares the stance most explicitly argued by Pearce (1995: 406), that there is a more profound relationship between ancient sanctuaries and museums. They are both historical - in the long term - manifestations of the idea of the communal shrine, where communal treasure is 'set aside' as a means to create relationships with the 'sacred' and thus reinforce and legitimise the community's own judgements about aesthetics, knowledge and history. In other words, they are both repositories of collections.

'Lifting objects away from the world of common commodities into a world of special significance' is a fundamental characteristic of the collecting process (Pearce, 1995: 27). This notion has its root in archaic ideas about objects serving to create and perpetuate social relationships with other men or the gods, as well as in the idea of 'sacred' as it emerged in the early European languages and links with the oath/ordeal paradigm, and kinship relations. Gift exchange in particular, as a means of creating social relationships, Pearce argues, helps us to understand the role of collecting within the whole social fabric. The emotional values connected with gifts are embraced in modernist capitalist societies by collections (1995: 406-407). The aim of this discussion is to utilise this wide-lensed approach of the *longue durée* employed by Pearce, but to focus on the *conjoncture* of the classical world (Braudel, 1973). More specifically, this chapter aims to pursue further and elaborate on the argument that the (collecting) values of the classical world - as these are revealed in the ancient literary sources discussed in this thesis - stem from the tradition of gift exchange and its specific character in the early Hellenic world.

Although the existence of gift exchange as inherent in the structure of Homeric society is very well documented (e.g. Finley, 1979), the full implications of this argument for the classical world have only recently began to be appreciated by scholars. Schnapp (1996: 56), for instance, mentions:

> 'This social role of the temples finds its origins in the tradition of presenting gifts, so often found in Homer. The objects which the heroes used - the arms of Achilles made by Hephaistus; the helmet of Odysseus which came to him from his uncle, the magician Autolycus; the bow of Philoctetes which was a gift from Apollo - all had a long history and the list of their owners was inseparable from their intrinsic qualities. In Greece social rank was linked with fame, a fame which attached to each weapon and each precious object. The exchange of objects was part of a complex gift-exchange system between heroes, kings and nobles. Thus there emerged a genealogy of objects just as important as that of men. From this grew the importance of the work of scholar-travellers and antiquaries who were the repository of knowledge of this kind.'

Following this line of thought, this chapter will discuss the role of gift exchange in the classical world, the values to which it gave rise and how it shaped the mind-set that resulted in the creation of the public and private collections of the classical world.

In order to argue the above, we will firstly present in brief the main principles of gift exchange, and how they have been broadened in the study of the archaic Greek tradition (II). Then, we will present and discuss the vocabulary and institutions of gift in Homer and mythology (III and IV). In the next two sections (V and VI), the focus will be on sanctuaries and the institutions and vocabulary of value there, the notions that these collections embodied and their legacy. Then (VII), we will draw all the above together and discuss the hierarchy of values and its implications for subsequent collecting practices.

II. Main principles of gift exchange and the archaic Greek tradition.

Mauss' *Essai sur le don* (1925; English translation 1970), the now classic study of gift exchange, argued that exchange in primitive societies consists not so much of economic transactions as of reciprocal gifts, and this is what he calls *prestation totale* (a total social fact), in other words an event which has a significance at once social and religious, magic

and economic, utilitarian and sentimental, jural and moral (Lévi-Strauss, 1969: 52). This system of exchange was contrasted with the European economic tradition, that is a system of commodity exchange, as this was developed mainly by Marx. Marx defined commodity as an alienable object that can be exchanged between transactors in a state of reciprocal independence (1867: 91). This definition of commodity exchange, implied what Mauss verified, that non-commodity exchange (i.e. gift) is 'an exchange of inalienable things between transactors who are in a state of reciprocal dependence' (phrased as such in Gregory, 1982: 19).[10] It follows, therefore, that whereas commodity exchange establishes a relationship between the objects exchanged, gift exchange establishes a relationship between the subjects. Gift economy is an economy of indebtedness, where accumulation is only meaningful when it aims to 'de-accumulation'. The transactors do not aim to 'pay off' their debts, but to preserve them, and acquire, instead of maximum profit, as many gift-debtors as possible (Morris, 1986: 2).

Mauss (1970; also in Morris, 1986: 2) places societies in a three-stage evolutionary scale: total prestation, gift economy and commodity exchange:

> 'At first it was found that certain things, most of them magical and precious, were by custom not destroyed, and these were endowed with the power to exchange... In the second-stage, mankind having succeeded in making these things circulate within the tribe and far outside it found that these purchasing instruments could serve as a means to count wealth and make it circulate. The third stage began in ancient Semitic societies which invented the means of detaching these precious things from groups and individuals and of making them permanent instruments of value measurement - universal, if not entirely rational - for lack of any better system' (Mauss, 1970: 94).

Sahlins (1972) and Gregory (1980; 1982; 1984) pursued this further and agreed, quite wrongly as was later proved, that clan-society is where the gift-economy predominates, whereas class-society is where the commodity thrives. Gregory in particular elaborated on that and introduced instead of a bipolar opposition, a continuum of related forms of technology, distribution and exchange; he suggested that the movement from the clan system of organisation at one end of the continuum to the capitalist system at the other end, is a movement from 'equality and unity to inequality and separation' (1984: 37; also in Morris, 1986: 3).

Morris (1986) assessed this distinction in the light of the earliest Greek literary sources and argued that there is no reason to believe that gift can be a primary mechanism only in kinship based, non-state societies. Ancient Greek and Roman societies cannot fit on a simple-complex, natural-political economic scale, like that presented by Gregory. Both kinship and class were active in defining the character of the ancient world. The references to the importance of gift exchange are very clear in the literary sources.

> 'The Archaic Greek case, then, suggests that in a political society gift exchange can flourish as a primary exchange form even within a state system. As the scale and complexity of the state grows, the relative position of the gift and commodity are likely to change, but personification of transactors and the transacted objects through long term social relationships and the gift is not purely a primary feature of clan societies' (Morris, 1986: 7).

Gift exchange entails a competitive aspect as well. Mauss argued that in societies with a rigid hierarchical structure, the exchange of gifts tends to be absent (1970: 91, nt. 68), whereas it flourishes in societies with an unstable clan hierarchy. Gregory (1982: 20) reasserted that point in his observations on the societies of Papua New Guinea. Morris similarly saw gift exchange phenomena as expressions of social and economic instability (1986: 13). Gift exchange as an expression of relations of indebtedness and power has been discussed by Leach (1982a) who summarised his points in the following formulae:

state of indebtedness	= social relationship
payment of debt	= manifestation of relationship
nature of payment	= nature of relationship
reciprocal equal	= equality of status; absence of power flow either way
asymmetrical patterns	= inequality of status; power flow from 'higher' to 'lower'

Figure 3.1: Gift exchange as power and indebtedness, in Leach, 1982a: 59).

Each of the above equations is reversible.

Two other characteristics of the gift exchange tradition should be discussed in relation to the above: the notion of reciprocity and the inalienable quality of the gifts. The 'norm of reciprocity' was seen as the connecting principle of the gift exchange economy. This though has been recently challenged by Weiner (1992) who saw the norm of reciprocity as an ideal projected by the nineteenth century evolutionary beliefs. Therefore, she argued that the social actions are far more dense that the reciprocity rule entails.[11] Consequently, she searched for the social dynamics of 'keeping-while-giving' and how they influence gift exchange. She argued that cosmologies are the cultural resources that societies draw on to reproduce themselves. But these resources are not merely ideologies, located outside the production of material resources. The traditional dichotomy between cosmology or superstructure and the material resources of production and consumption leaves little space to explore the cultural constitutions by which the reproduction of the authority vested in ancestors, gods, myths, and magical properties plays a fundamental role in how production, exchange and kinship are organised. To emphasise and overcome this problem, Weiner uses the term 'cosmological authentication', to amplify how material resources and social practices link individuals and groups with an authority that transcends present social and political action. Because this authority is lodged in past actions or representations and in sacred or religious domains, to those who draw on it, it is a powerful legitimating force. As Beidelman pointed out 'one must understand the cosmology of the people involved so that one has some idea of what they themselves believe they are doing' (quoted in Weiner, 1992: 4-5).

Consequently, Weiner suggested that what motivates reciprocity is the inalienable character of gifts, that is the 'paradox of keeping-while-giving', 'the desire to keep something back from the pressures of give and take' (1992: 43). Mauss had already considered inalienability as a paramount characteristic of gift exchange (1970: 9-10, 18, 24, 31 etc.). Inalienability means that 'the objects are never completely separated from the men who exchange them; the communion and alliance they establish are well-nigh indissoluble' (1970: 31). Weiner pursued this point further and suggested that these objects 'are imbued with the intrinsic and ineffable identities of their owners which are not easy to give away' (1992: 6). Inalienable possessions have a subjective value which is above their exchange value, and thus they serve for the 'cosmological authentication'. Consequently, inalienable possessions, by having a unique character, generate and confirm power and difference. They produce an arena of heterogeneity rather than homogeneous totality. The possession of an inalienable object

authenticates the authority of its owner and affects his other transactions. The ability 'to keep' that object empowers the ability to attract other important gifts. In other words, 'things exchanged are about things kept' (1992: 10).

The inalienable possessions as sources of difference and hierarchy, and as retaining for the future memories of the past, are representations of how social identities are constructed through time. 'The reproduction of kinship is legitimated in each generation through the transmission of inalienable possessions, be they land rights, material objects, or mythic knowledge.' (Weiner, 1992: 11).

The anthropomorphic quality of gifts has also to be related to that aspect of inalienability (Mauss, 1970; Gregory, 1982: 20). According to Mauss, the goods transacted were thought to be persons or pertain to a person; in exchanging something one was in effect exchanging part of oneself. The bonds created by things were thus bonds created between people, since they were parts of the people exchanged through things. One gives away part of his own substance, and receives part of somebody else's nature. This part needs to be reinstalled in his own clan/family/owner; it is not inert. In other words, it is inalienable, cannot be separated from its owner, even though it has been given away (1970: 8-10). (For attribution of the properties of living organisms to objects see also Ellen, 1988: 223ff.)

According to Leach (1982a), pre-eminence in a gift-economy is achieved when asymmetrical patterns in object exchange lead to power 'flowing' from 'higher to lower' (see above). Mauss (1970: 4-5) suggested that the total prestation has an agonistic character. 'Essentially usurious and extravagant, it is above all a struggle among nobles to determine their position in the hierarchy to the ultimate benefit, if they are successful, of their own class.' This agonistic character defines the contexts in which gift exchange appears. The primary contexts seem to have been marriages (for the conceptualisation of marriage itself as a part of the gift exchange tradition see Lévi-Strauss, 1969), funeral games, and guest-friendship arrangements, but also the many other occasions that provide a pretext for prestations.

Destruction of wealth is the occasion *par excellence*. Gregory (1982: 60-1) assumes that the destruction of wealth is the simplest strategy available to an individual who wishes to achieve pre-eminence in a gift society. The most characteristic expression of that is 'potlatch' where men who rival each other in generosity destroy precious objects. This

concerns not only them and the objects involved, but also 'their spirits of the dead which take part in the transactions and whose names the men bear; it concerns nature as well' (Mauss, 1970: 12). Mostly this notion concerns what we call 'sacrifice'. 'Sacrificial destruction implies giving something that is to be repaid' (Mauss, 1970: 14). Mauss further justifies the idea: 'Among the first groups of beings with whom men must have made contracts were the spirits of the dead and the gods. They in fact are the real owners of the world's wealth. With them it was particularly necessary to exchange and particularly dangerous not to; but, on the other hand, with them exchange was easiest and safest.' (Mauss, 1970: 13). Grave goods[12] and sanctuary offerings therefore form destruction of wealth in this sense (Morris, 1986: 9).

To summarise the above points and illustrate the character of gift exchange we can draw the following formulae:

commodity economy	: gift economy
commodity	: gift
alienable	: inalienable
temporary alliance	: perpetual interdependence
relationship between the objects exchanged	: relationship between the subjects exchanging them
equality	: assertions of domination and control
objectification process (things and people assume the social form of objects in a commodity economy)	: personification process (things and people assume the social form of persons in a gift economy)
alien transactors	: related transactors
use value	: symbolic value
profane	: sacred

In other words, the gift exchange tradition (the right column above) defines value and gives material culture a certain character. Firstly, it assumes for material culture the possibility of creating relationships between subjects, of asserting domination and control and of having a symbolic character. Secondly, it assumes that objects can be inalienable, personified and have a symbolic value. Therefore, it is in the gift exchange tradition that we come across the seeds of what we could call (collecting) values, and of what made objects worthy of

collecting. We can also deduce from the above that the context of collections is the context of gift exchange and also one (at least) of the associations/creations of the notion of 'sacred'. Gift exchange is therefore at the heart of the collecting process, since it endows material culture with certain qualities that remain, in substance, the same.[13] It is in gift exchange that objects are endowed with the power to relate people, to be prizes, to be vehicles of memory, to relate people with the 'Other', remote in time or in space, and so on.

III. Vocabulary and institutions of gift in Homer.

We are now going to turn our attention to the vocabulary and institutions of the gift-exchange tradition as these appear in the Homeric epic poetry. We will have the opportunity to search for some of the fundamental notions regarding gifts, their value, and the context where the gift exchange occurs. We are therefore going to examine the social aspect of gift exchange in the Greek world. Many methodological problems surround the Homeric epics. Scholars do not have a uniform view on the subject: some think of them as being representative of the society during the tenth and ninth centuries BCE (Finley, 1979); some others argue for them being an ahistorical melange of elements of the traditions from the thirteenth to the eighth centuries BCE (Snodgrass, 1974). Another suggestion has been that the poems cannot be treated as direct evidence for a particular period, but they are a rather complex transformation of actual facts together with mythological and traditional elements (Morris, 1986). Oral poetry is composed through a long period of time and with a complex system which connects tradition with personal talent, and particular events with 'mythological' ones. Therefore, it needs to be treated with care; nevertheless, Homeric poetry presents a world view which might not correspond to a particular historical period. It does though, provide a reliable picture of the world of Archaic Greece.

The gift exchange system was the basis of all social interaction in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey,* and it operated among strangers and friends, men and gods (Finley, 1979; Langdon, 1987: 109; von Reden, 1994). Heroic/aristocratic life was accompanied by an important circulation of prestige goods. Gift giving was part of the network of competitive honorific activity. One measure of man's true worth was how much he could give away in treasure. Heroes boasted of the gifts they had received and of those they had given as signs of their prowess. Metal objects, chariots, horses, and women were all objects that changed hands as a result of war

or other social circumstances.[14] Their 'participation' in those events added to their intrinsic value, constituted their importance and gave them the status of 'honourable gifts of imperishable fame'. When Telemachus refused Menelaus' offer of horses, the Spartan king countered with the following proposal:

> 'Of the gifts, such as are treasures lying in my house, I will give you the one which is finest and most valuable. I will give you a skilfully wrought bowl; it is all of silver, finished with gold on the rim, the work of Hephaestus. The hero Phaedimus, king of the Sidonians, gave it to me' (*Od.*, IV. 609-619).[15]

A trophy with such a history obviously shed greater glory on both donor and recipient than just any silver bowl, as the armour of Hector was a far greater prize to his conqueror than the arms of one of the lesser Trojans. Status was the chief determinant of values, and status was transmitted from the person to his possessions, adding still more worth to their intrinsic value as gold or silver or fine woven cloth. The possession of these objects of worth, on the other hand, transfered their status to the owner (Scheid-Tissinier, 1994). It was this honourific quality that distinguished the wealth of the heroes, and their almost overpowering accumulative instinct, from the materialistic drives of other classes and other ages (Finley, 1979: 120-1).

Finley (1979), following the traditional ideas about reciprocity, suggested that wealth meant power and direct material satisfaction to Odysseus and his fellow-nobles, and that equation was never absent from their calculations. Apparently, this conclusion is not precise. Recompense for the Homeric heroes was conceived in terms of honour and reinforcement of the network of obligations rather than tangible material profits (see also Weiner's views above). A similar pattern determined relation with the gods. The Homeric gods could mediate for the attainment of humans' goals, if humans in their turn were ready to observe the correct rituals which would stregthen the network of obligations. The poems often echo the belief that good fortune can be obtained through prayers and sacrifice (*Il.*, XXII. 259-61), but also that evil befalls those who fail to maintain their balance with the gods (*Od.*, IV. 351-53). A deity often would initiate the contract (*Il.*, I.212-14), by offering to the mortal material gain (Langdon, 1987: 109; Finley, 1979). The aim was to maintain a social and psychological equilibrium.

From the religious parallel we can reach another point: that of the morality of the material wealth, associated with those noble activities. Objects that have been through this network

of exchanges and have been acquired as a result of a social relation with either a human or a god, were obviously fortified with moral value, that in turn was transferred from the owner to the object and *vice versa*. The reverse was also true, so that when the objects were products of unfair, incomplete, or non-noble transactions, their accumulation was equated to an illicit and punishable act.[16]

Enquiries into the vocabulary used to denote riches in the epics can illuminate what these objects were and what exactly it was that made them valuable. There are two kinds of riches: κειμήλια καί πρόβατα (keimeilia kai provata) (*Od.*, II. 75). The word 'keimeilia' derives from the verb κεῖμαι (*keimai* - to rest) and designates durable and storable valuables only, whereas 'πρόβατα', which comes from the verb προβαίνω (to walk, to proceed), means movable property, i.e. slaves, cattle or any kind of livestock (Benveniste, 1973; also van Wees, 1992: 244). *Keimeilia keitai* (rest) usually (*Il.*, VI. 47; *Od.*, IV. 613; XV.101; XXI.10) in the *thalamos* (θάλαμος) of the palace. The frequent presence next to the word *keimeilia* of the words πολλά καί ἔσθλά (polla ke esthla - many and good of their kind[17]) denotes the abundance and richness of these treasuries, as well as the importance that the possession and keeping of these objects had for the owner as indications of wealth and distinction. A common formula when these objects are discussed is that they are made of gold, bronze or iron[18] (*Il.*, XVIII.289). Symbols of wealth, then, these objects frequently qualify as ἄγαλμα (*agalma*). This term means the object which offers pleasure both to the person who gives it as well as to the person who takes it (*Od.*, XVIII. 300; XIX. 257; IV. 602; *Il.*, IV.144ff) (for discussion see Gernet, 1981; Scheid-Tissinier, 1994: 42-3). In its most ancient usage this word implies the idea of value. It can refer to all kinds of objects, even humans, as long as they can be considered 'precious'. Most often it refers to aristocratic wealth (horses are *agalmata*). Its etymology from the verb '*agallein*', which means both to adorn and to honour, is indicative; applied especially to the category we have been examining, it refers to personal objects and furnishings. We should add that in the classical period the verb regularly refers to the offerings to gods, especially such objects as statues of the divinity (Gernet, 1981: 77).

Another word used to describe these objects is the word κτηματα (Scheid-Tissinier, 1994: 45). This derives from the verb κτάομαι (to acquire), and thus it accentuates the idea of 'acquisition', that is of things acquired as a result of war, games, or gift-giving - never that of commercial gain (Gernet, 1981: 76). Κτήματα also include women (*Il.*, V. 480-1; *Od.*,

XVIII. 144; XXIV. 459). These κτηματα are found in the *thalamos*, the most secret and sacred part of the house; they are the prestige objects that belong to the warrior and indicate his rank and wealth. They constitute, according to Gernet, 'un trésor royal, dépôt de richesses, dépôt d' agalmata' (1981: 96-7 and 129-130). They are the very objects that accompany the warrior in his tomb (Scheid-Tissinier, 1994: 48).

The word *thalamos* itself is indicative too. Besides being the treasury of the palace,[19] the same word is used for the women's quarters.[20] Sometimes the word denotes the young girl's room before her wedding (*Od.*, VII.7), sometimes the nuptial chamber or couch (*Il.*, XVIII.492; Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, 2.60), whereas the verb θαλαμεύω (thalamevo) means to marry (Heliodorus, 4.6). Vernant (1983: 149-150) discusses the use of the word in his presentation of the dichotomy between interior and exterior space. He argues that women are associated with the accumulation and storing of goods, and the men with acquiring them. In Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* (7.20-21, 25, 35-36; 7.33) the model wife is compared to the queen bee who dwells in the hive watching over the honey collected in the honeycombs (also called *thalamos* or *thalame*) (see pages 95-96, where discussion of the word *θησαυρός*). Other similar associations regarding the role of women and material culture include the assimilation of the *thalamos* with women's lap, or even their stomach (as in Hesiod, who presents the woman as seated inside, storing the riches that the husband brings directly in the depths of her stomach - *Theogony*, 598-599) (Vernant, 1983: 149).[21]

Thalamos has also a series of other meanings revealed in the discussion of mythology (see Gernet, 1981). It is represented as an underground chamber, and the legend of Danaos has preserved its mythical connotations (Sophocles, *Antigone*, 947). The same implications are true for the *thalamos* of Aietes (Pindar, *Pyth.* IV. 160), the keeper of the Golden Fleece. For Mimnermus (frg. 11.5ff) there is a golden *thalamos* 'in which the rays of the sun repose'. Euripides (frg. 781) speaks of a *thalamos* where the king, the alleged father of Phaethon, keeps his gold locked up, and where the body of Phaethon himself (in reality, the son of the Sun) is placed at the tragedy's conclusion. The queen, according to Euripides, has the keys to it. In a parallel fashion, Athena, Zeus' daughter, has the keys to the treasury where Zeus' thunderbolt is kept (Aeschylus, *Eumen.* 826-8). The idea of royal treasury is based on a belief in protective sacra, which are kept in a secret corner, guarded by a mythical king or king-god (Gernet, 1981: 101). The same term is also used for the funeral chamber of the tomb (Scheid-Tissinier, 1994: 48; Vernant, 1983: 148ff).

Another term associated with precious objects is γέρας, which means prize object. It is often accompanied by the verbs 'ἀπηύρα' and 'ἄγετο', meaning 'to carry away', to indicate the fact that they are trophies (e.g. *Il.,* XXIII.560; XXIII.800; XXIII.808; XXIII.829). The terms appear in contexts of honourable competition, be it war or games. The γερας is the prize the hero gets, the symbol of his prowess and part of the honour bestowed on him because of his success. Thus there is association with the competitive aspect of gift exchange, and the social context where this tradition appears (Scheid-Tissinier, 1994: 60).

It is possible to distinguish, therefore, the following three categories into which objects should belong in order to be valuable and in consequence to deserve to be treasured (Scheid-Tissinier, 1994). The first depends on the rank of the persons in whose hands the objects circulated (e.g. *Il.,* VII. 149; XI. 20-23; XV. 532; XXIII. 745; *Od.,* IV. 125-6; IV. 617-8; XXI. 31-33). This gave to objects a similar status to that of their proprietors; they were personified, they acquired an almost civic status (the one the proprietors had).

The second category consisted of objects which descended from a god. This meant prestige for the family, which was thus supposed to have divine origin and, consequently, be in special relationship with the divine. Therefore, in this case the emphasis lies on the political aspect of gift exchange, as well as on the competitive character of it (e.g. *Il.,* V. 266; XVI. 381 and 867; XXIII. 277-8, II. 827; VII. 146; XVIII. 84; XXIV. 74-5).

> 'Then among them lord Agamemnon uprose, bearing in his hands the sceptre which Hephaistus had wrought with toil. Hephaistus gave it to king Zeus, son of Cronos, and Zeus gave it to the messenger Argeïphontes; and Hermes, the lord, gave it to Pelops, driver of horses, and Pelops in turn gave it to Atreus, shepherd of the host; and Atreus at his death left it to Thyestes, rich in flocks, and Thyestes again left it to Agamemnon to bear, that so he might be lord of many isles and of all Argos'. (*Il.,* II. 100-7).[22]

This was another aspect of the prestigious genealogy, and had to do with the relation with the 'Other'; furthermore, this was a way of legitimatisation for the dominant families, and a medium of practising power over people. The linear syntax used to express the change of hands of objects also indicates a long line of prestigious ancestors.

The third category belongs to the most interesting notion of γέρας (prize object). This is also related to the competitive aspect of gift exchange, and is indicative of the social contexts for the exchange of gifts. Furthermore, immediately related to the above is the category that can be described by the notion of μνῆμα, which means vehicle of memory (remembrance, memorial, but in modern Greek also tomb). This relates to the inalienability of gifts as bearers of individual and communal identity (e.g. *Il.*, XXIII. 619) - also:

> 'Lo, I too give thee this gift, dear child, a remembrance of the hands of Helen, against the day of thy longed-for marriage, for thy bride to wear it' (*Od.*, XV. 126-7).
>
> 'This bow (the one that Iphitus gave to Odysseus) goodly Odysseus, when going forth to war, would never take with him on the black ships, but it lay in his halls at home as a memorial of a dear friend, and he carried it in his own land'. (*Od.*, XXI. 38-41).[23]

Another important aspect of this is the possibility inherent in objects, that they serve as exemplars - especially in the case of the arms which were booty of war and could serve to commemorate the ancestors' glorious deeds as examples for new generations. This again relates to inalienability and the creation of identity.

Consequently, these objects which were qualified as prestige items, are, on the one hand, preserved in the palace treasury, and on the other, 'are used', in the sense that they 'take part' in events that constitute the life of heroes, they circulate. It was precisely this circulation in violent or peaceful events that gave them a prestige which took them to another dimension. It was the will to circulate and become vehicles of memories and of the myths that gave these objects their value. In other words, the objects in this sense are also considered to be in a position to legitimise and materialise events and relations.

IV. Vocabulary and institutions of gift in mythology.

The above discussion aimed to highlight the social value attributed to objects when they participated in the social contexts of gift exchange, as these appear in the Homeric world. Now, our interest will focus on another 'kind' of value, similar but not quite identical with

the symbolic one that we have associated with gift exchange, the one that Gernet has termed 'mythic value' (1968; English translation 1981).

He defines this not as an abstract and measurable notion that rests on economic criteria, but as a 'preferential value embodied in certain objects, a value that not only predates economic value but is its very precondition' (1981: 77). It has to do with an object of respect, even fear, with the source of interests, attachments, or pride. It also presupposes or signifies a psychological tone more elevated, more diffused, than in our human nature (1981: 73). Gernet believes that the mythical notion of value tends to be total, and it touches the 'whole ensemble of economy, religion, politics, law, aesthetics' (1981: 101). It is his belief that the concept of value is mythical in its mode of thought, a creation of imagination (also Pearce, 1995: 255).

Gernet chooses to discuss myths as a mediating factor of value. He assesses myths to be general representations that belong to a society, contribute to its definition, and constitute for it the necessary framework of all its thought. In addition, Gernet believes that myths can be particularly useful for the study of the function of symbols (1981: 74). Myths convey both the symbolic value of the objects and their mythic value. Values are constructed as parts of social mechanisms designed to enhance specific social groups' dominance. They are neither 'revealed', nor 'natural' (Pearce, 1995: 304 and 307). Myths are used to legitimise that dominance, to persuade one of those values' 'natural' and 'self-evident' importance; they are used to conceal the game of domination and control. Gift exchange, therefore, being a social phenomenon, with special reference to notions of domination and control, initiated value assumptions, which were legitimised through myths. This is where social values are becoming norms (see chapter 1 on theoretical approaches and Barthes[24]). On the other hand, myths are the natural habitat of mythic concepts, which humans find difficult to apprehend, or which they need to mediate their encounter with the supernatural.

Gernet, therefore, employs myths in his attempt to divulge the origins of value. The myths that he considers all reveal similar patterns: (a) the tripod of the seven sages: brings forward the notion of award, the pattern of successive ownership of the object, the importance of the object as a product of luxurious human industry, but also with religious connotations (possibly due to the very fact that it is a product of the luxurious human industry), its role in relations of antagonism (relations of power); (b) the necklace of Eriphyle reveals the

talismanlike nature of object, its role in transfer and installation of royal power, but also the mythic notion of danger associated with it; (c) the ring of Polycrates underlines the role of certain objects as symbols of wealth (the seal ring is particularly so in Myceanaen Greece, as the archaeological discoveries from tombs also emphasise), while it makes the point about objects having a necessary relationship with the world beyond and arising from it - with this seems to be related the idea of throwing precious objects into the water, whose re-emergence might be a bad sign. Finally, (d) the myth of the Golden Fleece brings forth the idea of the protective sacra guarded by a king or king god, along with the need of holding certain objects as essential symbols of power and royal control.

Treasure therefore, is a social reality, but also a mythic reality (Gernet, 1981: 100). The social reality is governed by rules of conduct deriving from the gift exchange tradition. Consequently, the objects can be distinguished between those which can be termed commodities, and those that are valuable, not related to profane, ordinary activities, but associated with the 'noble commerce'. They are objects given as 'prizes' in different circumstances: customary gifts, gifts of hospitality, ransoms, offerings to the gods, funeral offerings, and objects placed in tombs of leading men. These objects circulate in contexts of competitive (agonistic) gift exchange - and thus are categorised differently and contrasted with the 'inferior' category of commodities. These valuables - the products and means of social events - are κτήματα, i.e. strictly speaking property, that may follow the owner to the tomb (Gernet, 1981: 75-6); in other words, inalienable.

In purely economic terms, these objects, due to the technical skills required in their manufacture and the extensive trading links that they presuppose, characterise classic chiefly, redistributive economies which centre on god-descended princely families and their immediate retainers. They live all together in the royal hall, where the objects themselves are hoarded and distributed, and where everything of importance takes place. The royal hoard is constantly depleted as gifts are given away, and can be replenished only by constant warfare against similar royal houses; political fortunes, therefore, flow with the ability to attract substantial numbers of warriors and keep them fed and rewarded, and consequently, power is in a perpetual state of flux. In this kind of community, therefore, together with kinship, honourable gifts constituted perhaps the most significant social bond (Pearce, 1995: 71); this answers the question of why particular objects seem to be chosen in order to participate in these transactions.

In parallel with this social character, the valuables also have a mythic reality. They are full of magical properties, they function as talismans, and they relate with the 'Other', the world beyond, often directly. The idea of royal treasury, of the storehouses of riches and *agalmata*, is based on the belief in protective sacra. The earth is generally considered keeper of treasure - possibly in relation to the burying of the dead,[25] but also in association with religious practices related with chthonic religion. Direct association with the earth and the chthonic deities who live there can be dangerous or beneficial. Placing a child on the ground may cause death or immortality. There were two practices with which immortality could be bestowed on a child: by 'hiding' it in fire, and in the earth (as Medea did: κατακρυπτεία - katakrupteia).[26] It is obvious that the two rites correspond to each other and are in contrast, exactly as were the two forms of funerary deposition that the Greeks used. In the Greek world, the dead are sometimes 'hidden in the fire' (incineration), sometimes in the ground (internment). In both cases, they have to disappear from this world, so that they can pass to the other world (Vernant, 1983: 154). A similar practice, which supports this belief (along with the personification of objects, and the transference of the practices that we are discussing from the private context to the sanctuary, public context) is the burial of the 'old' votives of a sanctuary, to dispose of them.

Sea, similarly, is whence precious artefacts usually derive. When the object is a tripod - as, for instance, in the myth of the seven Sages - the standard theme is that it was discovered in the sea and brought back in a fisherman's net. The sea is also where the god is carried or cast up, the dead man is raised to the status of hero, the child hero and the chest where he is placed travel... (Gernet, 1981: 80). A common motif of myths is also that the object is a gratuitous gift from the world beyond; or that the object is divine in origin and has been fashioned by Hephaestus. *Agalmata*, furthermore, may be in contact with cult instruments and thus acquire prestige. For instance, the cup in legend is usually a *phiale* (libation cup), or garments, which have a very ancient role to play in religion (1981: 102-3). Nevertheless, the relation between religious value and intrinsic value is also reversible: it is not only because an object has a religious use that it has value; it is also because it is precious that it can be consecrated (1981: 103). Classic examples of this attitude are the *larnax* (chest where infant heroes or gods were exposed,[27] now holding *agalmata*) and the tripod.

The votive tripod had a continuous presence since the Mycenaean terracotta versions, through to the bronze forms that became common during the Geometric period (Snodgrass, 1980). The bronze tripods with ring handles that survive from earlier periods come from domestic and tomb contexts, not shrines (there are ten examples known, see Langdon, 1987: nt. 4). In the Homeric poetry, bronze tripods are very prominent gifts; they appear as the first prize in the funeral games of Patroclus, as the guest-gifts taken home from Odysseus, and as the appeasement offered to Achilles by Agamemnon. Tripods began as cooking pots, utilitarian, scarcely decorated artefacts; they soon acquired prominence through their presence in feasts, where they were expected to grace the table. The feasts were usually accompanied by games, and the tripods became convenient prizes and therefore the symbol of athletic victory. However, since a tripod's shape was awkward, and not easy to carry away, dedicating it to the local sanctuary was a simple and honourable way to dispose of it without actually losing it completely (Benton, 1934-1935: 114-115).[28] This practical interpretation of the transition from the utilitarian role of the tripod to the ritual one, can be complemented with a symbolic aspect as well. Participating in the ceremonies of the heroic world, the tripod acquired a direct linkage with their values and social practices, which eventually made it the most appropriate category of object to operate as a transitional medium, through which the social rituals of the aristocratic world were transferred to the social organisation as this changed shape in the following periods. The impetus thus was both political and religious: on the one hand, being a familiar practice, the gift exchange to the gods reassured the social security, status, legitimacy, proof of class, and claims to power. On the other, it was a custom based on the secular past, and as such familiar and socially acceptable.

Having this double identity, the social and the mythic, *agalmata* are particularly important for those who claim religious or political authority. Tyrants, especially, who need to appropriate mythical thought to bolster their authority, are particularly concerned about objects. They need them to justify their role and relation to the 'Other', the source of power (see also the chapter about Cicero and Verres).

To illustrate the double role of the object and its relation to value, Gernet uses the epithet *timeeis*. The complex notion of *time* (τιμή) (honour, social prerogative, religious quality) is concentrated on the specialised notion of the 'precious'. Therefore, this represents a turning point: the same object is charged with mythical potential, but also represents what might be

called external signs of wealth. From its origins and constant associations, however, it reveals a mode of thought in which the objects mentioned above are not merely signifiers of wealth; they have a mysterious power embodied in them as well (1981: 103-4).

We can present the practice which resulted from this mind set (evident in myths) regarding objects as follows:

precious objects	: ordinary objects, like cattle, cows, corn...
gold/bronze/stones...	: organics and iron
inorganics dug out	: organics growing up
Athena/Hephaistus/Demeter	: Persephone[29]
divine	: mundane
death (d)	: life (living)
sacred/royal power	: ordinary people
larnax (which can be used as a coffin)	: open storage
valuable	: not very valuable
enduring	: consumable
keimelia	: *provata*
sacred	: profane
collections	: non collections

We can summarise the above by structuring the parameters of value we have been discussing into two axes, the gift : commodity axis and the sacred : profane axis. The four quarters that these create structure the ancient (but also the amazingly contemporary) ideas and hierarchies of value. In the gift/sacred quarter are included objects that serve as *agalma;* tripods, jewellery, *phiale*, collections, in other words objects that appear both in the mythic reality and in the social context of gift exchange. In the gift/profane quarter belong objects like horses, and women; in other words, precious in the sense that they can be exchanged between nobles/kings and serve to retain social relationships, but which do not claim divine origins and canonistic value. The sacred/commodity quarter is where the 'ordinary' votive offerings can be located: clay figurines, for example, or objects that can be purchased around the sanctuary, made locally, without claims for prestigious genealogy, sanctity, or antiquity, but merely tokens of piety. Finally, in the profane/commodity quarter all the objects intended and appreciated for their 'use' are included. Here we can find all sorts of vessels,

even tripods, when they were merely cooking-pots, cattle and cows, organics, in other words 'ordinary objects' (figures 3.2 and 3.3).

This structure can be taken one step further in figure 3.4. There the persons involved in each of the valuations we discussed in the previous figures can take their own place on the two axes. We reach therefore some very interesting equations. In the gift/sacred quarter we find gods, who have direct access to the sacred, the divine and the dead, the valuable, the objects with mythic value; king-warriors and king-gods, who have the power to safeguard the prestigious items of mythic value; the dragon or snake, who protects the sacra; and the collector, who safeguards the collection, for good or for bad, as a warrior-king or a dragon himself. In the gift/profane quarter nobles and heroes find their place, that is people who participate in the social dimension of the gift exchange but do not have direct access to the sacred. In the sacred/commodity quarter, pious people and priests have direct access, whereas in the profane/commodity quarter all the other, ordinary people, are included.

V. Sanctuaries: treasures in treasuries.

Having discussed the institutions and vocabulary of value as this was shaped in the Homeric epic poetry and the mythological tradition, we are now going to focus on the development and survival of these notions in the Geometric sanctuaries of Greece. The princely *thalamos* that Homer has described for us was gradually replaced by other forms of the same notion, communal treasuries in the new centres of Hellenism and power.

A mixture of art and historical material was arranged in and around the buildings of the sanctuaries, devoted (donated) by people who wanted to commemorate their deeds and their names, and thus legitimise the social hierarchy that (was) supported (by) them. The construction in Panhellenic sanctuaries in the eighth century BCE onwards of large monuments is related to a process of institutionalisation of religion empowered by the creation of city-states (see de Polignac, 1995; also Morgan, 1990: 5). Sanctuaries, therefore, became the arenas where practices and ideologies of the aristocratic world were transferred, as a result of changing circumstances. The holdings of the sanctuaries came to represent frozen an immobile wealth, to be admired but not consumed; a kind of conspicuous

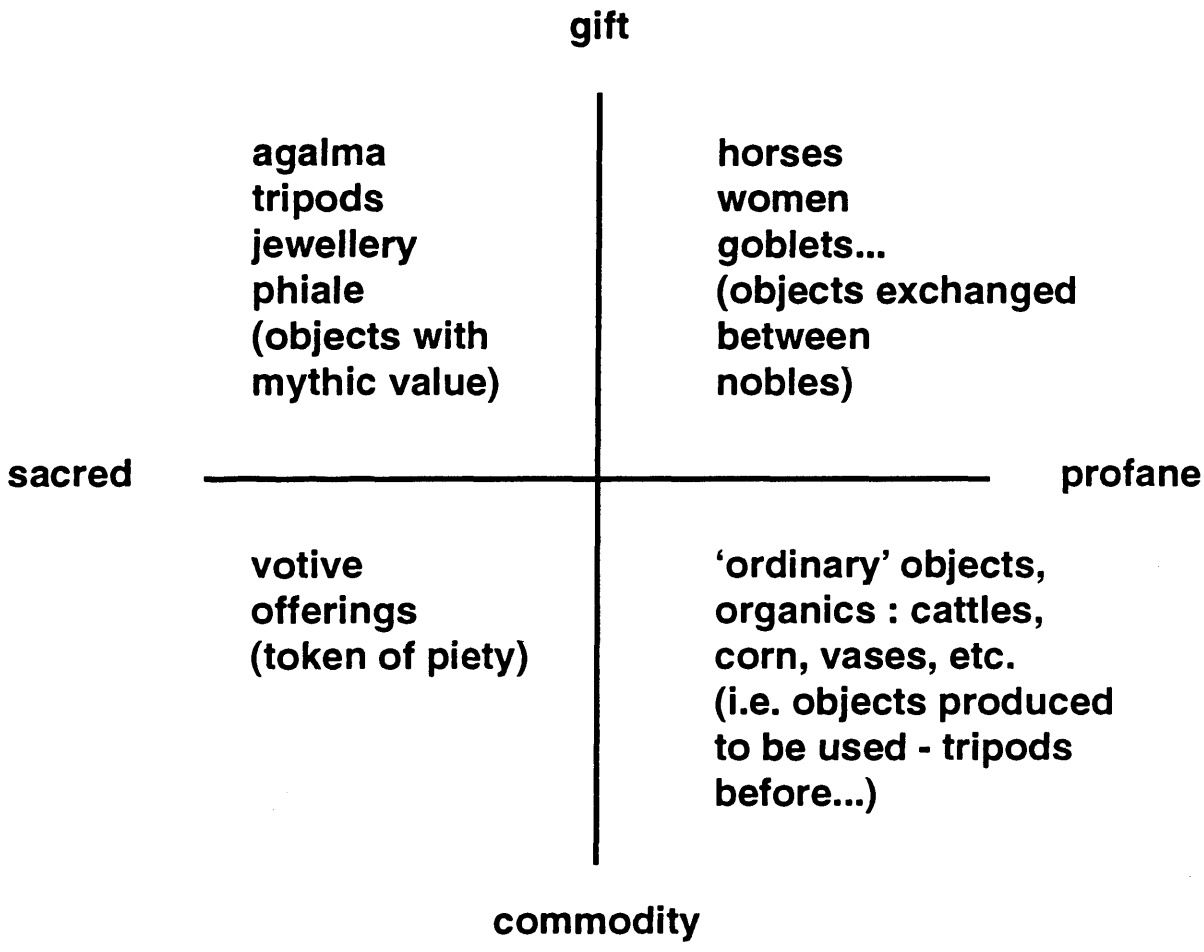


Fig. 3.2: Structuring the parameters of value according to the gift: commodity, and sacred: profane axes, I.

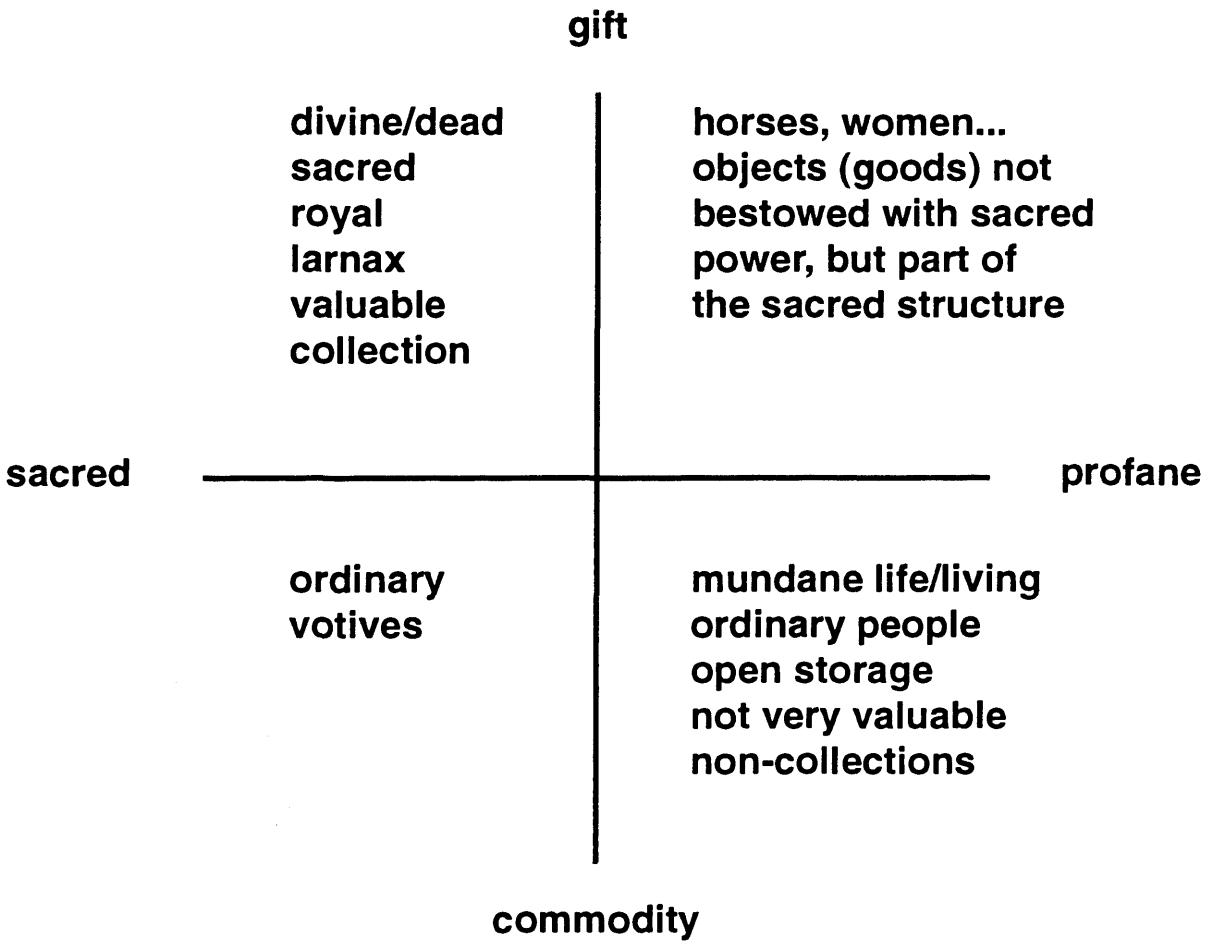


Fig. 3.3: Structuring the parameters of value according to the gift:commodity, and sacred:profane axes, II.

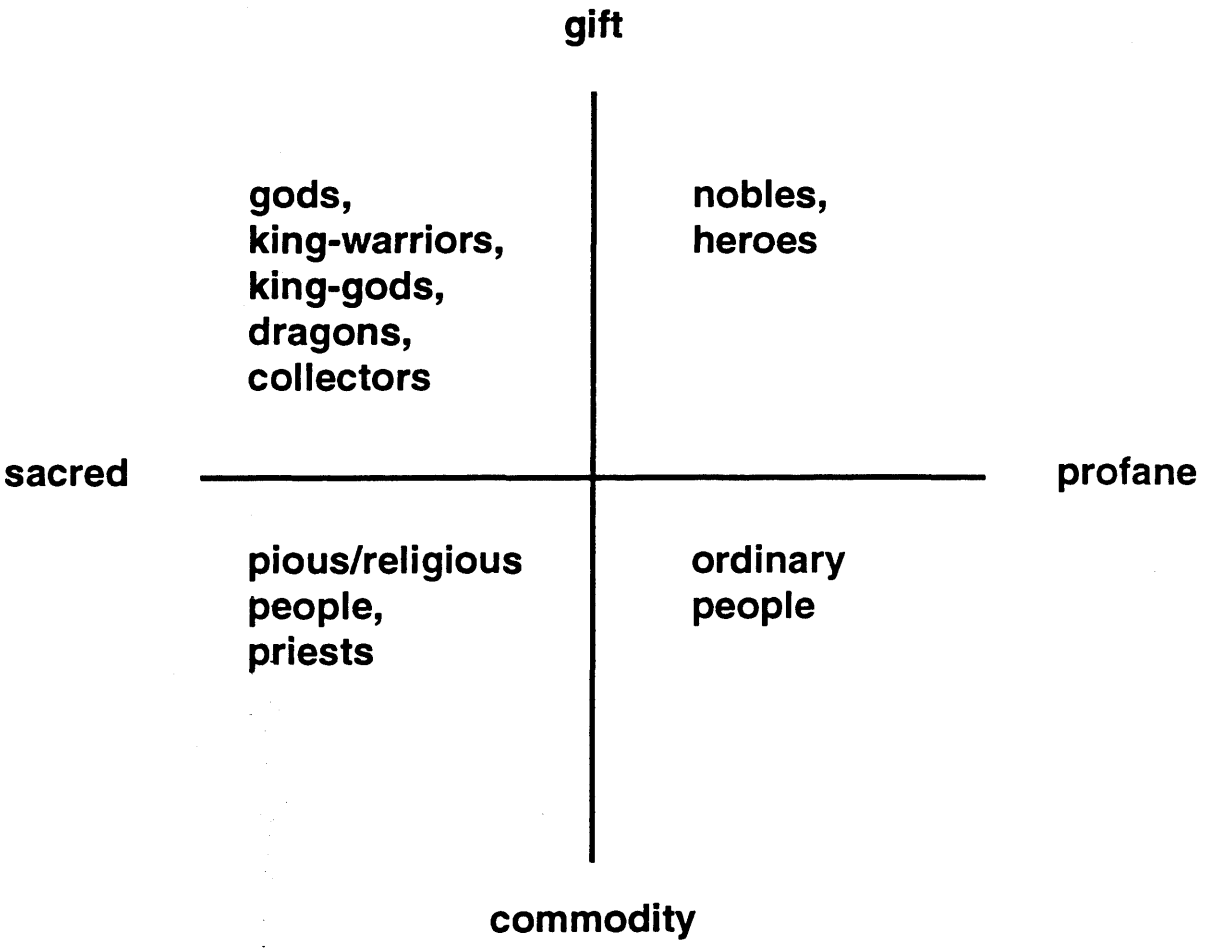


Fig. 3.4: Structuring the parameters of value according to the gift: commodity, and sacred: profane axes, III.

consumption, expected to be 'repaid' in terms of status, legitimacy, proof of class and of claims to rule and domination (see also Pearce, 1995: 90; Burkert, 1987: 49).

Snodgrass (1980) analyses the deposits of bronze goods in important sanctuaries from the eleventh century to the eighth century and reported a considerable increase in bronze dedications which coincided, as Morris' research suggested, with a decline in grave goods in many areas, where the city-state was gaining precedence, around 700 BCE (Morris, 1992). Morris further argued that this transition, which is evident in the archaeological record, is a clear example of change from gifts-to-men to gifts-to-gods, in the context of destruction of wealth. He associated this with the need of aristocratic competition to be represented as having a wider communal value at a time of great social stress, i.e. as the result of a profound structural change in society, empowered by the creation of the *poleis* (Morris, 1986). The arguments that Morris offered to support his thesis are two: firstly, the word *agalma*, which from being a term denoting the 'precious' in the gift exchange tradition of the Homeric society, is transferred in the context of sanctuaries to mean the offering in general from the fifth century onwards (and gradually in modern Greek simply the statue); secondly, the inscriptions found in abundance in sanctuaries made sure that the donors' names would be commemorated, serving, that is, the need to impress and to compete, but also to assure the return of the gift.

Indeed, these are not the only arguments that can be put forward to support this thesis. The building of treasuries within the sanctuary enclosures make the same point and even elaborate it for the purposes of this chapter; we can argue that treasuries are expressions of the tradition of gift exchange, in so far as they are also associated with mythic values and concerns. Treasuries monumentalise the transition from gifts-to-men to gifts-to-gods and bear both the social/political set of values of gift exchange, as well as the mythic parameters of value, i.e. qualities that people cannot comprehend and thus attribute to mythic/religious spheres.

The treasuries were small scale, temple-like buildings, with a porch and an inner room of similar width behind (plates 3.1 and 3.2). Most (but not all) had porches consisting of two (usually but not always Doric) columns between the forward continuations of the side walls. In Delphi, we have examples of more elaborate buildings, like the Siphnian treasury, which had two Caryatids at the entrance (pl. 3.3).

Plate 3.1: Ground plan of the treasury of the Cnidians, Delphi (reconstructed by Tournaire, 1902).

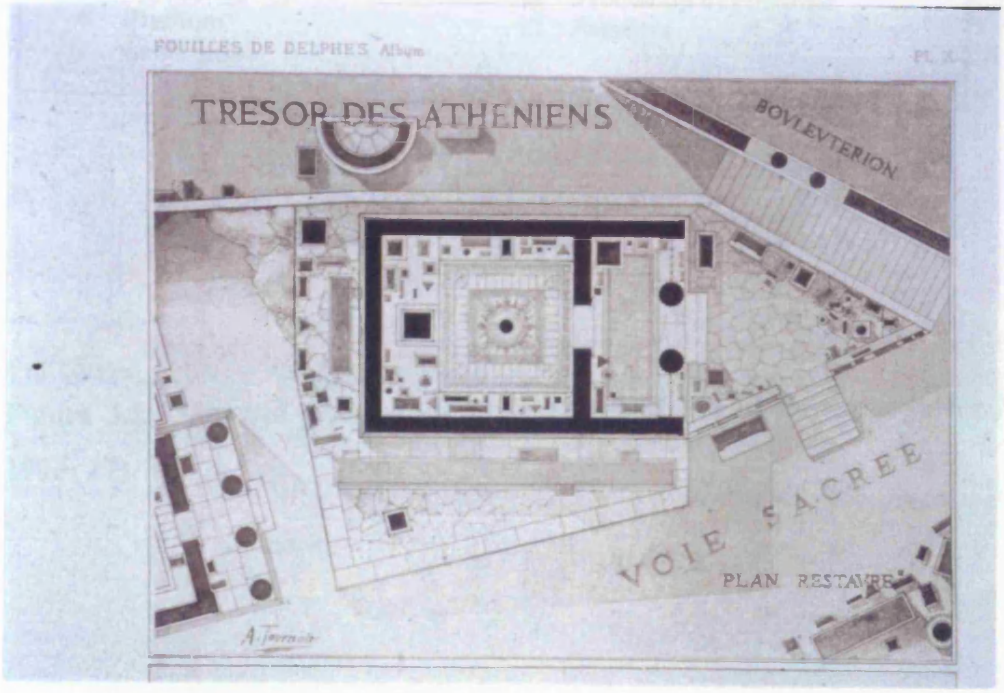


Plate 3.2: Ground plan of the treasury of the Athenians, Delphi (reconstructed by Tournaire, 1902).

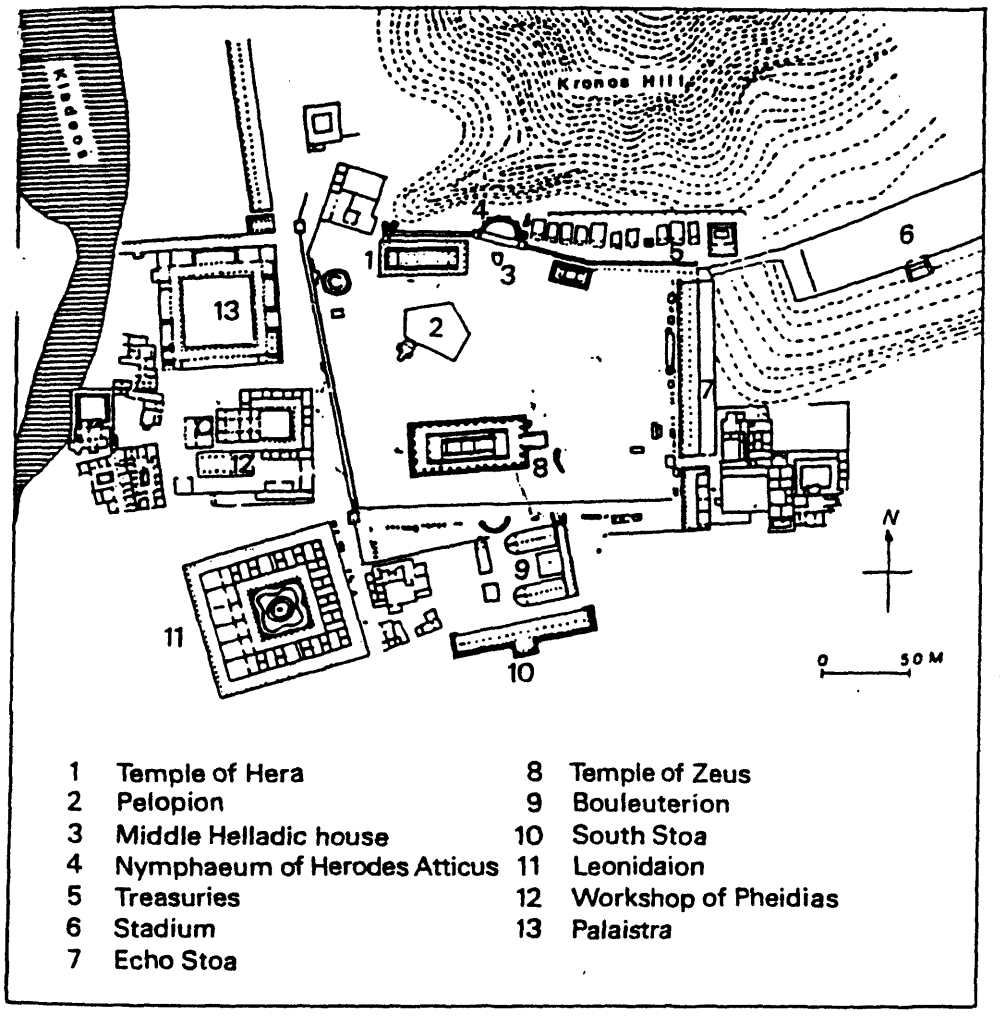
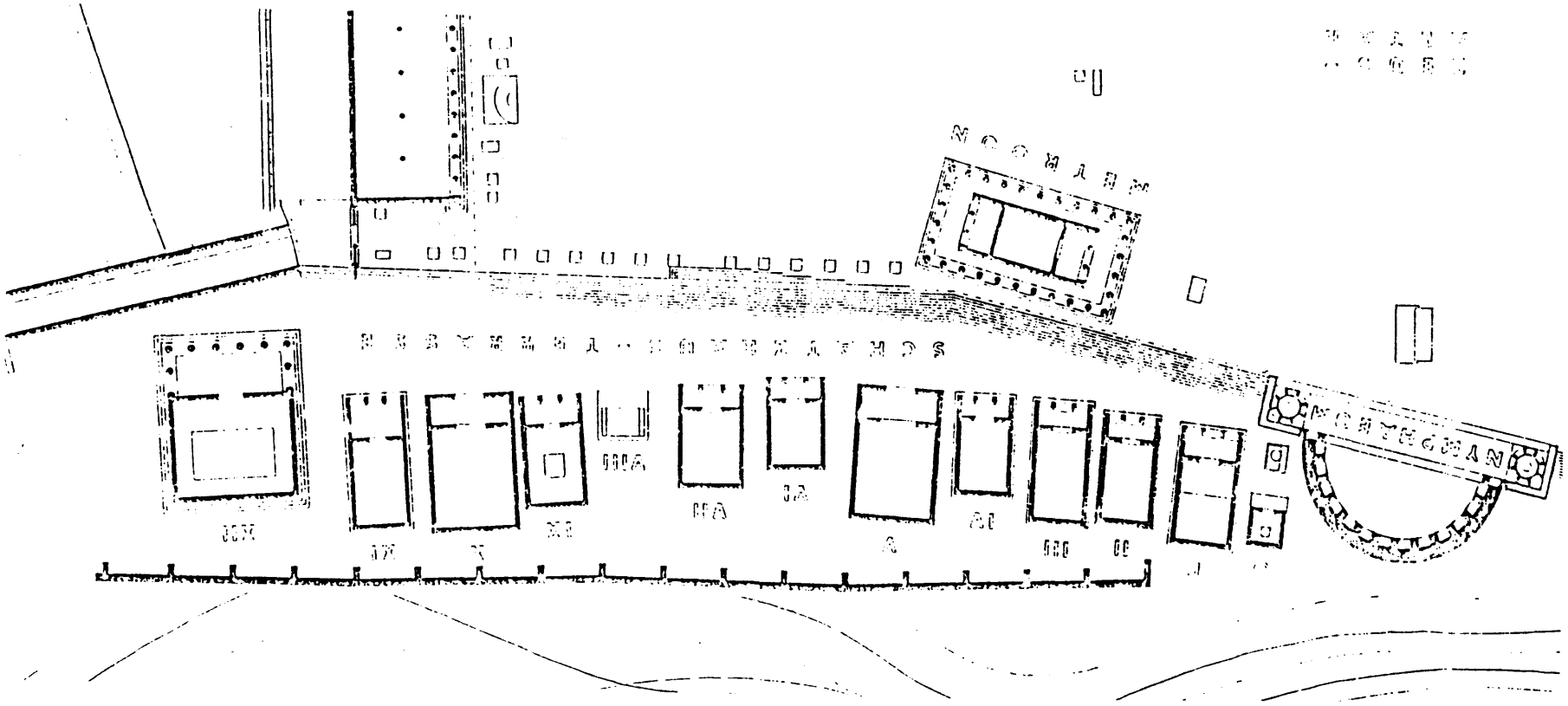


Figure 3.5: Ground plan of the archaeological site of Olympia (after Morgan, 1990: 27).

In Olympia the treasuries stood on a low terrace which was raised above the general level of the sanctuary along its northern end and placed between the temple and the approach to the stadium (fig. 3.5). Archaeologists uncovered remains of twelve treasuries, but Pausanias mentions only ten, possibly because by his time two of them already had been demolished (to make way for a new road leading from the Altis to the Hill of Cronus). Ten of the twelve treasuries have been identified. They are all Dorian (Drees, 1968). The three oldest were dedicated by Greek colonies in the west, two from Italy (Sybaris and Metapontium), one from Sicily (Gela). The other sixth-century examples were built by Epidauros, Cyrene, Selinus and Megara. The row thus was almost completed by the end of the sixth-century; of the later treasuries, that of Byzantium was placed in an apparently vacant space between that of Epidauros and that of Sybaris; the other two (Sicyon and Syracuse) were placed at the beginning of the line. One more dated from the sixth century, the seventh in the sequence from east to west, which is of unknown dedication. Although archaeologists disagree about the identification and the exact date of each of the treasuries,[30] they agree that their date ranges from the seventh to the sixth centuries BCE (fig. 3.6). The treasuries were depleted by the time Pausanias saw them in 173/4 CE. Then, in the third century CE, when the Altis was reduced in size, they were demolished, and the stones and rubble used to build a new wall to protect the sanctuary against the assaults of the Heruli. Consequently, only the foundations were discovered by archaeologists (Drees, 1968: 120-1), and nothing of their contents.

Ancient sources attest to thirteen treasuries at Delphi: those of Sicyon, Siphnos, Thebes, Athens, Knidos, Potidaia, Syracuse, Corinth, Brasidas and the Akanthians, Clazomenai, Massilia and Rome, Agylla (Caere) and Spina.[31] Within the walled boundary of the sanctuary though, excavators found twenty three possible treasury foundations, and two more in the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia. Of these the identification of only one - that of Athens[32] - has never been challenged or doubted. In antiquity the Delphian treasuries were famous: they attracted offerings even by 'barbarians', such as the kings of the Lydians, Gyges and Croesus (Herodotus, I.14; I.50-51; also Parke, 1984). They were mentioned by Euripides (*Andromache,* 1092-1095), and Strabo (9. 419), who associates the greatness of the sanctuary with them. They were built in as a conspicuous place as possible, along the Via Sacra. They also date to around the sixth century BCE (Rups, 1986: 92-3) (fig. 3.7, and plate 3.4).



Delos is a very well documented sanctuary since many of the sanctuary inventories were found *in situ*. In a number of these records, buildings called 'oikoi' are listed. Some of them bear the name of cities and seem to be treasuries. They are the 'oikoi' of the Naxians, of the Karystians, of the Delians, and of the Andrians (Rups, 1986: 172). An 'oikos' of the Lydians is also mentioned in inscriptions (Couch, 1929: 70). There are two main problems related to these buildings and their identification as treasuries: firstly, since we have here no record like that by Pausanias, the identification of certain ruins and inscriptions with certain buildings and the determination of their nature becomes difficult; this is more so since the remainder of the treasury-like buildings do not bear the names of cities, but are identified according to their contents or location: the oikos with the paintings by Colotes (Picard, 1946), or the oikos near the Diadoumenos, and so on. Secondly, the use of the term 'oikos', instead of treasury, opens up the buildings to other uses and possible explanations (there is extensive discussion on this by Dyer, 1905). As far as the contents of these buildings are concerned, the oikos of the Andrians, according to the inventories, was a mere storehouse (with scrap metal, utensils, minor votives and building material listed as deposited in it), rather than a museum as we would imagine. Rups (1986: 180-5) offers two possible explanations for this: either that the 'oikos' did not belong to the Andrians any more (the inventories date to the third century BCE) - due to their losing power - and, therefore, their treasury was used by the sanctuary authorities as a common store-house; or that all treasuries were like that, but ancient writers and *periegetes* only mention the most impressive of the items in them. Dyer (1905) on the other hand, offers another alternative suggesting that the role of the treasuries was not to hold material, but also - or mainly - to be the meeting place of citizens of certain *poleis*, in a way to serve as embassies. Of course, both lines of argument can be true, since the role of the treasuries might have been changed since they were originally built. In any case, it is unlikely that these buildings were temples in the functional sense (Tomlinson, 1976: 74). They date to the seventh or sixth century BCE.[33]

Treasuries were not limited to Olympia, Delphi, and Delos. Archaeologists have uncovered at other sites buildings that share the *templum-in-antis* ground plan, and the size and/or the conspicuous location we usually associate with treasuries, and have accordingly but hesitantly labelled them as such. We lack any background information about these structures, and do not know who dedicated them, or why. Moreover, it would be very daring to associate every building that conforms to the ground plan we have come to associate with

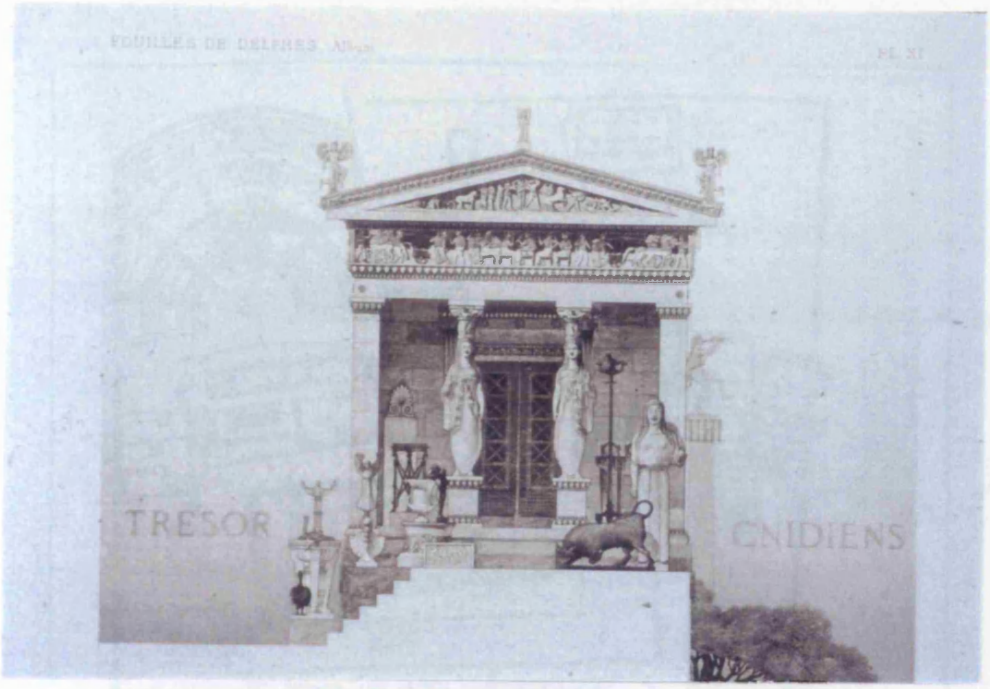


Plate 3.3: Reconstruction of the façade of the Siphnian treasury, with Karyatides, Delphi (after Tournaire, 1902).

Plate 3.4: Reconstruction of the ancient site of Delphi (after Tournaire, 1902).

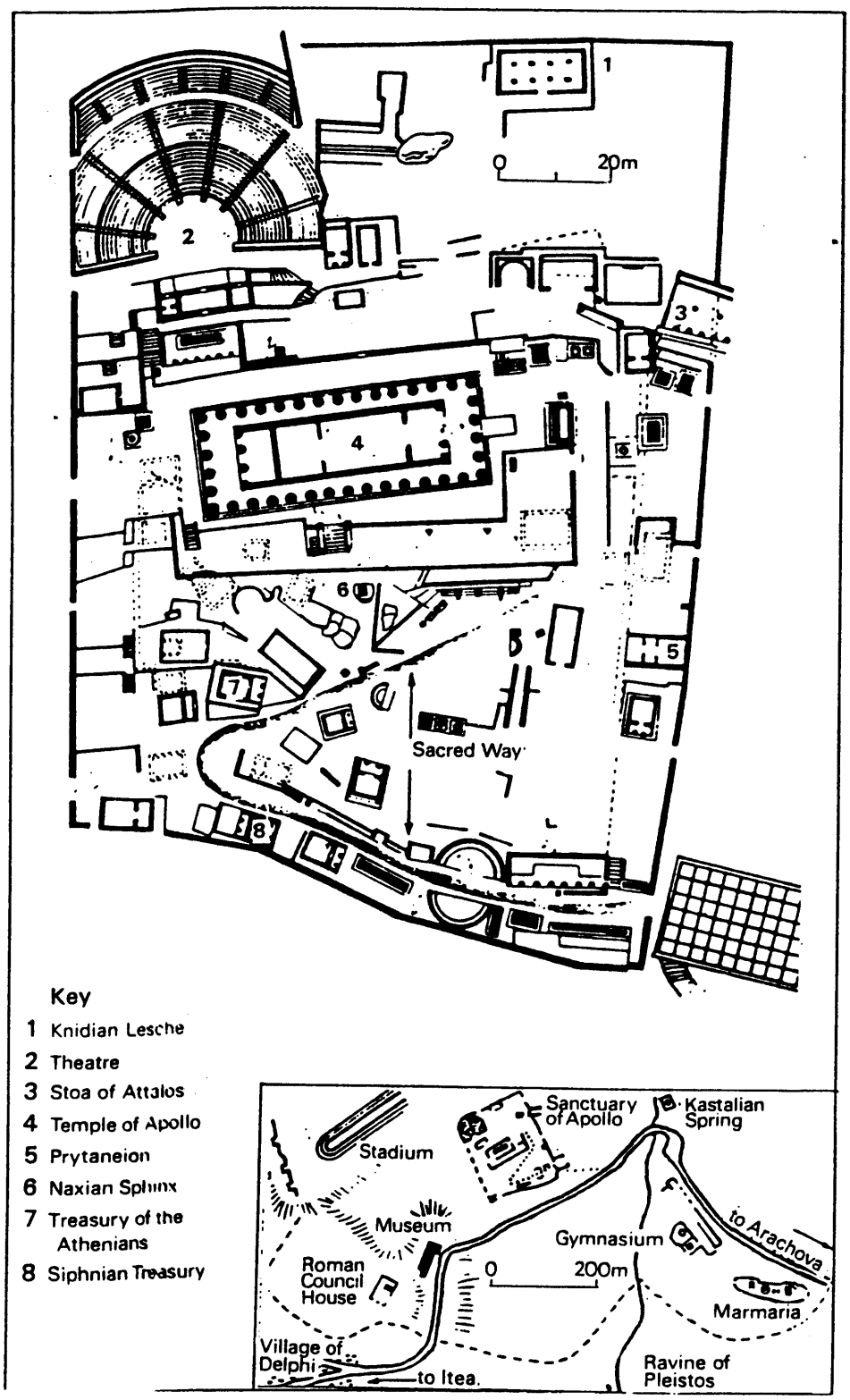


Figure 3.7: Ground plan of the archaeological site of Delphi (after Morgan, 1990: 128).

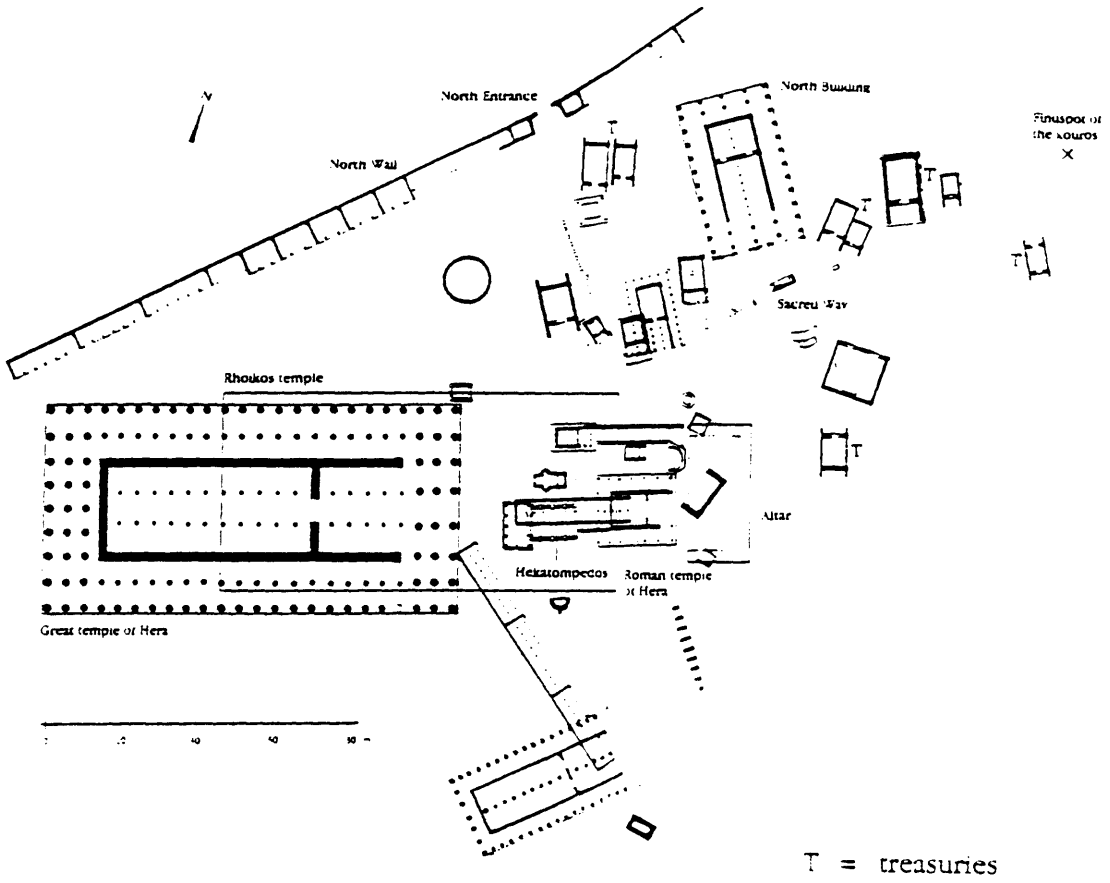


Figure 3.8: Ground plan of the archaeological site of Heraion, Samos (after Kyrieleis, 1993: 126).

treasuries with, indeed, a treasury.[34] Usually, the discussion of the treasuries includes the sanctuary of Hera at Samos (fig. 3.8), and the buildings that Strabo (14.637) calls 'naiskoi' and arhaeologists date to the seventh century BCE.[35] Also, Nemea[36] (Rups, 1986: 214; Miller, 1978; Miller *et al.,* 1990), where a row of nine buildings along the south side of the sanctuary have been called 'oikoi', but do not match the typical ground plan; the sanctuary of Artemis Laphria in Kalydon and several small buildings found there; the 'οικηματα' in the Hecatompedon on the Athenian Acropolis (Dinsmoor, 1947); and a building of the sixth century in the sanctuary of Hera at Foce del Sele in Lucania (Rups, 1986: 223).

The archaeological evidence about the contents of the treasuries is so scanty as to be almost non-existent. Very few pieces of information can be confirmed archaeologically. At Olympia, for instance, the foundations of the Sicyonian treasury were strengthened, presumably to support the weight of the bronze *thalamoi* we know it contained (see Appendix B: Pausanias' description); there is a base in the Geloan treasury, presumably for the statues Pausanias reported had been there; another base was found in the Selinountian treasury, possibly intended for the chrycelephantine Dionysos. Similarly, we can be sure about the existence of some objects in the treasuries when they are related to the actual building of it, as, for instance, the linen breastplate dedicated after the battle of Himera, and the statue of Zeus in the Syracusan treasury, since this was built to commemorate that victory (Rups, 1986: 232). But other than that, we can tell with certainty only that which Polemon lists, or Pausanias mentions, was there in the second century BCE, or in 173/4 CE respectively, and not when the treasuries were originally built.[37] Nevertheless, it is not the contents of the treasuries that interest us, at this point at least, but the buildings themselves.

VI. Institutions and vocabulary of value in sanctuaries.

The mythical and social values embedded in the new arrangement of the sanctuaries during the early Geometric period become obvious when we come to discuss the terminology used for the treasuries. There is no conclusive, universally accepted derivation for the word θησαυρός. The 'θη–' is clearly cognate with 'τίθημι', 'put or place' as in the word 'θήκη'. The latter, however, came to mean tomb or crypt, whereas the former came to mean a storage place, not of bodies, but of precious material. The '-αυρος' is more problematic however. Schrevel posits that it comes from 'wealthy'; unfortunately, this is a loan word

from the Latin *aurum*, or gold, and is used only by later Greek authors. Lobeck suggests a connection with the αυρος ending of κένταυρος or the –ωρε of ἐλπωρή (form of ἐλπίς = hope) or ἀλεωρή (place of shelter), but gives no further explanation. The scholiast on Hesiod's *Theogony* 832 associates the ending with that of Epidauros (Ἐπίδαυρος) and Galauros (Γάλαυρος), apparently of foreign or unknown origin (Rups, 1986: 8). Prellwitz (1892) and Juret (1942) favour a derivation from 'τίθημι'. Boisacq (1950) and Meyer (1901) find it etymologically obscure. Frisk (1957) comes without etymology, but suggests that it is possibly a technical loan word. Maas (1925: 235) offers 'an open air facility, from θη- put or place, and breeze or fresh air whence it was a short step to becoming a storehouse for treasure'. Hofmann (1949) suggests that the derivation is uncertain, but possibly comes from the water depot (*Wasserniederlage*), from θη- and αὖρα (= water). Lobeck (1843: 259) and Kretschmer (1920: 51-57), like Hofmann derive the -auros in the word Kentauros from water. Rups (1986: 8), finally, suggests that perhaps -αυρος roughly means 'place, place of, place where' and θησαυρός, 'place where [things] are put', and he concludes that the word then reflects one function of the treasury: that of storage.

Nevertheless, there is an interesting nexus of ideas linking the concepts θησαυρός and θήκη with gold, granaries, underground treasure chambers and buried treasure, bees, hives and honey, and immortality. Couch (1929: 13) brings up the possibility that θησαυρός is also cognate with σιρός, granary, and σορός, funeral urn, which would fit the pattern of tombs/gold/honey/immortality (see also Ziehen, 1936). Although there is not a universal agreement on these ideas either (Rups, [1986: 8], for instance thinks that this is the sort of *gestalt* that is fascinating to speculate upon with examples from Greek and Roman literature, but that cannot be proven), the use of the term in literary sources allows us to notice some interesting points. It needs to be said that the same term is used to denote offertory boxes and θησαυροί in the monetary sense, which is not of interest here. Moreover, the term was gradually used to denote storehouses of other, non-valuable objects as well (Couch, 1929). However, there are aspects even in these uses which can be of interest in this discussion.

Θησαυροί then could be either subterranean constructions or buildings (Ziehen, 1936). In the first category, there are associations with prisons (Herodotus, II.150; Plutarch, *Philopoimen* 19 - also the prison of Danae) and with tombs. The most striking association of this sort is the use of the term θησαυρός by Pausanias (II. 16.6; IX. 38.2) to discuss the

tholos tombs of Atreus in Mycaenae and of Minyas in Thebes (Ziehen, 1936; also Couch, 1929: 18ff). Why Pausanias chose to use this term for the description of these tombs remains open to speculation. Couch (1929: 23) has suggested three possibilities: (a) that Pausanias designated them as treasuries, believing them to be royal treasuries and nothing more, and that he was correct; (b) that he named them as such because he thought that this was their function, and he was in error; (c) that he was aware of their funerary association but for some other reason called them treasuries. A fourth suggestion is that Pausanias never actually saw the tombs, but the term treasury was the one used by the local population. Whichever of these assumptions is true, there is a sound relation between treasuries and the tombs. A contemporary of Pausanias, Philostratus (*Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, VII.23), without making Pausanias' claims to scientific accuracy, mentions that the old kings' tombs are πολύχρυσοι καὶ θησαυρώδεις (poluchrisoi and thesavrodeis - with a lot of gold and treasures). The word θήκη also is used similarly to θησαυρός. The two words could be employed even in the same sentence, with θηκη conveying the idea of treasure and θησαυρός a simple store or deposit[38] (Couch, 1929: 27). Consequently, there seems to be a relation between tombs and treasuries, which might mirror the transition from gifts-to-men to gifts-to-gods.

Furthermore, the common motive of protecting something of great value seems to have ensured the early association of treasuries with tombs and temples, a fact which becomes more prominent if we consider the term ναός which is indiscriminately used by some sources to denote temples and treasuries, as well as the architectural plan of treasuries, usually as miniature temples.

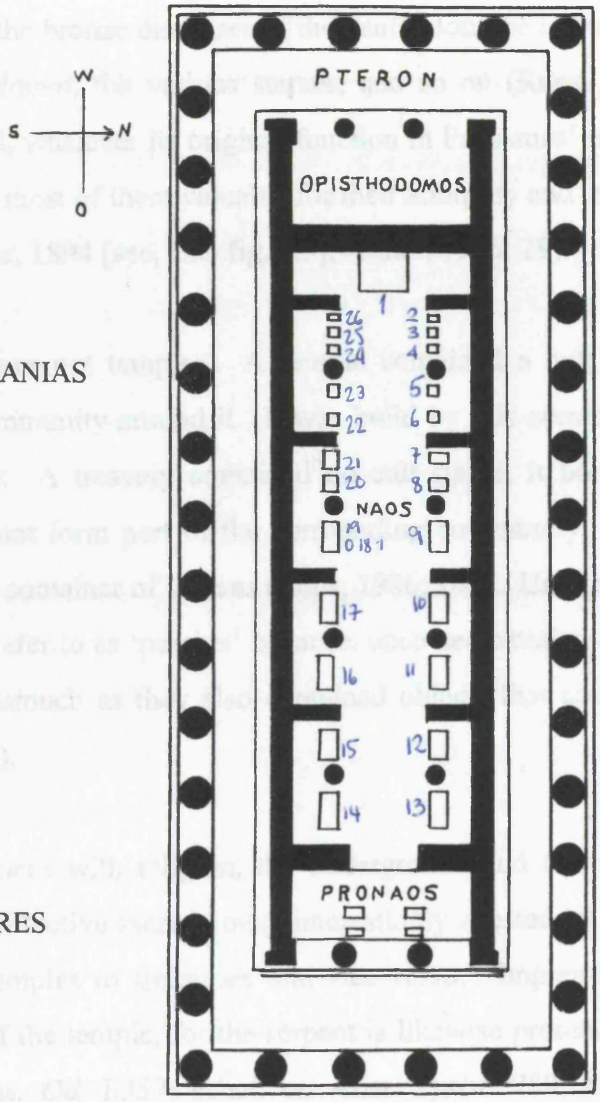
There are three terms applied in ancient sources to treasuries: θησαυρός, οἶκος, and ναός (Rups, 1986: 6). The word 'oikos' most simply means 'dwelling' - a house or settlement. Ioannes Zonaras suggests the word is related to εἴκω, and means that to which one withdraws.[39] In general the word is defined as any dwelling place, room or even public meeting hall. Basically, then, we can argue that an 'oikos' is any structure that could be entered (Rups, 1986: 11). Dyer (1905) prefers to use the word 'oikos' for what is usually called a θησαυρός. The third term applied to treasuries is 'ναός'. This word, cognate with 'ναίω', to dwell or inhabit, means simply the dwelling of a deity. In short, it is a temple - or more properly, the cella or the main hall of a temple, as opposed to *pronaos* or

opisthodomos: the place, that is, where the cult statue was kept. Polemon refers to the treasuries of the Metapontines and Byzantines at Olympia as ναοί, making no distinction between treasury and the Heraion mentioned in the same passage.

> 'Polemon at any rate, or whoever is the author of the book entitled *Of Hellas*, when discussing the temple of Metapontines at Olympia writes as follows: The temple of the Metapontines, in which are 132 silver saucers (*phialai*), two silver wine-jugs, a silver vessel for sacrifice, three gilded saucers. The temple of the Byzantians, in which are a Triton of cypress wood holding a silver *kratanion*, a silver Siren, two silver *karchesia*, a silver cylix, a golden wine-jug, two horns. In the old temple of Hera there are thirty silver saucers, two silver *kratania*, a silver pot, a gold vessel for sacrifice, a golden mixing bowl - a votive offering of the Cyreanaens - a silver saucer' (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai*, xi. 480).

Polemon was a man acknowledged, at least by Plutarch (*Quaest. conv.* V, 675B), as an expert on treasuries. Dyer (1905: 306) therefore reasons that, if this ancient scholar used the word ναός for the Olympian treasuries, it was because this was the term officially used at Olympia. At Delphi, Polemon uses the word θησαυρός for the treasuries in the temenos of Apollo. Pausanias refers to the entire row of buildings, including two treasuries, at the Athena Pronaia sanctuary at Delphi as ναοί, but he seems genuinely to suppose they were all temples: he makes the point that the second ναός, (identified by archaeologists as either treasury 6 or 8), was empty of *agalmata*, or cult statues, as well as *adriantes*, or secular statues. Strabo uses the word 'ναΐσκοι' (naiskoi) when he describes the sanctuary of Hera at Samos, but what these actually were remains to be found.[40]

Beyond the architectural similarities between temples and treasuries, it is also their function as θησαυροφυλάκιο (thesaurophilakio) that it is common to both buildings. As has been indicated above, temples were used to store and display vessels and other ceremonial objects, items of historical interest, votive offerings, and art.[41] We know, for instance, that the Erectheion contained gold and silver vessels in the early fourth century, or a folding stool made by Daidalos, the breast plate of Masistios, and the sword of Mardonius in Pausanias' time (I. 27.1; also Arafat, 1992; Harris, 1995). Twenty five bronze shields for the armoured race and a bronze tripod once used for carrying the victory wreaths were kept in the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, along with the throne of Arimnestos, king of the Etruscans and the first non-Greek to be allowed a dedication at Olympia; and wreaths, presumably of gold copying



WEG DER BESCHREIBUNG DES PAUSANIAS

1:	CUTLGRUPPE
2, 3, 4, 5,	HESPERIDEN
6:	DES THEOKLES
7:	APOLLON
8:	ARTEMIS
9:	LETO
10:	NIKE
11:	HERMES DES PRAXITELES
12:	POPPAEA SABINA
13:	AGRIPPINA
14, 15:	OLYMPIAS AND EYRYDIKE DES LEOCHARES
16:	KNABE DES BOETHOS
17:	APHRODITE DES KLEON
18:	DIONYSOS
19:	TYCHE
20:	KORE
21:	DEMETER
22:	ATHENA DES MEDON
23:	THEMIS DES DORYKLEIDAS
24, 25, 26:	HOREN DES SMILIS

Figure 3.9: Possible arrangement of the statuary decoration in the temple of Hera at Olympia (after Wernicke, 1894: 114).

the wild olive branch wreaths, dedicated by Nero. Strabo informs us that the Heraion of Samos was actually turned into a *pinacotheke* (9.3.7-8). The range of items known to have been in temples is precisely the one we find in treasuries: e.g. at Olympia, the gold and silver vessels listed by Polemon, the bronze discusses of the pentathlon, the linen breastplates from Himera, the Myronian *thalamoi*, the various statues, and so on (Rups, 1986: 243). The Heraion at Olympia as well, whatever its original function in Pausanias' time at least, was a repository for works of art, most of them valuable for their antiquity and their material (Kent Hill, 1944: 354-5; Wernicke, 1894 [see, also fig. 3.9]; Arafat, 1995: 29).

Nevertheless, treasuries were not temples. A temple contained a cult statue and was a religious centre for the community around it. It was build by this community for the god, and bore that god's name. A treasury contained no cult statue, it bore the name of its dedicators, and these did not form part of the surrounding community. A treasury was a votive itself, as well as the container of votives (Rups, 1986: 247). Unlike the other, simpler votives, which one might refer to as 'passive' because, once dedicated, they remained static, treasuries were active, inasmuch as they also contained objects that could be added to or removed (Rups, 1986: 248).

The associations of *thesaurus* with religion, the underground and temples, as well as its origins in relation to the protective sacra is most interestingly attested by the transference of religious symbols from temples to treasuries and *vice versa*. Impressively, the snake is pictured as the guardian of the temple, for the serpent is likewise presented as the protector of the treasury (Eustathius, *Od.* I.357; schol. on Arist. *Lysist.* 759; also discussion and references in Couch, 1929: 67 and Ziehen, 1936).

The political motivation behind the building of treasuries is more or less evident and falls within the generally accepted role of the sanctuaries as arenas for competition - which took every possible form, from literary and music contests to athletic games and arms dedications (Marinatos, 1993; for arms dedications see Jackson, 1991, 1992). According to the sources, treasuries were mainly dedicated as spoils of war (Strabo, 9.3.7-8), to commemorate a victory, or to display a city's prosperity, as in the case of the Siphnian treasury (Pausanias 10.11). Another reason was the display of the piety to the god (Pausanias, 10.11.4). As monuments erected to celebrate the wealth, achievement and civic pride for individual states,

they were striking and innovative artistic creations, lavishly decorated,[42] that could not be matched by the buildings related to the sanctuary as a collective entity (Morgan, 1990: 18).

During the eighth century, activity at sanctuaries outside state borders rested primarily upon investment from individuals or prominent families, rather than from states. The subsequent replacement of at least a substantial part of this élite display by state investment was an important step in the incorporation of individual or family interests into the sphere of state activity, a further element in the 'balancing act' which Morgan has noted as a feature of state formation. This process may also be traced in other ways, including, for example, the transfer of armour dedications from the private context of the grave to the public one of the sanctuary, which occurred in certain regions towards the end of the eighth century and the beginning of the seventh. Not only did this involve a shift in material investment, but it also placed the individual's role as a warrior in the public rather than the private domain, reinforcing the right of the state to a monopoly of force (Morgan, 1990: 16-7). The erection of the first treasuries can be associated therefore to these developments. The traditions that Pausanias and other sources record, and which discussion of the terminology applied to the building has brought to the forefront, can be understood in this light. Early treasuries, although bearing the names of cities, are also associated with specific tyrants - for example, Herodotus explicitly asserts that the treasury of the Corinthians at Delphi was not of the people of Corinth, but rather of Kupselos, their tyrant (I.14). Dyer (1905: 310) in his discussion of the right term for the so-called treasuries, suggests that the multiplicity of terms associated with these buildings relates to their role and nature as well as their founders. When they are built, or supposed to be built, by tyrants, they are called θησαυροι, whereas when they are built by cities, they are called 'oikoi'. This point supports the arguments about the mythic origins and associations of treasuries, and about their role as expressions of the destruction of wealth practice, i.e. of gift exchange.

In Olympia, for example, the first treasuries built by Doric colonies of the West and cities of the Isthmus area have to do with the fact that they were small *poleis* with well-defined territories, relatively fewer problems of integration or border definition, and an early transition from the oligarchic government to tyranny. Colonists, in addition, had to ensure their own rights and obligations as citizens, and also to ensure the survival of their colony in alien territory. Furthermore, Olympian treasuries were dedicated mostly by Dorian Greek communities, emphasising the role of the sanctuary at a relatively early stage in its history to

this particular group of Greeks. Rups' (1986) practical argument about their need to have a permanent foothold in the sanctuary, or to keep these ritual implements protected from the risk of travelling whenever they were needed, does not alter the thrust of the argument.

Furthermore, the difficulty of explaining why the custom of building treasuries died out, is thus overcome. Tomlinson (1976: 59) has argued that a possible explanation could be the development of sculpture, and the custom of dedicating statuary and other outdoor monuments which is typical of the fifth century BCE and later. A further factor has been suggested in the disappearance of the *polis* system itself: once the old *polis* system was no longer prevalent and the individual treasury-dedicating cities had diminished or disappeared, the treasuries became, in many cases, glorified storage sheds (Rups, 1986: 63). This argument, correct as it is for associating the treasuries with their political role, seems to advocate a rather early decline of them.[43] But if we conceive treasuries as expressions of the early gift-exchange tradition, and survivals of mythical associations, then their rise and decline, their initial and subsequent names, and their individual or communal role, seem to fit very well together.

Without diminishing the importance of any of the above reasons for the dedications of the treasuries, I would like to argue that the notion of treasury relates to the mythical past and the gift exchange tradition. For political reasons obviously these traditions have changed context, exactly as Morris has argued. I would like to further argue that obviously the valuation parameters of objects remained the same. This is evident not only from the vocabulary, but also from the treasuries themselves: the way they are built, their decoration, their placement in the sanctuary, are all meant to underline the sacred character of the assemblages, to be conspicuous and prominent. The messages they were giving to their contemporaries were undoubtedly about zones of influence, political dominance of certain groups and persons (e.g. Athens was, or wanted to be, the dominant power in the Aegean), and the transition to the city-state; they reflected political instability (as Mauss has argued), and generally were the 'arena of heterogeneity' (in a new context, of course). Simultaneously, they were complying with the mythical and religious tradition not only as far as objects as such are concerned but also in practice, since they employed techniques of competition familiar from the previous traditions. Furthermore, they reassumed (or continue to assume) characteristics like the power of objects to create relations of perpetual dependence, of being in a position to satisfy religious concerns, of objects being inalienable

(devoted but not supposed to be parted from their donors), of objects being media of competition exchangeable with morality and divine aid, and so on.

The development of panhellenic sanctuaries after the ninth/eighth centuries BCE initiated a transformation in the tradition of gift exchange: instead of destroying the conspicuous gifts to the gods, 'setting them up high for display' (ἀνατιθέναι - anatithenai, or ἀνάπτειν - anaptein) became the norm (Burkert, 1987: 49ff). Herodotus records this transition when he mentions that Croesus, the king of the Lydians, both destroyed artefacts in a conspicuous sacrifice, and offered others for display as a visible perpetuation of his generosity, and, consequently, power:

> 'Of every kind of appropriate animal he slaughtered three thousand; he burnt in a huge pile a number of precious objects - couches overlaid with gold and silver, golden cups, tunics, and other richly coloured garments - in the hope of binding the god more closely to his interest; and he issued a command that every Lydian was also to offer a sacrifice according to his means.' (I. 49)
>
> 'He also caused the image of a lion to be made of refined gold, in weight some five hundred and seventy pounds. ... This was by no means all that Croesus sent to Delphi; there were also two huge mixing-bowls, one of gold which was placed on the right-hand side of the entrance to the temple, the other of silver, on the left. ... In addition Croesus sent four silver casks, which are in the Corinthian treasury, and two sprinklers for lustral water, one of gold, the other of silver; ... There were many other gifts of no great importance, including round silver basins; but I must not forget to mention a figure of a woman, in gold, four and a half feet high, said by the Delphians to represent the woman who baked Croesus' bread. Lastly, he sent his own wife's necklaces and girdles.' (Herodotus, I. 50-51).[44]

The power of the great king of the East is exemplified though the display of his wealth. He could afford to sacrifice huge amounts both of living creatures and artefacts - the list of which sounds very familiar to the students of ancient collections - either by destroying them, or by taking them out of circulation in a conspicuous display, the reasons for which are obvious: to exchange these with the favour of the god, who would thus agree to bestow him his wishes (about sacrifice, see Vernant, 1991a; Detienne and Vernant, 1989; Burkert, 1983; Hubert and Mauss, 1899).

Echoes of this tradition survive in tragedy as well. The motif of the virgin, herself an *agalma*, offered as a sacrifice to the gods is often present in Greek tragedy; her loss is equated with the waste of precious objects (*agalmata*), a practice which came to be considered impious, since complete destruction was not the best practice for conspicuous consumption anymore. The socially approved practice was to dedicate the *agalmata* to the gods, (*anatithenai*) (Aeschylus' *Agamemnon;* Euripides' *Hecuba;* for the implications of these in tragedy, see Scodel, 1996; Crane, 1993). The issue of display then becomes central to the notion of conspicuous consumption, a fact which eventually influenced collections and their setting.

Naturally, the tradition of gift exchange did not disappear in later periods. Philip's methods of dealing with his subjects, friends and allies complied with it: he continued the practice of offering presents in order to win loyalty, and retain status for himself and his state. Similarly, Alexander was well known for his gifts, and continued this practice, so fitting to monarchs (Mitchell, 1997: 149, nt. 6 and 167ff). Parallel methods are described for the Hellenistic kings: for instance, Ptolemy Philadelphus in Alexandria and Antiochus Epiphanes in Daphne displayed their wealth to demonstrate their power through the material artefacts they possessed (Alexandria, Kallixeinos, FGrHist 627 F2; Frazer, 1972: 231-232; Polybius, 30.25-26). Roman triumphal processions with the plunder from the East were public displays of power. It is from this tradition that the difference between 'good' collections and 'bad' collections stems: the former are the ones where the *agalmata* are properly used to secure communication with the gods, and circulate in the social sphere; the latter involve destruction of objects through improper use, i.e. hiding them in the house of the collector.

VII. Conclusions.

To conclude, the aim of this chapter was to trace the origins of values attributed to objects that appear constantly when we consider material culture and collections, no matter whether we are discussing the ancient Greek world, the Roman collecting practices, or modern museums.

We have located these origins as related on the one hand to the social and political structures of gift exchange, and on the other, to the mythic dimensions of the phenomenon. Both are expressed in a mythological level: either this takes the form of the Homeric epics or the form of 'institutionalised' myths, i.e. religious practices and rituals. Consequently, the issue of value relates to the gift exchange, and in practical terms it takes the shape of gift exchange, i.e. relating to contexts of destruction of wealth. The mythic dimension of the phenomenon, though, often determines the particular shape of the context in which the gift exchange takes place and it retains aspects of the ritual. The treasury building is exactly such an example; an association of both mythic and gift exchange concerns and practices.

We can therefore conclude that objects are valuable when and because they are inalienable, they create relations of perpetual dependence between subjects, and carry symbolic meanings. These values derive from the gift exchange tradition, and it is precisely this association that permits them to also acquire the ability to communicate with the 'Other'. On the other hand, the mythic dimensions of the phenomenon meet the gift traditions. The dead (snake, chthonic deity) protects and sanctions the object, and from this derives the notion of the treasury and its relation to tomb and temple. The sanctuaries become the ideal setting for the existence of valuables in this sense.

Both these dimensions are 'mythologised' - and therefore in the myths we find both elements: objects help and reassure interpersonal relations, whereas they also assure, they seal, the mythic character of facts. Consequently, values are parameters of stability, reassurance of the social and individual identity, as well as of the social order and hierarchy.

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[1] The first part of the title is inspired by an article written by Gregory (1980):

[2] Trans. in Austin and Vidal-Naquet (1977).

[3] Trans. by Knox (1922).

[4] Wooden carved statues, see Donohue (1988).

[5] See, for instance, Herrmann (1992), Daux and Hansen (1987), Audiat (1933); for a collective bibliography on the ancient treasuries see Østby (1993).

[6] See, for instance, Doxiades (1972); Bergquist (1967).

[7] A characteristic example is Kent Hill (1944).

[8] For example, see Rolley (1977) in FdD; similar publications in the other major series of publications of sites.

[9] See, for instance, van Straten (1981; 1990).

[10] As we are going to discuss later as well, 'inalienable' things are those from which the owner is not parted even if he gives them away; the very act of giving them away as gifts reassures their continuous presence. See pp. 62ff.

[11] This answers the arguments posed by Hooker (1989), who argues that in Homer gift-exchange is just a polite custom, and the phenomenon is not institutionalised as for instance in other epics of later times, like *Beowulf* or *Nibelungenlied.* He bases his argument among others on the lack of reciprocity that he detects in many incidents in Homer. Obviously this is not the case, because the mechanisms of gift exchange are more complicated than the simple equation 'I give, you give' would describe. For a full critique of all the points made by Hooker, see Seaford, 1995: 14-15, nt. 59.

[12] Other explanations have been offered for the grave goods as well. For example, Rosenblatt *et al.* (1976: 67-76) suggest that grave-goods serve to 'break ties... and facilitate establishment of new patterns of living' (p. 68). Discussion of the same issue can be also found in Firth (1965: 344-7).

[13] Whether it will be statues or plastic frogs that are collected is of minor importance; what is more important is the fact that objects are considered to be in a position to form interpresonal relations, to be vehicles of memory, to have a symbolic value and so on.

[14] About the role of women as property and in the Homeric gift exchange tradition see von Reden, 1994: 49-55.

[15] Trans. by Finley, 1979: 120.

[16] We see again the origins of a pattern that we will come across further when discussing the attitude towards collectors and collecting. The method of acquisition of the material culture assembled remains of vital importance and determines the acceptance or the denunciation of the collection.

[17] The translation of ἐσθλά is from Liddell-Scott, edn 1966, p. 696, s.v. ἐσθλός, –ή, –όν. It is very interesting to note that the one of the translations offered for the word when refering to people is 'morally good'; it would be interesting to associate this with the ideas of the objects being products of noble social interaction, as mentioned earlier.

[18] For metal-working in Homer see Gray (1954).

[19] As in *Od.,* XXI.8ff, where Penelope goes down to the depths of the *thalamos* to find among the among riches stored there, the bow to be used in the competition of the suitors. Also discussion and description of *thalamos* in *Il.,* VI.288-295 (Hecabe in Priam's *thalamos*); XXIV.191-192, 228-235 (Priam fetches precious objects from his *thalamos*); *Od.,* II.337-355 (Odysseus' *thalamos*); XV.99-119 (the *thalamos* of Menelaus).

[20] For instance, *Od.,* XXIII.41ff. It is interesting to note the role of women: as wealth, sacred and connoisseurs' items: this reminds one of more recent collectors, e.g. Lord Hamilton; see also Edgar (1997) about collectors in popular fiction.

[21] Is it from such kind of associations that passionate collecting, storing, and hiding the artefacts of the collection are considered indications of effeminate behaviour? Is it from here the collector is in the same part of the equation as women? We are going to pick up this subject further.

[22] Trans. by A. T. Murray, in Loeb CL, 1954.

[23] Trans. by A. T. Murray, in Loeb CL, 1953.

[24] Barthes in *Myth Today* undertakes the task of showing how modern society applies myths to naturalise socially determined meanings and thereby to eternalise the present state of the world in the interests of the bourgeois. Everything which claims to be universal and natural turns out to be cultural and historical (Olsen, 1990: 166).

[25] Whether we mean the burial of the dead body or the burial of the ashes after the cremation of the body. About burial customs in Greece see Kurtz and Boardman (1971): 'cremation had been by no means unknown to

Greece before this. There are a very few possible cremations from the Middle Bronze Age and scattered examples from the earlier Mycenaean period. The extensive Mycenaean cemetery at Perati has yielded both chamber tombs and cremation graves, some of which can be dated by the presence of seal-stones and scarabs. Cremation was an established practice in parts of the Near East and its appearance in Greece in association with objects of Levantine origin is not altogether surprising. The introduction of cremation to the Greek mainland seems to have been gradual. At Argos, Perati, in the Athenian Kerameikos and on the island of Salamis some cremation was practised concurrently with inhumation without any apparent distinction rites. The association of cremation graves with eastern trade has been noted and links with Troy VI have been suggested. It is however important to bear in mind that at approximately the same time cremations were replaced with inhumation in barrows throughout central Europe' (1971: 25-26).

[26] Pausanias, 2.3.11; also Vernant, 1983: 172-173, nts. 147-148.

[27] For the motif of the hero or hero-god who was exposed as a child and the objects that were left with him, see Huys, 1995, esp. pp. 198ff.

[28] For the significance of tripods see Benton (1934-1935), Schweitzer (1971), Snodgrass (1980), and Rolley (1977), where also there is bibliographic review of the subject.

[29] Nagy (1981) in a very interesting article on the deceptive gift in the Greek mythology, considers the myth of Persephone and Demeter, and argues that Persephone has in the myth the status of a gift, that creates obligations and relationships between the celestial and the cthonic realms, between Zeus and Hades. Demeter, on the other hand, is a giver of gifts and a gift herself, that makes people obligated and initiates a relationship between people and the goddess, which she receives through the establishement of her cult (1981: 197-198).

[30] Dörpfeld dates the treasuries at Olympia in part using a system based on the height of the ground level beneath their foundation, using the east stylobate of the temple of Zeus as zero level (Rups, 1986: 20). By applying these criteria, Dörpfeld suggests the order in which the Olympic treasuries were built: XII (ca. 610-600); X; XI (last quarter of the sixth century); VII, VI, and V (just before 550); IX (late sixth century), IV (shortly after 550); II (480), III, and I (Rups 1986: 21). Mallwitz (1961; 1972), finally, bases the dating of the treasuries on archaeological and stylistic grounds. The oldest would also seem to be the largest: those of Sybaris (V), Metapontium (X), and Gela (XII), in the first half of the sixth century. The second group is composed of smaller buildings: the proto-Sicyonian treasury, and those of Epidamnos (III), Selinous (IX), and Cyrene (VI or VII); the roof terracottas assigned to these buildings date them to between 540 and 520. At the end of the sixth century comes the treasury of Megara (XI), while those of Syracuse (II) and Byzantium (IV) were probably built in the beginning of the fifth century, as was the second Sicyonian treasury (I) (Rups, 1986: 21-22).

[31] Sikyon: Pausanias 10.11.1; Polemon (ap. Plutarch *Quaest. Conv.* 675 B)- Siphnos: Pausanias 10.11.2; Herodotus 3.57- Thebes: Pausanias 10.11.4; Diod. Sic. 17.10.5- Athens: Pausanias 10.11.4; Xenophon *Anab.* 5.3.5- Knidos: Pausanias 10.11.3-4- Potidaia, Syracuse: Pausanias 10.11.4- Corinth: Pausanias 10.13.5-6; Herodotus 1.14, 50, 51; 4.162; Plutarch, *De Pyth. Orac.* 399F, 40F; *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 164A- Brasidas and the Akanthians: Plut., *De Pyth. Orac.* 400F, 401D; *Lys.* 1.18.3- Klazomenai: Herodotus 1.51- Massilia and Rome: Appian 2.8, Diod. 14.93- Agylla (Caere) Strabo 5.220- Spina: Strabo 5.214, Polemon (ap. Athenaeus 606 B), Pliny, *HN* III.129.

[32] The Athenian treasury has been reconstructed and now has a prominent place in the ancient site (Bommelaer, 1991). It is a small Doric building, built at about the turn of the sixth century as an offering to Apollo in gratitude for victory (which victory depends of the precise date of the building, which in its turn depends on the subjective evaluation of its architectural forms and the carvings of its metopes; either the double victory over Chalkis and Thebes in 506, or, more likely, the battle of Marathon and the resounding defeat of the Persians in 490). The building as it now stands is reconstructed, mostly from the original material which was discovered by the French excavators of Delphi, scattered over the hillside below. It is interesting that Athens was able to achieve such a dominant position for its treasury; since it was built after the downfall of tyranny, and at a time when Kleisthenes was either in control of Athens himself or had died only recently, this might bear out the stories of the influence he had secured there. The present dominance of the Athenian treasury is enhanced by its relative completeness; in the sixth and fifth centuries many others were built, of which only the foundations survive *in situ*. Of these only reconstructions on paper are possible. The Athenian treasury would have been much more crowded in by those other treasuries in antiquity; nevertheless, its position is an excellent one (Tomlinson, 1976: 67).

[33] The oikos of the Karystians could have been built either before the Persian wars or after 480 BC (see Rups, 1986: 186 for discussion).

[34] Indeed it would take another thesis to examine the buildings uncovered in ancient sanctuaries and associate them with treasuries.

[35] Walter (1976) disagrees with this identification, whereas Kyrieleis (1993: 133) supports it.

[36] Marchand (in Miller *et al,*. 1990: 117ff and 160ff) suggests that there are similarities in the arrangement and building plan of the treasuries with those at Olympia, but the evidence for other uses of the buildings are stronger: therefore, she suggests that they were embassies, meeting halls, and so on. She thus confirms the ideas presented by Dyer (1905).

[37] The main methodological issue which emerges when we discuss this issue relying on Pausanias, Strabo or Polemon, is that we 'reconstruct' ancient sanctuaries as they were centuries after the original depositions of the offerings. Consequently, what we are dealing with is the sanctuaries as they were from the third century BCE to the second century CE - (from Polemon to Pausanias respectively). Nevertheless, this does not change the argument of this thesis, mainly because it is based on the concepts more than the actual findings; in other words, the argument is not to prove that certain objects were appreciated during certain periods, but only that the echo of the gift tradition determined appreciation during subsequent periods as well.

[38] For a detailed discussion of the subject and references in ancient authors, see Couch, 1929: 26ff.

[39] Oikos seems to be cognate with the old Indic 'vicati' and Avestan 'vissiti', 'to go in' or to 'enter' (Rups, 1986: 11)

[40] See note 14 above.

[41] The discussion of the material wealth stored in actual sanctuaries is beyond the scope of this chapter (and this thesis), whose aim is not to offer a complete listing of the contents found in sanctuaries during excavations, or known to be there through the literary sources. For detailed accounts of the contents/offerings in specific sanctuaries, see for example Harris (1995), Linders (1972 and 1975), IDélos (1972; 1926; 1929; 1935).

[42] Many treatises have been written on the symbolic and other meanings of the decoration of treasuries. See for instance Brinkmann (1994) for the frieze of the Siphnian treasury at Delphi; also FdD series, and many articles published in different academic journals. For a bibliography see Rups (1986). Almost all attempts to analyse the selection of the subjects favour a political explanation.

[43] The intention of Rup's thesis was to gather the evidence on treasuries into a convenient form so that conclusions could more easily be drawn, and to provide some insight into these so-called treasury buildings. In order to do this, he examined the archaeological, architectural and inscriptional evidence, the extant literary sources, and, in so far as it was relevant, the historical context of both the buildings themselves and those who dedicated them (Rups, 1986: 2). Furthermore, Rups limited his study to the remains of treasury buildings in Olympia, Delphi, and Delos, whereas he mentions the ruins of a few other sites, where we can talk about treasuries with some reasonable certainty. The reason for this limitation is that, as Rups explains, although there are remains of buildings elsewhere which conform with the ground plans to the treasury patterns, the information we have is not enough to include them as treasuries with certainty. Nevertheless, this does not limit the scope of the present discussion. Rups' work is interesting as being a collective approach to the treasury building, but it still leaves a lot to be desired. Besides other, mainly methodological shortcomings, the conclusions that he reaches, i.e. that 'a treasury is not only a building to hold votive, it is itself a votive, dedicated as simpler votives were, by individuals or by states' (p. 255), is only partially satisfactory. Furthermore, although he discusses in detail the literary sources and posits interesting questions related to the motives behind the building of treasuries and the dedications, he fails to put the questions into a wider context.

[44] Trans. by Aubrey de Sélincourt, revised by A. R. Burn, in Penguin Classics, 1972: 58-59.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CONCEPT OF THE INDIVIDUAL AS A CULTURAL CATEGORY: ITS IMPLICATIONS IN CLASSICAL COLLECTING

Material symbols, then, can bring private experience into the social world, and social experiences into the private world (Pearce, 1995: 166).

I. Introduction.

Individualism is implicit in any discussion concerning the nature of collecting. Collections are one of the main expressions of the conflict between the cultural structure of commoditization and the individual's attempts to bring a personal value order to the universe of things (Kopytoff, 1986: 76). The application of this principle in the case of classical collecting can be very illuminating.

Individualism is a nineteenth century word (Lukes, 1973:1), often used to describe preceding phenomena in an attempt to legitimise the value which the term actually refers to and which holds a dominant part in Western thought. Its origins are usually sought in the ancient Greco-Roman world - the absolute source of legitimisation of the West and the origin of the majority of Western values and ideas. Thus, we often come across different versions concerning the 'rise of individualism'.[1] The individual

> 'was discovered by the lyric poets, we are told; or in Athens, at the end of the fifth century; or by Plato, with his portrait of Socrates; or in the Hellenistic age; or by the Roman poets; or by the Antonines; or by Augustine. Perhaps he had been there all the time, lurking in Homer's Achilles and Odysseus. Still, he had evidently fled away again by the early Middle Ages, only to be rediscovered first in 1050-1200; then,

according to Burckhardt's famous analysis, in Renaissance Italy; then, again in the sixteenth, or seventeenth, or eighteenth centuries.' (Pelling, 1990: v).

In each of these cases a different phenomenon is described and a different set of values is implied. Historical scholarship often confounds the social acknowledgment of individuals and concern with their well being, with the appreciation of individual values more than the collective ones (Martin, 1994: 119). The same term is also used indiscriminately to denote self-consciousness, introspection, or awareness of decision-making and responsibility (Pelling, 1990: v). Therefore, searching for the origins of individualism means first of all defining the term.

During the Hellenistic[2] period the social and political frame, along with the conditions of artistic production and consumption, changed and a new cultural context was created. Among the phenomena which played a prominent role in the development of this 'new culture', a distinct place is occupied by the genesis of art theory and collecting. According to the traditional approach, which suggests that the 'rise of individualism' coincides with the origins of collecting, the argument would run as follows: in the city-state identity was collective and, therefore 'collections' were held in public places, sanctuaries, whereas when identity became a matter of the individual (due to the socio-political changes resulting from Alexander's conquest of the East), the first private, or privately initiated, collections were formed.[3]

The traditional approach regarding individualism has been based upon arguments deriving from philosophy, religion and the artistic expression of the period, mainly sculpture, portraiture and biography. Attempts to reconsider the issue of individualism (and therefore for our purposes to put on a diferent basis the above argument regarding collecting) are not new, although in their majority they are not as explicit as the recent article by Luther Martin entitled 'The anti-individualistic culture of Hellenistic ideology' (1994). He employs arguments from the same fields in order to argue that the conclusion that individualism is a characteristic phenomenon of the Hellenistic age is arbitrary, and was coined along with the term 'individualism' itself during the nineteenth century, exactly when the 'Hellenistic period' was 'discovered' by historians.[4] He thus attributes the issue to a mis-reading of ancient data, due to the common phenomenon of employing and projecting contemporary ideas to the past.

The present enquiry supports neither the traditional nor Martin's approach. It will be a critical discussion of the arguments offered by both approaches in the light of definitions of the individual and individualism given by historical anthropology. The fact that private collections were first formed during this period, means undoubtedly that the individual has 'won' (in a way) the conflict with society,[5] and that is now in a position to enhance the value of objects by adding elements of personal valuation in the social order of things. On the other hand, and by using information deriving from collections (objects in them, the reasons behind their formulation and so on), I would like to argue that the recent assertion by Goldhill (1994: 198) that during the Hellenistic period the frame of the fifth-century *polis* was replaced by the frame of the Museum within the Alexandrian city-scape, even though asserted in connection with the artistic production, acquires an even wider application. At least the dominant classes of the Hellenistic world, which have to be identified with the 'collecting classes',[6] needed to be, and were, members of a wider community, the community of the (Alexandrian) 'Museum'. This leaves us with a double-edged issue: individualism, on the one hand, is a philosophical, social and economic issue, which according to the ideas of Kopytoff and other social anthropologists as well as collecting theorists, forms the backbone of collecting. On the other hand, collecting can, and must, be used as an argument toward the definition of individualism and phenomena of identity during the Hellenistic and early Roman periods. This chapter will argue that collecting activities are not necessarily and in a monolithic way associated to individualistic concepts; on the contrary, ancient writers seem to suggests an attempt by the ancient collectors to be 'rationally' and 'not individualistically' predisposed against collections, as well as an effort to enter through them to a social group, to which they may, or may not, actually belong.

The discussion will begin by comparing and contrasting definitions of 'individualism' given by historians and anthropologists, in order to reach a working definition of the term (II). Then follows a presentation of the common beliefs about the individualistic character of the Hellenistic period (III), and a critical discussion of each category of arguments, i.e. philosophical, moral and political thought (IV, V, VI, VII), religion (VIII), and material culture (IX). Finally, some conclusions are drawn together regarding the nature of collecting during the Hellenistic and early Roman periods (X).

II. Definitions of individualism.

As Pelling (1990: v-vi) has asserted, everything depends on what we mean by the terms 'individual' and 'individualism'. Many attempts have been made by scholars of different disciplines to define them before they express any ideas about them, and we have to start by presenting some of those definitions, involving assumptions about the early origins of the phenomenon. An 'analytic' definition is given by Pelling (1990: v-vi) who suggests that the term 'individual' may refer to many different notions (he lists five): it may refer to self-consciousness, 'a clear awareness of one's own or others' identity as something which will involve definitions of social role, status, and responsibilities, but - at least in the Greek and later European context - will not be *exhausted* by those definitions'. It may refer to 'something a little different, more clearly introspective: a person's capacity to describe or analyse psychic events, or simply a readiness to accept some sort of "responsibility" for those decisions, and a normal obligation to bear the consequences'. A third option would be to 'be concerned with describing accurately the characters of oneself or others.' The term may refer to 'mark how a figure belies normal expectations - a process of "individuation"'. Finally, one may mean 'the discriminating self-awareness, one's duty or license to be true to oneself, to follow and realise the implications of one's character rather than acquiesce in society's fixed norms of conduct - a form of "individual*ism*"' (Pelling, 1990: v-vi, emphasis in the original).

Dumont (1982: 2) adopts a sociological approach and defines 'individual' as both an object and a value:

> 'Comparison obliges us to distinguish analytically these two aspects: one, the *empirical* subject of speech, thought, and will, the individual sample of mankind, as found in all societies, and, two, the independent, autonomous, and thus essentially non-social *moral* being, who carries our paramount values and is found primarily in our modern ideology of man[7] and society' (emphasis in the original).

Starting from this definition and with reference to the latter (rather than the former) aspect, Dumont defines 'individualism' as having a double meaning: first, as opposed to 'holism', i.e. as the ideology that valorises the individual and neglects or subordinates the social totality. 'Where the individual is a paramount value I speak of individualism. In the opposite case, where the paramount value lies in the society as a whole, I speak of holism.' (Dumont, 1982: 2). Secondly, individualism in the above sense is a major trait in the

configuration that constitutes modern ideology, which Dumont defines as individualistic, 'individualistic ideology' or 'individualism' (Dumont, 1983: 264).

In order to trace the origins of individualism and explain the transition from holism, i.e. the appreciation of the *empirical* individual, to individualism, i.e. the *approbation* of the particularity of its unique existence, Dumont borrows a hypothesis that derives from his study of Indian society (1970). He thus suggests that there are two opposite forms of the notion of the individual. The first is the individual-outside-the-world, in the sense of the Indian renouncer, who could achieve individual spirituality only by leaving the community and renouncing the world. The second is the individual-in-the-world in the sense of the modern person who affirms and lives his individuality within the world, and the community where individuality is a dominant value (Dumont, 1983: 35). The extra-worldly individual, Dumont further suggests, is the first step toward the worldly individual. Therefore, Dumont attributes to Christianity the genesis of individualism in the West, since he suggests that it was its conception of 'man' as an extra-worldly individual, an individual-in-relation-to-God, that became the starting point for the understanding of the individual as a worldly conception. Yet, he argues, since Christianity could not succeed in the long run unless it had firm grounding in the pagan past, the extra-worldly individual was a notion already known to Hellenistic philosophy; it was the notion of the 'sage' that Hellenistic philosophy had introduced. Although this idea might seem to contradict well-established conceptions about the rise of the phenomenon of individualism, it only modifies them. It is a well-known and well-argued issue that the transition from the philosophy of Aristotle and Plato to the Hellenistic philosophy shows a great gap, i.e. 'the surge of individualism'. The great difference is the transition from the idea of self-sufficiency as an attribute of the *polis*, to self-sufficiency as an attribute of the individual person. Dumont further argues that although the middle and later Stoa assumed heavy duties in the world for their followers, the primary idea was the self-sufficiency of the individual, even if he acts in the world. The genesis of this philosophical individualism is not attributed by Dumont to the destruction of the *polis* and the unification of the world under Alexander, since he postulates that 'this tremendous historical event can explain many traits, but not, to me at least, the emergence of the individual as a value, as a creation *ex nihilo*' (Dumont, 1982: 4). The reason has to lie with philosophy itself:

> 'Not only have Hellenistic teachers occasionally lifted out of the Presocratic elements for their own use, not only are they heirs to the Sophists and other currents

> of thought that appear to us as submerged in the classical period, but philosophical activity, the sustained exercise of rational enquiry carried out by generations of thinkers must by itself have fostered individualism, because reason, universal in principle, is in practice at work through the particular person who exercises it, and takes precedence, at least implicitly, over everything else.' (Dumont, 1982: 5).

The Hellenistic philosophers set a superior ideal, that of the 'sage' against man as a 'social being' as presented by Plato and Aristotle. Obviously, the vast political change and the universal empire that was created undoubtedly favoured this movement. Dumont also suggests that there might be influences, direct or indirect, from the Indian model - although the data that would prove such an influence are insufficient.

Foucault (1986: 41-42), on the other hand, distinguishes three notions in order to describe 'individualism':

> '(1) the individualistic attitude, characterised by the absolute value attributed to the individual in his singularity and by the degree of independence conceded to him vis-à-vis the group to which he belongs and the institutions to which he is answerable; (2) the positive valuation of private life, that is the importance granted to family relationships, to the forms of domestic activity, and to the domain of patrimonial interests; (3) the intensity of the relations to self, that is, of the forms in which one is called upon to take oneself as an object of knowledge and a field of action, so as to transform, correct, and purify oneself, and find salvation'.

Although these three notions can be interconnected, their connection is neither constant nor necessary. Foucault suggests that the presence of only one, or even two, of them does not necessarily mean that 'individualism' is a dominant value. Therefore, when it comes to discuss the origins of individualism he argues that in a traditional military society, for instance, the warrior is invited to assert his self-worth by means that set him apart from the group to which he belongs. Alternatively, there are societies to which private life is highly valued but the relations to self are largely undeveloped. Finally, there are societies, such as the early Christian society, where although the relations to self receive extreme interest, the same does not happen with the values of private life and the person's independence from the group to which he belongs. When it comes to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, then, Foucault suggests that, although civic and political activity might have changed their form, they nonetheless remained an important part of life, especially for the upper classes.

Existence was led in public in ancient societies, and everybody was situated within a strong system of local relationships, family ties, economic dependencies and relations of patronage and friendship (Foucault, 1986: 41).

Based on the ideas of both Foucault and Dumont, Vernant discusses the role of the individual within the city-state in his article (originally published in French in 1987; English translation 1991b), where he proposes and applies a different classification, within the perspective of historical anthropology:

> '(a) The individual *stricto sensu*. His place and role in his group or groups; the value accorded him; the margin of movement left to him; his relative autonomy with respect to his institutional framework. (b) The subject. When the individual uses the first person to express himself and, speaking in his own name, enunciates certain features that make him a unique being. (c) The 'ego', the person. The ensemble of psychological practices and attitudes that give an interior dimension and a sense of wholeness to the subject. These practices and attitudes constitute him within himself as a unique being, real and original, whose authentic nature resides entirely in the secrecy of his interior life. It resides at the very heart of an intimacy to which no one except him can have access because it is defined as self-consciousness.' (1991b: 321).

In order to discuss the first of the above categories, he further delimits it as: 1) the individual's valorisation, in his singularity; 2) the individual and his personal sphere: the domain of his private life; and 3) finally, the emergence of the individual within social institutions that, by their very functioning, afford him a central place from the classical period onward (Vernant, 1991b: 322).

Vernant takes as a starting point Dumont's arguments and his suggestion that traces of individualism exist already in the Greek world and the Greek philosophy; he therefore examines the city-state in order to locate exactly those traces and disprove the validity of Dumont's distinction. Following his definition he examines the Greek city-state and the role of the individual within it, only to reach the conclusion that in Greece the individual had a role, and a very prominent one, but it was not conceived as extra-worldly. He recognises the Hellenistic era as the period when a major change occurred regarding the role and value attributed to the individual, but he still denies any relation with the extra-worldly type.

Finally, Morris (1994) giving an anthropological perspective, distinguishes between three inter-related but distinctly different conceptions, to form the core of individual /individualism. He asserts that the term 'person'[8] should be used to refer to several conceptions. Firstly, the individual as a human being (as a generic human), meant to derive from empirical, rather than cultural knowledge.

> 'The person as a human being thus represents a realist perspective on the world shared by all humans: it is part of the basic or 'first order' cognitive dispositions which conceives of living beings in the world as material 'essences' with underlying natures. Such dispositions are prior to, and form the basis or grounding of social representations' (1994: 11).

This first category coincides with Dumont's understanding of the individual as 'object'. Secondly, there is the individual as self, that is, as a psychological concept.[9] Although the category of self is a universal category, it acquires its unique character within a specific social context, and has been the subject of a vast literature in both philosophy and psychology. 'The self is in essence an abstraction, created by each human person, and refers to a process rather than an entity' (Morris, 1994: 12). Finally, there is the individual as a 'cultural category', expressed in a specific community, in its ritual context and ideological construction. This category owes a lot to the early writings of Mauss (1979), and Hallowell (1953), who distinguish between social praxis and cultural representations, as well as between the self, seen as a self-aware, socially constituted human agent at both a generic and a psychological level, and the person, understood as a cultural conception (category, according to Mauss) of a particular community.[10] However, it needs to be noted that since cultural representation is embedded in the practical constitution of everyday social and material life, it is misleading to see cultural classifications as separate from lived experience (1994: 12). In order to make his argument clear, Morris brings as an example the case of a society based on slavery. There, a class of people, although treated as human beings at an empirical level, are defined as property, not as persons.

III. Hellenistic culture and individualism.

Ever since its invention in the nineteenth century, the Hellenistic period has been characterised as the period when individualism and cosmopolitanism go hand in hand (Pollitt, 1986). Both these tendencies are interpreted as a by-product of the conquests of

Alexander and the consequent political internationalism, which generated the conditions for the failure of the city-state. 'Man as a political animal', Tarn (1952: 79) suggests, 'a fraction of the *polis*, or self-governing city-state, had ended with Aristotle; with Alexander starts man as an individual'. Therefore, in order for this individual to meet the needs of belonging and of acquiring new standards by which to lead its life in a changing world, there had to be two developments, it is alleged: the philosophies of conduct, on the one hand, which aimed toward 'an inward search in the private recesses of human mind and personality', and thus to make self-sufficiency an attribute of the individual instead of *polis*, and the notion of human brotherhood, on the other, that is 'an outward search toward *oikoumene*' (Pollitt, 1986: 7).

Scholars have elaborated their theses for and against this basic argument. Griffiths, for instance, supports this approach, and elaborates it by suggesting that a sense of personal insignificance engendered by the conquests of Alexander had as a result to throw 'the citizens back on their own spiritual resources so that their concerns as individuals counted correspondingly by more' (1989: 238). Pollitt supports this and adds: 'in the Hellenistic world no standard of society, even of an utopian society, was more important than what the individual did, thought and experienced' (1986: 7-8). Green also agrees with this: 'cities and empires had become too vast and heterogeneous to give adequate psychological support to inheritors of the old, local *polis* tradition: their society was no longer integrated or manageable.' Therefore, the individual 'was thrown back on himself' (1990: 587).

In contrast to the above, more recent scholarly work attempts to disprove this approach and to replace it with a less schematic and more realistic one. Most explicitly Martin (1994), but also Foucault (1986), Gill (1995) and others, suggest that far from being 'individualistic', the attitude of the Hellenistic era, never stopped being influenced by the communal ideals, which are characteristic of the Greek thought. Their argument is three-fold: political, ethical and methodological, exactly as the 'traditional' argument is structured. In the political sphere, it is suggested that although the political and social changes were significant, the ideal of living within a community and in mutually beneficial relationships was not replaced, either in the political or in the ethical theory. Greek thought continues to hold this idea even when it faces the 'failure' of particular types of community; it only replaces those with ideal communities, since man can live only within a communal schema. As far as the ethics are concerned, it is argued that the internalisation of ethical attitudes and ideas, which the traditional approach equated exclusively with Hellenistic philosophy, is as old as Homer and

had been a recurrent theme in Greek philosophy from his time onwards (Gill, 1995: 2-3). Martin emphatically suggests that 'although the cultural transformations that marked a Hellenistic age may have occasioned a heightened awareness of the empirical individual, any valuing of such an existence ... was imputed by the modern values of a nascent historical discipline which periodized a Hellenistic era in the first place' (1994: 121).

IV. Notions of 'individualism' in Hellenistic philosophy: community vs. individual.

We are now going to discuss the doctrines of the major Hellenistic philosophical schools, namely Cynicism, Stoicism and Epicureanism, in order to argue that despite the common view that these did advocate 'individualism', this is not as straightforward as has been suggested. The major political changes that the fourth century brought to the Hellenic world influenced social and philosophical beliefs, and altered the relation of the citizens to their societal structures, the old city-state (*polis*). Nevertheless, my argument continues, they did not result in 'individualism'; only in alternative societal structures, that the philosophical thought of the period was willing to fortify in ideological terms. In this section, we are going to focus on the notion of the individual living within or outside the community; then we will discuss the moral and ethical aspect of individual as this is presented in Hellenistic philosophy.

According to the traditional approach, Hellenistic individualism is mainly embodied in the Cynic philosophers, who had as their goal the achievement of *autarkeia* (self-sufficiency), through a life of discipline and austerity. For this they did not hesitate to 'drop out' of society (Pollitt, 1986). Although the model of the Cynic philosopher was too extreme for the average person in the Hellenistic era, there have been exemplars of this type like, for instance mercenaries (Griffith, 1968). The other dominant philosophies of the period have also maintained an individualistic perspective. Both Epicureanism and Stoicism aimed at the satisfaction of practical needs and the happiness of the individual. Furthermore, they both treated the universe as composed of something material, and adopted physical explanations: Epicurus that of Democritus, and Zeno[11] that of Heraclitus. The concept of 'cosmopolitanism'[12] was also grasped by them. The term itself was introduced by the Cynics, whereas Zeno's ideal state was characterised by its universalism (Pollitt, 1986; Tarn, 1952: 327-8; Bryant, 1996).

Before we start discussing these traditional arguments, we should note that there is something Socratic about the Hellenistic ethics, and this is not only the doctrinal inheritance - although that is central in the case of the Stoics. More than this, it is the particular idea about what ethics should be concerned with: the removal of fear and uncertainty, the ordering of priorities in life and around the soul's health, the question of convention, the 'cultivation of the self' (Long, 1993: 141). The common emphasis of all Hellenistic philosophers on an alternative world and on the acquisition of a new self is characteristic of this same attitude. The happy and virtuous self that Hellenistic ethics attempt to define is at its most distant from ordinary attitudes and satisfactions in the area of needs and motivations (Long, 1993: 150). Therefore, it seems possible to argue that the modern anthropologists' conception of self and its interest and needs as a social construct is not that far away from the Hellenistic philosophers. Indeed, it seems clear that they have a strong urge towards this notion. Hellenistic philosophers aimed to transfer the authority to decide on the *telos* and the goals towards it, from the city/community to the person (Hossenfelder, 1986: 247). Possibly the example of the Hellenistic monarchs and generals, together with the vicissitudes that these figures experienced, helped to advocate the alternative paradigm, the transfer of external characteristics, such as power, leadership, control, to the inner self. Its power now consisted of 'an inversion of monarchical appurtenances, minimal possessions, minimal material needs, hierarchical subordination of conventional interests to a controlling rational outlook, and adaptability' (Long, 1993: 152).

Cynicism is usually considered the protagonist in the play of the rise of individualism during the Hellenistic age. Although not a philosophical system, but rather a practical approach to life, it provided the basic framework for the 'invention' of the individual as a separate entity, whose well-being in accordance with his natural endowments, should be the major aim of life. Cynics maintained that the virtue of the wise man makes him self-sufficient (for the possessions of everyone, even the gods, belong to him - Diogenes Laertius, 5.11a). Therefore, they rejected all conventions of civic and social life and pursued a bohemian lifestyle. The influence of the self-sufficiency doctrine has been pervasive in Hellenistic ethics, and, along with the interest in the 'nature' that the individual shares with humanity at large, they formed the two major characteristics of the Hellenistic philosophy. Stoics, especially, have structured a central part of their ethical philosophy around these two major themes. 'The city thus recedes in the background, and man's inner resources and his

rationality can provide the basis for a tranquil and happy life' (Sedley, 1980: 5; also, Long, 1974: 4).

Yet Cynics' emphasis on the individual does not lead to concern about his personal value or rights as such. The sage, being free from his community, holds in contempt those who are weaker than him, or who still hold some hope for the community, and he is not interested in advocating any general theory of rights or of value. In other words, the individual in this sense presents great similarities to the extra-worldly model, as defined by Dumont. Furthermore, Cynicism became fashionable during the middle part of the fourth century, well before the dawn of the Hellenistic age. Therefore, although its influence in Stoicism, Epicureanism and Scepticism should be taken seriously into account, it should not be considered as directly relevant (in the reason-result sequence) to the genesis of individualism (Long, 1974: 3; Rist, 1982: 147-8).

Stoic philosophy, on the other hand, introduced the understanding of empirical individual, and initiated what is called 'philosophy of the self' (although it did not lead to an ethical individualism). Stoic philosophy preserves the Cynic principle (which has a Socratic origin) that virtue is self-sufficient and the only source of happiness, whereas it found an integral role for social values, such as prosperity, public honour, health which have been regarded as the raw material for the correct actions (*kathekonta*) out of which a virtuous disposition can be achieved (Sedley, 1980: 7; Bryant, 1996: 427ff).

Central to the Stoic philosophy of the self is the idea of 'representation' (*phantasia*), which means the way the individual human beings perceive themselves, or what it is for them to have the first person outlook on the world, or a first-person experience. In this sense, self is something essentially individual - a viewer and interlocutor uniquely positioned, a being who has interior access of a kind that is not available to anyone else (Long, 1991: 103). The term '*phantasia*' (representation is only one of the words that we can use to translate it[13]) was firstly introduced as a Platonic term of art meaning the different perception that one and the same entity can generate to different observers. *Phantasiai* therefore are individual experiences, appearances to individuals (Long, 1991: 104). Consequently, all post-Platonic philosophers who wished to refer to an individual experience already had the term to do so: *phantasia*. In Stoicism this term acquires a much greater role than it had in Platonism. According to the Stoic philosophers, it is one of the two main 'forces', together with impulse

(*horme*) that move man and animals alike in the world (Origen, *de Principiis* III.1.2-3; see also Watson, 1994: 4772ff).

Stoics analyse the pre-rational impulse in terms of the idea of what may be called a 'subjective viewpoint'. This has two aspects: firstly, the viewpoint is *subjective* in the sense that it is based on the agent's awareness of its own self. Hierocles, a Stoic of the Roman Imperial period, argues at length that the first object of an animal's (man included) *aisthesis* is not anything external to its body, but the animal itself. Self-awareness, he argues, is the pre-condition of perceiving externals; hence, Stoicism introduces the idea of the empirical individual (and initiates what Mauss and other sociologists or anthropologists argued much later). Secondly, the *viewpoint* is a perspective from which things are seen, i.e. the 'representation' (*phantasia*). Therefore, Stoic analysis of impulse (desire, *horme*) depends on first, the awareness of individual identity and second, the belief about the 'constitution' of the self according to the chosen perspective (Engberg-Pedersen, 1990: 121 and Long, 1991). Thus, any representation becomes part of man's experience, according to whether he gives or withholds his 'assent', which for Stoics is an essential faculty of the human soul (Long, 1991). Man has the right to 'assent', or not, to a decision - and this right resides in the *hegemonicon* (i.e. the governing-principle of the soul), which thus provides the Stoics with the concept of a unitary self, actively engaged as a whole in all moments of an animal's experience (Long, 1974: 171; 1991: 107).

The faculty-assent (*prohairesis*) is the essential self. Epictetus[14] conceives of this as the bearer of personal identity. '*You* are not flesh or hair, but *prohairesis*: if you get that beautiful, then *you* will be beautiful' (III 1.40; emphasis on the translation by Oldfather, 1946). A person's *prohairesis* is the moral character (moral purpose), a function of reason, a state of the soul's 'commanding part'. Yet, since the role of reason is the individual's autonomy and responsibility, Epictetus identifies himself with the practical application of reason in selecting the right goals and values, so as not to extend it beyond control. Thus, Epictetus identifies himself with something personal and personified (Long, 1991).

But the self has certain constrains: the contents of the 'subjective viewpoint' are public and accessible to rational discourse. Although the Stoics stressed so much the notion of self, they did not allot to it any ineradicably subjective content (Engberg-Pedersen, 1990). The Stoic view is that humans are bound to the world and so is human reason. Stoics did not

pursue the points leading to a high evaluation of individuality within a particular group as related to the specific nature of the group to which the individual belonged. This interesting implication derives from the fourth of the Stoic *Categories* (Long, 1974), the 'relative disposition', which classifies properties which one thing or animal possesses in relation to something else. In Stoicism, this idea of inter-relation is vital: man needs to be related in a certain way to Nature or God. The Stoic philosophy of Nature provided a cosmic orientation for personal identity, which makes human relationships implicit in life, according to reason: 'The good of a rational being consists in communal association' (V.16) (Long, 1974: 163; also, see Bryant, 1996). Nature unites mankind in a civic association, since it implants an impulse toward familial and social relationships (Cicero, *De Fin.* iii.6; *De Off.* 1.12). This forms the basis of Stoic ethics. Therefore, the starting point for the Stoics is *oikeiosis*, meaning that moral development is the recognition that community life and virtue are pre-eminently things which belong to human nature (Long, 1974: 191). As a result, we cannot fail to notice two inconsistencies here, which are worked by the Stoics: first, the use of nature as both an objective and subjective factor, and second, the rational assent which may give independent decision capability (subjective consciousness), but is objectively determined by the necessary sequence of cause and effect (or *logos*) (Long, 1974: 207).

In Stoic political, but also ethical thinking (it is hard to distinguish), there are two strands, or phases, related to the idea of 'a community of sage'.[15] The first is presented in Zeno's (now lost) *Republic* and suggests - as far as we can say - a radical, 'natural', property-held-in-common society. Although we do not know whether this was an actual political ideal, or the discussion of an utopia, we can rely on the most important and certain thought, that there is real community only among the sages and virtuous people; all the non-wise communities are not real ones (full wisdom meaning sharing the ethics and 'natural' understanding and appreciation of the Stoics). The second strand is far more conventional, and is represented by Cicero (e.g. see *De Officiis*): this suggests that the social and political structures of conventional states constitute the framework in which people can practice the *kathekonta*[16] that provide the means toward full wisdom and virtue. Relevant issues are discussed in Panaetius' theory[17] of four roles (*personae*) which includes the idea that specific people should shape their lives in the light of what is appropriate to their specific talents and interests. But taken in the context of the communal framework, Panaetius' idea does not lead to a more radical ethical individualism, such as that we find in Nietzsche or Sartre,[18] but these ideas ('community of the wise', 'city of gods and humans') figure as normative

ideas, providing an objective and ultimate framework to ground ethical life (like Zeno). The idea of benefiting others seems to be standard in both strands, beyond the immediate relations (family, friends and city); but although for the radical strand this is a negation of the social and political structures, in the more conventional it is more a normative ideal (more about Panaetius' theory of the four *personae* in section IX) (Gill, 1995: 58-60).

As a result, we could summarise this brief presentation of the Stoic ideas[19] by saying that Stoics did not pursue the point of seeing grounds for a high evaluation of individuality *within* a particular group. Perhaps, as Rist suggests, the reason is that for the Stoics, as for Plato and Aristotle, 'perfect being is finite being, and a theory that would associate perfection with individual uniqueness might seem to compromise that principle of finitude' (1982: 150).

In Epicurean philosophy human beings are seen as chance products of a world which is itself the mechanical product of atoms moving in an infinite void. Epicurus was a dedicated admirer of Democritus, and it is on his atomic theory that he rests his own. Nevertheless, humans share free will. Although this does not mean that he introduces anything like the modern theories of free will (Annas, 1991), some things do depend on human agents (they are not *eph' hemin* - up to us - they are *para hemas* - depend on us) (Annas, 1991: 90). He uses the term development (*apogegennemenon*) for the way people evolve, and tends to identify the self with development, contrasting it with the 'constitution'. Epicurus argues that people 'advise, combat and reform another, as having the cause in themselves and not only in the original constitution and in the necessity of what environs us and enters into us spontaneously' (LS 20c (2), and in Annas, 1991: 89). Therefore, to the extent that something depends on us, it depends on something developing, self-moving, not merely a series of mechanical responses to stimuli. The way actions depend on us is explained chiefly by our rationality; thus, our actions can be flexible and sensitive to circumstances and hence, allow for the development of dispositions and character to take place (Annas, 1991: 90).

Human agents' morality refers to one goal that we all naturally seek, pleasure. This lies in freedom from anxiety, an end to which all philosophical research must be geared (Sedley, 1980: 9). The Epicurean way of life, therefore, requires an external environment that will be capable of satisfying people's natural and necessary desires of pleasure and freedom from pain. Although he recognises that to a certain extent his contemporary citizens and societies

have the accumulated cultural experience, intelligence and wherewithal to secure food and organise security, mainly by legal means, and although they are already utilitarians in their pursuit of aims, misconceptions about what constitutes a pleasurable sentiment and mutual benefit restrict them from having an 'ideal' community (Long, 1986: 313). Epicureans, consequently, founded 'alternative' communities (Epicurus' own Garden was the first), and had the material means to live utterly self-sufficient lives, with their spiritual welfare secured by the master's teaching (Long, 1986: 286). Therefore, Epicurus rejects the idea that a *polis* is essential for human flourishing. Thereby, his ideas were understood to imply that each person is just concerned for himself and consequently, the Epicureans came to be thought of as radical individualists (Long, 1986: 290).

Yet this does not correspond to the truth. Epicureans simply advocate a different, 'alternative' kind of society, and they do not reject it altogether, neither in a moral nor a political respect. Epicureans discuss human individuals in terms of possessing various types of value-producing qualities, but there is a striking lack of concern about what we would call a 'unique' aspect of individuality; in Epicurus' world even gods are numerically different, but qualitatively identical. The question of uniqueness is thus left aside (Rist, 1982: 148).

In political terms, on the one hand, Epicureanism has theories about justice in conventional, non-Epicurean societies. This is reflected in Lucretius' poem (marking the summit of the curve of Epicureanism in the first century BCE) *De Rerum Natura*, where he presents a three-stage development of human civilisation.[20] On the other hand, in the Epicurean communities such as Epicurus' own Garden, all members lived in harmony reassured by the fact that they shared the Epicurean ethical standards of friendship or virtue. As a result, Epicureans, just like one strand of Stoic thought, take the view that the only real kind of community depends on philosophically-based understanding (Gill, 1995: 60; Frischer, 1982). Epicureans thus are very much like the rest of the Greek philosophical schools, at least as far as a communal ideal is advocated, even though they base their community on a very different ground.

To conclude this brief discussion, we should add that Hellenistic philosophy is far from the cultivation of 'individualism', as defined by Dumont, i.e. the approbation of the individual's unique identity and existence in the world. As far as the independence of the individual from the group to which he belongs, (the first category of Foucault), this also remains

unsatisfied (only the third category of Foucault is covered). Although the individual should set his own goals, he is not conceived as living outside a community, although the values of the community, and the community itself, has and should be reconsidered. In other words, the individual is conceived of as person, i.e. as agent-in-society, socially constructed, but in need of reconsidering this society and its values that determine him, and of reshaping them on a philosophical and virtue-defined basis.

V. Notions of 'individualism' in Hellenistic philosophy: ethic philosophy.

The second strand of the above argument leads us to enquire about the individual as a moral, ethical agent, with personal responsibility for his *telos*. The traditional approach seems to advocate a developmental process from a relatively primitive understanding of human agency toward a conscious human being responsible for his decisions during the Hellenistic period. Snell (1953), for instance, claims that since in Homer there are no words that could be translated by our 'mind' or 'soul' man is not presented as a concrete individual, and since he is presented as acting under the influence of external (or quasi-external, like *ate*) forces, he is not experienced as isolated or autonomous; man is absolutely embedded in a social unit. The same is also true, he continues, for Greek tragedy, e.g. Euripides *Medea* (see esp. 1021-80). Others, like Dodds (1951) and Adkins (1970), associate the understanding of human agency in Greek poetry with the influence of a 'shame-culture', or a society where people are judged according to their actions and not their intentions; therefore, the social status is more important than their individual or internal motives. In Vernant (1991b), these patterns have been combined with a structural approach; he suggested that there is a development (tragedy represents the transitional point) from the stage where responsibility was shared between himself, one's household and the divine powers, to the stage where the individual undertakes personal responsibility. All those explanations have been based on the assumption that a decision is personal only when the one who makes the decision regards himself as a unified 'I', a personal centre of self-consciousness and will; and they reflect influential philosophical ideas of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially those of Descartes and Kant.

These ideas have been recently challenged strongly by scholars such as Williams (1993), MacIntyre (1985), and Wilkes (1988).[21] Williams has suggested that the picture of human

psychology that is presented by the ancient Greeks is very close to modern understanding of human experience, and especially to two ideas central to modern psychology, used extensively by him, i.e. 'agent regret' and 'moral luck', which means that people accept responsibility for actions they perform without being able to assent to them completely. Insofar as the psychology and ethics of early Greek poetry and philosophy express these ideas, they reveal a profound response to human experience, rather than a primitive picture of human agency and responsibility. Therefore, even though in Homer, and in Plato, Aristotle and some other Greek accounts too, human psychology is pictured as the interplay between parts or functions, this does not mean that the individuals do not undertake responsibility for their actions, and therefore, that they are not ethically responsible; the picture of the ethical human being presented as such has many similarities with the individual as presented by modern functionalist psychology, e.g. see Dennet (1979). Another parallel that can be also drawn is that between Aristotelian and Stoic motivation and modern 'action theory' (see Gill, 1995: notes 12-17).

Furthermore, another Kantian idea that can be traced behind the traditional approaches is that a properly moral response involves a combination of a distinctively individual stance with the recognition of the universal application of moral principles. According to Kant, a moral response involves 'autonomy', i.e. binding oneself to universal laws, as opposed to principles which apply to a particular context or class. As a result, Dodds (1951), like Adkins (1970), Snell (1953) and those following the traditional approach in general, associates the idea of 'shame' (αἰδώς) with early Greek thought, and relates it to an ethical framework that stresses the social status of one's acts rather than the individual or internal motives. Williams (1993) argues that these ideas are used to mark a distinction between a cultural framework in which ethical standards depend on social judgements, and one in which they are based on the individual's inner sense of what is right and what is wrong. This distinction is typically connected with the assumption that the second type is more mature and developed than the first. This reflects the Kantian belief presented above (i.e. that each individual should bind himself to universal laws rather than relying on the ethical framework of its society). Similar ideas have been expressed by Cairns (1993) and MacIntyre (1985). Cairns also argues that shame (αἰδώς) does not function as a moral force only due to external influences, but also depends on the *internalisation* of the ethical judgements of a community by an individual, so that these become 'its own' as well as part of the discourse in society. MacIntyre, moreover, argues that moral thinking has no validity

unless it is grounded in the attitudes and institutions of a particular community and culture. He also criticises the prevalent modern idea that the role that the individual plays in the community and the web of roles and practices that make up his shared life in it do not have to be taken into consideration when defining the moral life and status of an individual. Thus, MacIntyre suggests that Homeric thought is extremely valuable, since it presents the proper way of living within a community, and he commends Aristotle's thoughts about virtue, which is again exercised within a communal schema (1985: chs. 1-8, 14-18; Gill, 1995: 26; Gill, 1996: 7-8).[22]

The ideas presented by Julia Annas (1992), are very interesting indeed; she stresses that the starting point of Greek ethical theory is reflection about one's life as a whole, particularly about its overall goal (*telos*). This is *eudaimonia*, uniformly accepted as the primary aim of man's life, but fiercely debated as far as its content is concerned by the Greek philosophers. Nevertheless, Annas stresses, even though Greek philosophers give a central role to *arete* (virtue) in their account of happiness, they allow scope for other-concern. This point is taken over by Gill (1995: 29), who further underlines that ethical reflection is conceived in Greek philosophy as a shared debate, rather than as individual reflection, concerning a shared human happiness instead of a personal life. He also stresses that 'this debate is conceived as partly extending and partly counteracting, the guidance about goals of action and life contained in pre-reflective discourse between people and within communities'. These two points contribute to what he sees as a dominant image in Greek thought: that of human beings as situated in three inter-connected types of 'dialogue' (or discourse): reflective debate, interactive exchange, and 'dialogue' with other parts of the personality (see Gill 1995: 29, also chpt. II, notes 19-25 and 27-31 - examples from ancient Greek literature - and chpt. VI, notes 6-12; also Gill, 1996).

I will not go into further details about Greek ethical notions, which after all, are not the main focus of this chapter. However, I will keep these ideas in the background of this discussion, to reinforce my argument that we do have to conceive of the 'individual' and 'society' notions of the Greeks and Romans in their own terms, and not through nineteenth- or twentieth-century lenses.

To conclude this strand, the idea of the traditional scholarly work that the individual was not 'present' in the early Greek thought and only came to the forefront as a moral and ethical

agent in the Hellenistic period, has to be reconsidered in the light of contemporary ideas about moral and ethical philosophy. Even if we do not adopt those, we cannot fail to reflect on them and realise that the ideas about what constitutes an 'individual', and therefore, when and under what circumstances this notion was first introduced, have been biased and pre-determined. Consequently, conclusions deriving from them need to be reconsidered.

VI. 'Cultivation of the self'.

Before we change the area of enquiry, we should also discuss, briefly, the issue of the 'cultivation of the self',[23] which arises in relation both to philosophy and religion (as we will also see in section VIII). Martin (1994) structures part of his arguments referring to Hellenistic thought around the philosophical proverbs *'gnonai eauton'* and *'epimeleisthai eautou'*, which have been fundamental in the Socratic philosophy, and are based upon the axiom (documented by Herodotus, 5.29; Thucydides, 2.40.2; 6.9.2; Plato, *Prot.* 318 E and so forth) that those who take good care of their own affairs, will best take care of the affairs of the city. Therefore, even these most 'individualistic' assertions, Martin argues, have a communal rather than personal character. During the Hellenistic age, the argument continues, 'the Socratic notion of communal care became extended from being the concern of a young man' (as in the case of Alcibiades and Alexander - since these assertions have been especially used in connection to those two individuals), 'to being considered a permanent duty throughout one's life, and from political relationships to encompass all human relationships' (Martin, 1994: 124). But although it was taken up by philosophy and placed at the centre of the 'art of existence' that philosophy claimed to be, it never became an expression of individualism, not even during the Roman Imperial period when it reached the peak of its popularity, but always carried social connotations.

Philosophy, the main source of cultivation, was not an exercise in solitude, but a social praxis. Consequently, it found support and its social basis not only in the philosophical schools, but also in relation to customary links of kinship, friendship and obligation. It was also closely related to medicine and science. Furthermore, personal and social self-knowledge occupied a considerable place. The theme found its highest philosophical development in Epictetus: 'the care of the self is a privilege-duty, a gift obligation that ensures our freedom while forcing us to take ourselves as the object of all our diligence'

(quoted by Foucault, 1986: 47). As a result, we would suggest that the cultivation of the self was part of the art of self-knowledge, which also took the form of exercises in poverty, self-examination, labour of thought with itself as object, and conversions to self. Consequently, the cultivation of the self became part, not of the development of individualism, but of certain modifications relating to the formative elements of ethical subjectivity (Foucault, 1986).

VII. The 'city-state' in the Hellenistic world.

In this section, we will deal with the refutation of the arguments concerning the decline of the city-state during the Hellenistic period. The dichotomy between individual and community had never been as sharp as it is usually accepted, and the individual in the Greek world acquired his individuality by his inclusion in a social network. Similarly, the transition from an arrangement where the city-state held a prominent position to one where that position had drastically changed has been the product of a long process, which exceeds the limits of what we have termed the Hellenistic period.

In numerical terms, the Hellenistic period coincides with a vast expansion of the *polis*. Many cities were founded by Alexander and colonised by Macedonians (Jones, 1940). In qualitative terms though, it is generally held that the Hellenistic period is a period of decline for the city-state (Gauthier, 1993). It has been widely admitted that Philip II and Alexander the Great were responsible for its decline and fall, that after Chaeronea the Greek *polis* ceased to exist or to be the frame in which Greek civilisation achieved its perfection, and therefore that the Greek ceased to be a citizen of his city and became a citizen of the world (Giovannini, 1993: 283).

Whether this picture corresponds to an objective point of view or not, depends solely on the starting assumptions. If we take the traditional view that the Greek *polis* was an independent and by definition individualistic city-state, then our conclusions would not differ much from the above. Similarly, if we take the 'sociological definition' (more of economic character, in fact) by Runciman, that there are two conditions for a *polis*: (a) a distinction between citizens and non-citizens and (b) autonomy in the monopoly of means of coercion; then it is obvious that the *poleis* which survived and flourished during the Hellenistic period are *poleis*

only in name, i.e. urban communities with a life of their own and not 'citizen-states' (1990: 348).

If, on the other hand, we see the city-state as 'a partnership in living well' (Giovannini, 1993: 283), a community of a particular kind, and the characteristic expression of the collective consciousness of the Greeks (Murray, 1990: 19-20), then we reach rather different conclusions. It appears, then, that during the Hellenistic period the city preserved its role and identity better than ever. Giovannini (1993: 283) has argued that the *Gymnasium* and theatre, the symbols of the Greek culture and education continue to adorn the cities and serve both their practical purposes and their symbolic/metaphoric ones. Furthermore, the cities continue to provide their citizens with identity, and this do not cease to be so not even under the Romans or Parthians (Dihle, 1993: 290).

It will all become coherent if once again we reconsider the issues related to the 'independence' of the Greek state in sociological and philosophical terms. First of all, we should note that the Greek cities never in their history were isolated or individualistic, but were operating within a large(r) community consisting of the Greek commonwealth. Greeks were not members of that as individuals, but through their families, clans and, ultimately, cities. The *polis* had to send delegations to the panhellenic festivals and support a network of interhellenic relations (Giovannini, 1993: 285). The leagues (*koina*) that seem to predominate in the Hellenistic period, and the undertaking of leadership by those leagues and the successors of Alexander (later the Romans), do not introduce so much of an innovation for the Greek world as may seem at first sight. This is so not only because the civic institutions continue to function - the official domination takes (at least at the beginning) the form of beneficiaries and the citizens keep being involved in the running of their own municipal affairs, protection of public buildings, religious affairs and so on - but even more importantly because this sort of 'independent-dependency' relation was already familiar to most of them.

Most information known about the Greek *polis* comes from Athens (due to the number of Athenian writers). But this seems to obscure the fact that the majority of Greek *poleis* were before Alexander organised in leagues, the Greek cities of Asia Minor were under the Persians (from 545 to 480 BCE and then from 386 to 334 BCE), while in the mainland smaller cities were subject to Athens, Sparta or Thebes (Gauthier, 1993: 217). Furthermore,

and due to the religious aspect of the city as mentioned above, the Greeks did not face the 'wider' than their city community for the first time, and they were not uncomfortable about having multiple identities (concentric circle identities), in being for instance Athenian, Dorian (or, Ionian ...), Greek (see also Hammond, 1951).

Furthermore, another point that should be made is that the Hellenistic period offers an inversion of the classical facts, i.e. we are very well informed about the hegemonic cities of the classical period, the smaller ones (that Aristotle mentions in his *Politics*) are unknown to us and therefore were merely part of the *decor*, while in the Hellenistic period the situation is inverted. Although the sources are by no means sufficient to fully bring to our knowledge hegemonic cities, e.g. Rhodes, the epigraphical evidence available brings alive the smaller cities and offers an invaluable insight into the political and social cells of ancient society (Gauthier, 1993: 217).

In terms of political theory, there are two interesting points: firstly, the Hellenistic monarchs as well as the Romans after them, needed the city-state in order to retain their control over the Greek world, which was organised in this way. Therefore, they displayed a respect (even if superficial) for their status (a respect varying according to their geographical position, their political environment, size, resources, prestige, status and so on) (Gauthier, 1993: 212). At the same time, the Peripatetics (who founded the Alexandrian Museum) and the Stoic and Epicurean philosophies, as we have already discussed, perpetuated the 'orthodoxy' of the organisation in a city-state as ideal (although they changed the necessary bond for such a connection). There was no satisfactory substitute for the theory of community, and although leagues were quite successful (e.g. the Achaean survived from 280 to 146 BCE) there were no attempts to justify federation on philosophical basis (Hammond, 1951: 50).

The city-state was not a monolithic association; on the contrary it developed a network of associations (the ties of kingship by blood, matched with the multiple forms of political, religious and social groupings, companionship for a purpose (whatever that would be) that created the sense of community (Murray, 1986). As far as individual freedom is concerned within this group, it is worth quoting in full Murray in the *Oxford History of Classical World*:

> 'In such a world it might be argued that multiple ties limited the freedom of the individual, and there is certainly an important sense in which the conception of the

individual apart from the community is absent from Greek thought: the freedom derives precisely from the fact that the same man belongs to a deme, a phratry, a family, a group of relatives, a religious association: and, living in this world of conflicting groups and social duties, he possesses the freedom to choose between their demands, and so to escape only particular forms of dominant social patterning. It is this which explains the amazing creativity and freedom of thought of classical Athens: the freedom which results from belonging in many places is no less a freedom than that which results from belonging nowhere, and which creates a society united only in its neuroses' (1986: 209-210).

VIII. Society and individuals in religion.

Religion in the Hellenistic age has been thought to illustrate most clearly the 'discovery of individualism'. Mystery cults in particular have been treated as the major testimony of the need of individuals to find personal salvation and establish a personal communication with the divine element. Burkert (1987), in his monograph on the subject, suggests that the traces of the early appearance of both mystery cults and individuals all date back to the sixth century BCE and reach their peak at the Hellenistic period. Moreover, Fortune (*Tyche*) becomes a dominant figure among both traditional and new deities, thus signifying, it is said, the same need for establishing a personal destiny and for enduring an individualistic life.

Contrary to this traditional view, Martin (1994) argues that although the classical perception of collective identity undoubtedly was challenged during the Hellenistic era, the social basis of identity was never challenged at all. 'Rather it produced alternative strategies of social inclusion, strategies defined not by place of birth but by inclusion in a newly defined international plurality of social groupings in which membership was conferred by invitation and instruction' (1994: 130). Nowhere is this idea concerning Hellenistic culture in general more easy to prove than in Hellenistic religion.

Martin supports his view with a series of arguments; he refutes (briefly) Burkert's assertion presented above (discussed earlier in this thesis) with reference to Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* and Aristotle's *Politics* (1253a), which both clearly suggest the impossibility of life out of a social group, to return to Hellenistic religion, and its survival and continuation in the

Roman period, and particularly to the only surviving document which describes mystery cults, i.e. the second-century CE novel of Apuleius *The Golden Ass* or *Metamorphoses*. The novel's basic theme is the 'miserable wanderings' of Lucius (11.20) (the hero) in his attempt to find salvation, i.e. to re-join humanity, after having been turned to a beast (ass) due to his 'individualist assertions'. Socially excluded, he wanders desperately until he joins, after invitation, the society of Isis (one of the most prominent of the Hellenistic societies). Thus, Lucius acquires a new collective identity and he re-joins humanity.

This issue, besides the obvious argument against life out of a community, needs to be discussed further, since it brings to light the issue of religious community. In the classical period, the fundamental framework for Greek religion has been *polis*. Each *polis* was a religious system, autonomous and at the same time part of the more complex world-of-the-polis system. The *polis* mediated its citizens' participation in panhellenic religion, and the individual is perceived as participating not on its own behalf, but on behalf of the group, of the *polis*. This does not mean that Greek religion was a 'group religion' in the sense that group worship was the norm and individual cultic acts were exceptional; it was the individual who was the primary cultic unit in *polis* religion and not a unit like, for example, the *oikos*. Nevertheless, the *polis* regulated all religious activity, not only the cult of polis' sub-divisions, for instance the *demos'* cult, as well as cults which we would consider private, like the *oikos* cult (Sourvinou-Inwood, 1990).

In the Hellenistic era that model changes, it is argued by the traditional approach, due to the weakening of the city tie. Risking contradiction the argument continues, with religious communities being created in order to meet the need of the individual lost in the vast new world, to belong to a group (Tarn, 1952). These religious communities took the form of clubs, primarily social and religious bodies grouped around the worship of some god; possibly the more purely religious ones were called *thiasoi*, while the *eranoi* were primarily social bodies. Most of the clubs were very small - a membership of 100 was quite unusual. About 200 BCE, family associations appear, founded by some individual to perpetuate their family's memory. Every club had its temple and coped with its perpetual financial difficulties either by letting it, or by the contribution of some wealthy member who was afterwards honoured accordingly. The clubs modeled themselves on the city organisation (they had officials with similar names and passed resolution like city degrees); they became so much the standard model that the most diverse forms of activity - the philosophic schools,

the Museum at Alexandria, the Dionysiac artists, Ptolemy's garrison troops - all adopted the same form of organisation (Tarn, 1952: 93-95).

The individuals in the clubs remained independent, especially on the economic level, and fully integrated into the complex structures of family and *polis*; they contributed, of course, interest, time, influence and part of their private means. This independence, along with the fact that these societies were not friendly societies in the sense of economic or other co-operation among their members (Burkert, 1987: 32), support for the poor and so on, led some scholars to suggest that ancient mystery cults did not form religious communities, reserving this term for the communities created by Judaism or Christianity. Undoubtedly, they did not form such communities; yet, this does not mean that they advocated some sort of individualism; quite the opposite, because they were very much influenced by the ancient city model, which itself served as a sort of religious community. *Ekklesia* undoubtedly indicates a different level of involvement, and it is offered as an alternative society model. Nevertheless, it operates more or less on a similar to the city-state basis, as an intermediary between the individual and the deity. Naturally, neither the Hellenistic clubs nor, of course, *ekklesia* in the Christian or Jewish sense, were substitutes of the city-state. They simply followed the 'essential communal' nature of religion in antiquity (Griffiths, 1989: 238). Christian ideology is particularly characteristic of this sort of attitude, evidence of which offers both the commandment 'love your neighbour as yourself' and the story of the Good Samaritan, where the proverb *'epimeleisthai eautou'* takes a more communal character and is addressed to the others (Martin, 1994: 129-130). Green (1990: 588), risking self-contradiction in his turn, concludes that religion during this period represents the 'urge to retreat from the self-determination, to seek authority outside the self'. In other words, salvation was at base a social position confirmed by membership to confer status (Martin, 1994).

The second issue about religion that should be discussed is Fortune, *Tyche* and its undeniable popularity during the Hellenistic period, attested mainly by art. In order to discuss this subject fully we should extend the chronological limits of our enquiry to the full Hellenistic period in religious terms, meaning the twilight of pagan religion, i.e. until the fourth century of our era. The Hellenistic notion of Fate had its origins in the classical Greek assumption of a natural or cosmic order of things, expressed by *Moira*. *Moires* (three), although they did not belong to the Olympian Gods, were among the most ancient

deities, and their power was considered greater than that of the other gods. The issue of Fate was brought forward during the Hellenistic period, probably as a consequence of the 'individual's loss'; nevertheless, this idea needs to be seen in the light of Ptolemaic cosmology. The novel ideas it introduced about the cosmic order and chaos, which are guided by forces far beyond the individual's control and understanding, along with the actual internationalism deriving from Alexander's conquests, led to new ethical questions about individual existence. During the Hellenistic age, the traditional structures about *Moira* were reconsidered, along with the new cosmological enquiries, and provided a new systemic basis for the religions of the Hellenistic world. Mystery religions particularly distinguished between *Tyche*, as a personification of the Ptolemaic view of deficiency in the terrestrial realm, and *Agathe Tyche*, the personification of a cosmic order of things. *Agathe Tyche* was able to intercede on behalf of humans in the face of a capricious fate. With the Ptolemaic differentiation of the bounded cosmos, and the consequent immigration of the traditional along with the newly naturalised deities to the celestial realm, access to a divinely sanctioned but new distinct order was perceived as an even more fortuitous and individual affair (Martin, 1987: 160). This whole attitude was addressed through and by mystery religions, which appealed to a broad spectrum of social situations and provided support for everybody, 'establishing socio-political identity for all individuals, whether 'rural' (Eleusinian), or urban (Isaic), male (Mithraic) or female (traditional Dionysiac), ethnic (Jewish) or catholic (Christian), ecstatic (Dionysian) or bureaucratic (Mithraic), or exclusive (Jewish, Christian) or non-exclusive in some combination or juxtaposition' (Martin, 1987: 161). Mysteries therefore reintegrated the individual into some sort of ideal, spiritual society.

IX. Material culture.

It has been argued that, just as the perceived prevailing individualism of the Hellenistic period dominated philosophy, so did the visual arts and literature genres.[24] This has been understood to stem from the interest of artists and craftsmen in exploring the inner experience and nature of the individual. The most striking development in this direction is usually considered the revolution in portraiture, as well as a new interest in the artistic world for novel subjects: grotesque figures, passionate subjects, theatrical elements, interest in the exotic and in realism (as opposed to the classical idealism) are some of the new trends in

Hellenistic art allegedly suggesting an individualistic and cosmopolitan attitude (Pollitt, 1986: 10; Tarn, 1952: 316).

Portraiture in particular has been associated with the development of biography, and therefore, with the intellectual history that produced an inward looking disposition and a preoccupation with the life of the individual. Thus, the ground was fertile for art to pursue the inner nature of the subjects, rather than the social, public façade (Pollitt, 1986: 64). Furthermore, portraiture, emphasising the personality of individuals, was argued to be inimical to the group-orientation of the Greek city-states. Therefore, the fact that the first realist portraits were created under the Persian rule (Robertson, 1975; Pollitt, 1986: 64), i.e. where the typical Greek restraints upon individual ambition and power did not exist, seems absolutely reasonable. But, no matter how attractive this suggestion might seem, it is not strictly correct, since attempts toward more realist portraits (and not only 'role portraits') also occurred in the Greek world, at an early stage of the fourth century BCE. The fourth century sculptor Demetrios of Alopeke, for example, was remembered for the remarkable realism of his portraits even in the Roman period (Pollitt, 1986: 64).[25] Roman 'Republic portraits' were influenced by the busts and wax masks of the renowned ancestors of prominent families which were kept in the *atria* of patrician households. Their existence is evidenced by Polybius in the second century BCE (6. 53). That means that they were related to household, and therefore, 'group' tradition, rather than individual choice.[26]

Votive figurines, on the other hand, have also been perceived as expressions of individualism (Uhlenbrock, 1990). Martin (1994) discussed that argument in the last part of his article, and suggested that far from being highly individualistic, these figurines - found in tombs and sanctuaries - are expressions of an ideology of self-inclusion, as designating techniques to establish 'right relationships' with other humans and deities. Thus he suggests that they were used to establish bonds between the person who offered them and the other devotees, as well as to support and sustain the class that depended on them to make a living (i.e. craftsmen, shopkeepers and so on). Furthermore, they were supposed to present tangible and enduring evidence for the successful strategies of piety. These works of art were seen as memorialising a collective piety that would re-establish 'a sense of place, an enduring spatial framework in which a community might distribute its richest ideas and images with respect to specific locations and sanctuaries' (Martin, 1994: 133). Besides the material links between the new social formations and cult sites that the figurines established,

Martin contends, their use as funerary offerings ensured that the redefined locative definitions of social existence endured over time. Therefore, he continues, these figurines should be considered material tokens of inclusion and membership in an enduring sub-culture, rather than indications of any personal or individualistic enterprise (Martin, 1994: 133-4).

Clear and satisfying as the above explanation is, however, it probably treats only part of the argument. The figurines' style and subject, no less than their use can classify them as bearers of individualism. The interest in human beings, in their individuality (attested by the presentation of grotesque, or extraordinary and exotic figures, e.g. deformed, aged people, and so on) forms an interesting indication of the concerns artists developed in searching for other, more contemporary and less idealised, areas of life. Nevertheless, we should note that the fact that there is this new trend and that interest does not suffice to prove the 'rise of individualism', since this is just a part - and a small one - of what is needed in order to characterise art as bearer of individualism. The individuality may lay with the subject, with the style, or, with the creator (artist) signing his work, employing methods of making his identity separate and easily discernible. In this last sense, individual artists have made their identity known already in the sixth century BCE, when they first started inscribing their names on the bases of statues along with the names of the dedicators (as had been the older custom) (Snodgrass, 1980: 186). Furthermore, the transition from one artistic style to the next (be it from the archaic to the severe, from the severe to the classic and so on) presupposes some artists developing a similar exercise of individualism and a similar kind of intellectual and moral courage.

Collections and collecting activities during this period offer one more, extremely important insight into the notion of individualism, as this applies in the Hellenistic period. Hellenistic collections (like the Roman ones) were formed indiscriminately by works of art that belonged to different periods and were made by different artists. Attalus I, for instance, assembled a comprehensive collection of statuary, where examples of famous artists from all periods of Hellenic culture were represented. From the draped Graces by Bupalus of Chios, dated to the sixth century BCE, to copies of famous works made by contemporary artists, they all found their place in the Hellenistic collections, assembled by kings who were more interested in establishing themselves as patrons and successors of Alexander's panhellenic ideal, than in establishing their individuality.[27] Most importantly, originality of the work of

art (although appreciated) was not a necessary condition for the inclusion of an object in a collection. Copies were acceptable, and even these were limited to a certain number of sculptural models, that became the norm for the Roman collectors.[28] Instead of being monotonous and unimaginative, this had only positive connotations, since it assured social acceptance for the owners, and 'a sense of cultural belonging, of *romanitas*' (Bartman, 1994: 78). The only quality which was important for these collectors was the Greek origin or style of the objects. As a result, we can argue that the majority of collections formed an attempt to provide their owners/creators with an identity, to help them recreate either only for themselves, or for their people, an ideal community to which to belong. Collecting is not an exercise in solitude - at least not at this particular period, but also perhaps generally - but an attempt to make the collector part of a wider community, to provide a communal identity for him. The origins of the phenomenon, therefore, coincide with, and correspond to, such a need.

Consequently, we can support the suggestion we made in the introduction of this chapter, concerning the possibility of belonging to many but different communities during the Hellenistic period. Thus we can maintain that when the city-state was dominant, collections were held in local temples and panhellenic sanctuaries, such as Delphi, and were initiated by the city-state because as a collective body it could, and should, take action on behalf of its citizens to secure their Hellenic (or Ionian, Dorian etc.) identity. In the Hellenistic period onwards, this initiative belongs to different 'bodies'. At first there were monarchs, who undertook the role of the city and initiated in their turn the assemblage of collections in sanctuaries and temples, but also created their own identity-sanctuaries, in order to reinforce the group-identity and, through it, their own. Then came prominent citizens, who having been in a position to 'take care of themselves', were in a position to take care of the affairs of their fellow-citizens (however widely this is perceived) and to supply an identity for them by, and through, creating an identity for themselves. In other words, despite the major political developments, changes in the political structure and universalism, people still felt the need to belong in a wider group; therefore, instead of advocating heautocratism/individualism, they simply searched for a new 'community' to which to belong.

To support this claim further, we can return to Panaetius' four *personae* theory that has reached us through Cicero, and that forms a kind of middle-ground where Hellenistic

philosophy and Roman culture meet. In this theory we encounter the justification of at least one mode of collecting during this period, and a clear presentation of the relationship between creating identity and collections. In *De Officiis*, Cicero declares that the individual should behave according to four considerations that he calls *personae*: the first two are the nature people share with all humans, and the individual nature of each separately. The third is the *persona* arising from circumstances imposed by chance and time, while the fourth depends on personal choices, according to judgments about the life each person wishes to lead (de Lacy, 1977: 163). Much ink has been spilt on attempts to define *persona* (e.g. Gill, 1988, where also bibliography); and so, we will not concentrate on this. Instead, we will focus on a notion that the four *personae* theory shares with Roman collecting: *decorum*. The development of the former (I. 107-121) is part of the section devoted to the latter (I. 93-151), and it is obvious that there is a close interrelation between the two doctrines. *Decorum* is presented as the outward aspect of moral excellence, and the four *personae* are part of Cicero's advice of how his readers can achieve this moral excellence. It depends on acting according to nature and in an appropriate manner as humans and individuals. Interestingly, the notion of individualism is four-fold: it has what we should call a 'natural component' - human nature, the same for everybody - two individual(istic) parts, the very personal character of each individual and the personal choices for which everybody bears complete responsibility, and finally, an outward parameter, i.e. circumstances. All these, however, form part of a social frame, and the practice of individuality falls within the borders shaped by social concerns. Cicero understands individuality in a highly conventional way, where being an individual responsible for their own choices does not contradict, but instead reinforces the fact of belonging in a social group, that of the Roman élite. Individuality, therefore, is part of the social role everyone is called to undertake, and acting as a conscious individual is as much part of appropriateness as is decorating one's house according to one's position and social standing.

> 'In his *decorum* theory, then, Panaetius articulated a widely held assumption: that if a person was to 'play' his social role well, and in a way that would enable him to 'shine' in his society, he had to adhere to certain accepted patterns of speech, movement, and style of life in general.' (Gill, 1988: 195).

In other words, to 'acquire' individuality ('shine in society') means going through the social network, which in order to be maintained had to include a certain set of attitudes, central among which was the 'decoration' of one's house in an appropriate manner. We can see, therefore, that the pursue of individuality goes through behaving and living according to

social patterns, and that material culture, as well as personal behaviour and composure, is a means toward this pursuit.

This view is in accordance with the Stoic philosophical belief that the acquisition and possession of private property is part of human nature, and so is the interaction of individual human beings with one another as property owners (Long, 1997: 15).[29] Property ownership and legal accumulation of it were considered functions of a morally good person, and gained part of their justification in their contribution to the well-being of society. More specifically, material possessions, although they had no moral value for the Stoics, had instrumental value, for they allowed 'living in agreement with nature' (LS 58m). Stoics did not perceive any inconsistency between belief in private ownership and in the community of reason and justice they advocated (Cicero, *De Fin.,* III.67). On the contrary, Stoic philosophy understood and justified holding material possessions and treating them with respect and affection, as part of man's *oikeiosis*, i.e. the process of accommodating himself in the world. They actually defined society's role as being to safeguard private possessions (in a manner that resembles Locke's, and other eighteenth century philosophers' claims - Cicero, *De Off.,* II. 73). This belief, however, did not lead to placing individuals above society. On the contrary, the Stoics treated 'the disposition to choose material property as a natural and rational extension of self-love and of human identity as a social animal' (Long, 1997: 29). The Stoic position regarding material possessions then can be interpreted as follows: the appropriation of private property is a natural human tendency, that helps the individuals to establish their identity and place in society. In this sense, collecting expresses exactly these views. They offer to the collector an opportunity to establish his personal identity, to appropriate the world, and also to acquire, or construct, his place in the social sphere.

X. Conclusions.

The aim of this chapter has been to discuss the role of the individual in the nature of classical collecting. Starting from the assumption that collections are parameters to shape identities and to define the self, as well as attempts to reconcile the citizen (individual) with the centres of power and aid his claims for a position as an independent agent within them, we set out to explore the interrelationship between individuals and material culture in the classical world. For that purpose, it was thought necessary to examine the widely approved

view that relates an alleged 'rise of individualism' during the Hellenistic period with the formation of the first private, or privately initiated, collections, which also occurs during this time. This chapter has maintained the view that collections in the classical world, while signifying an advanced role for the individual, cannot be associated with the 'rise of individualism'. On the contrary, collections have been ways by which the classical collectors aimed to create a niche for themselves in the social sphere, by acquiring access to a community of culture and prestige that the assemblage of Greek works of art and artefacts signified. Thus, we argued that collections of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds were part of a social game between the individual and the community. Far from being a medium of isolation, in the sense of setting the individual aside, and creating an original and unique identity for him (as the aim of individualism is often defined) they were attempts to prove the membership in a tradition of excellence, which would transfer to the owner the prestige and qualities implied in belonging to such a community. In this sense, collections of the Hellenistic and Roman eras have the specific aim to prove their owners' participation among the élite, and therefore their capacity to take part in the decisions made by this élite. They do not aim to set the owner apart as a unique or original personality, but to help him gain individuality through the perfect accomplishment of his social role.

To support our argument, we had first to reach a working definition of individualism and individual. We distinguished between the empirical individual, which has always been inherent in humans, and the cultural individual, i.e. the one who is historically and socially developed and constructed, and which forms the category with which we are currently dealing. Then, we had to discuss the traditional views regarding the flourishing of individualism at exactly this period critically, and to consider the existence of a social base deeply embedded in all the expressions of the Hellenistic thought. The first area of discussion was the philosophical concepts as developed in the Hellenistic world after Plato and Aristotle. Cynicism, Stoicism, and Epicureanism are traditionally considered the carriers of the individualistic ideology, and the philosophical justification behind similar ideas. We presented their views on issues about individuals and communities, and concluded that despite a phenomenal encouragement of individual tendencies and the care of the self, Hellenistic philosophy displayed a remarkable faith to the traditional community schema, although of course it redefined it for the purposes of the changing world. Instead of the traditional *polis*, Hellenistic philosophies advocated alternative communities, based on different and more profound values, i.e. share of interests, ethics, and reason, instead of

financial, religious, or other bonds that had been present in the old city-state. A person could become self-fulfilled only through a community of people, which also defines his code of conduct. It is in philosophical thought that we find the seeds of what we discuss as a common social view in the Roman world, i.e. the notion of *decorum*. In Cicero's *De Officiis*, the discussion of the four *personae* is part of the *decorum* theory. It is a strong argument, which discusses the individual's responsibility to comply not only with his internal nature, but also with the circumstances into which he is placed. To achieve preeminence as an individual, in other words, means that one has to acquire an active social role too. Collections are part of this social role, and form indispensable parameters for such a preeminence.

Then the argument continued with the notion of the city-state, and its 'destruction' during the Hellenistic era. We maintained that the idea of the city-state remained strong in principle, besides the presence of new political and social arrangements. The idea of the community remained alive, even vital, in the Hellenistic world. Similar conclusions are drawn from the discussion of religion, where again the Hellenistic period is considered of vital importance, as a transitional period from communal religion to individualistic ones. Still, the concept of community pertains there as well, although, naturally, the arrangement of these communities alters. Interestingly, these refer to the ones of the city-state. Finally, material culture brings alive the same argument. Art production has been considered a most explicit testimony for the 'rise of individualism', since this is the era when idealism gives its place to realism, portraits and biographies are created, and so are collections. Although there can be no doubt that certain developments have their origin in the new social and political circumstances, and that the monarchy, for instance, has been an important parameter for defining these new developments, I argue that the collections and the other expressions in material culture are the means through which these power games are played, and not their results.

The community of the city-state was thus replaced by the community of the (Alexandrian) Museum in the Hellenistic period, and from then onwards to the Roman period. The collections were understood as, and actually were, means through which individuals tried to cast themselves as members of a cultural élite, so as to underline their culture and pursue a role in the decision taking through their participation in that cultural society (see Bourdieu, 1974; 1984).

The notion of individualism takes many forms and shapes. That of the Hellenistic period was not one where the individual identity acquires preeminence over community; it was just an attempt to redefine social and individual character in a new, changing, and expanding world.

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[1] The term is borrowed from Snodgrass' book *Archaic Greece*, chapter 5 (1980).

[2] With this term I mean the period from the death of Alexander (323 BCE) until the naval battle at Actium (31 BCE), as it is usually the chronological span of this period. For the history of the period see Austin, 1981; Cary, 1951; Delorme, 1975; Rostovtzeff, 1941; Wallbank, 1982; Will, 1979.

[3] This argument leaves out the 'collections' held in tombs and brings to the forefront the issue of whether those were collections or not, whether these were public or private, how do we know that and so on; although I cannot examine tomb 'collections' [offerings' collections] as case-studies, due to the size of material, I cannot ignore the fact that there is an issue there, which I have to take that into account. Of course, maybe this supports my argument even better, in the sense that the Hellenistic collections might not have been the first private collections, and therefore, one more reason to suggest that we are not talking about individualism.

[4] He actually mentions one historian, Droysen, who started the first volume of his three-volume *Geshichte des Hellenismus* (1836) with the famous words: 'Der Name Alexander bezeichnet das Ende einer Weltepoche, den Anfang einer neuen'.

[5] If what has been said above about the tomb collections is true, then this might not be like that; maybe the private aspects of collecting were one way of acquiring private existence during a period when that was a difficult thing to achieve.

[6] Or, at least, with the 'collecting classes' that we can have information from; whether or not members of lower social classes were collecting other things is beyond our knowledge.

[7] The non-inclusive language of many of the quotations is due to their age.

[8] Harris (1989) differentiates the concepts of 'individual' as member of the human kind, 'self' as locus of experience, and 'person' as agent-in-society. These distinctions are slightly different from those made by Morris (1994), although both mirror the tripartite division which anthropology prefers when it refers to individual and individualism.

[9] Morris (1994) puts this category third, but I have changed the order since the first and third categories are understood as closely related and in opposition to the second.

[10] For a new translation of Mauss' text, and a series of articles replying to it and, offering explanatory and alternative readings of it, see Carrithers, Collins, and Lukes, 1985.

[11] Zeno of Citium was the founder of the Stoic school. (Fourth century BCE.)

[12] For Diogenes' cosmopolitanism see Schofield, 1991, esp. appendix H, pp. 141-145.

[13] The term 'representation' is the one that Long prefers (1991: 105, note 6), while in LS the term 'impression' is used; other modern suggestions include 'appearance' or 'presentation'.

[14] Epictetus was a Stoic philosopher, CE c. 55-c. 135; his lectures were written down by his pupil Arrian.

[15] We can define sage as the ideal, virtue-defined and virtue-oriented person, like Socrates or Cato.

[16] On *kathekonta* see LS 59; also Kidd, 1971.

[17] Panaetius was head of the Stoic school from c. 129 BCE (c. 185- c. 110 BCE). For his four-*personae* theory discussed by Cicero in his *De Officiis*, I. 93-151, see Gill, 1988; de Lacy, 1977; Long, 1983; Gill, 1994. For a discussion of Cicero's own contribution to the shaping of this theory, as opposed to the views of Panaetius himself, see Brunt, 1973.

[18] For modern ideas on individual and individualism see for example Taylor, 1989; Lukes 1973; MacIntyre, 1985; Wilkes, 1988, Carrithers, Collins, and Lukes, 1985; for a presentation of the Western conceptions of the 'individual' see Morris, 1991.

[19] For the personal identity in Stoic thought see also Kerferd, 1972.

[20] See especially *De Rerum Natura* 5, 925-38, 953-61, 1011-27, 1105-57; for further bibliography see Gill, 1995: 66, note 96.

[21] For a detailed presentation of the ideas of each of those writers in relation to ethical issues of the ancient Greek and modern Western philosophy see Gill, 1995.

[22] About MacIntyre and his views, as well as their influence, see also Long, 1983.

[23] For an extensive discussion on the 'cultivation of the self' and the 'technologies of the self' as Foucault terms the notion, see Martin, *et al.*, 1988.

[24] Biography and autobiography are the genres most related to the issue of individualism; we have mentioned the development of these in chapter 2, as part of erudite literature. For a more detailed discussion, see for instance, Momigliano, 1993; 1985; Baslez *et al*, 1993.

[25] For an interesting discussion of the civic portrait in classical Athens, and an argument against individualism as expressed through these portraits, see Tanner, 1992.

[26] For the art of portraiture, its origins and development, see Breckenridge, 1973; 1981, where also bibliography; Zanker, 1979b; Schweitzer, 1948; Hiesinger, 1973; Toynbee, 1978.

[27] About Hellenistic collectors, see Fränkel, 1891: 48-60; Hansen, 1971: 316ff, 353ff, 366ff; Howard, 1986; Neudecker, 1988: 6-8.

[28] For the role of copies in Roman art see the fundamental Lippold, 1923; also Jucker, 1950; Pollitt, 1978; Ridgway, 1984; 1989; Bieber, 1977; Marvin, 1989; Vermeule, 1977; Landwehr, 1985; Gazda, 1995; Zanker, 1974; 1978.

[29] Stoicism was the first philosophical school to actually support property ownership and involvement in financial affairs. Unlike the aristocratic beliefs of Plato and Aristotle, who claimed the pre-eminence of communal property (city property) over individual one (e.g. Plato, *Laws*, V. 739), and the unsuitability of commerce and money-making as activities for the male citizen (e.g. Aristotle, *Pol.* I.8-9; II.5, 1263b1-4), and the indifference for private ownership that Epicureans and Cynics assumed (Long, 1997: 17-18), the Stoics developed a theory that can be extended to include individual human beings' relation to themselves, and other human beings. For a discussion of these views and further bibliography, see Long, 1997.

CHAPTER FIVE

COLLECTING IN TIME AND SPACE IN THE CLASSICAL WORLD

The stream of a lifetime slides smoothly on and is past before we know, and swift the year glides by with horses at full speed.

Ovid, *Amores* I.viii.49-50[1]

I come to the fields and spacious palaces of memory, where are the treasures of innumerable images, brought into it from things of all sorts perceived by the sense. There is stored up, whatever besides we think, either by enlarging or diminishing, or any other way varying those things which the sense hath come to; and whatever else hath been committed and laid up, which forgetfulness hath not yet swallowed up and buried. When I enter there, I require instantly what I will to be brought forth, and something instantly comes; others must be longer sought after, which are fetched, as it were out of some inner receptacle; others rush out in troops, and while one thing is desired and required, they start forth, as who should say, 'Is it perchance I?' These I drive away from with the hand of my heart from the face of my remembrance; until what I wish for be unveiled, and appear in sight, out of its secret place. Other things come up readily, in unbroken order, as they are called for; those in front making way for the following; and as they make way, they are hidden from sight, ready to come when I will. All which takes place when I recite a thing by heart.'

Augustine, *Confessions*, X.8.[2]

I. Introduction.

Time and space belong to the most universal properties of things (along with number, cause, personality, etc.), what philosophers call 'categories of understanding' (Durkheim, 1915: 9).[3] They are in a dialectical relationship with society, since they derive from it, but they also dictate to it ways and methods of comprehension (Gell, 1992). The individual can

hardly liberate himself from them, and is often represented at the point where the vertical axis of time and the horizontal axis of space, as they are schematically presented in the Western tradition, cross each other. Similarly, it is impossible to think of objects that are not set in temporal and spatial terms.

Collecting as a classification process *par excellence* which involves individuals, societies, and material culture[4] is immediately associated with these two coordinates. This dimension of collections is frequently highlighted in the collecting discourse: '...the sphere of material objects is *ordered* in ways upon which we rely for a *sense of continuity* and as *markers of temporal change*'; '[w]hen *put aside* or *gathered into* collections...[objects] can be used to *evoke a sense of their time and place*'; they may be 'removed from their *temporal and spatial context*'; and 'serve as *reminders* or as a *focus for recalling time* ... or ... *places*' (Radley, 1990: 46, 47, 50, 51; emphasis added). According to Stewart (1993: 162)

> 'there are two movements to the collection's gesture of standing for the world: first, the metonymic displacement of part for whole, item for context; the second, the invention of a classification scheme which will define space and time in such a way that the world is accounted for by the elements of the collection'.

In other words, collections are by definition based on the capacities of objects to define a spatial and temporal context, and be defined by it, to evoke the sense and essence of this context when they are placed (*sic*) elsewhere, to establish a relationship with time as reminders of the past, as points signifying temporal change, or as media towards a sense of continuity, and, finally, to order the world in an intelligible way for the collector. Collections aim at a comprehensive appropriation either of space and distance, or of time (past, present, and future), or of both. In addition, they are expected to furnish (in both meanings of the term) the world of the collector, to define his own context, create an environment for himself, and help him make sense of it. On the other hand, perceptions of time and space define the way collecting patterns develop and influence individual and communal views about the world.

The aim of this chapter is to trace the notions of time and space as these appear in the philosophical, the anthropological, and the mythical thought of the classical world, in order to appreciate their interrelationship and their influence in the creation and the origins (*sic*) of the above notions related to collecting. We will thus discuss firstly the classical perceptions of time and space, and the impact of these on notions of order, knowledge and assemblage of

material culture (II and III). Then we will examine the relation between space and objects and how this leads to different conceptions about what constitutes a place devoted to or appropriate for certain people and activities, and not for others (IV). In the next part (V), we will focus on the use of objects to evoke a sense of time or place, and the impact of this on the architecture, decoration and furnishing of Roman houses. Finally, we will argue that the ritual aspect of museum visits (Duncan, 1995), where a transference into a different place and time is expected and/or experienced, relates to ancient notions of memory, and the capacity of objects to remind us of things and words (VI).

II. Perceptions of time and space in classical philosophy.

Ancient Greek and Roman philosophers invested considerable energy in their attempt to define space and time. They developed elaborate theories to account for those two qualities that could not be dealt with in isolation, and that could not but influence and define concepts like universe, God, eternity, and so on, themselves holders of spatial and temporal implications. The present discussion, far from being comprehensive, will be a brief review of ancient philosophical thought regarding time and space, in an attempt to indicate some of the most widespread views on the issue, and thus approach, in a way, the beliefs of the Roman élite.

Plato defines time as the 'image of eternity' (*Timaeus*, 37d).[5] He attributes time's creation to God and believes that it was created along with the universe, and is inseparable from it (38b). He therefore describes the 'genesis' of time as follows:

> '...when the Father that engendered it [the universe] perceived it in motion and alive, a thing of joy to the eternal gods, He too rejoiced;[6] and being well-pleased He designed to make it resemble its Model still more closely. Accordingly, seeing that that Model is an eternal Living Creature, He set about making this Universe, so far as He could, of a like kind. But inasmuch as the nature of the Living Creature was eternal, this quality it was impossible to attach in its entirety to what is generated; wherefore He planned to make a movable image of eternity, and, as He set in order the Heaven, of that eternity which abides in unity He made an eternal image, moving according to number, even that which we have named Time. For simultaneously with the construction of the Heaven He contrived the production of

> days and nights and months and years, which existed not before the Heaven came into being. And these are all portions of Time; even as "Was" and "Shall be" are generated forms of Time, although we apply them wrongly, without noticing, to Eternal Being. For we say that it "is" or "was" or "will be", whereas, in truth of speech, "is" alone is the appropriate term; "was" and "will be", on the other hand, are terms properly applicable to the Becoming which proceeds in Time, since both of these are motions; but it belongs not to that which is ever changeless in its uniformity to become either older or younger through time, nor ever to have become so, nor to be so now, nor to be about to be so hereafter, nor in general to be subject to any of the conditions which Becoming has attached to the things which move in the world of Sense, these being generated forms of Time, which imitates Eternity and circles round according to number' (*Timaeus*, 37c-38b).[7]

In other words, time came into existence with the ordering of the universe. According to Callahan (1948: 18) 'we should look upon time as somehow resulting from the activity of mind in the created order; for time does not belong to that which is not created'. Time is an aspect of change, and this is its chief difference from the eternal nature. But time bridges this gap, since it does not belong to becoming as such, but to becoming that has been set in order by mind in accordance with an eternal model. The sun, the moon, and the planets were fashioned to distinguish and guard the numbers of time in order for the creation of time to be accomplished (*Timaeus*, 38c). Consequently, time is an image proceeding according to number, and thus it has to be numerable or measurable.

Measurability is structured around two different circles (forms) in the universe, that of the Same and that of the Other. The motion of Same represents in a way the self-identity of the universe. The notion of Other expresses the diversity of the universe as a consequence of its being in the order of becoming (Callahan, 1948: 19). These two circles have been discussed already in *Timaeus* as the compounding parts of the soul and the universe (36c-d) (Same, Other and the mixture of the two) that provide it with the ability to pronounce identity and difference, and thus to possess truth (Callahan, 1948: 13). The movement of the universe, which arises from the soul also is structured around two revolving circles, those of the Same and the Other. (Both, of course, have the Same and the Other in their constitution). The circle of the Same has predominance over that of the Other, since it is single and undivided, whereas the latter is divided into seven orbits. The bodies of the 'instruments of time' (sun, moon and planets) are put into these seven orbits made by the revolution of the circle of the

Other. Time, therefore, has a special reference to the circle of the Other, which ensures the diversity of number that gives time its measurability, but it is also governed by the circle of the Same which reassures the uniformity and regularity (Callahan, 1948: 21).

The existence of a coherent theory of space in Plato has been disputed (Algra, 1995: 73ff, where also bibliography). Plato seems to had been committed to different and often incompatible concepts of space, as it is obvious from *Timaeus* (48e-52d). In particular, there seems to be a certain inconsistency in the association of the receptacle with matter and/or space in Plato's thought, which is further obscured by the inconsistencies in the use of terms like *hedra* (ἕδρα), *chora* (χώρα) (52a), and of expressions of everyday language in the discourse, like 'to occupy a place', 'to be in place', 'to be in something', and so on. Nevertheless, if we agree to read Plato's text accepting his inconsistencies, or associating the receptacle with space rather than matter, then we can distinguish a sharp division between the Platonic concepts of time and space. The latter existed before the creation of the universe, and consequently, time; although there is not an immediate 'generative' relation between the two (i.e. time does not arise from space, nor space from time), and they clearly belong in two different orders, the two are related in the sense that time is sensible only insofar as it involves motion in space. Nevertheless, time holds the preeminence, since it does not merely exist as space does, but it is an attempt to be more than becoming (52b) (Callahan, 1948: 192).

Unlike Plato's metaphysical and moral discussion of time (and space), where analogy and metaphor often caused inconsistencies and ambiguities, Aristotle deals with the issue on a physical level, and uses fixed terminology with literal meaning. Aristotle defines time within the framework of motion and magnitude: 'the number of a motion with respect to the prior and the posterior' (*Physics* IV, 219b-220a).[8] This does not mean that time *is* motion, but that it is something which belongs to motion (κινήσεώς τι). Motion as motion is the actualisation of the potential. But the notion of prior and posterior (before and after) associated to motion is something different. Time is related not to motion as such, but to motion as having in it the distinction of prior and posterior, which arises from spatial difference. This distinction of prior and posterior, as long as it is numerable, is time. In other words, to understand time, a soul has to recognise that there have been two 'nows' (moments), one prior, the other posterior, and an interval between the two. The perception of motion as such is not recognition of time; we need a perception of the prior and posterior

in motion and a numbering process based on these (Callahan, 1948: 48-50, 194).[9] Consequently, time is the numerable aspect of motion (*Physics* IV, 219b2). Aristotle calls time a number because its parts have not a definite position (θέσις) with respect to one another, as a line does. Moreover, time has a certain order (τάξις), since one part is prior and one posterior. The parts of time are related to others not by position but by order; they do not exist all together, but are related to each other by the order of prior and posterior. Consequently, 'time may be called the numerable aspect of motion, for motion is reckoned by means of successive nows, inextended like number and having among themselves the order that is possessed by number' (Callahan, 1948: 53). That which distinguishes time as prior and posterior is 'now': this can be understood as the subject which has as attributes the events which take place in it. If events happen in the same now, they are simultaneous, and happen at the same time (also 220b5-8). 'Now' is in a sense always the same (when it is considered as substrate), but in another sense different (when considered in relation to the moving body). Therefore, the moving body at two different places is the same moving body, but is different in position (Callahan, 1948: 55) (also 219a31-32). 'Now' is the unit of number in a way (219b33). Callahan summarizes the above points as follows: 'motion has a numerable aspect, which we call time, because the mind can perceive these indivisible phases that exist not all at once but in a certain order, and number them by means of discrete nows' (1948: 57, as in *Physics* IV, 220a12- 220a21).

Aristotle distinguishes time as the number of motion, but also as a continuum (Callahan, 1948: 63; also 220a25). Movement is continuous, because the spatial magnitude is continuous, and time is continuous because movement is so (1948: 193; Owen, 1979: 156). Time may be called the measure of motion (since both time and movement are continuous), or the number of motion (since there is in time a sequence of moments that provides a series of numbers analogous to an abstract numerical series). We may speak of many or few days, numbering by means of regularly recurring nows, or as long or short time, thinking of it as continuous measure (Callahan, 1948: 64). Time, though, is not abstract number, but that which is numbered. In this sense, any ten men or ten horses are the same, but not any ten days: although any ten days are of the same length, they will not be the same period, because one is posterior, the other prior. And although it may seem that the same time can recur (e.g. year, summer) this is not true because numerically the years are different (Callahan, 1948: 66, 220b12). Magnitude, motion and time correspond to one another as continuous and divisive quantities (1948: 67).

Since time is the measure of motion, it is also the measure of rest (1948: 68-69). It measures the quantity of the motion (either something moves or has the potential to but does not) (1948: 69-70). The 'now' is a link of time, for it connects past and future time, but it is also a limit, since it is the beginning of one part and the end of another. The 'now' divides time potentially, and as dividing the 'now' is always different. It connects time since it is the end of one part and the beginning of another, and as connecting it is always the same (1948: 70-71).

Time is the measure of a continuous and uniform motion, i.e. the circular motion. This is prior to all other movements, since it is the only one that can be eternal (the others are interrupted by an interval) (265a24-27). Consequently, circular motion is the primary kind of motion, and as such it is the measure of time above all. By means of it, all other motions are measured as well (265b8-11) (Callahan, 1948: 87).

Aristotle builds on spatial order to define time, and although the discussion about the preeminence of temporal order or of spatial order has not reached definite conclusions, what is important here is that Aristotle finds a general parallel between time and space, and goes through it to account for the incorporeality of time (Owen, 1979: 158).

Aristotle approaches the notion of space from different angles: in the *Categories*, he classifies place as a quantity, coextensive with the body that occupies it (6, 5a8-14). In *On the Heavens*, Aristotle stresses natural place. He argues that the notion of 'natural place' (each element to its own place - fire at the top, earth at the centre, water and air in the middle) explains the natural movement of the elements; he says that such movements show that place has power (*dunamis*) (*Cael.* 4.3, 310b3; also *Physics*, IV.8, 214b12-17; IV.1, 208b11). In biology, Aristotle defines up and down, front and back, left and right in terms of biological function.[10] Up relates to the intake of food, so that the upper parts of a plant are its roots. Right is defined by the initiation of motion, and front by the direction of the gaze. These ideas are equally applied not only to humans and animals, but also to the cosmos as a whole. We will return to these ideas later in our discussion. Lastly, in the *Physics*, Aristotle defines place as a thing's surroundings. 'A thing's immediate place is the inner surface or boundary (*peras*) of the body that surrounds and contacts it, as the air surrounds and bathes a person' (Sorabji, 1988: 187) (*Phys.* IV.4, 211a24-b4; 212a2-7; 212a29-30; IV.5, 212b19).

The classical Aristotelian definition of *topos* is the one in *Phys.* IV. 212a20: τὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος πέρας ἀκίνητον πρῶτον: 'the first unmoved boundary of the containing body' (Algra, 1995: 125).[11] He thus rejects, in this book, the three-dimensional extension or interval (*diastema*) that he has approved in his *Categories*, in favour of a two-dimensional surrounding surface. Thus, he justifies the choice of the term 'place' (τόπος), instead of space (χώρα - *chora*) that he is using (about these words Algra, 1995: 31ff).[12] Furthermore, his requirement that some thing's place should be equal to its size (*Phys.* IV, 212a2; a27-29) indicates that he is not interested in the position only, but also in the space and the objects that fit into it (Sorabji, 1988: 187).[13]

Epicurean and Stoic philosophers developed their own views on time and space.[14] Lucretius, for instance, who popularized among the Romans the philosophy of Epicurus, defined time as follows:

> 'Time as such does not exist *per se*: it is from things themselves that our perception arises of what has happened in the past, what is present, and further what is to follow next. It should not be conceded that anyone perceives time *per se* in separation from things' motion and quiet rest.' (Lucretius, I. 445-82).

Time, in other words, cannot be discerned by itself but only in relation to certain bodies' accidents like motion and rest. It is something self-evident, but still in order to be understood we have to resolve to 'analogy': firstly, to draw directly on experience to collect an appropriate set of accidents, then to isolate time as the common measure of these all (Epicurus, *Letters to Herodotus*, 68-73). Demetrius of Laconia (c. 100 BCE) attempted to extract a precise metaphysical status for time from Epicurus' definition of it as an 'accident of accidents', associated with days, nights, hours, motions and rests, plus their own status as accidents of the body (Sextus Empiricus, *Against the professors* 10.219-27) (also Long and Sedley, 1987a: 36-37).[15]

Epicurean views on place evolve to cope with conceptual difficulties raised already by Aristotle. To start with, they take for granted that only that which exists spatially does actually exist: 'For whatever will exist will have to be in itself something with extension, whether large or small, so long as it exists' (Lucretius, I. 419-44). But Epicureanism fails to distinguish between void and place, i.e. space unoccupied by body, from space occupied by body. Already from *Physics* IV, Aristotle had argued that a place can be empty or filled, and that 'void', 'plenum', and 'place' all denote the same thing (Long and Sedley, 1987a: 29-30).

Epicurus, who accepts 'void' as a primary conception, and has to explain what happens to it when a body approaches, invents the name 'intangible substance':[16] this is the term he uses to denote space in general. 'Void', 'place' and 'room' (*chora*) are the terms by which he refers to it in specific contexts: 'void' when it is empty, 'place' when occupied, and 'room' (*chora*) when bodies move through it. Epicurus says that the difference between 'void', 'place' and 'room' is one of name (Aetius, 1.20.2). Bodies and space, being mutually exclusive, are also the only two orders of reality required to account for the universe. All other candidates (namely properties, time, facts, etc.) are mere parasitic properties of body (see also Lucretius, I. 445-82). Space, on the contrary, cannot be written off like that because it exists when and where the body does not (also Long and Sedley, 1987a: 27-30).

According to the Stoic ontology, void, place and time are three (out of four) incorporeals[17] (Sextus Empiricus, *Against the professors*, 10.218). Unlike Epicurus, the Stoics did not treat place and void as different aspects of the same concept. The void is always external to the world, and infinite. Place is what the body actually occupies, and is finite. The Stoics probably used the term '*chora*' to denote space which combines place and void. They followed Aristotelian determination not to accept the existence of void within the world: 'They [the stoicizing pneumatic doctors] think there is no such thing [as empty space] in the world but that the whole substance is unified with itself' (Galen, *On the differences in pulses*, 8.674, 13-14). The infinite void merely surrounds the world providing the spatial condition ('room' - *chora*) for its changes of volume (Long and Sedley, 1987a: 162-164, 293-297).

The Stoics approached the question of time from more than one point of view.[18] Many definitions are offered: according to Zeno time is 'the dimension of all motion without qualification' (Simplicius, *On Aristotle's Categories* 340, 15-16);[19] or, in the words of Apollodorus:

> 'Time is the interval of the world's motion; and it is infinite in just the way that the whole of number is said to be infinite. Some of it is past, some present, and some future. But the whole of time is present, as we say that the year is present on a larger compass. Also, the whole of time is said to belong, though none of its parts belongs exactly' (Stobaeus, I.105, 8-16).

Posidonius, on the other hand, declares that '[s]ome things are infinite in every respect like the whole of time. Others in a particular respect like the past and the future. For each of

them is limited only by reference to the present.' He therefore defines times as the '...dimension of motion or measure of speed and slowness'. He thus holds that time which is thought of in terms of 'when' is partly past, partly future, and partly present. 'The last consists of a part of the past and a part of the future, encompassing the actual division. But the division is point-like. Now and the like are thought of broadly and not exactly. But now is also spoken of with reference to the least perceptible time encompassing the division of the future and the past' (Stobaeus, I. 105, 17-106,4 Posidonius frg. 98). Similarly to Aristotle, the Stoics established a relation between time and motion, but unlike the Peripatetics they did not insist on number and the soul as a counter (*Phys.,* IV 14.223a25). Time depends solely on the existence of motion, just as place depends on being occupied by body. Chrysippus located one movement and the existence of everything in time (Stobaeus, I.106, 5-23). God, the world's active principle, is not a timeless being but a continuously self-moving agent. Past and present are 'parts' or 'constituents of time' (Stobaeus, as above; Plutarch, *On common conceptions* 1081c-1082a), infinite on one side and 'limited' by the present on the other (Stobaeus, I. 105, 17). Chrysippus claimed that no time is exactly present, as any stretch of time consists of both parts of the past and of the future. It is also recognized that the temporal discourse is unavoidably imprecise and varies according to the context (Stobaeus, I. 105, 8-10). Finally, even though time is incorporeal, day and night and longer durations of time are bodies (Plutarch, *On common conceptions*, 1084c-d; also, Long and Sedley, 1987a: 306-308).

A discussion of Stoic conceptions of time could not be complete without a brief mention of their views on the everlasting cycle of world-order and conflagration. Being infinite and the dimension of the world's motion (Stobaeus, I. 106, 5-23), time could not but be linked to a kind of clock, like the succession of days and nights. Chysippus clearly declares '...it is evidently not impossible that we too after our death will return again to the shape we now are, after certain periods of time have elapsed' (in Lactantius, *Divine institutes,* 7.23). In other words, he contends that there is an everlasting sequence of worlds and conflagrations, and that an individual and his actions in one world are exactly the same as those in any other of the worlds (Nemesius, 309. 5- 311.2). This means that the Stoics understand time not as a linear concept, but rather as a cyclical one (also Eusebius, *Evangelical preparation,* 15.19.1-2). A similar view can be read in Cicero's *De Divinatione,* where his brother Quintus defends Stoicism and suggests that 'the passage of time is like the unwinding of a rope, bringing about nothing new and unrolling each stage in each turn' (I. 127). This cyclical

view of time was not exactly new for the classical world, since ideas about endless recurrence have been attested for Anaximenes (ap. Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 1.8.1), Anaximander (Simplicius, *Phys.* 1121; in *Cael.* 293-4; 307), Heraclitus and Empedocles (Arist., *Cael.* 1.10, 279b13-17; also frg. 17, II.11-13);[20] circular time has also been sustained by Aristotle and Plato (see before).[21] The circular notion of time has been attributed as a general characteristic to the Greek thought, and it was meant to differentiate the classical world from Christianity and the changes the latter introduced (Momigliano, 1969; also Fabian, 1983: 2). It is not the place and time (*sic*) here to deal with this issue and develop at length arguments for and against these views (see Sorabji, 1983; 1986; 1988). Nevertheless, we have to note that linear time was not an unknown option for the ancient Greek and Roman world. The common view of modern commentators that the Greeks presented time as circular, has been argued by Sorabji (1988) to have a much less drastic meaning than it seems at first. It could mean merely that events repeat themselves in linear time. Of course, the heavens could be seen as a kind of clock, where the longest period is marked by all the planets returning to their original alignments, and consequently, time comes to an end at the end of their cycle, and then starts all over again. Nevertheless, the word 'again' itself reveals a concept of time that does not end, but continues indefinitely in linear fashion (Sorabji, 1988: 182).[22] Finally, we should add that the Romans emphasized the idea of linear time, and they attributed the success of the Roman empire to a long line of ancestors during their past (Walsh, 1992: 10).

Other Roman attempts to define time also include Quintus Ennius (third century BCE) who affirmed that time is 'an objective manifestation of the universe under certain fixed laws' (*Annales* 8. 294). Varro materialized time as 'the division of movement in the universe' (*L.L.,* VI.2.52). Cicero, undertaking the conception of Plato, considers time as 'part of eternity that we determine with the words year, month, day, night...' (*De Invent.* I.26). Seneca reactualises the ideas of Plato, of Aristotle and of the Stoics on the time conceived as '...primary cause of the creative principle in nature', and confirms that 'without time nothing can be done' (Seneca, *ad Lucil.*, LXV) (also Baran, 1976).

To summarize, we have discussed the philosophical views on time and space developed by the four major philosophical schools of the ancient world, namely the Academics, the Peripatetics, the Stoics, and the Epicureans. In all four, time and space are necessary qualities for their discussions of ontology, physics, and epistemology. Time is related to

motion and rest, it is measurable and numerable, and it can be used to arrange events in a prior/posterior order. Space, on the other hand, besides being the container of body/matter, and absolutely necessary in order to perceive the existence of everything in the world, is also an idea related to biological function, quantities and natural place. Furthermore, space has the capacity to provide the conditions for existence. In this sense, time and space are necessary determinants of knowledge, and as such define and order human life.

III. Mythical and anthropological perceptions of time and space.

We saw already in the previous part how important language has been in defining space and time. We also discussed, albeit briefly, the interrelationship between the two qualities, as well as their association with ideas of arrangement and order. We are going to turn our attention now to the anthropological aspect of this discussion, and consider the dialectical relationship between language and deeply-rooted cultural beliefs on the one hand, and localisations of time on the other. The discussion will rely on Bettini's research (1991). But instead of arguing for the cultural construction of time as he does, we are going to focus on the implications of the relation between culture, time and space. In other words, we will discuss a number of oppositional sets through which time 'takes place', their similarities and correlations, at both the level of signifiers (more than one set expresses one and the same opposition), and the level of what is signified (one and the same category conveys several cultural contents) (Bettini, 1991: 193). Thus, we are going to put forward our argument that the way people perceive time and space can influence their personal, as well as the communal, construction of the world order, knowledge, material culture and memory.

Incorporeality of time renders it necessary for people to make out time as space, when it becomes an object of discourse.[23] Implications are arranged 'near' or 'far' ('*iuxta*' and '*longe*'), 'before' or 'behind' ('*ante*' and '*post*'), 'above' or 'below' ('*superiora*' and '*inferiora*') (Augustine, *Cat.* 10).[24] The individual either proceeds towards various temporal points, or awaits the advancement of time, which will bring (or has brought) happiness or trouble. A careful examination of the language used reveals not only the spatial conception of temporal notions, but also people's responses to these qualities.

One of the best-known adjectives associated with time, for instance, is '*antiquus*' (ancient), deriving from the word '*ante*' (before). Although we are used to understand the term as having a mere temporal meaning (that of antiquity, past), it is definitely a word with spatial connotations that imply arrangement. Examples from Latin writers[25] bring this meaning alive: 'that which is preferable is commonly called senior [*antiquius*]' (Fronto, 162.9 Nab.); 'Nor do good citizens hold anything senior to the common safety' (Varro, *Rerum humanarum* 20); 'It behooves to hold nothing senior to the laws' (Cicero, *De invent.* 1.142); 'he held nothing earlier [*prius*] or further before [*antiquius*] than...' (Velleius Paterculus, 2.52.4). Apparently, although the link of the adjective with its etymological root '*ante*' and consequently its positional value is largely lost for us, it was quite alive with the Romans. In this sense, the word '*antiquus*', and its comparatives *antiquior*, *antiquius,* imply hierarchy and order, and are associated with notions like 'senior' (and 'junior'), and 'first' (and 'then'). We can argue, therefore, that in the pair 'ante(rior)/post(erior)', 'first' is linked with what comes 'before', and 'then' is linked with what comes 'behind' (also 'senior/junior': 'before/behind') (Bettini, 1991: 117) (figure 5.1).[26]

This relation, however, changes when we start to think in terms of 'past/future'. 'Past' is commonly related to events and things that are 'behind', whereas 'future' is related to events that are 'in front of, before'. In this case then, the spatial representation is reversed, and instead of the equation 'anteriority/posteriority: first = before, then = behind', we reach the one where 'past/future : first = behind, then = before' (Bettini, 1991: 122) (figure 5.2). The Latin authors provide an abundance of examples illustrating these two new equations. Lucretius, for instance, speaks about it in these words: 'For when you look back [*respicias*] at the whole past space of immeasurable time...' (3.854); or Cicero asks 'how much further can my mind look back [*respicere*] the space of past time?' (*Pro Arch.* 1). Seneca also offers a wealth of examples: 'Nor do these who are busy have leisure to look back at what has given before' (*De brev. vit.* 10.2); 'No one gladly... twists himself back toward the past' (10.3).[27] In other words, to look at his past, the individual has to turn around, look behind. This is a way of establishing contact, and that is exactly what ought to be avoided with the world of the dead (Plautus, *Mostellaria*, 523). On the contrary, looking back is a useful thing for those who have reached the peak of their careers, since this is a way to maintain contact with mortal nature. Generals celebrating their triumphs were often advised to look back and remember that they were only humans (e.g. Tertullian, *Apol.* 33.4). The future, on

antiquus > ante > past > senior > before > first

ante	**:**	**post**
past	**:**	**future**
senior	**:**	**junior**
before	**:**	**behind**
first	**:**	**then**

Fig. 5.1: Spatial and temporal notions in linguistic terms.

past	**:**	**future**
behind	**:**	**before**
first	**:**	**then**

Fig. 5.2: Linguistic associations between time and space: the 'absolute model', that contrasts past and future.

the other hand, is placed in front of individuals. Death, which is the future event *par excellence* for all humans is usually located ahead.[28]

Another point that relates to time as past and future and its countenance with people is that of movement.[29] This is initiated sometimes by the individual, who 'runs toward' the future, sometimes by time itself that, as a personified figure, moves towards the subject. This is quite a popular picture drawn by Latin authors: 'Time will come, when...' (Virgil, *Geo.* 1.493); 'The years coming bring many advantages with them; going take many away' (Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 175); 'The present time is very brief,... for it is always on the run; it flows and falls away' (Seneca, *De brev. vit.* 10.6). Consequently, the idea of time meeting the individual can be schematically presented as in figure 5.3a.

On the other hand, the individual can be 'on the way' toward the future. Seneca, for instance, alerts his readers: 'Consider the shortness of this space, through which we run so very fast' (*Ad Lucil.* 99.7). In this case, the model is the same; it is the initiation, and the direction of movement, that alter (figure 5.3b). Although in terms of spatial and temporal relations, these two models remain in principle the same (future = before, past = behind), they do influence people's views of the world in time and space, as well as of the individual itself.[30] In this sense, the spatial formula 'He goes and goes...' and the temporal formula 'one day goes by and then another, and then another...' have homologous uses, since movement through space is movement through time, but they definitely imply a more static or dynamic context, and a different direction of time (from ahead to behind, and from behind to ahead) respectively (Bettini, 1991: 141)[31].

The association of space and time with movement can be a key point in understanding the concept of generation(s). Life can be represented as a long succession of people (Seneca, *Ad Lucil.* 99.7),[32] where the elders go ahead to meet death earlier than the youngers who follow. This kind of representation alters our spatial arrangement of time. The 'generational time' as we could term it, places the past (in the sense of those who have gone ahead) before and consequently, the future (those who follow) at the back (behind).[33] In other words, the usual localisation of 'past/future' is inverted. In reality, of course, this inversion is illusive, in the sense that it is only a symptom of the complexity of the subject of the cultural representation of time. Therefore, we can conclude that there are two models appearing simultaneously:

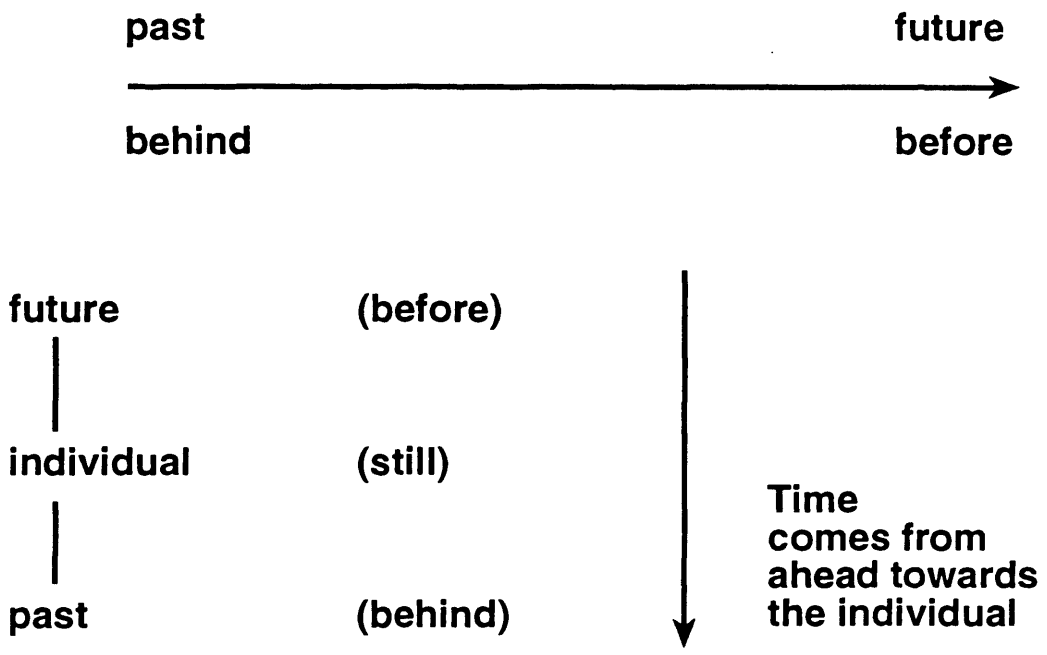

Fig. 5.3a: Time 'meets' the individual.

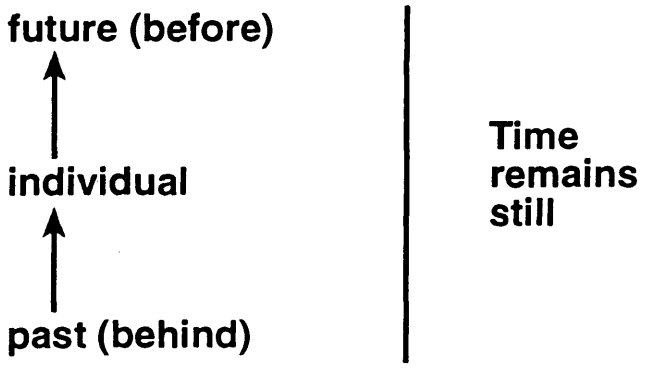

Fig. 5.3b: The individual 'meets' time.

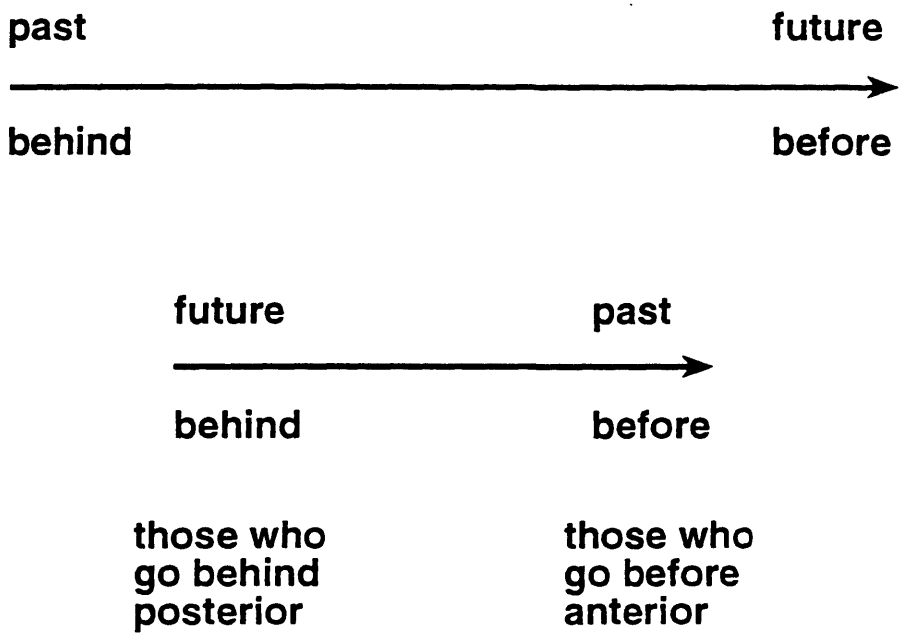

Figure 5.4: Spatial and temporal relations: the 'relative model' that contrasts before and behind (anterior and posterior).

before	after
ante	post

Figure 5.5: Time as a horizontal notion.

the 'absolute model' that contrasts past and future, and the 'relative model' that contrasts before and behind (anterior and posterior) (also Bettini, 1991: 142-143) (figure 5.4).

Besides the individual's role across time and the consequent spatialisation of it, as well as the individual's position (spatial and temporal) in line (θεσις and ταξις - see the distinction of Aristotle, previous section, p. 149), knowledge defines its own time and space arrangement and is defined by it. In order to argue for this, we are going to turn to Roman religion and mythology. Janus, the two-faced god, bears temporal and spatial associations. He was the god of the beginning of the year (Ovid, *Fasti*, 1.65) and the source of the year's flow. But he also 'ruled' the end of the year (1.163), in what seems to be a cyclical perception of time (beginning and end coincide). But Janus had spatial powers too: he was the god of 'passings',[34] and the passageways were called '*iani*'.[35] The god, therefore, was associated with both 'going out' and 'coming back', both looking 'ahead' and looking 'behind', both 'future' and 'past' (Bettini, 1991: 127-8). In a paragraph by Macrobius we get a description of these beliefs:

> '[Janus] is believed to have borne a twin countenance so that we might see what was before and what was behind his back: which undoubtedly must be explained as referring to the foresight and diligence of the king, who is to know what has passed and foresee what will be. Just so, the Romans worship Antevorta (Fore-turned) and Postvorta (Back-turned), certainly the most fitting companion of Janus.' (*Sat.* 1.7.20)[36]

The word order here renders it explicit that to see ahead (*ante se*) is equated with knowledge of the past, whereas to see behind (*post*) is equated with foreseeing the future. The goddesses who accompany Janus are also mentioned in Ovid (*Fasti*, 1.631-36):

> 'If thou hast any love of ancient rites, attend the prayers offered to her: you shall hear names you never knew before. Porrima and Postverta are placated, whether they be thy sisters, Maenalian goddess,[37] or of companions of thine exile: the one is thought to have sung of what was long ago (*porro*), the other of what should come to pass hereafter (*venturum postmodo*).'[38]

These goddesses are indications of this association: Porrima (or Antevorta), the goddess who is ahead, (*porro*) can speak about the past, whereas Postvorta (or Postverta), the one who is behind, knows about the future. Similar associations are true for Janus: the face that looks ahead symbolizes his knowledge of the past, and the face that looks back symbolizes his knowledge of the future. In other words, when knowledge is involved in the past and future,

localisations are inverted, the 'cognitive model' of time becomes: past = front (ahead), future = behind (at the back) (Bettini, 1991: 151-157).

To the pairs that we have isolated and discussed so far (past/future, before/behind, anterior/posterior), we can also add one more: that of 'high/low'. Time is not only horizontal, in the sense that it does not receive spatial expressions only in the pairs 'before/after' (figure 5.5). It can also be represented in a vertical manner as 'high/low', in which case we have a schema like that in figure 5.6. The most characteristic example of this kind of representation is the genealogical tree/*stemma*, the characteristic figured version of the kinship system, arranging spatially the temporal relationships between the members of a family (Pearce, 1995: 265).[39]

Roman noble families prominently displayed in their *atria* representations of their genealogy.[40] This is a custom associated with the funerary portraits of ancestors kept in cupboards, and brought out for ceremonial occasions (Flower, 1996; Gazda, 1994: 26-27). In order to make the idea of prestigious genealogy, expressed through the possession and display of these portraits, visible and explicit, the same room was also often decorated with the names of the forebears linked by a complicated network of lines, the *stemmata* (Pliny, *HN*, 35.6; Polybius, *Histor.* 6.53). The 'high' position in these was held for the earlier times, whereas the 'low' position for subsequent ones. This orientation is in line with the 'future at your back' one we noticed earlier; in other words, time is inverted in order to express cultural values that overpower and dominate over mere localisation of time (Bettini, 1991). It thus becomes the medium for the expression of these values - but also in a way, it has influenced their creation.[41]

So far we have discussed a number of oppositional pairs and their role as signifiers of temporal localisations. We have argued that although all these sets express more or less the same opposition, they can convey several cultural contents. These acquire their significance as a result of cultural practice, and in their turn project back their hierarchies so that they create new and more complicated cultural valuations. To be more precise, the pair 'before/behind' corresponds with the pairs 'first/then', and 'high/low'. The first parts of these sets are apparently the stronger ones. This becomes obvious by both linguistic and other cultural examples: 'before', for instance, in Latin is expressed through a wealth of words/phrases, whereas 'behind' is very poorly represented. Similarly, when war ethics are

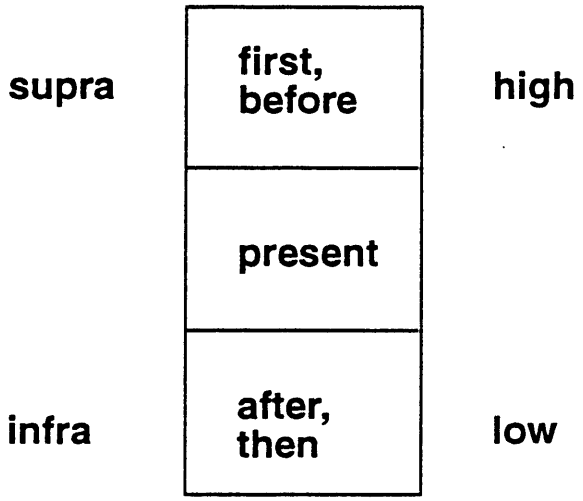

Figure 5.6: Time as a vertical notion.

involved, wounds that are 'before' (in front) are indications of bravery and decency, but those 'behind' are humiliating indications of cowardliness. 'Highest and lowest', to take another set, is an expression used to distinguish the dominant from the dependent classes, (e.g. *summi infimique* in Livy, 3.34). The same value is expressed with terms like '*humilis*' meaning 'lowly' both in position and in cultural terms, or '*fastigium*', which means both the 'upper part' of something and the 'height' of power (see again Livy, 6.38.13), and so on. The reason for their preeminence over the second parts derives from notions originating from the projection of the plan of the body.[42] In Aristotle already space had a biological dimension: just as in a person the principal organs and the head (the sovereign part, as the Stoics called it) reside in the higher and front part,[43] and the secondary or less important ones exist at the lower part and behind, so it is in metaphorical terms as well. 'Before' (in front of) is more important than 'behind', 'high' than 'low' and so on. The pair 'left/right' belongs here as well. Therefore, localisation does not merely mean a placement of time in space. It also involves the setting of cultural hierarchies; it acquires signification power, and cultural significance. In this sense, what comes 'first' may be considered the cause of what follows (comes 'then'), it can contain its grounds, constitute a precedent to be imitated and so forth.

The pair 'past/future' acquires different values according to the circumstances. In personal terms, the past is linked with 'behind' and the future with 'before'. So the future (which is the personal 'then') gets cultural preeminence over the past (which is the personal 'first'). Instead of an objective model here (where 'first' is more important than 'then'), we have what we can call an 'existential' one. Life lived is put behind, whereas life that is yet to be lived is put in front. This personal 'past/future' relation cannot be considered an objective one, however, and it carries individual along with cultural investments in time (Bettini, 1991: chapters 8, 12).

In 'absolute' terms, on the other hand, the past comes 'first' and the future 'then'. So it does when knowledge is involved: what we know (the past) is in front ('before' us), but what we cannot see (the future) is 'behind' (at the back). In this sense, the past is more important than the future. This idea can be further explored in relation to the next set, that of 'first/then : high/low'. We have seen this equation mainly in association with the genealogical *stemma*. There, the elders were at the top (high) and the youngers at the bottom (low). An additional indication of this hierarchy is the terms used: in Latin the ancestors are

called *maiores* (greater) and the descendants *minores* (lesser). In between there is space for the a*equales* (the equals, of the same age). Of course, there is an immediate relation between these terms and the 'high/low' equation. What comes 'high' is more important than what comes 'low', and consequently, what is 'first' more than what is 'then'. This 'high/low' set is recognized by the Romans as an inversion of the 'natural' order of the tree, where the most important parts are 'low' and the less vital ones are 'high'. It does correspond though to the most important natural association of space, that of the human body. The case for 'before/behind'is similar: in humans all the vital parts are 'up' and 'front', all the lesser ones are 'down' and 'back'. We thus reach the following set of cultural significations for the pairs that we have discussed and some of the values they convey:

high : low
before: after
front: back
noble: ignoble
refined: vulgar
human: non-human
right: left
important: secondary
brave: cowardly

It is in these equations that we find the roots of concepts that determine our views about the world and our appreciation of values. It is from here that temporal statements often acquire their relation to causality; that we tend to impose models based on the past and ancestral customs; that those who can boast of remote origins acquire social and cultural predominance; that the origins of people and of cities are important; that men are proud of their autochthony, since having no predecessors means that the foundations of history and time can be touched; that *ab origine* people are more authentic; that the original thing (as opposed to the copy), and the antique (as opposed to the newly-made) are more desirable. It is obvious that personal and communal notions of the world order, of knowledge, and of the assemblage and arrangement of material culture, along with the value of memory, are determined by notions originating in the perception of temporal and spatial dimensions (Bettini, 1991).

IV. Relation between space and objects.

Space and time interact with other social actors, namely people and objects, in order to construct social organisation. Many of the abstract notions we use when referring to space (in particular, but the same can be said of time as well), for instance sacred, profane, public, private, male, female, and so on, in reality are defined as such because of the interaction of people and objects with spatial and temporal parameters. A variety of markers determine the classification and use of a certain space (or time), and signal to people the divisions and the role of space (or time)[44] according to social distinctions. Naturally, this relation becomes reciprocal, since social organisation also is reflected through the arrangement of space (or time). In the words of Goffman: 'the division and hierarchies of social structure are depicted microecologically, that is, through the use of small-scale spatial metaphors' (1979: 1).

In her discussion of the structuration principles that could be used to analyse architecture, as the process of organising unbounded space and human beings, Donley-Reid distinguishes three categories, people, spaces, and objects, and she examines five sets of reflexive relationships among them, as a means to see how symbolic values are created and how they are associated to power relationships (1990: 116). These are the following: '1. People-space': People tend to behave according to the room or the area they are in. Perceptions of space along with the environment (in the spatial sense) impose and shape views and behaviour. On the other hand, the presence of people determines the nature of a space. As Ardener (1978: 32; 1993: 18) has put it: 'The Court is where the King is'. In this sense, people define space. '2. People - objects': Objects as tangible parts of culture and tangible means of communication and thought (Douglas and Isherwood, 1979: 82) have the capacity to hold (and illustrate clearly) values attributed to them. In this case as well, the relationship is reciprocal since value is directed from people to objects, but also the other way around. '3. Objects - objects': this set means to describe the interrelation between groups (collections) of objects, where value is attributed due to, and in association with, objects being parts of the same group (collection). '4. Objects- space': the social value of an object affects the value of the space it occupies and *vice versa*. And finally, '5. Space - space': the social significance of a space actively participates in determining the value of related areas.

Material culture bears a very explicit reciprocal relationship with space.

> 'Objects are thought to structure the environment immediately around themselves; they cast a shadow, heat up the surround, strew indications, leave an imprint, they impress a part of themselves, a portrait that is unintended and not dependent on being attended, yet, of course, informing nonetheless to whomsoever is properly placed, trained, and inclined' (Goffman, 1979: 1).

Objets are also affected by the place in space of other objects: not only their presence but also their absence, or their 'negative presence' (Ardener, 1987: 3). We have come again across another reciprocal relationship: material culture acquires its value in relation to the value of other objects (in their presence or absence), according to the relative place of other items, but also according to their contexts. A space is defined clearly by the 'selection' of objects occupying it (or not): a mere look at a room's or area's contents is enough for people (belonging to the same cultural group or having the means to decodify them) to let them classify it as private, public, sacred, profane, inner, outer, and so on.[45] Similarly, the inclusion of an object in an environment that is known to be (or has been classified as) any of the above, is enough to transmit the same quality to the object.

In the classical world all the above, parameters were clearly part of the mind set operating and dictating power relations and the setting of values. The definition of space and its interrelationships can be discussed using the five points set by Donley-Reid (1990) and briefly presented above. The most characteristic example of the relationship between people and space can be traced in Vitruvius' allocation of domestic arrangements, according to the social status of the owner (*De Architectura*, VI.v.2). His social role has to be, and was, reinforced by the appropriate spatial determinants that reassured a reciprocal suitability (and appropriateness). In this category of 'markers' belong the size and complexity of buildings, room arrangement, decoration, etc. (see also George, 1997: 305).[46]

In the second category (people - objects), collections are included. People use them to define or give social status and symbolic value to themselves or others. Inappropriate relationships of this sort are ridiculed among others in Petronius' *Satyrica* (see also Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 3). As for objects defining other objects (third set), we know that the relative position of artefacts was particularly important in the Roman world. Varro, for instance, argues that the principles of similarity and contrast work hand in hand in house decoration (as they do in language).[47] Thus, a *triclinium* with three dissimilar couches is considered inappropriate, and the shortcoming should be corrected by analogy (*L.L.* 9.9). Similarly,

different rooms are expected to be distinguished by the use of different furniture,[48] and the setting of silverware on the *abacus* (sideboard) to be arranged so that some pieces form matching pairs, while others contrast (*L.L.* 9.46) (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 14-15).[49]

This and the next relationship (objects - space) relate to notions of 'essential objects' and oppose to ordinary objects. The former are set apart for special use, they have sacramental associations and partake of the quality of the 'sacred'. In this sense, the placing of these objects helps the organisation and use of the physical space, the interplay of 'sacred' and 'profane'. Thus, objects of everyday life are permeated by sacred qualities, and thus are transformed, and also transform their surroundings. Consequently, certain objects are appropriate for certain settings and others are not. For instance, when Cicero complains to his friend Fabius Gallus about having purchasing statues of Bacchantes for him, his rejection of the statues was based partly on their price, but partly too on the notion of them being inappropriate objects for the orator's space - he did not know where to accommodate them, they did not 'fit' into his surroundings (*ad Fam.* VII.23). Similar notions define, for instance, the opposition to the plundering of artefacts and the transference of them to individuals' space, or the regret expressed by most writers for those collectors who loved their objects so dearly that they kept them in the *cubicula*.[50] Space and objects bear a close interrelationship which holds a wealth of symbolic messages. Objects carry the capacity to evoke the sense of their time and place, which Romans knew and appreciated.

We can now proceed to our next section, where the impact of this knowledge and appreciation of the architecture, decoration and furnishing of Roman houses will be considered. We are going to limit the discussion to the Roman house, and leave out the Greek residencies, for two reasons: firstly, because the Roman house was the *locus* for the collections that we are going to discuss in the next part of this thesis; and, secondly, because Roman domestic space and architecture has attracted scholarly attention at a greater extent than the Greek ones,[51] and consequently, there is a wealth of evidence and of analytical approaches available that will facilitate our discussion.

V. Use of objects to evoke sense of time and space: the impact on architecture, decoration and furnishing of Roman houses.

The domestic context of ancient Rome offers the possibility to explore some aspects of the dialectical relationship between social and spatial behaviour. In addition to detailed and thorough publications regarding the physical evidence from excavations, recent years have seen a number of studies discussing social approaches to the subject (e.g. Zanker, 1979a; Thébert, 1987; Clarke, 1991; Wallace-Hadrill, 1994; Gazda, 1994, etc.). Naturally, the stance of this discussion is different, since, instead of placing emphasis on the social reasons for, or implications of, decorative programmes, and rather than establishing arguments for the interdependence of claims for social status and appropriate settings, we are going to underline the evocative power of objects. For the sake of this argument, mural decoration will be treated as belonging to the category of objects.

Two underlying factors have been particularly characteristic in Roman houses: the symbolic elements that were attached to and reinforced by the identity of the occupants and their relationship with the world around them, and a range of practical considerations deriving from both social concerns (they had to adapt space to suit the needs of social responsibilities), and broadly speaking, environmental requirements (weather, location, etc.) (Nevett, 1997: 289). Symbolism was largely responsible for the decoration of the house; we are thus going to try to illuminate (as far as this is possible) the motives behind the selection and arrangement of these decorations, not in order to argue for a conscious collecting motive behind every single case, for we cannot argue that every individual or family group who decides to decorate the living-room is collecting. Rather, it is mainly to argue for the power of objects to evoke a sense of their place and time, and the appreciation of this by the Roman élite. In other words, the Romans were conscious of how they could use objects to bring distant places and times closer, to appropriate them and the culture from which they derived (see also Stewart, 1993).

The central area of activities in the Roman *domus*[52] was the atrium: a large rectangular hall, onto which a series of symmetrically arranged rooms opened. This was the place of the hearth,[53] the site of the shrine (*lararium*), and the place devoted to *mos majorum*, the traditional, patriarchal arrangement of the Roman household (Dwyer, 1994). The atrium was there to impress visitors, and its effect was enhanced by sculptural and painted decoration,

along with wax portraits and the family *stemma*.[54] It was also where the continuity of the family was projected, and the 'public' image of the household was constructed (about private versus public see below). The lavish nature of some of the items furnishing the atrium (e.g. gold and silver vessels,[55] couches decorated with gold, silver, ivory[56]) further underline the importance of the room for impressing 'outsiders' with the wealth, power and importance of the household members (also see Nevett, 1997: 290). On each flank of the hall, two or three doors concealed small rooms, called *cubicula*, used for rest, but also for reception of intimate friends, clients or business associates (e.g. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, 1.23; Cicero, *Pro Scauro* 26.4; Pliny Younger 5.1.6; 5.3.1, etc.) (see also Dwyer, 1994; Riggsby, 1997). At the back of the hall was the *tablinum*, the sanctuary of the master of the house, where he received the *salutationes* from his clients, and others who were indebted to him. The place of the *tablinum* at the end of a longitudinal axis, slightly higher than the rest of the rooms, conveys familial and social messages about the role of the paterfamilias in Roman society, as well as the capacity of architectural space to enhance and reveal complicated social constructions (Dwyer, 1994: 27).

At this point, we should note that notions such as private and public are culturally determined and were very different in the Roman world than they are now. The Roman house was primarily public, open to the outside world, with the aim of having almost everything happen in the open, before everybody.[57] Although there were spaces where an invitation was necessary in order to enter (e.g. in the *cubicula*), the Roman house was a much more public space than we are used to thinking of houses today (Nevett, 1997: 297-298; Wallace-Hadrill, 1994; Elsner, 1995: 76-77). The division of space served as a reminder of social hierarchy, and imposed on visitor and owner a certain set of behavioural rules, culturally ingrained and understood (George, 1997: 209-301; Riggsby, 1997). The discussion of Wallace-Hadrill (1994: 8-9) also reminds us that in the Roman house there were neither gender nor age spatial differentiation.[58] The main division had to do with social hierarchy, and notions of public and private (George, 1997: 309; Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 10ff).

At this point we can choose only a few aspects of the huge variety of themes open to the student of the social implications of Roman interior and garden decoration. The first point to be mentioned is the transference of the language of public spaces to the domestic context, to give the illusion of a public space to the visitor. In this sense, forms that in Greece were

used to enhance public space were translated by the Romans into the domestic context. Similarly, symbolisms associated with this kind of architecture crossed the line between public and private (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 10). Thus, Greek public building types were emulated by Roman architects and owners. This was not confined in architectural terms only (scale is one of the architectural parameters usually involved, use of columns is another),[59] but was extended to include the arrangement and the 'filling' of space, that would evoke a different feeling which would refer to Hellenistic notions of culture, and would eventually lead to the appropriation of whatever was considered important in this culture. Consequently, the Roman villas came to have their own *gymnasia* and *porticoes*, their *pinacothecae* and *palaestrae*, and resemble (in the sense of having absorbed) palatial and sacred buildings of the Hellenistic past.

According to contemporary theoretical views on architecture and society, the individual conceptions of 'places' in the built environment seem to be founded on specific value judgments and expectations defined by the world view (Sanders, 1990: 45-46). Within a cohesive group, conceptual attitudes resulting from cultural conventions are incorporated in future decisions about the built environment (Canter, 1977; Sanders, 1990). In this sense, a continuous interactive relationship is being built among culture, architecture, behaviour and decoration. According to Rapoport, 'Buildings and settings are ways of ordering behavior by placing it into discrete and distinguishable places and settings, each with known and expected rules, behaviors and the like... Built environments thus communicate meanings to help serve social and cultural purposes; they provide frameworks, or systems of settings for human action and appropriate behavior;' (1980: 300) (see also the same about time: Rapoport's system of activities, 1990).

The above discussion finds its best expression in the Roman notion of *decor*. In scholarly literature it has been emphasized that the choice of works of art for the Roman collector was determined by their theme, according to the notion of appropriateness, and we know how important this was for Roman artistic thought (Pollitt, 1974). Although current research has shown that this principle alone was by no means the only one that dictated the selection and arrangement of collections in the classical world (far from that - the burden of this thesis is a long argument against such exclusivity, and an advocate of a wider resonance), there can be no doubt that it was indeed a very important one (see also Bartman, 1988; 1994). This principle dictated the placement of images of athletes in the *gymnasium*, and portraits of the

Muses in the library. Cicero offers the best documentation for this kind of principle when he writes his letters to Atticus and Fabius Gallus: he exhorts Atticus to purchase for him statues that would be appropriate for the *gymnasium,* and he refuses Gallus' purchases on the grounds of their inappropriateness for the image of himself he wants to create in his own domestic context, using works of art as a medium. Just like books, he was constantly reminding Atticus, were necessary for the formation of a library, so were the statues and herms for the evocation of the feeling of the *gymnasium* (see chapter 9 on Cicero). Cicero was nostalgic for his golden days in Athens, and he wanted to have the memory of those days in his domestic environment (Marvin, 1989). For this reason, he was keen to acquire a collection that would allow such an appropriation of space and time.

Similarly, we know both from literary sources and archaeological evidence that the Romans enjoyed the recreation of geographical or mythological spaces in their properties. Scholars have associated these with the 'decorative programme' of different villas, and elaborate attempts have been made to account for some of the most coherent and best surviving recreations. Vitruvius advises his readers to decorate walkways with a variety of landscape settings, which copied the most characteristic features of specific places [*a certis locorum*]. Other famous examples include the villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum, where statuary (and possibly other objects) were diplayed in harmonious settings to evoke an elaborate message (Lafon, 1981),[60] and Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, which was decorated with a *lycaeum*, an *academia*, a *prytaneum*, a *canopus*, a *poecile* and a temple (*Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, *Hadrian*, 26.5).

We have tried here to read the ideas about decorative programmes developed in ancient Rome, as an attempt to recreate through objects a certain spatial metaphor, to evoke and appropriate the distant in time and space. We are now going to look at another aspect of this notion: Romans developed further the mnemotechnics that Greeks had devised, and gave a tangible and corporeal dimension to it. In addition, the Roman house, with its decoration, became one of the major areas for depositing and retrieving memories. In this sense, it incited the notion of the rituals involved in visiting collections in public or private settings.

VI. Role of objects in the 'art of memory'.

Wallace-Hadrill recently encouraged scholars to treat the Roman house 'as a coherent structural whole, as a stage deliberately designed for the performance of social rituals, and not as a museum of artifacts' (1994: 60). Although this assertion is justified, since archaeologists tended until recently to treat excavation material from ancient Roman contexts as devoid of any value other than aesthetic, it is unjustified when it comes to an actual comparison between the Roman house and a museum. Both share the common characteristic of being places where artefacts are used to appropriate distant space and time, and a social ritual of remembrance and transference into another spatial and temporal context is performed. In this section, we are going to discuss classical notions of memory, in order to suggest a profound equivalence between the Roman *domus* as a setting for collections and subsequent settings.

Spatial arrangement was associated with memory already in the Greek world. The invention of a mnemonics technique based on spatial arrangements was assigned to Simonides of Ceos[61] (Cicero, *De Oratore* 2.351-354) in an anecdote concerning the guests at a banquet (Yates, 1966: 1-3). Roman writers rendered this system a basic feature of rhetorical education, that reflected the highly elaborate capacities of the verbal and visual culture the Romans fostered. Three descriptions of this system survive today, one by Cicero (*De Oratore*, 2.86.351-360), one by the anonymous Auctor ad Herennium (once attributed to Cicero too) (*Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 3.16-24), and the last by Quintilian (*Institutio Oratoria* XI.2.17-26).

The Sophists developed some kind of a memory system in order to provide general arguments of discussion, or lists of cities, genealogies, and so on (see for instance, Plato's *Hippias Major*). But the first to provide a full description of the system of memorizing through places was Aristotle (*Topica* 163b.24-30). He also wrote a treatise on the subject of memory (*De memoria et reminiscentia)*, based on the theory of knowledge he expounded in his *De Anima*. Aristotle recommends a method of memorising based on his views about knowledge and imagination (it is impossible to think without a mental picture created in the mind),[62] and suggests memorising in sequence, because it is easier to remember things in an order.[63] Similarly to Simonides, Aristotle recommends a permanent set of places (*topoi*), where a number of different pieces of information can be stored; each set of information has

its own group of vivid images associated with a single set of places. Aristotle encouraged the placing of arguments (or parts of them) in numbered *topoi*, which would enable the philosopher, or any other person, to recall a list of arguments, items, rules, and so on, in any order (Yates, 1966: 31-35; Small, 1997: 87-94). Aristotle and the Greek thought retained the system as a purely mental construct with no physical aspects (Small, 1997: 94).[64]

The Romans extended this system from a mental construct into a physical embodiment, where '*topoi*' became actual settings or buildings. Cicero presents the system as follows:

> 'But these forms and bodies, like all the things that come under our view require an abode [*sede* = seat], inasmuch as a material object without a locality [*loco*] is inconceivable. Consequently (in order that I may not be prolix and tedious on a subject that is well known and familiar) one must employ a large number of localities [*loci*] which must be clear and defined and at moderate intervals apart, and images that are effective, and sharply outlined and distinctive, with the capacity of encountering and speedily penetrating the mind;' (*De Oratore*, 2.87.358).[65]

A similar corporeality and physicality is considered necessary by other Romans as well (see e.g. Lucretius, 1.471-474; Quintilian, 11.2.17).

In *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (written in the 80s BCE) this physicality gets more concrete and becomes associated with the architectural space of the Roman house: 'By backgrounds I mean such scenes as are naturally or artificially set off on a small scale,...for example, a house, an intercolumnar space, a recess, an arch, or the like' (3.16.29). A century later Quintilian presents a brief but explicit account of the system:

> 'Some place is chosen of the largest possible extent and characterised by the utmost possible variety, such as a spacious house divided into a number of rooms. Everything of note therein is carefully committed to the memory, in order that the thought may be enabled to run through all the details without let or hindrance... However, let us suppose that the symbol is drawn from navigation, as, for instance, an anchor; or from warfare, as, for example, some weapon. Those symbols are then arranged as follows. The first thought is placed, as it were, in the forecourt (*vestibulo*); the second, let us say, in the living-room (*atrio*); the remainder are placed in due order all round the *impluvium* and entrusted not merely to bedrooms (*cubiculis*) and bays (*exedris*), but even to the care of statues and the like. This done, as soon as the memory of the facts requires to be revived, all these places are

> visited in turn and the various deposits are demanded from their custodians, as the sight of each recalls the respective details.... What I have spoken of as being done in a house, can equally well be done in connexion with public buildings, a long journey, the ramparts of a city or even pictures. Or we may even imagine such places to ourselves.' (*Institutio Oratoria*, 11.2.18-21).[66]

In other words, the architectural layout of a Roman house could, and did, serve as a means for ordering and memorizing speeches, as well as for structuring thought (Elsner, 1995: 77). The Roman used the visual and architectural environment (in the broader sense to include all the *loci* that Quintilian lists in his last sentence) to think and remember, in a three-dimensional way. Then, the notion of order (series > *ordo*) becomes of primary importance for the house: the various *loci* (*vestibulum, atrium, impluvium, exedrae* is what Quintilian suggests) should be memorized in an order, and this helps as one moves through the house to remember a speech (Cicero, *De Oratore*, 2.86.354). This is a crucial characteristic (*Ad Herennium*, 3.17.30), because once the arrangement has been achieved, the orator can 'move' around freely and reconstruct what he has to remember in any order (3.18.30). The significance of this *ars memoriae* has not been sufficiently exploited by art historians and social historians. It undoubtedly bears witness to an elaborate relationship between the rhetorical and the visual capacity of the Romans, or in other words, to an extremely sophisticated culture of viewing (see Elsner, 1995: 77ff). But the most important points for our argument here remain the following: the interrelationship between objects and symbolic meanings set on them without direct relation to the original object; the realization of the importance of *loci* (places) for structuring thought; and the notion of *loci* and objects serving to evoke symbolisms attributed to them at a previous time. The built frame thus was crucial for the Romans as organiser of space, thoughts, and experiences. On the other hand, ancient memory systems were material and spatial. In *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, for instance, the unknown author refers to memory as a 'treasure-house' (*thesaurum*) (3.16.28). So time, space and material culture are connected into an ineradicable association.

We have seen in the previous section that Romans used artefacts to evoke a sense of different places and times. On the other hand, we know that for Cicero (as for Aristotle) beauty meant 'order on a large, often cosmic, or smaller agricultural scale... fulfilling a function; and ...a certain easily recognized organic unity or identity' (quoted in Small, 1997: 231). When Cicero (and for that matter any other Roman patron) decided to decorate his

villa, his sense of beauty, his belief in the evocative power of objects, and his ideas about how memory works together determined the collection of sculpture.

The Roman house as a physical and symbolic structure was identified with both the individual and the collective memory. A characteristic example of the former is the *damnatio memoriae* which included the destruction of the house, so as to erase a person's existence.[67] And the Roman house, with the typical organisation and decoration we have seen (*atrium*, decoration with *imagines*, etc.), invited a set of memories, furnished anchoring points for them and 'places' where they could safely lie. On the other hand, the commonly shared beliefs which determined the decoration experienced the house as a vehicle through which tradition was transmitted from one generation to the other. In this sense, the Roman house with all its objects, inherited or bought, and the memories they carried or which were attributed to them, operated like a dialectic theatre of rituals through which memory and knowledge were constructed (Bergmann, 1994: 226).

VII. Conclusions.

To conclude, starting from the basic assumption that collections are a selecting process *par excellence*, and the collector uses them to facilitate or mark the passage of time, and accommodate himself in space, we attempted to show how temporal and spatial notions of the classical world influenced the nature of classical collecting.

The discussion started with the presentation of the philosophical thought developed by ancient Greek and Roman philosophers belonging in the four major philosophical schools, namely the Academics, the Peripatetics, the Stoics, and the Epicureans. Their views about time and space, although developed in association with physical, cosmological, and metaphysical concerns, provided a wealth of general ideas about these qualities, which from their position at the background of classical thought influenced the development of views on other issues. Therefore, time was understood as having the capacity to order and arrange events in a prior/posterior basis, as related to movement and rest, being numerable and measurable. Space, on the other hand, was the container of the body, and essential for the existence and conception of everything in the world. Space arranged things (bodies), just like time arranged events. It was related to the natural place of all elements in the world, and

corresponded with biological ideas about order and sequence. Together, space and time guaranteed the cosmic order, and they helped the construction of notions of knowledge and human life at large.

Having these broad ideas in mind about the role and operation of time and space, ancient collectors had the necessary framework and thinking tools to develop ideas about the role of objects and material culture in the arrangement of the world, as well as to develop elaborate techniques of display and patterns of assemblage that would reveal the ideas of order, development, natural positioning, etc.

Then an anthropological and mythological discussion of Roman notions of time and space was attempted. Within the philosophical framework that we discussed in the previous section, but also independently, temporal parameters found expression in spatial arrangement, and mythical equivalencies. As linguistic evidence suggests, there have been a number of common arrangements of time to be understood as space, and this was related to ideas about order and cultural concepts. Consequently, cultural constructs, like the preeminence of the antique, or of past over future (at different circumstances), or of ancestors instead of descendants, relates to perceptions of order in temporal and spatial terms, and has been endowed with cultural significance and signification power. This of course, influences not only the values attributed to material culture, but also the very way of thinking about life, knowledge, and so on. It also determines ideas about the setting of collections, the organisation of space to reveal world order, and finally, it is an important and explicit way of associating with time. Modern museums still struggle to find alternative ways of structuring their collections other than the chronological, developmental one, where the past (the earliest specimens, previous historical periods) come first, and the more recent ones come afterwards, or the hierarchical one where the most important objects are isolated in cases on high *podia*, in the centre of the gallery.

Next, our attention was focused on the Roman collecting practices. Instead of a comprehensive account of all information on Roman collections held in domestic context, this meant to be a broad discussion of how all the notions we considered in the previous sections found expression in the Roman world. The domestic context in particular, but the public areas too, were defined by a strict set of social and ritual principles. According to this, spaces, objects, and people interacted and structured mutual relationships, to define

each other and collaborate so that they constructed a comprehensive and reasonable environment in which to live. Collections were part of this process.

Objects were considered active participants in a two-way process: on the one hand, they defined the place and time they belonged to, while on the other they could carry this dimension with them, and evoke a different temporal and spatial dimension when placed elsewhere. This, being one of the main principles of collecting, has been particularly important. Examples from literary sources, and archaeological evidence indicate that the Romans were very keen to use material culture to recreate and evoke the sense of a different time and place in their private villas, and also in public settings. This aspect of the Roman mind set has been discussed within the context of luxury and social significance so far, but it seems that this has not been understood as a capacity that material culture carries *par excellence*. Therefore, the elaborate architectural settings that a Roman patron/collector had created on his estate were not by themselves sufficient; they needed to be filled with statuary, paintings, and other works of art. These would communicate actively the message of him having recreated an environment from a distant time and place, whether this was a *gymnasium*, a *palaestra*, or a *library*, and consequently, would emphasise that he had appropriated all the cultural values that were associated with them (often these were temporal and spatial as well, e.g. being before they were more important than what came after, etc.).

To evoke a distant time and place, though, means that memory has to be activated. This is another characteristic that the Roman society developed in relation to temporal and spatial terms. The Roman house had a social and ritual role, which was actually fulfilled through collections. This was to evoke a certain feeling (respect, awe), and to facilitate social communication and interrelation, as well as to signal personal and family power. All these messages were transmitted through objects, which were meant to bring past and distant accomplishments in front of the eyes of visitors to the house and its inhabitants. In other words, objects as well as architectural space were meant to bring people in touch with their memory.

The Romans developed a very elaborate mnemotechnic system, where they associated objects and buildings with memories. Again, the influence of philosophical thought as discussed in the earlier part of this chapter comes to mind. Aristotle's elaborate discussion

about places found a more practical use in the Roman thought, and was soon developed to become a system of mnemonics based on material culture. The mythological thought that memory (Mnemosyne was the Greek name of the goddess) and her daughters (Muses) could bring someone in contact with other times and places, here found its best expression. The Roman house, and also public buildings, were recognised as a *locus*, where different objects and architectural settings in an orderly arrangement could serve to reconstruct a memory, to transfer the viewer or the visitor to a different place and time, to bring alive in front of him ideas and subjects that would otherwise be lost in ληθη (forgetfulness) - the opposite of αληθεια (truth), but also of memory. In this sense, we find many similarities between the Roman house and the modern museum. Both are venues of social and ritual practices, and both rely on material culture to achieve a virtual transference to another world (in temporal and spatial meaning). Both transmit cultural and social messages, and aim to facilitate communication between visitors and the social order of things, but also to bring visitors in front of their memory, in front of their past. This can be revealed through the evocative power of objects, as well as through their selective arrangement in time and space, which corresponds to cultural valuations while also defining these valuations.

We are now going to see how the parameters of collecting, as we have presented them in the four previous chapters, relate to classical collecting as this is witnessed in our case-studies, about the four authors. But first, let us see how we read the ancient texts and use them to reveal information on past practices and beliefs.

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[1] Translation in Loeb CL, *Ovid, Heroides and Amores*, trans. by Grant Showerman, 1957: 351.

[2] Translation by Pusey, cited in Yates, 1966: 46.

[3] There has been extended discussion of the view that time and space are pre-existent, and not at all sociologically defined notions. For arguments against this view and further bibliography, see Gell, 1992.

[4] For collection as a classification process see Pearce, 1995; Baudrillard, 1968.

[5] 'εἰκώ...κινητόν...αἰῶνος' (*Timaeus*, 37d).

[6] 'Ὡς δὲ κινηθὲν αὐτὸ καὶ ζῶν ἐνενόησε τῶν ἀϊδίων θεῶν γεγονὸς ἄγαλμα ὁ γεννήσας πατήρ, ἠγάσθη τε καὶ εὐφρανθεὶς ἔτι δὴ μᾶλλον ὅμοιον πρὸς τὸ παράδειγμα ἐπενόησεν ἀπεργάσασθαι' : it is interesting to note here the play with the words (agalma) ἄγαλμα (thing of joy, statue) and ἠγάστη (rejoiced), Loeb CL: 75.

[7] Translated in Loeb CL, *Plato (Timaeus, Critias, Cleitophon, Menexenus, Epistles),* with an English translation by R. G. Bury, London and Cambridge Mass., 1952.

[8] Translated by Apostle, 1969.

[9] The distinction of prior and posterior in motion arises from spatial difference (Callahan, 1948: 193-4).

[10] *Cael.* 2.3, 285a15f; b3ff; *Inc.* 4.750a28-b18; 706a13ff; P*art. an.* 10,656a13; 4.7, 683b19-25; 4.8, 683b35; *Phys.* IV.1, 208b15.

[11] 'A place, then, is this, namely, the primary motionless boundary of that which contains' (translated by Apostle, 1969).

[12] Of the terms *chora* and *topos* the former appears earliest in the sources. It means 'land/region/ground' and when applied to smaller pieces of ground 'stretch/field/ground/place' (Homer, *Od.*, IX.573; XXII.366). The terms could be used interchangeably both in common parlance, and in the first philosophical uses of them: *topos* usually to denote relative location, *chora* to denote a larger extension than *topos*. Plato seems to have considered the terms identical and uses them almost interchangeably (only *chora* sometimes is used for larger extensions); he also uses the term *hedra*, another word which could be used as a synonym (Aeschylus, *Eu.* 11). Aristotle uses the term *topos* exclusively in his *Physics* when he defines his views concerning place, but he uses both terms interchangeably in passages of a dialectical nature. Until the Hellenistic period there was no term used exclusively to denote space. The Stoics and the Epicureans turned these words into technical terms: for the Stoics the term *topos* roughly may be thought to give the notion of 'place', whereas '*chora*' seems to have had different technical and non-technical meanings, and cannot be translated simply as 'space'. Epicurus, as we will see further in this chapter, turned the terms '*topos*' and '*chora*' into technical terms which refer to space in different contexts (Algra, 1995: 31-38).

[13] For arguments supporting a developmental approach to Aristotle's views on space see Mendell, 1987; for these and contra arguments see full discussion and bibliography in Algra, 1995.

[14] The translations from the Epicurean and Stoic writers that follow are from the first volume of Long and Sedley, 1987, unless otherwise stated.

[15] Epicureanism also discusses time in relation to pleasure and death. It is argued that time has no bearing on the quantity of pleasure, and that finite time and infinite time can be equally pleasant as long as one has lived a full life. 'Infinite time and finite time contain equal pleasure, if one measures the limits of pleasure by reason' (Epicurus, *Key doctrines*, 19).

[16] 'ἀναφὴς φύσις' is the term that Epicurus used (Sextus Empiricus, *M.* 10.2).

[17] The fourth incorporeal in the Stoic ontology is *lekton* (sayable).

[18] Major discussion of Stoic theories on time in Goldschmidt, 1979, Sorabji, 1983: 17-32; Lloyd, 1970 and Rist, 1969: chapter 15.

[19] This is the definition of Zeno. Another definition of time that the same source has rescued for us is the one by Chrysippus: 'the dimension of the world's motion' (Simplicius, *On Aristotle's Categories* 340, 15-16 - *SVF* 2.510).

[20] Plato, without having himself developed a theory of endless recurrence, has provided the myths that many of the subsequent theories employed: for instance, the idea of the Great Year (when all circles - of all the bodies - have resumed their original motion and have returned to their original alignment), that Heraclitus had added (Aetius, 2.32.3) was developed in *Timaeus* (39d; 22b-23c); also see *Phaedrus*, 246a-249c, and *Statesman* 269b-274e. See also for discussion and bibliography, Sorabji, 1983: 182ff.

[21] About a distinction between human and divine time as this is perceived by the ancient Greeks see Vidal-Naquet, 1986.

[22] Discussion of circular versus linear time in ancient philosophy in Sorabji, 1988: 182ff, where also bibliography.

[23] See also Aristotle's views in the previous section.

[24] Right and left are not among the categories that represent time (for discussion about this pair see below).

[25] Translations in this section are by Bettini (1991), unless otherwise stated.

[26] Bettini (1991) discusses at length the terms used to denote anteriority/posteriority in Latin; he reaches the same conclusion for all the pairs of course. In addition, he remarks that the terms denoting 'before' are numerically more (and more elaborate) than those for 'behind'; he uses this remark in his arguments about the superiority of 'before' in chapter 12; see also pp. 118-120.

[27] For another similar example, see Seneca, *De brev. vit.*, 10.5.

[28] Seneca reverses this order in a phrase that reveals his existential reflections: 'For in this we are deceived, that we look ahead to death:... whatever is behind in age, it holds death' (*Ad Lucil.* 1.1-3).

[29] About the relation between movement (motion), time and space in philosophical terms, see the discussion above.

[30] About the passive and active role of the individual in time's passing, see discussion in Toohey, 1997; also Wallace-Hadrill, 1987, and Beard, 1987.

[31] Although Bettini does not emphasise the difference in ideology that these two imply.

[32] It is worth mentioning the whole paragraph of Seneca's epistle:

> *'Respice celeritatem rapidissimi temporis, cogita brevitatem huius spatii, per quod citatissimi currimus, observa hunc comitatum generis humani eodem tendentis minimis intervallis distinctum, etiam ubi maxima videntur; quem putas perisse, praemissus est. Quid autem dementius quam, cum idem tibi iter emetiendum sit, flere eum, qui antecessit? Flet aliquis factum, quod non ignoravit futurum? ...Intervallis distinguimur, exitu aequamur.'*
>
> 'Note the rapidity of Time - that swiftest of things; consider the shortness of the course along which we hasten at top speed; mark this throng of humanity, all straining toward the same point with briefest intervals between them - even when they seem longest; he whom you count as passed away has simply posted on ahead. And what is more irrational than to bewail your predecessor, when you yourself must travel on the same journey? Does a man bewail an event which he knew would take place?... Periods of time separate us, but death levels us.'

Text and translation from Loeb CL.

[33] See also Publilius Syrus, *App. sent.* 33R. An example of this kind of perceiving time can be seen in the Roman funerals, where the masks of the ancestors are placed at the front of the procession and in this order. See Bettini, 1991, and Flower, 1996.

[34] Cicero in his *De Natura Deorum* says that 'From "going" [*eundo*] the name Janus is drawn, from which open passageways are called "*iani*", and doorways over the thresholds of profane dwellings are named "*ianuae*"'(2.67).

[35] The fact that the same god bears both temporal and spatial connections is indicative of the relation between time and space as this was understood by the ancients.

[36] Trans. in Bettini, 1991: 154.

[37] This is addressed to Carmentis, a prophetic deity (Bettini, 1991: 155).

[38] Translated in Loeb CL, *Ovid* (in six volumes), volume V, *Fasti*, with and English translation by Sir James G. Frazer (second edition revised by G. P. Goold), Cambridge Mass. and London, 1989.

[39] For a thorough discussion of the impact of kinship notions in collecting, see Pearce, 1995.

[40] For full discussion of the implications and importance of this custom, see Flower, 1996.

[41] We could also add here the funeral procession where the portraits of the ancestors were going first and the portraits of the descendants followed (see Flower, 1996 and Bettini, 1991: 176-183).

[42] About body as the generator of ordering principles see also Tuan, 1977: 36 (especially his diagram) and Pearson and Richards, 1994: 10 (the same diagram as in Tuan).

[43] See Lloyd's article (1962) about ancient Greek views on right and left; and Konstan (1972) on Epicurus' views on 'up' and 'down'.

[44] We are going from now on to focus the discussion on space for two reasons: firstly, because as we have seen time is represented as space more often than not, and secondly, because space offers a more explicit case for our discussion, since eventually we are going to focus on the domestic context of the Roman world.

[45] See also Pearce, 1995: 265.

[46] Vitruvius' text has been read from a variety of perspectives, and for a number of reasons: it was usually meant to explain and describe the usual domestic arrangements of ancient Romans, and the main emphasis has been placed on social hierachies as these are revealed through the text, and not as indications of spatial correspondence. Nevertheless, I feel that this has been an area that should had been included in the discussion because it is very much part of social structure and understanding.

[47] It is interesting that the formal and thematic arrangement corresponds to rhetorical principles, like *similitudo, vicinitas, contrarium*, because according to their relative position, things maybe similar, near, or antithetical, they provoke certain lines of thought (see Bergmann, 1994: 246ff for a discussion of the issue in relation to mural paintings).

[48] 'Or, again with couches in dining rooms: on the one hand you distinguish your *triclinia* using ivory-inlaid couches here, tortoise-shell there; on the other, you create matching sets by ensuring the couches in one setting are matched in height and material and shape, and using the same fabric for cushions, napkins, and so on' (*L.L.* 9.47) (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994:).

[49] For the same relationship argued in archaeological context for sculptural collections, see Bartman, 1988.

[50] For *cubicula* where art collections were kept see Pliny, *HN* 34.62; 35.3; 35.5; 35.70; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 43.2; 44.2; *Caligula*, 7.1; *Nero*, 25.2.

[51] Greek domestic architecture has been the subject of some very interesting publications, see, mainly, Hoepfner and Schwandner, 1986 and Walter-Karydis, 1994; also Jameson, 1990a and 1990b.

[52] About other types of Roman housing see McKay, 1977; Boethius, 1960; Wallace-Hadrill, 1994; Zanker, 1979a; Lafon, 1981. Dwyer (1994) discusses in detail and refutes the idea that there is a decline in the atrium type house at the end of the first century BCE onwards.

[53] On the hearth as a central part of the Greek home, as well as on the mythological associations of the hearth, Hestia, the goddess-protrectress of the hearth, and notions of space in Greek mythology, see Vernant, 1983a.

[54] About the atrium, see Vitruvius, 6.5.2; Suetonius, *Vita Iuvenalis* 12; Seneca, *Dialogues* 6.10.1; Velleius Paterculus 2.14.1; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 5.3; Lucan 10.119; Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 6.10; Suetonius, *Gaius*, 41.2; Valerius Maximus 5.8.3; Ovid, *Amores* 1.8.65; and *Fasti*, 1.159; Elder Pliny, *HN* 35.5; Seneca, *Dialogues* 11.14.3.

[55] As attested by Curtius 8.12; Sallust, *Histories* frg. 2.86.1.

[56] See Horace, *Satires* 2.6.11, *Epistles* 1.5.1; Livy, 39.6.7; Martial, 3.81.6.

[57] Note the difference with Greek houses where privacy was meant to be protected (Graham, 1966; Jameson, 1990a).

[58] As opposed to the Greek house, see previous note. For a detailed consideration of allocation of space in gender terms in the Roman house, see Wallace-Hadrill, 1996: 104-115.

[59] See Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 10ff

[60] Different views exist about this message: Pandermalis (1971) in a seminal article argues that the sculpture was collected and displayed to express the dichotomy between public and private life, *otium* and *negotium*;

Sauron (1980), argues for the evocation and promulgation of Elysian imagery; Wojcik (1986) suggests that the sculture groups meant to reveal aristocratic values of the Late Republic, and allowed for contradictory and complementray associations to exist among the different groups; Neudecker (1988) offers yet different allusions and messages to the different groups. Warden and Romano (1994) argue for a carefully planned didactic arrangement of figures: the display of virtue.

[61] Lyric poet, much admired in ancient Greece; circa 556- 468 BC.

[62] *De Anima*, 427b.18-22; 432a.17; 431b.2 etc.; *De memoria et reminiscentia*, 449b.31.

[63] About Aristotle and memory see Sorabji, 1972, and Annas, 1984.

[64] Aristotle's application of the word 'topos' to patterns of argument gave its name to the treatise 'Topics'; this is where the English words 'topic' and 'commonplace', as well as the expression 'in the first place' originate from. See Sorabji, 1972.

[65] Translated in Cicero, *De Oratore*, Loeb CL, by E. W. Sutton, 1948, pp. 469-470.

[66] Translated in Loeb CL, *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian*, trans. by H. E. Butler, 1922, pp. 221-223.

[67] The violent death of people was usually accompanied by a complete destruction of their living quarters; see, for instance, Cicero, *De Officiis*, 1.138; *dom.*, 102; Valerius Maximus, VI.3.1c.

PART TWO

CLASSICAL COLLECTORS AND COLLECTIONS.

CHAPTER SIX

VISITING PLINY'S COLLECTION: READING A 'MUSEUM'

It is impossible adequately to describe the multitude of those spectacles and their magnificence under every conceivable aspect, whether in works of art or in diversity of riches or natural rarities; for almost all the objects which men who have ever beenblessed by fortune have acquired one by one - the wonderful and precious productions of various nations - by their collective exhibition on that day displayed the majesty of the Roman Empire.

(Josephus, *Jewish War*, VII.132-133)[1]

To collect is to launch individual desire across the intertext of environment and history.

(Cardinal, 1994: 68).

I. Introduction.

The synthesis of *Historia Naturalis* can be ascribed to the prominent attempt, in the early Empire, to systematize knowledge and provide an accessible and comprehensive guide to it. Following the needs of the rapidly expanding technical and professional classes of Rome, for practical and popularized knowledge, and as a result of the establishment of scientific curiosity as a form of cultural consumption, handbooks and encyclopedias of various sorts had begun to appear in Rome as early as the time of Cato the Censor and M. Terentius Varro.[2] Balancing between early scientific culture and pure dilettantism, Pliny's oeuvre points toward the most prolific attempt to provide a work destined for consultation and imitation (Conte, 1994b: 499-502).

Yet *Historia Naturalis* (hereafter *HN*) is more than just an example of a literary genre, however exceptional and complete. While it partly shares characteristics and attributes of the paradoxographic tradition, initiated by Greek writers in the retinue of Alexander the Great, and rigorously promoted to become a genuinely new literary genre in Rome,[3] it provides a summary and conclusion, an epitome of the culture of the first century CE, the end-product of developments in life, education, literature and philosophy over the previous two hundred years. In the words of Conte (1994a: 90), *HN* should be considered as 'a monumental "culture text"', providing insights not only to the cultural practices, but also to the cultural discourses and paradigms of its era. The second part of this chapter (II) will concentrate therefore on outlining the principles that shape *HN* and the features that differentiate it from other similar texts.

After this, we will focus on a particular category of cultural activity, which plays a prominent role in *HN*, that of collecting. The risks that such an attempt encompasses have been already highlighted by Rouveret (1987: 116):

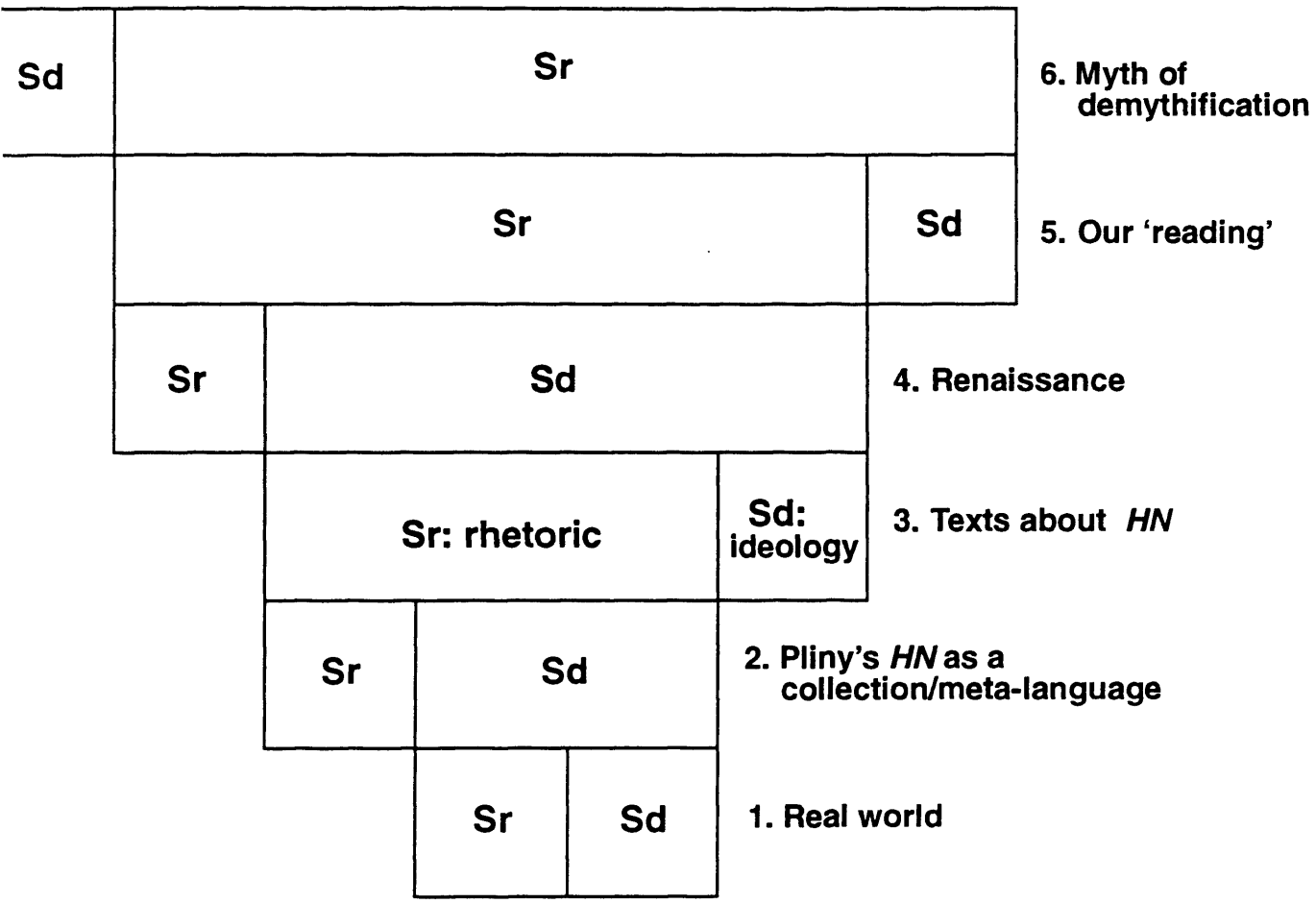
> 'Mais il faut au préalable s' interroger sur les sens même des termes "collection", "exposition", "musée". Ne risque-t-on pas de plaquer sur une réalité antique, très differente, des notions modernes, elles-même progressivement constituées et modifiés au fil du temps?'

Due to a similar concern, Isager's recent monograph (1991) has been criticized for assimilating ancient cultural practices with their modern counterparts (Tanner 1995: 184). Sharing these concerns, the present enquiry does not aspire to recover in Pliny's pages 'lost' museums and art galleries in the contemporary sense. On the other hand, it does not share the view that these should be cast out from the discussion of the ancient world, since they are modern and, therefore, irrelevant to past realities. Rather, it claims that 'collecting' and 'collection' can and should be used consciously to introduce new stances in the process of understanding the past, and to consider the interrelation of facts and notions that until now have been kept separate. It also claims that the models which ancient writers, in particular Pliny, provided are largely responsible for the shape that collections and museums have taken in subsequent periods. It is not that there has been a linear development from a 'primitive' stage to a 'mature' one: the emphasis here lies on the cultural categories that led to collecting, but also on the cultural categories in which collecting resulted. *HN* is a

product of a two-way process and as such can be an invaluable tool for illuminating both directions.

Pliny's role as a model, and as a source of information about collectors and collecting for Renaissance and subsequent generations, is widely acknowledged and efficiently documented as far as those influenced by him are concerned (see e.g. Findlen, 1989, 1994; Jenkins, 1996; Vickers, 1997). The discussion of Pliny's own work in this light has been scarce and fragmentary. Although words like 'museum', 'collection', and 'art gallery' make their appearance quite often when discussing *HN*, they usually are not meant in a museological sense, and refer only to books 33-37, commonly also known as the 'art history' chapters of *HN*. This section has been at the centre of enquiries which see Pliny mainly as a source of information on the setting up of collections, and occasionally, on their political role too (see for example Rouveret, 1987; Gualandi, 1982; Becatti, 1951, 1956, 1973-4; Beaujeu, 1982; Isager, 1991). Pliny's attitudes toward art are considered separately from his attitudes toward science, his aesthetics kept separate from his natural philosophy, and his moralism distinct from his curiosity. Here we aim to redress this shortcoming and to advocate an approach that takes into account all these aspects. In particular, we will argue that *HN* corresponds to two of the stages described in figure 1.2. It is a systematic collection itself, of a kind that will flourish centuries afterwards, and in this sense it corresponds to the second stage of the diagram (figure 6.1). It is a meta-language of the phenomenal, factual world. But *HN* also corresponds to the third stage of the diagram, since it is a meta-metalanguage, a 'reading' of other collecting practices and discourses (figure 6.2). By tracing the formation, taxonomy and aim in both cases, it will be possible to comprehend first, the way the classical world is related to its material culture, and second, how much the categories of art and culture which we have inherited are indebted to the past.

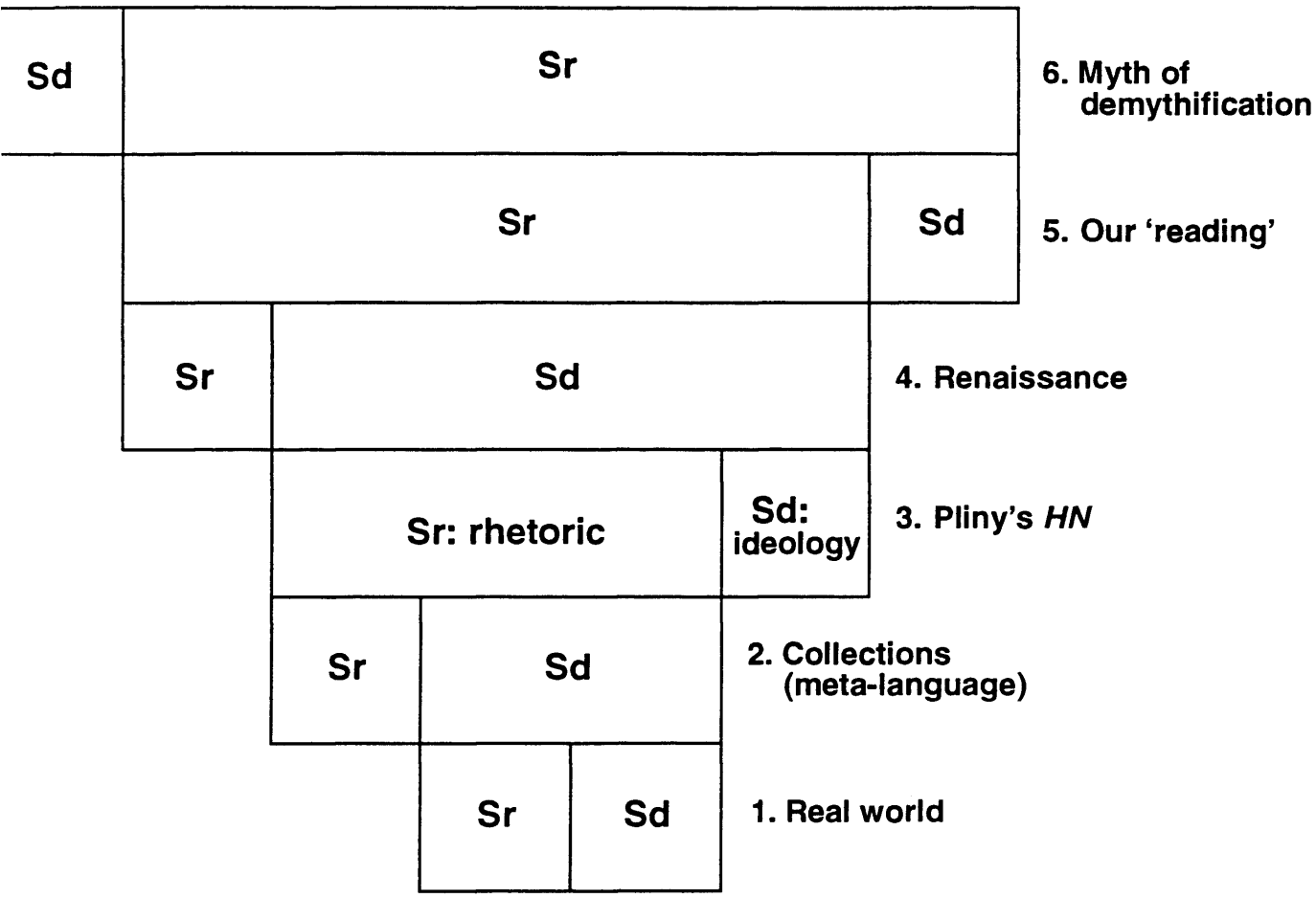
The third part of this chapter (III) will be devoted on Pliny as a source of information on collections and collecting in his era (stage 3), subdivided into the 'museographic' and the collecting discourse parts. Next, Pliny as a collector and as a model for imitation will be considered (stage 2) (IV). Finally, all the threads will be drawn together in the conclusions (V), where Pliny's role in shaping the nature and influence of classical collecting will be considered.



Sd = signified

Sr = signifier

Fig. 6.1 Model of analysis applied to Pliny's *HN* as a collection



Sd = signified

Sr = signifier

Fig. 6.2 Model of analysis applied to Pliny's *HN* as a source of information on collections

II. Principles that shape *HN* and features that differentiate it from other texts.

HN was dedicated in 77 or 78 CE to the heir of the imperial throne, Titus. It consists of thirty seven books[4] which adopt the following scheme: *epistula praefatoria*, indices and lists of sources (Book I), cosmology (II), geography (III-VI), anthropology (VII), zoology (divided according to the elements - earth, water, air, fire) (VIII-XI), botany (mainly trees, but also agriculture and horticulture) (XII-XIX), botany and zoology in medicine (XX-XXXII), and finally, mineralogy and metallurgy (XXXIII-XXXVII) (see della Corte, 1982: 37). The style, which has been often criticised,[5] is very unequal. Pliny[6] has not drawn a clear line between report and comment, and his discussion varies from a lively narrative enriched with historical references and elaborate descriptions, to a body of notes and a dry inventory (Goodyear, 1982: 670). Unlike apparently similar works, like Varro's *Disciplinae* and Celsus' *Artes*, that have their material arranged in books according to the subjects (*artes*) they cover,[7] and technical treatises that confine themselves to a single topic (agriculture, medicine, architecture), *HN* adopts a more holistic approach to knowledge: instead of a selective coverage of topics that interest the author, it is a unifyied, comprehensive entreprise.[8] Pliny gives to his book the title *Historia Naturalis,* 'enquiries into the natural world', and claims that *rerum natura, hoc est vita, narratur* (Praef. 13), 'my subject is ... the world of nature, in other words life'.[9] It is this broad subject-matter that differentiates *HN* from the classical tradition of encyclopedic literature (Beagon, 1992).

HN's broad perspective had been determined by the way Pliny perceived nature and the universe. Pliny's view was shaped largely by Stoicism, but we can also find in his work influences from the other three major philosophical schools, Platonism, Peripatetics, and Epicureanism (Beaujeu, 1948; André, 1978a; Gigon, 1982; della Corte, 1982; Sallmannn, 1987; Beagon, 1992). His ideas on cosmology are introduced in Book II, but also appear quite regularly in the introductions to almost every book (Kroll, 1930). Although not consistent throughout, he adopts the stance that the universe (*mundus*) is *numen*, meaning divine.[10]

> 'The world is sacred, eternal, boundless, self-contained, or, one should say, complete in itself, finite yet resembling the infinite, of all things certain yet resembling the uncertain, embracing in all its grasp all things without and within.' (2.2).[11]

The sun is the soul (*animus*) or the mind (*mentem*) of the whole world (2.13). Nature is the world's governing principle. Its power is diffused throughout the universe and its laws not only provide the proper precepts to follow, but also ensure and furnish constancy and inevitableness of things (2.1-27; French, 1994: 197-199; Isager, 1991: 32-33). But what exactly is 'nature'? According to traditional Stoicism, *logos* (reason) and *physis* (nature) are the two key-notions of the natural world. *Physis* meant the 'nature of a thing',[12] and in Greek philosophy it had a rather wider meaning than in Rome.[13] In *HN* in particular, the term is used to denote *rerum natura*, which means 'the expression of some innate force that determines the shape and behaviour of *individual* things' (French, 1994: 199, emphasis in the text); in other words, it is the power that makes things individual. But the term *natura* can be also used collectively to denote the nature of *all* things. In this case nature is a wider principle. Pliny's views on the dual character of nature are summarised in his phrase: *idemque rerum naturae opus and rerum ipsa natura* (at once the work of the nature of things and nature itself)[14] (2.1), where both notions appear simultaneously. The same phrase is translated by Healy (1991: 10): 'The world is the work of Nature, and at the same time, the embodiment of Nature herself'. In other words, Nature is passive and active at the same time, a creator and a creation (also Sallmann, 1987: 258-259).

Analyzing Pliny's notion of nature and natural history thus can be quite misleading, since often he uses *rerum natura* to denote the variety and number of the natures of individual things, and not a personified, allegorical figure (a collective entity) as we are used to understand nature in our western tradition (French, 1994: 201). The fact that for Pliny nature, besides being the creator, is also embodied in individual things, elucidates his attempt to collect, or assemble the nature of the world in his book. By assembling the units of the world, he brings together the embodiments of nature, and therefore he 'reaches' Nature (divinity) itself by creating a microcosm. In order for man to appreciate *naturae vis atque maiestas*, the greatness and majesty of Nature, he has to grasp the whole picture, and not just specific details (7.7). Nevertheless, every single contribution, however small and humble, does have a value in grasping of this grand overall picture (Beagon, 1992: 47).

A fundamental aspect of the Greek outlook on life was the central place man had in the universe. The link between man and cosmic deity was enhanced by the Stoic identification of the all pervading spirit of the universe with man's highest attribute, mind or reason (*logos*) (Beagon, 1992: 36-37). The centrality of man in Pliny's universe is expressed in the

recurring theme of Nature's providence toward the human race. Pliny believes that the world was built with a purpose. His whole theory is underpinned by the notion that Nature provides everything a man needs, but that people, blinded by avarice and luxury, abuse Nature. Pliny attributes man's ingratitude to Nature to ignorance and, thus he hopes to redress that ignorance through his writing. By taking a leading part in the growth of knowledge, he visualizes his role as providential, too. He aims to achieve something that nobody else has: to assemble the knowledge of the world, set the example for people, and thus save mankind from its own folly (Praef. 14).

Pliny does not have an abstract view of man in mind. For him 'man' is Roman man, of his own class and education; the world, as much as it is anthropocentric, is mainly Roman-centred. *HN* is about the development of Roman society. Pliny was aware of the growth of the Roman Empire and the consequent growth in knowledge that such an expansion had brought. He was also aware that man depends on nature's gifts and that many aspects of political history were founded on the desire to obtain more. Pliny's work was a survey of what was available for Roman man. He wanted to cover all fields that earlier texts had not and to avoid theory by reporting only facts, to acquaint Romans with what was theirs in the universe and to preserve them for the future. He could see the possibility of instructing his readers morally as one of the prime benefits of his work (Citroni-Marchetti, 1982; 1991), but he did not aim to follow the Greek philosophical tradition of solving problems that go beyond appearances; instead his work involved the encyclopedic collecting of the phenomenal world (*indicare* 'to point out' - and not *indagare* 'to search', Conte, 1994a: 85).

Equally central to nature's providence in *HN*, is the idea of man's *luxuria*.[15] Pliny undertakes the role of defining exactly what elements fall into this category, and justifying this by illustrating clearly the reasons why they are included. But Pliny is not particularly innovative in his criticism. Rather, he adopts the monotonous moralistic attitude of all Romans, from Cato to Juvenal. As Wallace-Hadrill (1990: 90) claims, what Pliny did was to follow this traditional Roman approach and to attempt to legitimate the loss of what the Romans rejected on moral grounds. Following the Stoic definition, luxury is failure to live according to Nature. It is a perversion of mind, and therefore, not the correct way for man to live. Luxury goods are not evil in themselves, but they can lead to degeneracy if exaggerated, and false values are attributed to them.[16] Pliny's criticism is not merely philosophical; it is also influenced by practical concerns regarding material value (Beagon,

1992: 76-77). This becomes very clear when he insists on providing the prices of the objects he discusses. His disapproval, although justified in philosophical terms, is mainly directed towards, and founded upon, the untraditional way of using luxurious objects as a means of structuring social hierarchy. This offers new symbols to define social dominance.

Pliny's criticism of luxury, therefore, aims to legitimate through a 'scientific' (in the sense of compliance with moral rationality) approach the traditional social ethics, and, thus the relations of power and control endangered by the misuse of such objects - symbols, as Gordon suggested, of 'kept knowledge' (1979:12; Wallace-Hadrill, 1990:92). Furthermore, Wallace-Hadrill (1990: 94-96) claims that Pliny uses the antithesis of nature vs. luxury as a strategy to introduce scientific thought (traditionally associated with the Greeks) to the Roman world by indicating its relevance to it (and thus establishing a bridge between Greek and Roman discourse) (also André, 1978a: 7).

Pliny's natural history is genuinely historical. The notion of history in its original Greek meaning of 'enquiry' and with its strong chronological component had directed his collection and writing of facts (see Fornara, 1983; also chapter 2 on antiquarianism).[17] Pliny treats history as a search for the remarkable, and wishes to record all things worthy of *historia*. Some things are considered remarkable because of what he already knows about the powers of nature, as he understands the term; some others because of the 'history' of people. A historic view of the world does not mean that the author confines himself to the historical accounts of famous deeds. Pliny's vision of life is much wider. The humble plants and animals, he claims, can be more often of use to man than an individual act of bravery; therefore, they deserve more attention (7.104ff; Beagon, 1992: 55-56). Pliny seeks to depict life in all its aspects, activities, inventions and discoveries that allow man to help both contemporaries and descendants. It is this notion of history in Pliny that accounts for many of the characteristics of his work (French, 1994: 206ff; Healy, 1991: xvii-xviii).

First, the notion of *historia* accounts for the *mirabilia* included so abundantly in *HN*. His interest in the remarkable urges Pliny to collect *mirabilia*, present them to his contemporaries and render them *memorabilia*. In this respect, Pliny owns a lot to a popular form of entertainment, *paradoxography* (from the Greek word *paradoxon*, 'oddity, unexpected thing'); the *thaumasia* had always been a strong attraction for the Greeks, and already in the Hellenistic period there were large collections of this genre (Gigon, 1982: 43).

From his indexes, we learn that Pliny relied on several of these miscellaneous collections of *mirabilia* and *paradoxa*.[18] The most famous Roman author of this tradition was Licinius Mucianus[19] (almost a contemporary of Pliny - he died before 77 CE), who is often cited as a source. As a real dilettante, Mucianus recorded new data and experiences, but inscribed them in the traditional models, and lacked that systematic spirit that would render his work scientific (Conte, 1994b: 500). Pliny records many wonders and oddities of nature - but he is quite sceptical, at least by the ancient standards, of many marvelous stories (Beagon, 1992: 11). His recording thus of *mirabilia* seems to relate to, and have been dictated by, his aim to include in his work not only the general and constant but also the unique. He, therefore, assigns a large part of *HN* to *admiranda* and *mirabilia*, and thus his discourse quite often resembles an archive of wonders.[20]

Second, the notion of history accounts for the inclusion in *HN* of aspects, or stories, not obviously relevant to nature. A classic example of that are the so-called 'art history' chapters. Arts and crafts form part of the metallurgy and mineralogy discussion. The modern clear cut division between art and science makes a unified treatment such as this rather puzzling. A very 'convenient' approach in the past has resulted in discussions which look to isolate the art history from the rest of the work (e.g. Jex-Blake and Sellers, 1896). These attempts at division range from positivistic cross checking of Pliny's sources (e.g. Kalkmann, 1898; Münzer, 1897; Schweitzer, 1932) and evaluative reports of the author's credibility, to questions regarding Pliny's personal connoisseurship and aestheticism (e.g. Moorhouse, 1940; Daneau-Lattanzi, 1982; Michel, 1987; Heuzé, 1987). Other scholars, determined to tackle Pliny's inclusiveness, have enumerated three reasons for it: the education of the Roman upper classes, which included the Greek εγκυκλιος παιδεια; Pliny's moralistic views on art (he sees the art of his time as *ars moriens);* and his personal connoisseurship (Isager, 1971: 49-50). From another perspective, Gordon argues that primary materials, such as gold, silver, marble, bronze, and so on, and works of art made of them, operated in a more or less similar way as symbols (aniconic and iconic respectively). In this sense, they all invoked elements from the 'encyclopedia of kept knowledge' (1979: 12). The culmination of his argument suggests that it was the refusal of aestheticism in the ancient world that led to the inscription of art into the nature of things (1979: 27). Levidis (1994: 8), in his introduction to the translation of Book 35, attributes the inclusion of art history in *HN* to Pliny's aim to examine the natural sciences in relation to their practical applications. Tanner in a recent discussion (1995), claims the autonomy of art history as a

discipline, despite the fact that it is preserved for us as part of an encyclopedia, and contextualises the art history of Pliny in the Greek rationalistic cosmology, which considered the perfect adaptation of a work of art to natural reason a proof of the excellence of human rationality.

However, if we consider *HN* as a whole, it becomes evident that the inclusion of both natural and cultural history are consistent with the views presented throughout the work. *HN* is a story about man's encounter with nature, man's progress in the natural world, and about how man and nature have influenced each other. Arts and crafts are included because of the providential role of nature and the rational adaptation of man. *Artes* imitate nature. The Stoics denied a divine origin for the arts and crafts, and Pliny's approach supports this idea. Inclusive in nature's providence as they are, they belong to Pliny's project to explain and demonstrate the power of nature. Being part of the 'history' of human activity is one more reason for them to belong to Pliny's project to present the progress and culmination of Roman society. The art discussion, therefore, is part of the Stoic purpose to argue that it was not God but Nature - and man through the guidance of nature - that developed human art (André, 1978a; Isager, 1991; Beagon, 1992).

Pliny intended to write not only a natural history, but also a history of civilization and techniques. Although he rejects rhetoric, he employs this method quite extensively on the theme of *luxuria*, which had been a *leitmotiv* for all texts concerned with the evolution of Roman society. From this point of view, the love of works of art was part of the corruption of morals. Roman writers were at pains to prove their ignorance of and indifference to art, even when this was not true (e.g. Cicero). Among the other arguments, therefore, Pliny finds one more reason for including art in his *HN*. It was a 'dead art', and therefore, it was a historian's task to preserve whatever possible from something that did not exist anymore (Rouveret, 1981; 1987).

Pliny's view of the world and his project, therefore, seem to be very well described by the title of his work, where he explicitly states his 'territory'. He approaches the natural world as a theatre of Roman power and, consequently, of history. Pliny deals with Roman expansion in a historical way and he understands Roman man accordingly. The acquaintance of the two prime elements (nature and Roman people) is explicitly underlined by the obviously historical way he treats the novelties in every field by the date of their first

appearance in Rome. Returning emperors and generals would often stage a triumph in which a display of strange things, flora and fauna as well as art, from distant territories, emphasized their success and the military prowess of Rome.

III.1. Pliny as a source of information on collections and collecting: 'museography'.

'Museographic' indexes supplement all standard discussions of Pliny's books 33-37 (e.g. Loeb, book X: 337, André, Bloch and Rouveret, 1981: 25-29, Jex-Blake and Sellers, 1896: 247-252). They assume, and largely shape, a general acknowledgment of the assimilation of Roman temples with 'veritable art museums' (Isager, 1991: 158; Gros, 1976: 157; van Buren, 1938; Lehmann, 1945; Gualandi, 1982: 276-277),[21] and are intended as detailed accounts of the locality of works of art, as mentioned by Pliny, mainly in Rome, but also elsewhere in the Roman world. The emphasis then is transferred from the actual assemblage of works of art to Pliny's sources for such an account, as well as his accuracy, often tested against the actual archaeological finds. It has been suggested that Pliny, in addition to written sources, must have had access to some kind of register of *objets d' art* in public buildings in Rome. Alternatively, he may have relied on catalogues from the Augustan era, since it is with Augustan edifices and collections that he primarily deals. Occasionally the attempts to reach the original source of Pliny's information[22] go as far as to suggest that Pliny himself was appointed *curator operum publicorum*, or that he aided in the compilation of official catalogues (about these and contra arguments see Detlefsen, 1901, 1905 and Hauser, 1905; very detailed review of those in Le Bonniec and Gallet de Santerre, 1953: 66-69 and 81).

Undoubtedly elaborate and thoroughly scholarly as they are, these accounts tend to leave unquestioned both the vocabulary ('museographic') and the particular character of those 'ancient museums', under the assumption that they probably share - or should - similar values with contemporary museums. Having said that, these attempts are indispensable aids to the study of Pliny and will be used here, although in order to focus on, and possibly redress, their assumptions. This discussion does not aim to be an exhaustive account of all collections held in the Roman world. It will be a quick 'tour' around the main sites of collections mentioned in *HN*, which will leave us with a clear picture first, of models of collecting behaviour, to imitate or criticize, and second, of reasons to do so.

Pliny recounts assemblages of works of art and natural curiosities, deposited by celebrated personalities of the Roman world in public buildings, mainly but not exclusively temples. The definition of the work of art itself is quite broad, since it includes sculpture in bronze or marble and paintings, and also products of fine craftsmanship, like bowls and cups - what we would call decorative arts. The reasons why they are appreciated are diverse and are revealed eventually in the course of the discussion. For a while we are going to 'forget' the dual character of *HN*, as an account of collections and a collection itself, and to concentrate on the former, i.e. on the collections described by Pliny.

Unlike Gualandi (1982: 262-263) and Serbat (1986: 2164), who claim that Pliny's views on collections are not explicit, I argue that they are as explicit as they could possibly be for a social phenomenon so recent in Pliny's day that it had not as yet acquired a 'name'. We have the privilege today of debating these issues with the confidence gained by having the methodological tools and cultural categories to frame our discussions. Contemporary discussion is able to use the terms 'collection', 'art gallery' and 'museum', with a full set of connotations implied; in the case of Pliny and his contemporaries who stand at the beginning of this intellectual tradition, these terms are still in the process of acquiring their meaning. It is possible therefore to record in Pliny's work this process, which consists of defining and redefining sacred and secular space, textuality and actuality, temple, treasury and text. Consequently, we are going to focus immediately on the 'museographic' concerns, illustrated in the passages from *HN* that have been 'collected' in the process of this research, so that then we can turn to questions such as, what meaning were these objects and collections given in social tradition, how individuals have worked their way within and through these to make meaning for themselves, why and how collected objects were subject to valuations, how judgement of material of collections changed and according to what criteria, and the importance this had. In the following parts, similar questions will be asked for Pliny's own 'collection' and comparisons of models will be drawn in the conclusion.

Gualandi has published the most detailed and up-to-date index, together with a brief discussion of Pliny and art collecting (1982). The appendices of his article in particular are very helpful, since they relate every work of art mentioned in *HN* with the name of its artist, his place of origin, the subject of the work, its date, its display location and the exact reference in Pliny. This list will form the starting point of our discussion and will be

enriched with additions of a category largely ignored, i.e. natural curiosities, in order to give a more complete picture of collections.

The discussion of collections places them directly in the social and historical circumstances that has led to their creation. As is readily observable in many passages throughout *HN*, Pliny distinguishes between luxury and collection. He holds the East and the Greeks (both in a rather abstract sense) responsible for the existence of both in the Roman world, as well as the generals who imported all these objects during their triumphs. Marcellus was the first: after the conquest of Syracuse in 212 BCE, he brought to Rome works of art - after that the Romans became addicted to it. The religious dedication of spoils in temples, and the complete subjugation of the foreign nations that the plundering of their gods meant (*evocatio*) (Pape, 1975), soon gave way to a cultural practice of dedicating works of art. All the great generals, and subsequently the emperors, zealously promoted this tradition, which by Pliny's day had resulted in a series of public collections, and, most disturbingly for him, in a profound change of values.

The Capitolium was the home of a large collection of miscellaneous objects, offered mainly by the military leaders of the Republic. The majority of artefacts are recorded in association with the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. They were pictures by Parrhasios (*Theseus*,[23] 35.69 [T90]), and Nicomachos (a *Victory with horses*, and a *Rape of Persephone*, 35.108) dedicated by Sylla and L. Munatius Plancus respectively, a gold 'clupeus', i.e. a shield decorated with embossed likeness (see also Levidis, 1994: 170), dedicated by L. Marcius Septimus (35.14), goblets by Mentor (7.127 [T10]; 33.154 [T53]), and a collection of gems, which had belonged to King Mithridates, offered by Pompey along with murrhine cups and bowls from the spoils of his triumph (37.11 [T124]; 37.18 [T126]). In the Temple of Jupiter Tonans are recorded bronze statues by Hegias (*Dioskouroi*, 34.78) and Leochares (the cult statue of the god, 34.10 [T60]; 34.79). In the Temple of Faith (*Templum Fidelitas*) a picture by Aristeides with an old man and a boy could be seen (35.100). With no indication of their exact location on the Capitoline Hill are also mentioned bronze statues by Kalamis (4.92; 34.39), Lysippos (34.40), Chares (34.44), Euphranor (34.77), and unknown artists (34.43-44), a marble statue by Praxiteles (36.23 [T109]), and two natural curiosities: a mass of rock-crystal dedicated by Augustus' wife Livia (37.27 [T127]) and a cinnamon chaplet embossed with gold offered by Vespasian (12.94 [T24]) (on the *Capitolinus Mons* see

Richardson, 1992: 68-70 and his fig. 19; Platner and Ashby, 1929: 95-98; also Jacobi, 1884: 74-102).

In the Forum Romanum, the largest collection was held in the *Aedes Concordiae*, the temple dedicated by Tiberius in 10 CE, after he had it rebuilt with the spoils from his Germanic campaigns. The design of the new temple had been rather exceptional. Possibly because of its location below the Capitol, the temple's width was greater than its length. A Tiberian coin shows that the central entrance was flanked by two windows that would have lighted the room, and this has been considered the most appropriate for the exhibition of bronze statuary (Becatti, 1973-74, tables XV, XVII). Indeed, this temple has been considered by scholars to have been built with a specific cultural, rather than religious intention in mind (Gros, 1976: 159ff). Becatti (1973-74) suggests that probably Tiberius himself was responsible for the purchases of the bronze statues assembled in it, and that from the beginning the statuary and the temple were thought of as a unity. Therefore, *Aedes Concordiae* was built as an 'exhibition room'. The bronze sculptures included a *Group of Latona, Apollo and Diana* made by Euphranor (34.77), a *Group of Jupiter, Minerva and Ceres* made by Sthenis (34.90), *Mars and Mercury* made by Piston (34.89), an *Apollo and Juno* (34.73) by Baton, and an *Aesculapius and Salus* by Niceratus (34.80). Becatti (1973-74) has also emphasized the stylistic harmony of the series of statuary, since they were all made by artists of the fourth and third centuries BCE, with a late classical or Hellenistic classicizing formal idiom. In addition, the temple housed three paintings, a *Bound Marsyas* by Zeuxis (35.66 [T89]), a *Dionysus* by Nikias (35.131 [T98-99]), and a *Cassandra* by Theorus (35.144), along with two natural curiosities, four elephants made of obsidian dedicated by Augustus (35.196), and a sardonyx from the ring of Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, dedicated by Livia (37.4 [T123]), which was part of a gems collection. From other sources we also learn about a statue of *Hestia* (Cas. Dio 55.9). According to Becatti (1973-73: 42), this temple would have been a *monumentum* for Tiberius' victories and an expression of his personal artistic taste (see also Isager, 1991: 159-160; Jacobi, 1884: 40-42).

In the same area (the Forum Romanum), there were also collections held in the temples of *Divus Julius* and *Divus Augustus*. The construction of the former was begun by the triumphirs in 42 BCE, and was dedicated by Augustus in 29 BCE. In its cella it housed a colossal statue of Julius Caesar with a star on his head (2.93-94). But more importantly, it

housed paintings, one without indication of artist or subject, but recommended by the fact that it was dedicated there by Augustus (35.27 [T85]), and another painted by Apelles, *Venus Anadyomene* (35.91), also dedicated by Augustus. When this one deteriorated, it was replaced by Nero with a copy made by Dorotheus (35.91) (Richardson, 1992: 213-214; Jacobi, 1884: 30-32). The Temple of Divus Augustus was built by Tiberius (Cass. Dio 57.10.2), and dedicated by Caligula (Suetonius, *Calig.* 21). It contained two paintings by Nikias, one of *Hyacinthus* and one of *Danaë* (36.28 [T111]; 36.131). Both were brought from Egypt by Tiberius, and the former was a favourite of Augustus. In the same temple was also a cinnamon-root in a golden bowl (12.94 [T24]), a gift of Livia (Richardson, 1992: 45-46).

Forum Julii and the Temple of *Venus Genetrix* were dedicated by Caesar in 46 BCE. The temple housed a collection of works of art also dedicated by Caesar. They were two paintings of *Ajax* and *Medea,* the art of Timomachus (7.126 [T10]; 35.26 [T84]; 35.136 [T100]); also, six collections of engraved gems (*dactyliothecae*) (37.11 [T124]), and a corselet made of British pearls (9.116 [T20]) (Caesar's love for pearls is attested also by Suetonius). The marble cult statue was left unfinished by Arcesilaos (36.156). From other sources we are informed about a golden statue of Cleopatra (Cass. Dio 51.22.3; Appian *BellCiv* 2.102). Finally, according to Pliny, Caesar permitted the dedication of a statue of himself in the forum (34.18) (Richardson, 1992: 165-167; Jacobi, 1884: 66-69).

Another interesting collection was held in the Temple of Peace (*Templum Pacis*). It was dedicated by Vespasian in 75 CE. The prime reason for its construction was to house the spoils from the capture of Jerusalem (Josephus, *BellJud* 7.5.7 [158-161]) and the many bronze statues that Vespasian removed from Nero's *Domus Aurea* (34.84 [T75]). Pliny does not discuss these in detail, possibly, it has been argued, because there was no official catalogue listing them yet (Isager, 1991: 168). The works that he actually singles out are three paintings and two stone sculptures. They are a picture of *Eros* by Timanthes (35.74), one of *Skylla* by Nicomachus (35.109), and one of *Ialysus* by Protogenes (35.102). There were also a marble statue of *Venus* (36.27 [T111]), and a statue of *Nilo* made of basalt and brought from Egypt (36.48). Finally, a cinnamon chaplet embossed with gold (12.94 [T24]) completes the list of objects that Pliny choses to single out of the collection dedicated in one of the finest buildings of Rome (*HN,* 35.102-103; 35.109; 36.58, Pausanias, 6.9.3; Juvenal, 9.23; Richardson, 1992: 286-287).

In the Campus Martius there were many collections housed in porticoes, temples and other public buildings. The temple of Apollo Sosianus (*in circo*) housed a painting of a tragic actor and a boy by Aristeides (13.53; 35.99-100), a wooden statue of Apollo brought by C. Sosius from Seleukeia (13.53), five marble sculptures by Philiscus of Rhodes (a *Diana*, an *Apollo*, a *nude Apollo*, a *Latona* and *nine Muses*, 36.34 [T113]), an *Apollo with a lyre* by Timarchides (36.35 [T113]), and a *group of Niobids* made by either Scopas or Praxiteles (36.38 [T113]) (also Isager, 1991: 162-163, note 576 with bibliography; André, Bloch and Rouveret, 1981: 26, note 2). In the temple of Neptune, there was a marble group of sea deities by Scopas (36.26). The Temple of Mars had an *Ares and Aphrodite* by Scopas (36.26); the Porticus Philippi paintings by Zeuxis (*Helena*, 35.64), Antiphilos (*Alexander and Hippolytus*, 35.114), and Theorus (*Capture of Troy*, 35.114). In the temple of Fortune were bronze statuary by Pheidias and Pythagoras (36.54; 36.40 [T113]). In the *Theatrum Scauri*, erected by Aemilius Scaurus in 58 BCE, 3,000 statues were used as decoration (35.114-115). Similarly, the *Theatrum Pompeii*, the first marble theatre in Rome, was dedicated in 55 BCE, and was remarkable for its decoration, which included paintings of marvels, like Eutychis from Tralles, who had 30 children, and Alcippe, who gave birth to an elephant (7.34 [T7]). The *Porticus Pompeii*, dedicated in 52 BCE, contained a collection of paintings by Polygnotus (35.59), Pausias (*Sacrifice of an Oxen*, 35.126 [T97]), Nikias (*Alexander*, 35.132 [T99]) and Antiphilos (*Cadmos and Europe*, 35.114), as well as fourteen figures by Coponius representing the *Fourteen Nations* (36.41 [T113]). The *Thermae Agrippae* contained bronze and marble statuary; the famous *Apoxyomenos* of Lysippus (before it was transferred to the *cubiculum* of Tiberius) (34.62 [T71]) and *Caryatids* by Diogenes (36.38 T113][), along with paintings (35.26 [T84]). The *Pantheon of Agrippa* was erected as part of a complex consisting of the Baths, the Temple of Neptune and Saepta Julia. The exact relationship between them is not clear, since their functions seem to have been very different, but they were all major monuments. An inscription on the façade dates the Pantheon to 27 BCE.[24] It is considered an example of the 'new' architecture that was taking into account the 'museographic' significance of the temples (Gros, 1976: 160ff). Pliny mentions the earrings of the statue of Venus which were the two halves of the famous pearl of Cleopatra (9.121 [T21]), and the noteworthy sculptures of the pediment, the works of Diogenes of Athens (36.38 [T113]).[25]

The largest and most important collection of the Campus Martius, however, was the one assembled in the *Porticus Octaviae*. It was built by Octavia, Augustus' sister, to complete work undertaken by her son Marcellus. According to Velleius (1.1.3), it replaced the *Porticus Metelli* (itself possibly home of the famous *Group of Alexander's Friends*, by Lysippus, 34.64 [T73]), but did not change its form substantially. The complex included two temples, of *Juno Regina* and of *Jupiter Stator*, built by the architects Sauras and Batrachos (36.42 [T113]), a library, a *curia* and a *scholae*. Pliny calls the complex *Octaviae opera* (34.31; 35.139; 36.15). Their construction started in 33 BCE and was completed in about 23 BCE. The whole complex was the home of another superb collection of works of art. In the Temple of Jupiter Stator there were marble sculptures: an *Aphrodite in the Bath* by Doidalsas (36.35 [T113]), a *Standing Venus* by Polycharmos (36.35 [T113]), and a group of *Pan and Olympus* by Heliodorus (36.35 [T113]), as well as a *Jupiter* by Pasiteles (offered by Metellus) (36.40 [T113]). In the Temple of Juno Regina there were located an *Artemis* and an *Asclepius* by Kephisodotus (36.24 [T109]), a *nude Venus* by Philiscus (36.35 [T113]), a *Juno* by Timarchides (36.35 [T113]), a *Juno* by Dionysius and Polycles (36.35 [T113]), and works by Praxiteles without further indication (36.35 [T113]). In the porticus the collection consisted of an *Aphrodite* by Pheidias (36.15), and the famous *Eros of Thespies* by Praxiteles, brought to Rome by Nero (36.22 [T108]); there were also two paintings by Artemon (a *Laomedon, Heracles and Poseidon*, and the *Apotheosis of Hercules*) (35.139). In the *curia* there were marble statues by unknown artists (two *Aurae*, *Eros* and *four Satyrs*) (36.28-29 [T111-112]). Finally, in the *schola* two paintings by Antiphilos (*Alexander, Philip and Athena*, and another of *Hesione*) are mentioned (35.114).

The collections of Campus Martius have been seen to reflect a certain attitude towards works of art and their value. Mostly dedicated by generals of the Republic, or people from the immediate environment of Augustus, they seem to concentrate consciously on the area of Rome associated mostly with war and victory (it is the campus of Mars after all). Within the zone of Hellenisation, which started taking place after the second century BCE, but at the same time was situated at a convenient distance from the centre of Rome, the Greek works of art transferred there were captives of war, no less than slaves. A renaissance of the tradition during Augustus comes only as a conscious attempt to revive and continue the republican theme of 'triumphs' for mere political reasons (André, Bloch and Rouveret 1981: 26ff; Rouveret, 1987).

Horti Serviliani (Gardens of Servilius) were another type of locality used for displaying Greek art. These were privately owned parks placed at the disposal of the public. Roman literature tells us of a number of extensive parks, and archaeological evidence has shown that these gardens were richly ornamented with Greek art, originals or copies (see e.g. MacDougal and Jashemski, 1981; MacDougal, 1987; also 19.49-51 [T37]). Pliny singles out *Horti Serviliani* (their exact location is uncertain; it is thought that it was at the south side of the Aventine - see Richardson, 1992: 204), where there were several marble statues: an *Apollo* by Calamis, boxers by Dercylides, a portrait statue of the historian Callisthenes by Amphistratus (36.36 [T113]), a *Flora (Kore), Triptolemus, and Ceres* by Praxiteles (36.23 T109]), and a seated *Vesta* by Scopas (36.25 [T110]) (Isager, 1991: 167-168; Becatti, 1956).

Although the preeminence of Rome in Pliny's world view is undeniable, occasionally he refers in brief to remarkable objects (either in terms of artistic accomplishment or of natural merit) held in sanctuaries or cities of the East (see also Gualandi, 1982, and his appendix B). The city of Cnidus is more than once mentioned as the home of the celebrated statue of Aphrodite, the work of Praxiteles (36.20-21 [T107]; 7.126-127 [T10]). The marble statue is used as an example of people's folly and dependence on material culture, since the story of King Nicomedes, who was willing to repay the debt of Cnidus to Rome in exchange for the statue and was rejected by the people of the city, and of the young man who was enamoured with the statue and stayed by it overnight, are mentioned at least twice each (7.126-127 [T10]; 36.20-25 [T108-110]).[26] Cnidus, not specifically the Monopteros, was also the home of a *Dionysus* by Bryaxis, and of a *Dionysus and Athena* by Scopas (36.22 [T108]).

The temple of Artemis at Ephesus is also associated with remarkable works of art. A bronze *Apollo* by Myron of Eleutherai (34.58), goblets by Mentor (33.154 [T153]), a marble *Heracles and Hecate* by Menestratos (36.32), and paintings, like the *Alexander holding a Thunderbolt* by Apelles (35.92) were housed in the Artemision. Three more paintings are also recorded without a specific attribution of locality, but housed in Ephesus: the *Procession of a Megabyzos* (Priest of Artemis) by Apelles (35.93), *Odysseus and Palamedes* by Euphranor (36.129) and an *Artemis* by Timarete (35.147).

The third sanctuary which appears quite often in Pliny's discussion is that of Athena at Lindos, Rhodes. A work by Boëthus (33.155 [T153]) and a painting of *Heracles* by Parrhassios (35.71) are recorded there. In the same temple was the breastplate of the former

King of Egypt, Amasis (19.12 [T36]), and a goblet of electrum dedicated by Helen and cast in the shape of her breast (32.81).[27]

Between the private and the public domain rests the collection of Asinius Pollio.[28] Unlike the collections we have discussed so far (except of the *Horti Servilliani*), this one is treated by Pliny as a unity and as evidence of Pollio's interest both in art and in the public benefit.

> 'Asinius Pollio, being an ardent enthusiast, was accordingly anxious for his collection to attract sightseers. In it are Centaurs Carrying Nymphs by Arcesilas, the Muses of Helicon by Cleomenes, the Oceanus and Jupiter by Heniochus, the Nymphs of the Appian Water by Stephanus, the double busts of Hermes and Eros by Tauriscus (not the well-known worker in metal and ivory, but a native of Tralles), the Jupiter Patron of Strangers by Papylus, the pupil of Praxiteles, and a composition by Apollonius and Tauriscus which was brought from Rhodes, namely Zethus and Amphion, and then Dirke and the bull with its rope, all carved from the same block of stone. These two artists caused a dispute as to their parentage declaring that their putative father was Menecrates and their real father Artemidorus. In the same galleries there is a Father Liber by Eutychides, which is warmly praised...' (36.33-34 [T113]).[29]

Previously Pliny has also mentioned as belonging to the same collection four sculptures by Praxiteles, *Caryatids, Maenads, Sileni, and Thyiads* (36.23-24 [T109]), a *Venus* by Kephisodotus (36.24 [T109]) and a *Canephoros* (basket-bearer) by Scopas (36.25 [T110]).[30] There were also there a large assemblage of portrait busts (probably following the tradition of its models, the libraries of Pergamum and Alexandria), among which it was the portrait of M. Terentius Varro (7.115 [T9]; 35.9-10 [T78-79]).

The collection was held in the edifice that Asinius Pollio had built *ex manubiis* after his triumph against the Parthians in 39 BCE. He was the first Roman to establish a library and most probably it was joined to this edifice. The building was part of the complex called *Atrium Libertatis*, which, according to Livy (34.44.5), was restored and enlarged in 194 BCE. Augustus had given Pollio permission to restore the old edifice in commemoration of his victory and thus to honour his own memory. Consequently, Pliny uses the appellation *monumenta Asini Pollionis*. Subsequently, it gave way to the Trajan Forum (Richardson, 1992: 41; Isager, 1991: 164-165; Pellegrini, 1867; André, Bloch and Rouveret, 1981:145ff).

The selection and setting of the works of art have been subject to rigorous discussion. Becatti (1956: 208) imagines an antithetical grouping of the statues of the collection: Jupiter against Jupiter *Hospitalis*, Thespiads against Appiads, Centaurs against Sileni, Oceanus against Dionysus, and Venus surrounded by Cupids. The Punishment of Dirke was perhaps, according to that arrangement, placed in the centre to enable viewing from all angles. Gros (1976: 164) argues that Pliny's account of the setting of the works of art very much resembles that of somebody who walks in front of the objects, and describes them as one succeeds the other. Besides their setting, the choice of the works themselves present great interest. The 'old masters', Praxiteles, Kephisodotus and Scopas, are present, but the emphasis seems to be on a more recent generation of artists, those of the first century BCE. In the words of Becatti (1956: 207-208): 'Tutta la collezione è importanta ad una concezione artistica basata sulla *charis* dei postprassitelici, sul *genus floridum* microasiatico, sull' *eleganza decorativa* dei neo-attici' (emphasis in text). This led to the conclusion that what differentiates the collection of Asinius Pollio is the fact that unlike other military leaders, instead of plundering works of art for his *monumenta*, he had chosen to commission them from Greek artists active in Rome during this period. His intention therefore, was to create an architectonic and artistic whole and to exhibit it in a specially constructed 'museum'. Furthermore, his taste is considered to be in absolute accordance with Augustus' political aims, which discouraged private collections in order to benefit the public ones, as well as with plundering as a practice (see also Becatti, 1956: 270ff; Isager, 1991: 167). Zanker (1987: 77-78) on the contrary, ventured the idea that the choice of Dirke group might indicate an anti-Augustan attitude from Asinius Pollio, as such a choice of subject is indicative of 'Asiatic sympathies'. However, this suggestion is based on mere stylistic grounds, and seems rather far fetched. Isager (1991: 166-167) strongly questions its validity on the grounds that no direct evidence survives actually to prove first, that the statue imparted such connotations and, second, that this made the collection more 'provocative' than others held in different localities. Another issue that the collection of Asinius Pollio initiates is the preference for marble instead of bronze statuary; this is attributed also to a change in taste through the years (Isager, 1991: 174-178).

Other private collections also are discussed by Pliny. He refers frequently to individual owners of famous works of art, or to the fate of collections after their owners perished. In the latter, we may include his discussion of Nero and Tiberius. Among the collectors he

considers is included M. Aemilius Scaurus, who besides using thousands of statues to decorate his public buildings, and being owner of a superbly decorated villa (36.115 [T119]), is also mentioned as the owner of a collection of gems (37.11 [T124]), and as the organiser of temporary exhibitions of natural curiosities, like a hippopotamus and five crocodiles (8.96 [T15]), or the skeleton of the monster of Andromeda (9.11 [T17]). L. Crassus, the orator, owned engraved *skyphoi* by Mentor (33.147 [T52]; 34.14 [T63]). M. Junius Brutus owned an *Ephebus* by Strongylion (34.82).[31] Q. Hortensius, the orator who defended Verres, owned a sphinx made of Corinthian bronze, which was once part of the Verres' collection (34.48 [T68]), as well as a picture of the *Argonauts* by Parrhasios, for which he had paid an outrageous amount of money (35.130 [T98]). Marcus Terentius Varro, surprisingly (?), was also a collector: he owned a *signum* by Mentor (33.155 [T53]), and a marble *Winged Cupids Playing with a Lioness* by Arcesilaos (36.41 [T113]). Even Gaius Gracchus was the owner of silver figurines of dolphins (33.147 [T52]). Cicero, the wise orator and public defender of Syracuse against Verres, was also accountable for *mensarum insaniae* (13.91-95 [T26]).[32]

Nero confiscated a *Amazon Euknemon* by Strongylion from the collection of C. Cestius Gallus (34.48 [T68]; 34.82). Other extraordinary acquisitions of Nero include a Babylonian coverlet he bought for 4,000,000 sesterces (8.196-197 [T16]), as well as the bronze statues of the *Aurea Domus* that Vespasian finally deposited at the *Templum Pacis* (other 'follies of Nero in 34.84 [T75]; 37.20 [T126]; 37.29 [T128]). Tiberius is associated with almost as many 'acts of folly' as Nero, as far as works of art are concerned. Twice he transferred works of art from the public domain to his *cubiculum* (private quarters), much to the amazement and disapproval of Pliny for the irrationality of such an act. These were the famous *Apoxyomenos* by Lysippus, formerly at the Baths of Agrippa, and the painting of *Archigallus* by Parrhassios (35.28 [T86]; 36.28 [T111]; 36.131, 34.43, 34.62 [T71], 35.70 [T74], 36.25 [T110]). The emperor Claudius bought stone sculpture from Egypt through his agent Vitrasius Pollio (36.57 [T116]). Even Caesar was not innocent of such folly, since in his house in the Palatine he held a picture made by Apelles and Protogenes during a competition for the finest line possible (35.83 [T91]; 9.116 [T20]). Augustus is frequently referred to as donor of works of art to public buildings (35.127;131 [T98-99], 35.27-28 [T85-86], 36.196 [T121], 35.91, 34.48 [T68], 35.93-94 [T95], 36.32, 36.13, 36.36 [T113], 36.39 [T113], 36.28 [T111]). He also restored to cities of the East works of art that had been taken away as spoils of war (34.58; also *Res Gestae Divi Augusti,* 24.1; Strabo, XIII.1.30; XIV.1.14).[33] Nevertheless, he also removed works of art (for instance, see Pausanias

VIII.46.1.4) and in the *Domus Augustana* (or *Domus Caesariana*) are recorded marble statues by Aphrodisios, Artemon, Hermolaos, Krateros, Polydeukes and Pythodoros (36.38 [T113]). J. Caesar Germanicus owned two silver cups by Calamis (34.47 [T67]). Finally, in the *Domus Titi* there were the bronze *Astragalizontes* by Polycleitos (34.55 [T69]), and the famous *Laocoon* by Hagesandros, Polydoros and Athanadoros (36.37 [T113]).[34] Another incident of Verres' career, where Antonius proscribed him because of his refusal to submit his murrhine cups (34.6 [T56]), is also indicative of the folly of two people for objects.

Non-Roman collectors are also briefly mentioned: King Philip of Macedonia, who used to sleep with a golden goblet by his side (33.50 [T48]), Alexander the Great, who carried with him statues as holders of his tent (34.48 [T68]), King Attalus of Pergamum (7.126-127 [T10]; 33.147-150 [T52]; 35.24-26 [T82-84]; 35.130 [T98]), King Candaules (7.126-127 [T10]; 35.55 [T88]) and King Demetrius (7.126-127 [T10]; 35.104-105 [T96]). All these shared a special appreciation for material culture.

III.2.1. Pliny as a source of information on collections and collecting: collecting discourse.

The aim of this section is to reveal the collecting discourse that underlies *HN*. There will be an attempt to trace the process of object valuation and its change through time, along with the criteria for these and their importance for the meaning which collections and objects were given in the social tradition. Thus, we will be able to suggest how individuals have worked their way within and through collections and objects to make meaning for themselves.

According to Pliny, objects are 'evidence' (7.210 [T11]). Deposited in temples or other public buildings, they can testify to a city's, nation's, or individual's prosperity and power (3.120 [T3]). They can be products of human ingenuity, like paintings, or inscribed tablets of bronze (8.56 [T14], 3.210 [T3]), as well as natural rarities, like monsters' bones, skins of exotic people, or exceptional specimens of flora and fauna. Among the curiosities Pliny records are included the skeleton of the monster of Andromeda (9.11 [T17]), the skins of the female inhabitants of the Gorgades islands (6.200 [T6]), a snake 120 ft. long (8.37 [T13]), a huge octopus (9.93 [T19]), and a fish (32.5 [T42]). When the objects are natural rarities, they have a dual role to play. They serve to 'evidence' man's achievements in terms of

acquiring the necessary knowledge to reach these objects, but also, and for Pliny most importantly, to be tangible proof of nature's grandeur and wealth.

The need for the preservation of natural specimens, in particular, is recorded often by Pliny. Most of them are 'marvels' that deserve to be catalogued and handed down to posterity as tokens of accumulated knowledge. In other cases, there are marvelous qualities involved in the appreciation of materials, as for instance in the case of electrum and its alleged power to help the detection of poison (33.81 [T49]). Often Pliny refers to natural specimens, whose reasons for preservation have a cultural ancestry. When, for example, he discusses trees, he insists on those with mythic or historical associations, like the olive-tree of Minerva on the Athenian Acropolis, the oak-trees planted by Hercules, the tree from which Marsyas was hanged, and so on (16.239-240 [T34]).

The recording of Nature which should be handed down to posterity is opposed to sacrilegious acts of luxury. The satisfaction and fulfillment a man feels in this respect is much grander than whatever artificiality and luxury can procure (12.9 [T23]). There is a strong association throughout *HN* between luxury and objects that can be collected, in the sense that the same items appear to belong to both categories. Ivory and citrus-wood, two of the materials most commonly associated with the collector's lust for objects, are also two of the most frequently sought-after indications of luxury - which in order to be obtained result in destruction of Nature (5.12 [T4]; 8.31 [T12]). Although gold, silver, pearls and tortoise-shell are admired by other nations as well, Romans, according to Pliny, exceed all others in extravagance (6.89 [T5]).[35]

There seem to be two main lines of thought in *HN* regarding luxury. The first relates to the natural world, from whence the primary materials for luxurious objects originate. Exploiting these for personal reasons therefore, is impious and as such unworthy of the Romans. The second is the notion of luxury in terms of facilities and beauties originating in objects, or through them, which is encountered firstly in the East, in the Epicurean philosophy of ease and degeneracy, which relates to irrationality and extravagance. This conduct is not appropriate for Romans, Pliny argues, who have such an honourable past to protect and from which to receive their paradigms.

The discussion of objects of luxury and their accumulation is structured around one or the other of these two arguments. The passage at 9.117-121 [T21], for instance, belongs to the latter. Lollia Paulina and Cleopatra are both representatives of anti-value, in terms of Pliny's system of valuation, or of popular value, in terms of the Roman social practice in the Plinian era. They are women collectors (along with slaves, e.g. Spartacus, 33.48-50 [T48], they are used as examples to be avoided by Roman readers), vain and given to outrageous behaviour and extravagance beyond a man's imagination. The vanity of Lollia Paulina is evidenced by her carrying a fortune in jewellery to an ordinary banquet, i.e. by her way of relating to her objects. The fact that she can prove them to be 'ancestral possessions', a claim usually much appreciated and respected, does not justify her conduct, Pliny claims, since it merely reminds people that they are the products of her family's disgrace: they are 'evidence' that her grandfather's wealth originated in bribes from the Kings of the East. Cleopatra also came from the East, and in addition to her extravagance, she was prepared even to destroy the creations of nature, her pearls, merely for her own caprice. The earrings of Venus in the Pantheon were token of that story, and simultaneously a natural curiosity (because they demonstrated the size a pearl could reach) (see description of the collection before).

Women collectors are invariably modeled on this stereotype. Always interested in the possession of gems and jewellery, unlike men who have more serious and intellectual concerns (33.40 [T47]), they relate to their objects through their material value, or sexual connotations (34.11-12 [T61-T62]), and not artistic appreciation, or intellectual rationale (37.29). Hence, their purchases, along with their conduct, are irrational and unworthy (37.29 [T128]). Their assemblages of material culture fall into the domain of luxury and misbehaviour, or of the unnatural way of living, that this implies.

'*Tablemania*' is criticised in 13.91-95 [T26]. Clearly a sign of effeminate behaviour, since it is compared with the practices of women collectors, *mensarum insaniae* had affected even well-known and well-respected personalities of the Roman world. Cicero, Gallus Asinius, King Juba, King Ptolemy of Mauretania, emperor Tiberius, and even freedmen like Nomius, all appreciated and amassed tables made of citrus-wood. To pursue his point about nature and culture, Pliny adds that what is actually so handsomely paid for by the collectors is a disease of the tree (and excrescence of the tree). Therefore, no matter how remarkable some tables were, mainly due to craftsmanship, the valuation of the material does not follow the order of nature: it is man-made and, ultimately, wrong.

The natural and the man-made systems of valuation compete quite often in the pages of *HN*. Pliny supports a natural hierarchy of values, which sets him apart from his contemporaries. He feels that men interfere with nature's valuations, and thus they violate the natural order. Paragraph 16.233 [T33] provides an example: tortoise-shell painted to look like wood is priced more highly than real wood. This notion is taken further in 33.4-5 and 6-7 [T45], where in a self-reflective monologue Pliny attributes *luxuria,* and consequently misery, to human inventiveness, which is responsible for raising the prices of objects, for they become worthy only because men decide so. 'Man has learned to challenge nature in competition!'[36] exclaims Pliny, with obvious embarrassment.[37] Among the examples of such behaviour, Pliny includes the engravings on goblets, intended to increase the value of the material with the addition of that of craftsmanship.

Nature's providence, which is a key issue in *HN* (see for example 33.1-3), makes one of the strongest arguments in favour of the natural hierarchy of values. Nature has offered to man everything that he needs, and this should be appreciated. But man has been ungrateful. First, he challenged Nature by pricing highly his decorated earthenware;[38] then he replaced it with objects of gold and silver. Eventually, these became unsatisfactory, and man dug from the earth murrhine, crystal and precious stones. Man's luxury and lust for such things is held responsible for all the vices associated with materials (33.139-140 [T50]). People get crazy (*insaniae*) for objects and thus they reach for materials that were not meant to be taken away from nature, materials whose place is at the bottom of the sea, or in the heart of the earth. Lust for luxurious possessions encourages man to suffer dangers and exaggerate - as if the value of these was inherent and pre-determined. It is not, Pliny protests: if nature, whose providential role could not be more obvious, has not offered them to man, then these are not worthy of man's attention and the value they are given. They are vain acquisitions, violations of the natural will. Their value is bestowed on them by man, it is a product of arbitrariness and avarice. They are not necessary, the pleasure that derives from them ends at night (when people cannot see the objects and feel guilt about their acquisitions) and, consequently, for half of people's lives.

Value is a central notion in Plinian discourse. It refers to both a monetary price and an ethical/moral notion. Works of art or craftsmanship in particular are recorded for two main reasons: as objects for which extraordinary prices have been paid, or as works created by

certain artists/craftsmen. Their presence in Rome usually serves as a testimony of either the 'folly' of man, or the genius of an artist (or, quite often, of both) (7.126-127 [T10]). Monetary value is a measure of evaluating an object's worth in terms of man's desire for it. When Pliny mentions, for example, that King Candaules of Lydia bought a painting for an amount in gold equal to his weight (which we expect to have been large) (35.55 [T88]), he means to prove first how much the King wanted the object and then how greatly valued and perfected the art was considered to be, since its products were so desirable. In other words, monetary value is considered a medium of appreciation and of establishing 'real' merit.

Pliny's approach to the subject of monetary value seems rather contradictory. Whereas in paragraphs like 35.55 [T88]and 35.88 [T94] he claims that price has a prominent role in the attribution of value - for instance, people appreciated an artist when his work was highly priced - he disapproves of it as a medium of valuation. In a number of paragraphs, Pliny criticizes his contemporaries for precisely this kind of attribution of value. In 36.1-3 [T103-104], 34.5 [T55], 35.4-13 [T76-T80], for example, he refers to monetary value as predominant in his society to the disadvantage of 'real' value, placed on their role in the life of people, in craftsmanship, and in honour and tradition respectively. In the last (long) paragraph in particular, Pliny complains that the art of painting portraits had ceased to be practiced in his era; the decoration of houses with ancestral wax-portraits had given way to picture-galleries, whereas the notion of honourable had become synonymous to that of expensive. The same people, Pliny continues his condemnation, bequeath to their heirs not their likenesses and honour, but representations of their money. He describes 'these people' as admirers of Epicurus, who carry around with them his portrait and decorate their bedrooms with it. Pliny refers to his morality resources and his rhetoric (as well as to current ideas about the art of physiognomy - see 11.273-276 [T22]) to argue that if the facial resemblance is neglected, it is because there is nothing behind it that deserves to be saved for posterity.

The dependence of value on human decisions is the subject of paragraph 8.31 [T12]. Materials, Pliny argues, acquire their value according to the rarity, or frequency, with which they are encountered in nature. This remark serves as a lesson for his contemporaries, a reminder of the divine force behind everything, and a warning against the arbitrariness that people exercise without thought. The same point is also made in paragraph 33.6-7 [T45], where the value of murrhine cups and crystal is attributed to their fragility, and in 37.29

[T128], where the impossibility of mending glass is underlined, along with its resemblance to rock-crystal. It is made again in 37.195 [T133], where again rarity is offered as a valuation parameter.

Other qualities contributing to the shaping of the hierarchy of values are the creation by famous artists (7.126-127 [T10] and all 'museographic' references), the beauty of objects (an aesthetic point made in relation to a natural specimen, and not a product of craftsmanship or art - 32.23 [T43]), and religious power (32.23 [T43]), where the objects are appreciated as amulets (also 19.49-51 [T37]). To their qualities are added antiquity (e.g. 33.154-157 [T53]; 34.1 [T54]; 34.5 [T55]; 35.17-18 [T81]), intimacy with famous personages and participation (again a notion of 'evidence') in historical and mythic events (34.55-56 T69-70]; 35.88 [T94]; 36.33 [T113]), or extraordinary artistry (for instance, marble statues made of a single block of marble) (36.25 [T110]).

In relation to issues of value, we may also refer to a few anecdotes mentioned by Pliny. They are all meant to criticise collectors, as people whose sound judgment has been destroyed through their irrational dependence on objects. In 36.195 [T120] Pliny records a story familiar from Petronius' *Satyrica*. Non-breakable glassware was constructed during Tiberius' reign, but the inventor was executed and his workshop destroyed, because such an invention would result in the lowering of the value of metals. The story naturally is questioned by Pliny, who also records that during Nero's dominance a special technique of glass-making was invented; two tiny cups that were produced in this technique fetched the sum of 6,000 sesterces. Another story is about an ex-praetor who gnawed the rim of his already extremely expensive cup, only to see its value enhanced by those who favoured prestigious associations and passionate relationships with objects (37.18-20 [T126]). A similar process of enhanced value due to interaction with an object is recorded in 34.62-64 [T71-73]. Nero had asked for a statue by Lysippus to be gilded; but that diminished its artistic value, so it was decided to remove the gilding, which unfortunately left traces on the statue. Remarkably, this incident increased its monetary worth.

Quite often, when expressing his views on values, Pliny seeks confirmation in the past. Theophrastus and Homer justify his point that citrus-trees used for tables is a recent phenomenon (and, thus, not honourable enough) (13.100-102 [T127]). Elsewhere it is Cornelius Nepos and Fenestella who are summoned in aid of Pliny's argument - this time on

silver (33.145-146 [T51]). Homer is sought after again as a legitimating source in 33.6-7 [T45], as well as when he refers to barter as a more decent and wiser tradition of exchange for mankind (33.81 [T49]).

The discussion of Corinthian bronze in book 34 is very illuminating as far as Pliny's and his contemporaries' ideas on value are concerned. He records that Corinthian bronze was appreciated more than silver (34.1 [T54]), and he criticises the fact that artistry has come in his era to hold a secondary role compared to material. Pliny holds not only the East responsible for such a reversal in the hierarchy of values, but also the generals who tempted Romans to degeneracy through their triumphs. L. Scipio initiated the evil practice by carrying in his processions silverware and gold vessels, Pliny claims. Then came Attalus' bequest to Rome, and luxurious items could be purchased at the auctions of the King's property. In the 57 years that separate these two events, Romans learned to admire and covet foreign opulence. Pliny admits that previous generations were not completely innocent of indulging in luxury: for instance Gaius Manlius drank from a bacchic tankard, like Dionysus, after his victory. However, it was acquaintance with the Greeks and their customs that led to the popularisation and expansion of vice. Anti-Hellenism is another common motif in *HN* (see for example the books on medicine; also 33.48-50 [T48]; 37.31 [T129]; 37.40-41 [T130]), and is always associated with a disregard for nature, disrespect and evil intentions. The 'lust for possessions' and the disgrace this carries are also included in the same argument, as well as the 'lust for gold' and the extremes people may find themselves led into, as for instance M. Antony, who used gold vessels for all his needs, something that even Spartacus could understand as wrong (33.48-50 [T48]).

Corinthian bronze offers the best opportunity to tackle these issues. The story of its creation during the capture of Corinth is presented in 34.6-8 [T56-58]. Then, the 'wonderful mania'[39] for possessing this metal is highlighted, and for its illustration Verres and Mark Antony are employed. The former, whose name was enough to denote passion for objects (see Cicero) is paired with the latter in order, firstly for Pliny to make a political statement (M. Antony is one of the men that Pliny constantly refers to as an example of degeneracy), and secondly, to underline the dangers involved in the passion for artefacts: it could lead to proscriptions, death, eternal disgrace.

It is in relation to Corinthian bronze that Pliny takes the opportunity to distinguish between real connoisseurship and a pretentious one. He explains that the latter is employed by those who wish to differentiate themselves from the uneducated mass, without having any real insight into the matter. To prove his point, he unveils the 'truth' about Corinthian bronze.[40] He argues that Corinth was conquered when metalworking had already ceased to be so prominent a craft, and when famous workers in this medium had long perished. Still the pseudo-connoisseurs appreciated the 'artistry of their Corinthian bronzes'. Pliny corrects this fallacy on the grounds that genuine Corinthian vessels were the ones that the pretend-to-be connoisseurs did not respect much, and converted into dishes, lamps, or wash basins (34.11-12 [T61-62]).[41] Real and pseudo-connoisseurs are also the subject in paragraph 34.71 [T74], where Pliny ironically refers to their claim to discern the author's feeling when confronting a work of art, and in 36.19 [T106], where the '*periti*'[42] (the experienced) are defined as the men who can appreciate artistic taste.

Just a step further from that appreciation lies 'folly' about objects. This means that people are willing to overcome the distance between man and inanimate object, and to associate with them in a passionate way. Pliny records a number of instances, where, in his terms, desire for artefacts reaches the edges of rationality, or, in contemporary terms, objects take the cultural character of 'fetish'. Cultural studies research has identified four underlying cognitive processes that generate what has been termed 'fetish'. These are all present in the three main scholarly traditions that employ a concept of 'fetishism' (i.e. anthropology, Marxism, psychology). These four principles are the following:

'1. a concrete existence or the concretisation of abstractions;
2. the attribution of qualities of living organisms, often (although not exclusively) human;
3. conflation of signifier and signified;
4. an ambiguous relationship between control of object by people and of people by object.' (Ellen, 1988: 219).

In Pliny's collecting discourse all four of these parameters are present, and help individuals (mainly) to create meaning for themselves. In 15.38 [T29] there is a brief comment on the 'statues that share our nights with us'.[43] This refers to the practice of keeping statues in *cubicula* (private quarters), quite popular with some personages of the Roman world (but also in the Hellenistic world, see Philip of Macedonia, 33.50 [T48], and Alexander, 34.48

[T68]). Tiberius' conduct regarding *Apoxyomenos* is the classic example, although by no means the only one, of such behaviour. Pliny explicitly disapproves of what he considers irrational and inconsiderate conduct - a disapproval obviously shared by the Roman people, who compelled the emperor to restore the statue to its public setting. Whether the claim was dictated by artistic appreciation, or it was merely a political praxis of revolt against tyrannical imposition of power, we cannot tell. In any case the emperor had 'fallen in love' with the statue. This motif, far from uncommon in Pliny's discourse, (see for example, 7.126-127 [T10]; 36.20-25 [T107-110] and endnote 25), clearly implies a kind of fetishism (34.62-64 [T71-73]). The same phenomenon is the subject of paragraph 35.70 [T90], where another passion of Tiberius is unveiled. This time he loved, *amavit*, a picture of a *High Priest of Cybele* made by Parrhasios; after he had purchased it for 6,000 sesterces, he carried it to his bedroom.[44] Similar behaviour is credited to Caligula, who developed a 'lust' for paintings - once again a point with strong sexual connotations (35.17-18 [T81]).

During the discussion about murrhine cups (37.18-20 [T126]), Pliny refers to a collection of murrhine artefacts that Nero had taken away from the children of the collector after his death, and exhibited for a short time in a private theatre. Pliny was very surprised to see the fragments of a broken cup included in the exhibition:

> 'It was at this time that I saw the pieces of a single broken cup included in the exhibition. It was decided that these, like the body of Alexander, should be preserved in a kind of catafalque for display, presumably as a sign of the sorrows of the age and the ill-will of Fortune.'[45]

The equation between the body of the king, and the fragments of the object is indicative of the fetishisation of the artefact (and of Alexander). In the following paragraph another similar incident is recorded. It is the well-known one of Petronius smashing his cup in order to prevent it decorating Nero's table after his death. Petronius thought of the object as a symbol of himself, standing for his perishable body, and therefore he wished to destroy it, exactly like himself (he committed suicide), rather than surrender it to his enemies (see chapter 8). A similar pattern of thought is detected in Nero's behaviour, when decided to punish his contemporaries, and take vengeance for his death by making it impossible for another man to drink from his vessels; thus he broke his crystal cups in a final outburst of rage.

Other acts of 'folly' regarding objects include the proscription of men in order to appropriate their possessions (33.145-146 [T51]). M. Antony proscribed the senator Novius (as he had done with Verres) in order to obtain his famous and extremely valuable ring. The senator, though, decided to go into voluntary exile taking with him just that ring out of all his possessions. Pliny wonders about the savagery of destroying people for the sake of artefacts, but he is even more amazed that a man could risk his life for an object, when it is well-known that even animals leave everything behind to save their lives.

The crazy addiction (*furor*) for artefacts is also discussed in 37.29 [T128], in 33.147-150 [T52], where among the owners of silverware are included G. Gracchus and L. Crassus, 33.154-157 [T53]. Once again, celebrated artists and owners/collectors of silverware are recorded (along with Pliny's belief that the art of chasing silver had already declined in his era, and, consequently, only antique specimens and worn engravings deserved to be, and were actually, sought after). In 34.47-48 [T67-68] there is another account of incidents indicating a 'passion for objects'. The owners of bronze figurines could be led to exaggeration, because of their dependence on their possessions, such as carrying them along to the battlefield. Is this a case of passion? Do the artefacts acquire the status of an amulet? Do they provide indications of a familiar environment? Do they provide psychological support? Most probably they do all of these, simultaneously.

The references in *HN* to the methods of ensuring the safety of works of art are relevant to issues of valuation. Besides the well-known incident of Mummius' ignorance of the value of objects and their irreplaceability as unique works of art (Velleius Paterculus, I.13.4), it is mentioned more than once that the guardians of temples were held responsible for the safety of the works entrusted to their guardianship, with their lives (36.35, 36.32, 36.29, 36.38 [T112-113]). This can be included also in the fetishisation process, and is indicative of the work's value. *Objets d' art* were considered more valuable than any sum of money. This is an interesting thought, relevant to notions of irreplaceability and of the 'value that exceeds any price' in contemporary museums (34.36-38 [T64-66]).

Paragraph 37.2-4 [T122-123] is a reflection on the origins of the use and possession of gemstones (admiration/*exarserit*). The myth of Polycrates of Samos is used as an example of the antiquity of the phenomenon, but also of the strength of the relationship between owner and possession. Polycrates felt so strongly for his ring that the loss of it could be considered

an atonement sufficient to counter-balance the luck which had given him his prosperity. The use of rings is also discussed in relation to precious metals (33.20-23 [T46]). Their presence is recorded in association with various incidents of the early history of Rome. But in the past, when, according to the rhetorical motif that Pliny follows, everything was better and people wiser, rings were not necessary, and even women (these vain creatures!) were not owners of rings. But gradually they became symbols of status (see also Trimalchio in Petronius, chapter 8). In his contemporary world, Pliny argues, the honour and value of the symbol has been replaced by the material and craftsmanship value, whereas luxury had led to gold being associated with objects that traditionally it had not and should not have been.

Pliny's discussion of values is a comprehensive treatment of tendencies existing in parallel, but not quite shared by all. On the one hand, it is a discussion of the values that Pliny's contemporaries attributed to objects, and on the other, it is a glance at the merits that Pliny himself appreciated and advocated. Naturally, Pliny was a Roman with a practical mind. Thus, he appreciated material value as an indication of man's desire to acquire an artefact and, therefore, as an indication of the art's perfection. Elsewhere, he makes clear that objects are appreciated also for the practical role they serve - for example in 36.44-46 [T114] on paintings. Finally, in 37.49 [T131], he lists the objects that are valued, and reflects on the reasons this is so. A human figurine in amber is more expensive than a human being. Corinthian bronzes are attractive because of the appearance of bronze; chased metalwork because of artistry and inventiveness; pearls and gems because they can be carried away. Therefore, Pliny concludes, all objects of admiration and desirability please because they can be displayed (*ostentatio*) or used (*uso*): except for amber which is an item of private indulgence in luxury. In paragraph 37.204-205 [T134], Pliny enumerates the most costly (*pretium*) item of every aspect of nature: it is the source of all, and Pliny ends his work with a request to Mother Nature, the mother of all creatures, to be gracious to him, the only person who has praised her majesty and power.

We can summarise the hierarchy of values that Pliny defends in the following formulae:

Recording of Nature to hand down to posterity	:	Sacrilegious acts of luxury
Sacred	:	Profane (impious)
The West	:	The East

Men	:	Women
Pliny's values	:	Popular values
Divine/natural valuation	:	Man-made valuation
Ethical/moral value	:	Monetary value
'Real' value	:	Monetary value
Tradition	:	Innovation
Reasoned/Justified	:	Arbitrary
Unchangeable	:	Changeable (dependant on fragility/rarity/new inventions)
Knowledge	:	Ignorance
'*Periti*' (experienced, like Pliny himself)	:	Pseudo-connoisseurs
Rationality	:	'Folly'
Logic/Rationality	:	Fetish
Honour/symbolic value	:	Material value
'Acquisition' value	:	Display/use value
Recording of items	:	Collecting of items
Textual collections	:	Actual collections

III.2.2. Pliny as a source of information on collections and collecting: collecting discourse - the notion of collection.

In this second part of the analysis of the Plinian collecting discourse, we are going to focus on the notion of collection as this appears in Pliny. Following consideration of the hierarchy of values in the previous section, we are going to examine the meaning of the assemblages of artefacts, and investigate what these were and why they were amassed. In the preceding part the emphasis was placed on the poetics of collecting. Here, we will concentrate on the politics of the process. To achieve our aim, we are going to discuss the setting of the collections, in terms of public and private, sacred and profane, textual and actual. Thus, we are going to proceed further than the 'micro-politics' employed to justify collecting in Pliny (Isager, 1991), and to combine them with a 'macro-political' approach, that exceeds the limits of book 36 (Rouveret, 1981; 1987; 1989), and covers the whole of *HN*, which is understood as a collection in itself.

The dichotomy between the private and public domains seems quite sharp in *HN*. Pliny contrasts the public context for setting works of art in the Greek tradition, with the private context of Imperial Rome. He even associates the decline of the art of painting in the Empire with the impossibility that noble art should thrive in the domestic context (35.118) (Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 30). In paragraph 36.5 [T105], he argues that ivory, gold and precious stones have come to private life through the official, public route, and accuses the previous (unworthy) emperors of weakness in this matter, which allowed degeneracy to intrude and corrupt Roman society. Mummius, for instance, introduced the public possession of paintings, but it was not until Caesar that attribution of value to paintings started to be so widespread (35.24-26 [T82-84]). Agrippa was to propose transferring all such works in private hands to public collections (35.24-26 [T82-84]). In this sense, Pliny attributes to political figures the power to influence and provide an example - but he also implies a political power inherent in art.

Much ink has been spilt on the political powers of art, and its role as propaganda for the official political views of a regime (for instance see the exhibition 'Art and Power in Europe' held in Hayward Gallery in 1996). This relates to the cultural and moral value attributed to craftsmanship, as a highest level of technical expertise, which besides the inherent skills is also linked with a long-standing personal commitment. Art, therefore, is ennobling, and art collections convey moral prestige upon their owners (Pearce, 1995: 297, 303). It is upon this line of thought that the notion of 'symbolic capital' has been built, in the sense of the capital that allows individuals and groups to participate in the distribution and allocation of power (see for instance Gordon, 1979; Tanner, 1995 - as well as bibliography on the sociology of art and especially on the term 'cultural capital': Bourdieu, 1974; 1984; 1987). In terms of the antique world, Pliny's reference to art has been read as an 'art history with a political message' (Isager, 1991; also Tanner, 1995). Throughout *HN,* political terminology is used when referring to art and particular attention is paid to the use of works of art in political contexts, as a medium of propaganda in favour of the person who has donated, or owns, the artefacts. The deliberate re-employment in Rome of famous Greek works of art seen in a new symbolic context is emphasized (1991: 222). Even the discussion of marble after that of bronze is seen as indicative of a change in taste through time.

The main emphasis, though, is placed on the political propagandistic message of *HN*. Isager (1991) discerns two main groups of figures, each standing for a different set of values: Nero and Caligula (or M. Antony) are on the one side, Vespasian and Augustus on the other. The first two did not show moderation in their relation to art, and their palaces as art galleries display vain, individualistic ostentation. Their villas occupied large spaces, and, thus, give no sign of restraint and appropriateness (36.111 [T118]). The latter were moderate in their private consumption and were interested in the public benefit, which they promoted through public displays of art (see for M. Antony: condemn for Nature - 33.50 [T48], lack of self-control in a material sense, 37.29 [T128], Nero, *insania*, *luxuria*).

Isager continues his argument by showing how Pliny used art as a departure point for his criticism, whose ultimate goal was to assimilate and identify Vespasian with Augustus. He, therefore, presents his reading of the political message of *HN* in the following set of binary pairs:

'*Luxuria*	:	*Parsimonia*
Luxuria	:	*Liberalitas*
Art for private	:	Art for public
Mark Antony	:	Augustus
Nero	:	Vespasian
The East	:	The West
Greece	:	Rome
Otium	:	*Negotium*'

(Isager 1991: 225).

Consequently, the dichotomy between private and public takes a political turn and seems to work as part of the Flavian propaganda - which Pliny aims to serve, if we judge from the dedication of *HN*. It is true that throughout the book, as well as in the dedication epistle, Pliny employs constant allusions to signal his favourite view of the new imperial family - and the comparison between Nero's selfishness and Vespasian's generosity (*liberalitas*) is constant (e.g. see 2.18). As a result, Isager concludes as far as the role of *HN* is concerned:

> 'In his Natural History Pliny has not only rendered an account of the social and political role of art in Roman society. By virtue of the fact that he often in unexpected contexts on the one hand expresses the attitude of his contemporary world to Nero's times and on the other extols the Flavian dynasty and accords Titus and Vespasian moral excellence, which helped to make up the cosmological picture

> he had presented in his Natural History, his art history and his work as a whole have been made to incorporate a current political message. The usefulness of the work, its *utilitas*, thus operates on two levels, and thus Pliny fulfilled his intentions as declared in his Letter of Dedication.' (1991: 229).

In other words, to serve the political order of Rome that the Flavian dynasty ensured (see Praefatio).

Isager believes that what holds the collections of art that Pliny describes together - along with the whole of *HN* - is a current political message regarding the benevolence of the ruling family of the Flavians. Thus, collection becomes a vehicle of propaganda and comparison between the morally accomplished and the degenerates. The criteria for categorising someone as a member of one or the other group involve access to collections and *liberalitas* (generosity), in terms of sharing the inherent moral value of art with people at large.

This collecting model, though, leaves unaddressed a number of issues, as for example criteria for selecting certain works of art instead of others, the message the collection itself can address, and centrally, how a collection can do this, and from whence has this power stemmed? Rouveret, in a series of contributions (1981; 1987; 1989), discusses the collecting model that Pliny provides in a more complete manner, that tackles the above issues and responds to the shortcomings of the previous theory. A collection for Pliny, she argues, is an assemblage of artworks (this is the first limitation of her approach) which are part of military booty and consequently symbolise Roman victory and superiority (1981: 25). The holding power of the units of a collection is, therefore, their political and ideological message (1987: 124), not their aesthetic value (1987: 125) (so copies are accommodated, too). In other words, a collection by itself has inherent meaning - the selection of artefacts that it consists of provide this. This power of the collection stems from the notion of 'memory'. This is an intellectual activity, very prominent especially in ancient rhetoric. A collection becomes a space of artificial memory, or of 'creating' memory. A central part of an orator's education consisted of cultivating his technique of associating the notions that he had to develop in public within a space; then he could recall his line of thought by simply wandering around his imaginary room. It was a firm belief that by bringing the image of somebody or something in front of the eyes, one could bring the thing itself alive (see also Yates, 1966; Rouveret, 1982; Vasaly, 1993; Edwards, 1996: 28-30; for ancient testimonies on the subject see Cicero, *De Finibus*, 5.2; *De Oratore*, 2.351-4; *ad Herennium,* 3.29-40; Quintilien, *Inst.*

Orat. 11.2.17-22; for further discussion see chapter 4). Therefore, by looking at a collection, people can bring in front of them first the deeds of the general (or emperor) who procured the objects - and, therefore, the collection operates as the man's *monumenta* - and second, the glorious past of Rome (1987: 125).

Rouveret's argument, therefore, attributes to Pliny, and the classical world, a rhetorical understanding of collections. In the case of *HN* in particular, Rouveret claims that the collections described by Pliny, along with the collection assembled by Pliny himself (*HN*), aimed to promote the ideal of Roman pre-eminence and establish Rome as a *musée par excellence* (1981: 25). The key-paragraph for such a claim becomes 36.101 [T117], where Pliny introduces the discussion of the architectural marvels of the city of Rome:

> 'But this is indeed the moment for us to pass on to the wonders of our own city, to review the resources derived from the experiences of 800 years, and to show that here too in our buildings we have vanquished the world; and the frequency of this occurrence will be proved to match within a little the number of marvels that we shall describe. If we imagine the whole agglomeration of our buildings massed together and placed on one great heap, we shall see such grandeur towering above us as to make us think that some other world were being described, all concentrated in one single place.'.

Rouveret argues (1981: 23-24) that these views have an equally important application in the discussion of sculpture, too. The works of art held in Rome - mainly in the Campus Martius - were symbols of the power of Rome:

> 'les merveilles de Rome sont entasées comme un trophée (*aceruata, cumulum*), leur masse imaginaire transforme Rome en un univers qui a absorbé tous les autres. Cet univers est de l' ordre de l' extrapolation et du récit et il s' agit d' un récit qui s' attache à un lieu: *si mundus alius quidam in uno loco narretur*. Rome est le lieu de mémoire du monde qui sanctionne ainsi sa domination universelle' (1987: 126).

The aim of Pliny then becomes to assemble in one place (in one book) all the marvels of the world - exactly as Rome has assembled all the marvels of the world in tangible terms.[46]

The setting of collections, thus, acquires its own importance. The temples, where traditionally sanctification is achieved, are the natural *locus* for the assemblage of artefacts. Even though some temples seem to have been deprived of almost any religious value and

have acquired a mere cultural role (as is usually considered to be the case with the temple of Concordia, or with the temples of the Portico of Octavia), they retain the basic pre-requisites for 'proper enjoyment of the arts'. This has been defined by Pliny as follows:

> 'At Rome, indeed, the great number of works of art and again their consequent effacement from our memory, and, even more, the multitude of official functions and business activities must, after all, deter anyone from serious study, since the appreciation involved needs leisure and deep silence in our surroundings.' (36.27 [T111]).

This description corresponds that of a typically understood art museum: silence, leisure, serious study are some of the key-words in our perceptions of museums today.

Private involvement of collectors, though, can upset the 'natural order', according to Pliny - and in the view of many museums today. In the case of Pliny, the question could take the form of how and why cultural places, like the library or the gymnasium came to find a place in the private sphere - and how has this changed the cultural patterns involved, namely collecting. The answer lies in the difference between public and private space in Rome, compared to that of Greece, in terms of the client system which was such a prominent characteristic of the Roman social life. This led to a theatralisation and sacralisation of the house (typical in the painting of the second style) (1987: 130-132; Wallace-Hadrill, 1994: 30). Phenomena like the decoration of private space with *pinacothecae,* therefore, or Hortensius placing the painting of the Argonauts by Cydias that he had bought in an *aedes* (shrine) in his villa (35.130-132 [T98-99]), or even the freedman who worshipped the lamp that had led him to his freedom and fortune (through a sexual relationship with his mistress) (34.11-12 [T61-62]) come therefore to upset and unsettle the notion of sacred and profane, private and public, and to distribute power in a manner that disturbs the 'natural order' and, consequently, the political order. As Wallace-Hadrill has asserted, the *locus* of political decisions has been transferred to the private realm (1994: 29).

If we present schematically the discussion of collections in terms of private-public and sacred-profane, we can reach a diagram like that in figure 6.3. In the four quarters we can see the perception of collections as these are described in *HN*. The two upper quarters hold the 'justified' collections, whereas the two lower ones the irrational, contemptible ones. Public and sacred is the ideal setting that allows a highly moral and sacralising enjoyment, as that described in 36.27 [T111]. Public and profane is also 'correct' in terms of compliance

with the political order and notions of public morality, benevolence, *liberalitas*. Profane and private is simply an act of extravagance, where all the criticism related to luxury comes. Sacred and private is the ultimate immorality quarter - which dares to appropriate sanctity. It is sacrilegious, irrational, 'fetishistic'.

Where does this leaves Pliny's own collection? Early antiquarianism is recorded in 13.84-86 [T25]. A chance find recovered the body of king Numa and with him books, which remarkably had survived because of the conditions of burial. The books were later destroyed, because they were products of Greek philosophy, and not even their antiquity could save them. Similar antiquarian spirit is evidenced in paragraphs 35.10-11 [T60-61]. Pliny records the tradition of decorating libraries with bronze portraits, in honour of famous men of education and culture. Where likenesses had not survived, the portraits were cast through the guidance of the person's spirit, as for example in the case of Homer. The libraries of Alexandria and Pergamum, as well as those modeled on them like the library of Asinius Pollio, were similarly decorated. Two collections assembled by M. Terentius Varro and Atticus (Cicero's friend) are considered by Pliny equivalent to this decoration. Both collected in a volume the portraits of famous men, in an attempt to offer them immortality. In addition, they aimed to contribute to the expansion of these men's fame all over the world. This is, according to Pliny, a very noble service - and has to be seen in the light of his own collecting attempts, as well as of the equation of the notion of actual with that of textual collections. The first public display of ancestral portraits was provided by Appius Claudius, and it met the approval of Pliny, who found it also honourable and pleasurable.

The term 'textual collection' refers to assemblages held in books, and defined rhetorically. They share all the characteristics of an actual collection, as a depository of knowledge in systematic, quantifiable, and thus 'tangible' form, as a *locus* of memory created to support and satisfy the need for *monumenta*, but with the additional advantages of the non-sinister, non-fetishistic relation to material culture, and a wider spectrum for the appreciation of 'real' values. The emphasis in these falls not on the material, but on the symbolic power of objects, as carriers of more profound knowledge, which finds completion in the act of acquisition rather than in the vain act of use and display, and is justified in the appreciation, rather than the destruction of the natural world, and in the logical and rational attitude toward material culture, instead of a passionate, irrational, arbitrary association with it. Textual collections naturally were not unknown in the previous literary tradition, although

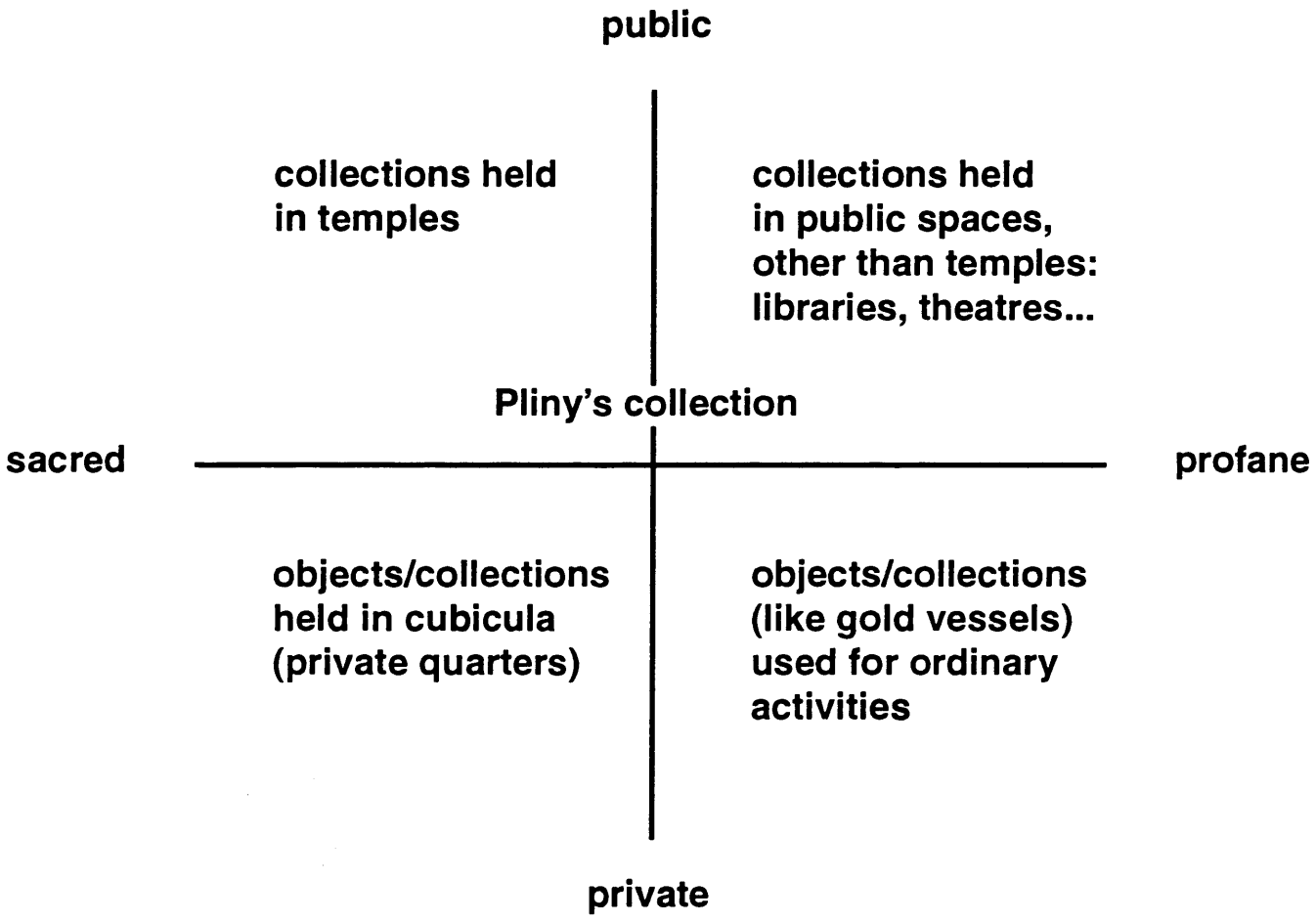


Fig. 6.3: Perception of collections as describedin *HN*, and structured on the axes of public : private and sacred : profane.

very few fragments (often only titles) are available for us to reconstruct them. But there is no doubt that interest in asssembling 'virtual collections' was already existent in the 'catalogues' of votive offerings, sculpture, paintings, and so on that many Hellenistic antiquarians, and Romans later, had assembled. In addition, these textual collections could serve to bridge the gap between private and public space, and sacred and profane domains, by reassuring public accessibility, without actually crossing the boundaries with the sacred world. Being 'virtual' meant that they could complement actual collections (so it is not surprising to find that Varro, for instance, kept an actual collection while he indulged in the creation of textual ones), so that they could mediate between the two domains of sanctity and profanity without resulting in ungratefulness and *hybris*.

Taking into account diagram 6.3, we can argue that Pliny wished his work to be considered as profane, but public (like the collections in the public libraries). But he also wished his work to cross the boundaries between profane and sacred; he hoped to achieve that by transferring the emphasis in his work from the individual deities to the eternal, divine force of nature. This renders knowledge (of nature and facts) sacred, as well, and his work a collection that deserves to be held in posterity. On the basis of the ideas discussed so far, we are going now to turn our attention to the model of collecting *HN* itself offers. But before this, we shall mention in brief a few collecting practices as recorded by Pliny.

III.3. Pliny as a source of information on collections and collecting: practical aspects of collecting.

Pliny provides an insight into the practical issues involved in collecting, arranging, and preserving a collection. Paragraph 37.12-17 [T125], for example, can be 'read' interestingly in terms of a 'temporary exhibition'. The triumphs of the victorious generals in Rome quite often had the character of a 'temporary' exhibition; all the items that could serve as 'evidence' of the victory and the expansion of the Roman people were exhibited in a kind of a long parade, in a 'Great Exhibition'.[47] In this particular passage, after enumerating the objects presented during Pompey's triumph, Pliny argues that it was more than anything else a triumph of extravagance. He then continues to 'read' the message of it: all these objects were means of ennobling Pompey and adding value to him, but simultaneously they were a bad omen for the man. Pliny continues arguing that such a triumph and behaviour deprived

people of the possibility of criticizing extravagance from then onwards, because even Claudius' slippers with pearls, or Nero's masks, or even household equipment inlaid with gems, were modest, when compared to Pompey's triumph.

Here and there in Pliny's accounts occur references to conservation techniques, such as in 15.32 [T28], where he mentions that old olive-oil was used for the preservation of the statue of Saturn at Rome (made of ivory). We know that this technique had been used by the ancients in classical Athens (where it was employed for the protection of the statue of Athena on the Acropolis). Conservation techniques are also recorded in 16.213-219 [T32], where thought is paid to techniques of nourishing the wood and keeping the joints together. Another indicative of connoisseurship technique is presented in 37.195 [133]: gems are boiled in honey to have their colour improved.

IV.1. Pliny as a collector.

In this section we are going to resume the arguments regarding textual collections, and in particular, *HN* as a collection of facts and artefacts. We have established that in the Plinian hierarchy of values, the recording of artefacts corresponds to the textual collection and is opposed to the pair sacrilegious acts of luxury : actual collections. On the other hand, we have noticed that the notion of public as opposed to private is of prevailing importance. Textual collections undoubtedly serve their public role, since they allow more individuals to access them, while they also permit the appropriate conditions of thorough enjoyment of them to be reached. A textual tradition of this kind already had been established during Pliny's era. It is actually the tradition created by antiquarians (see chapter 2), and was taken over in the Roman world by Varro and Atticus, who assembled their collections of portraits, which as we have seen, were praised by Pliny so much. In this and the following parts therefore, Pliny as a collector and his influence on the Renaissance collections will be considered. We will examine the preceding textual tradition and the collecting model to which it led, the classification and taxonomy employed in Pliny's collection and how it influenced the subsequent generations of collectors. But, first, we will question what Pliny himself thought of his work (and how this fits with the definition of collecting - so that we expand on the work of Rouveret).

Pliny's view on his *HN* is outlined in the preface of his monumental work. He recalls an incident with one of his friends, and refers to it in his dedicatory epistle to emperor Titus: *'quoniam, ut, ait Domitius Piso, thesauros oportet esse, non libros'* (Praef. 17 [T1]), 'as Domitius Piso says, it is not books but store-houses that are needed'.[48] The tone is complacent, as if Pliny congratulates himself on having succeeded in covering the need identified by his friend. It is quite clear that Pliny conceives his book as a store-house, a *thesaurus*, like those holding the holy treasures in the sanctuaries. There he safeguards an ordered and complete inventory of things - a library of knowledge if we prefer to think in terms of facts (Conte, 1994a: 72-73). The value of the work is also guaranteed by the fact that it is dedicated to the emperor, just like those objects that are regarded very valuable because they have been dedicated to a temple (Praef. 19 [T1]). Further down in paragraph 18 he boasts of having collected 20,000 noteworthy 'facts' - for which he uses the word '*res* (*rerum*)', that is 'thing', 'item'. This is how Pliny himself therefore views his work: an assemblage of noteworthy 'things'.

Pliny has a long tradition of textual collections to follow. His ideal *vir bonus*, M. Terentius Varro, had assembled along with an actual collection (33.155 [T53]; 36.41 [T113-114]), a textual one of portraits. Other antiquarians were also devoted to such projects. Even artists like Pasiteles (first century) had assembled in five volumes the *'opera nobilia in toto orbe'*, all the noble works of art in the city - and Pliny uses him as a source in books 34 to 36 (Rouveret 1989: 459). Just the title of Pasiteles' work is indicative: it is an appreciation of all the works of art produced until then, in a wide geographical and chronological spectrum, expressed in an assemblage, and a reclassification of a sort that reminds one of an imaginary museum. Rouveret (1989: 460) attributes to Pliny a similar wish achieved in the 'art history' chapters, especially in book 36, where Pliny most explicitly adopts a wider stance and views the world with the eyes of a critic (as Rouveret argues). I would suggest that this is undoubtedly true in *HN*, but the scope is much wider that has been indicated, so that it includes the whole of *HN* and not just the art history chapters. Pliny aimed to assemble, to hoard, a *musée imaginaire* - that is the universe. The sanctity of the subject reifies the outcome as well. Words, images, and texts are incorporated into a universal encyclopedia of knowledge (Findlen, 1994: 64).

This can be supported not only by the encyclopedic inclusiveness of *HN*; it is also the arrangement, the classification of *HN* that accounts for it. *HN* in collecting terms can and

has been read with more than one organizational lines in mind. The first is the one that we have been following so far, i.e. the one that results in 'museographic' lists like those in section III.1. But this was not one intended by the author of the work - a fact which leads to the thought that it is not an organising principle *per se,* but a conception that corresponds to subsequent creations and ideas regarding collections and museums. In this sense, the word 'museographic' acquires its inverted commas. Even the art chapters of *HN,* though, are organised in terms of material (precious stones, marble, bronze etc.), and then, creators/artists. Conte (1994a: 100) identifies at least two organisational lines which structure *HN*: one (implicit) articulates according to 'mental' connections, like teleology, or the symbolic anthropocentric thought, whereas the other (explicit) relates to the external order of materials. The latter criterion does not correspond to a single notion structuring classification; there is a ramified scheme: from the central notion, *mundus*, all the beings of the natural world originate. They are divided in kingdoms, groupable in species, but not a single morphological or anatomico-physiological criterion is employed. All divisions are practical and utilitarian. In such a loose criterion, the pressures of the discourse's immediate requirements can be quite powerful. Consequently, analogy with other creatures, phenomena, cultural practices, synonymic contiguity, or even assonance, not to mention juxtaposition, can lead to a completely different subject or area. This gives to the work the character of a lexicon, or 'a set of notecards', as Conte (1994a: 101) calls it. Despite the scattered structure of the text, though, the requirement of systematicity is not lacking completely. Creatures are presented from biggest to the smallest, whereas the presentation of nature follows a line from animals to plants, and then to minerals (Conte, 1994a: 101-102). Conte has also argued that in this sense Pliny follows the organising principles of natural history that Aristotle had shaped.[49]

Pliny has been criticised: his work is not scientific, not only in terms of the 'science' it contains, but mainly for the lack of organically structured and unified epistemological principle. Consequently, the criticism continues, the particular and individual prevails throughout *HN*, and obscures a possible theoretical centre that we would expect to hold together the description of the world (Conte, 1994a: 103-104). But this criticism largely is unfair, since it ignores the fact that *HN* is not a scientific book in the contemporary sense. The text is unified by the underlying rationale of a collector, who aims to assemble fragments of the universe in an attempt to reach and 'entrap' it, so that it is easily accessible and intelligible even by those who now ignore the truth about it. In other words, he aims to

create a 'microcosm', and his ideas on the nature of the world and of things allows him to believe that he can do so.

Philological criticism underlines the encyclopedic character of *HN*, and attributes to the excellent timing of its synthesis, a period when the world was ready for such a self-reflecting enterprise, the fact that the work survived throughout the years (Conte, 1994a: 75). Such an approach privileges Pliny as an individual, and seems to ignore previous attempts that have not survived (at least not in their entirety). Although survival is also a medium of appreciating value in terms of the influence a work exercises over its contemporaries and subsequent generations, it is not the only criterion that we can employ. In the case of *HN*, its survival signals its being the most mature product of a long line of attempts rather than its uniqueness. Both the philosophical purpose along with the formal structure had already been provided; Pliny led the tradition to a culmination.

The preeminence given to the textual form of collecting is also justified in a couple of paragraphs from *HN*, which also respond to a criticism of Pliny by Renaissance collectors: the lack of illustrations, especially in the sections on plants and animals. Pliny responds to these future criticisms:

> 'Besides these the subject has been treated by Greek writers, whom we have mentioned in their proper places; of these, Crateuas, Dionysius and Metrodorus adopted a most attractive method, though one which makes clear little else except the difficulty of employing it. For they painted likenesses of the plants and then wrote under them their properties. But not only is a picture misleading when the colours are so many, particularly as the aim is to copy Nature, but besides this, much imperfection arises from the manifold hazards in the accuracy of copyists. In addition, it is not enough for each plant to be painted at one period only of its life, since it alters its appearance with the fourfold changes of the year.' (25.8 [T40])[50]

And he continues his discourse:

> 'For this reason the other writers have given verbal accounts only; some have not even given the shape of the plants, and for the most part have been content with bare names, since they thought it sufficient to point out the properties and nature of a plant to those willing to look for it. To gain this knowledge is no difficult matter; I at least have enjoyed the good fortune to examine all but a very few plants through the devotion to science of Antonius Castor, the highest botanical authority of our

> time; I used to visit his special garden, in which he would rear a great number of specimens even when he passed his hundredth year, having suffered no bodily ailment and, in spite of his age, no loss of memory or physical vigour. Nothing else will be found that aroused greater wonder among the ancients than botany.' (25.9- 10 [T41]).[51]

Not only do Pliny's own views on collections become explicit in the above, but we can also recognise the inspiration that it gave to subsequent generations of naturalists. They had to examine the objects themselves, and then discuss them and their properties, as Pliny has done.

Furthermore, many paragraphs in different parts of *HN* read like the standard list of wonders in any respectable museum. For example, we can see paragraphs 32.144-145 [T44], where marine animals are listed:

> 'To begin with large beasts, there are 'sea-trees', blower-whales, other whales, saw-fish, Tritons, Nereids, walruses, so called 'men of the sea', and others having the shape of fishes, dolphins, and seals well known to Homer, tortoises on the other hand well known to luxury, beavers to medical people (of the class of beavers we have never found record, speaking as we are of marine animals, that otters anywhere frequent the sea); also sharks, 'drinones', horned rays (?), sword-fish, saw-fish; hippopotamuses and crocodiles common to land, sea, and river; and, common to river and sea only, tunnies, other tunnies, 'siluri', 'coracini', and perches.'[52]

The views of Pliny on the role and value of his collection are also summarised in paragraph 25.1-3 [T39], where he discusses the importance that dissemination of knowledge has for the world, and he defines as the supreme task of a great mind the ability to keep within memory the success of the ancients.

IV.2. Pliny as a model for imitation for Renaissance collectors.

Renaissance museums owe to the past more than their name. There is a profound association between ancient models and subsequent practices; this contributed to the philosophical programmes that underlay collecting their shape. Museums of natural history

are usually associated with the reformulation of the history of nature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Linnaeus and Darwin); but although undoubtedly this is true, it is the fact that they originated within a predominately Aristotelian and Plinian framework. Naturalists of the Renaissance had the natural philosophers of antiquity as guidance during their researches. Aristotle, for instance, offered philosophical purpose for the collecting of nature, or the method by which one can arrive at a proper name for a previously unidentified phenomenon (Findlen, 1994: 57). Pliny's contribution is even more profound, however.

His encyclopedic spirit, his classification principle, his aims to assemble the world for people, his notions of commemoration, memory and so on, have influenced (and in many senses continue to do so) the collecting process from the Renaissance onwards. In this section, we are going to trace patterns of influence. We are not going to provide a complete list of all naturalists and collections that have been influenced by Pliny, and certainly it is not individual responses to *HN* for which we are searching. Here we are merely going to illuminate, quite eclectically, views on collecting that have dominated the phenomenon since the Renaissance and which we can immediately associate with, and attribute to Plinian influence.

The encyclopedic notion is responsible for a wide range of influences. It inspired naturalists to extend their curiosity to the farthest ends of the known world, and catalogue its wonders. The format of *HN* reminded collectors that all details of nature deserve to be assembled. It offered the compilation of a comprehensive encyclopedia as a model for imitation, and the pursuit of knowledge as the ultimate desire of man (Findlen 1994: 63-64). Aldrovaldi or Gesner, for instance, perceived the encyclopedia of Nature as dependent on the encyclopedia of knowledge. For example, they hoarded bibliographies, as if the assemblage of the books' titles alone could symbolically convey the possession of the contents (Findlen 1994: 59-60) as well. Consumed by their pursuit of knowledge, they committed themselves to a life organised around collecting, and the organisation of the objects and information they possessed. Following the model of Pliny, Renaissance collectors relied heavily for the creation of their 'natural histories' on numerous other books. As Findlen argues, Aldrovaldi, for example, incorporated worlds, images and texts in his universal encyclopedia, in his '*cimilarchion* and *pandechion*' (1994: 64) (meaning 'the archive of keimelia' and 'the repository of everything', respectively).

The conscious imitation of Pliny is evidenced in direct references to him that we find in Renaissance writings. Federico Borromeo wrote at the beginning of his *Musaeum* (1625): 'To begin this work, I think first of Pliny, above all others, not for the desire that I have to emulate him, which would be excessively foolish and audacious, but, in spite of myself, for the excellence of his example'.[53] Elsewhere Aldrovaldi, referring to the lessons naturalists could receive from *HN,* asserts: 'There is nothing under the sun that cannot be reduced to one of the three genus, that is, inanimate things and fossils, extracted from the bowels of the earth, plants, or animals. Even artificial things may be included in one of these three genus according to the materials [of their composition].'[54] Having the expansive and wide character of *HN* in mind, Renaissance collectors of nature included in their *Wunderkammern* works of art, antiquities and scientific instruments, too. Mercati, for instance, included descriptions of some of the Belvedere statues as examples of marble in his *Metallotheca* (Findlen, 1994: 61-63). In Italy, in particular, by the end of the sixteenth century works of art and *naturalia*, i.e. artistically arranged natural specimens, were introduced into collections (Schulz, 1990: 4).

HN's preface was read by naturalists as a challenge to their ingenuity and perspicacity. In particular, it encouraged a noble antagonism, worthy of humanists: to surpass Pliny in the number of facts and artefacts that they could amass, and thus surpass antiquity in the face of its most distinguished practitioner of naturalism. Numbers seemed extremely important to collectors. Aldrovaldi, for example, was obsessed with the size of his collection, and used to count his 'facts' very often. The number 20,000 that Pliny mentions in his preface (paragraph 17) became quite seminal, and the aim of all collectors was to exceed it. Associated with this tendency, although not exclusively, was the production of literary works which could in length and quantity surpass *HN*. A great compliment that a seventeenth century visitor could bestow on the museum he had just visited was an immediate comparison with Pliny. Lassels who toured the *Studio Aldrovaldi* in the mid seventeenth century remarked, 'in this *Pallace* I saw the rare *Cabinet and Study of Aldrovaldus*, to whom *Pliny the Second* if he were now alive would but be *Pliny the Sixt[h]*; for he hath printed six great volumes of the natures of all things in nature, each volume being as big as all *Plinyes* workes.' (Findlen, 1994: 64).[55]

The textuality of the collections relates to more than one notion. Of course, *HN* emerges as a connecting thread between actual collections and textual ones. Renaissance naturalists

perceived nature as a text. 'Reading' the book of nature was the prime activity, while collecting contributed to the reactivation and redefinition of the metaphor of the book. Possessing nature was a process that paralleled the possession of the ancient wisdom (Findlen, 1994: 55-56). Furthermore, the collection was not located in the text, nor in the objects alone, but was a dialectic between *res* and *verba* that fully defined the universality of this project. Museums were textual structures both in a literal and a figurative sense. They were created as reference points for the reading that the humanistic educational program required; in order to understand the rationale behind the acquisition of certain objects by collectors one needed to participate in the textual strategy of encyclopedism. Borromeo in his *Musaeum* (1625) laments: 'Moreover how much light would we glean from interpreting the passages of writers, principally Pliny, if we had in sight those things which he told only with words.'[56] The museum, therefore, was a copy of 'originals' long since vanished, since it was shaped according to the texts that had survived, both in terms of contents, and of notion. It was a copy of the notion of collection as an assemblage meant to commemorate and carry forward to posterity knowledge, values, sanctity; but it was also a copy in terms of the contents, because it imitated the 'lost original' by assembling exactly the kind of artefacts that the original contained. (In other words, it was a copy of the books, both in the sense that it copied the idea of collection that books contained, and in that it 'illustrated' the books, it reproduced in tangible objects what the books merely described.). It is worth quoting Aldrovaldi once again, when he says about his rare desiccated plants 'which I conserve pasted in fifteen volumes of my *Pandechion* of nature for the utility of posterity'. Here once again Aldrovaldi reiterates the textual character of artefacts, which became 'books' organised according to his taxonomy of nature. In the words of Cicero (*De Oratore*, III.xxi.125), 'for a full supply of facts (*copia rerum*) begets a full supply of words'.

Quiccheberg also defines a 'museum' as a place or text where extraordinary things are arranged as if in a chamber (Schulz, 1990: 208). His 'theatrum' evolved into a model of the universe in the sense of both a collection of real objects and of an encyclopedic text. Quiccheberg believed that the first collections were described in the Old Testament (Book 2 Kings 20, 12-21 and Book 1 Kings 5 and 6 - of King Hezeki'ah and the Temple of Solomon respectively) (Schulz, 1990: 209). He takes up the idea of the encyclopedic text from *HN*, and preoccupies himself with the need for a catalogue, as complete as possible with all the things in the universe. Furthermore, Quiccheberg wanted to provide instructions of what was to be collected in order to create a complete 'theatrum', serving both the glorification of God

and serious study (Schulz, 1990: 208). In this he also imitates Pliny, since instructions concerning what was to be collected were also available in *HN*. Pliny presented in detail the three realms of nature that embrace everything, from elephants to insects, and from plants to sculpture. Even the notion of the three realms (Book VIIIff) was adopted by collectors, who followed it in order to construct their own Natural Histories (Schulz, 1990: 205, 212).

Schulz (1990) argues that there has been an evolving process as far as the relation between actual and textual collections is concerned. Pliny's encyclopedia gave way to an actual collection as comprehensive as possible, which in its turn gave way to encyclopedias, whose ultimate goal was to praise the ordered universe of godly creation. Quiccheberg is a characteristic example of this perception (1990: 205-206). Consequently, she argues that the name of the 'museum' became the title of a literary genre before it become the name of the public collection. It was the literary genre that was comprised of 'all objects that were regarded as being unalterably components of a collection that could justly bear the name "museum"' (Schulz 1990: 212). This is a completely justified assertion, only it goes back a bit earlier than Renaissance. It is a fair argument to make in regard to Pliny's collection, Pliny's textual 'museum'.

V. Conclusions.

The genuinely historical character of *HN* ascribes the work to the tradition of antiquarianism. Pliny, in a search for the remarkable and the noteworthy, expands the horizon of the traditional historical account, and provides a *Natural History*, in which all the aspects of natural and cultural are included. In our discussion of antiquarianism, we defined the antiquarian as a student of the past, who unlike the historian writes in a systematic order (instead of a chronological one), collects all the items that are connected with a certain theme, whether they can be of any assistance in solving a problem or not, and deals with subjects that are considered more suitable for systematic description than for a chronological account (Momigliano, 1950: 286). Pliny's work fits remarkably well into this description: influenced by Stoic conceptions of nature and the world, he undertakes the role of a systematic recorder of all the *thaumasia* that the city of Rome and the Roman world have amassed, in order to save for the future, but also provide for his contemporaries, a treasury of

knowledge about the history of civilisation, and in particular, about the history of Roman power.

Pliny creates the most complete textual collection that survives from the ancient world. He also gives a unique account of other, actual, collections that decorated the city of Rome and other parts of the Roman realm, and were amassed by collectors, whose motives and discourse Pliny saves and interprets for us. For that reason, Pliny's *HN* is important in any discussion regarding classical collecting: he shows us as clearly as we will ever see a collection created during the first century. Attention is usually paid to *HN* as a source of information about collections, rather than to its own character as a collection and as a paradigm of collecting that drew enthusiastic followers many centuries after its formation. In this chapter, we have tried to redress this shortcoming, and to deal with both aspects of *HN*.

At the beginning we reflected on the specific characteristics of *HN* as an example of a literary genre, and the features that differentiate it from other similar texts, as well as on the underlying principles that shape its character and provide its special intellectual background that is of assistance in understanding its dual role. We argued that *HN* has a very broad subject-matter that exceeds the limits usually set for encyclopedic works. Its broad perspective had been shaped by Pliny's perception of the world, which in turn had been defined by Stoic naturalism. Nature is a passive and an active element in life, and as such is is contained even in the humblest little thing. In this sense, Pliny's belief that he can assemble the world in his books seems absolutely rational and justifiable. Furthermore, *HN* is an historical work, in the sense that it presents an attempt to record for posterity the accomplishments of Roman people and the power of the Roman state. This accounts for many of the decisions taken by Pliny, as for instance the inclusion of the 'art history chapters' in his book, as well as his attempt to write a history of civilisation and techniques, along with a natural history.

In the following part, and after having established the intellectual background of the work, we focused on its role as a source of information for collecting in the Roman world. We listed the collections and collectors that Pliny records (although the listing is not comprehensive), so that we systematise and acquire a more complete picture of the public collections held in Rome during that period, as well as of their reception. Then we

concentrated on the collecting discourse of that period as this was recorded and interpreted by Pliny. We concluded that the writer defends a hierarchy of values that he defines as distinct from those of his contemporaries, and he exemplifies this in his own work and in his own collection, as opposed to the actual collections that others had assembled. Collections in the public domain, which are the product of beneficient interference of emperors and generals, as well as collections that have resulted from spoils of victorious wars against the enemies of Rome, are very explicitly valued and appreciated. On the contrary, private collections are discouraged, at least as long as they express a sinister relation with material culture, ignorance, or neglect, of the natural values, and lack of rationality.

Pliny does not deny the existence or the necessity for collections; on the contrary, he offers a definition of the notion of collection in the classical world. A collection becomes a set of works of art, artefacts, and natural curiosities set aside as a vehicle of propaganda and comparison between the morally accomplished and the degenerates, as well as symbols of military prowess and Roman superiority. The holding power of the units of a collection therefore are the political and ideological messages and not the aesthetic value of the works. This is so because of the role of the collection as a space of artificial memory. Therefore, collections operate as *monumenta* of illustrious men, and as 'evidence' of human achievements and Nature's grandeur. Furthermore, *HN* presents a rhetorical understanding of the collections.

Based on these remarks, we reached the conclusion that Pliny puts his own views in practice when he writes *HN*, and that the latter is his own collection. Naturally, this development relates to a more general understanding of collections in the classical world, and Pliny offers simply the culmination of a long lasting tradition, where collecting of facts and information has been as important as the collection of tangible materials was, if not even more. Already in the classical Greek world, antiquarians had introduced the tradition of assembling in one book 'objects' of their interest, whether votive offerings in Greek sanctuaries, *heuremata*, or intangible information about practices, beliefs, institutions, or even people. This antiquarian tradition was taken over by Varro and Atticus in the Roman world, not to mention the paradoxographers, and the writers of *mirabilia*. Their collections were textual, of course, limited within the pages of books, but serving the same purpose that the tangible ones were called to serve. They were assemblages of facts, set aside for future generations as well as

contemporaries, as sources of knowledge, admiration, political and national pride, that would testify the grandeur of their own society.[57]

Pliny's work was part of this tradition, and in many ways summarised it for future generations. It was not only his collection *per se* that was important for his followers, but also his collecting mode. Pliny's encyclopedic spirit, his classification principle, his understanding of collections as methods of commemoration and *locus* of memory influenced the Renaissance collectors directly or indirectly. The textual character of Pliny's collection influenced their view about the dialectic relation between *res* and *verba*. Their 'museums', 'cabinets' or 'theatres' were the tangible illustrations of their 'museums on paper', which aimed to serve the same purpose and reassured accessibility and popularity. In other words, the early museum catalogues, instead of being a result of the collecting activities, have to be seen as a cause, a reason for them. *Historia Naturalis* undoubtedly is the inspiring flame behind them, and a unique monument whose importance goes far beyond the limits of its era.

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[1] Loeb CL, translated by H. St. J. Thackerey, 1957.

[2] 234 -149 BCE. and 116-27 BCE. respectively; about Cato as the first exponent of the Roman encyclopedic tradition, as well as the philosophical origin of encyclopedism in Greek philosophy see Grimal (1965).

[3] More about this literary genre in the following part.

[4] Or thirty-six, if we do not count, as Pliny does not, the first book which consists of the index and the 'bibliography' of the work.

[5] Pliny has received heavy criticism about the purity of his Latin prose; that he receives from Goodyear (1982b: 670) is not unique, although extremely harsh. Norden in his *Die Antike Kunstprosa* (1898-1918) is also very negative as far as Pliny's style is concerned. Different is the approach of Healy (1987: 3-24); see also Serbat (1986: 2085-2086) with summary of the debate and further bibliography.

[6] Gaius Plinius Secundus - usually called Pliny the Elder to be distinguished from his nephew Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus (Pliny the Younger) - was born in 22/23 CE in Novum Comum of Transpadane Gaul (northern Italy), and he died in August 24, 79 CE at Misenum, trying to get a clearer view of the eruption of Vesuvius. We do not know much about his family, but it must have been one of standing and wealth. His patron was Pomponius Secundus, whose biography Pliny wrote (*De Vita Pomponii Secundi*) (Pliny the Younger, *Epist.* 3.5.1). He served his military term in Germany (in 47, in 50 and in 57-58), where he met the future emperor Titus, to whom he dedicated *HN*. It was from his experiences in Germany that his first literary work (*De iaculatione Equestri* - On throwing the javelin from the horseback) and his larger German Wars (*Bella Germaniae*) originated. There is not much evidence about his career during Nero's reign. He was possibly officially active (perhaps as a procurator in Africa); but his condemn of Nero is unquestionable. In the final years of Nero's reign he produced a six volume work on the education of an orator (it was possibly called *Studiosus*) and an eight volume grammatical treatise (*Dubius Sermo*). When Vespasian became emperor, Pliny entered upon an intensive career and held many important posts. But he also wrote a Roman history, *A Fine Aufidi Bassi,* and *HN,* his single work that survives. When he died he was holding the post of the prefect of the imperial fleet. His nephew's letters, *Epistulae* 3.5 and 6.16, 6.20 remain the best account of biographical

information on Pliny. Also information is offered by Suetonius, (*De Viris illustribus. De historicis*, VI), and a fragmented inscription from Syria, published by Mommsen 1884). (Among the secondary sources see e.g. Conte, 1994b: 497-499; Goodyear, 1982: 670; Serbat, 1986: 2073-2077 with further bibliography; Reynolds, 1986: 1-2; Beagon, 1992: 2-3; Syme, 1979; 1987; Healy, 1991: ix-xi; Levidis, 1994: 7-8).

[7] For a discussion of these works see Grimal, 1965: 469ff.

[8] For a comprehensive bibliography of Pliny and *HN*, see Hanslik, 1955 and 1964; Sallmann, 1975; Römer, 1978; Serbat, 1986.

[9] Loeb CL, translated by H. Rackham, vol. I, 1949.

[10] Pliny's main argument, as far as the gods are concerned is that human vices or virtues (e.g. *Concordia, Pudicitia* etc.) can not be considered gods. He conceives no distinction between God and Nature, following the Stoic beliefs. But he confuses things a bit, when he includes in the definition of the deity the imperial house (2.18). About Pliny's cosmology and the God see Gigon (1982) with several models.

[11] Translated by Healy (1991: 10).

[12] About Stoicism and its ideas on *φύσις, λόγος, virtus*, see also Watson (1971: 222-229),

[13] About the differences between Greek and Roman Stoicism see French, 1994: 149-195; also Arnold, 1958.

[14] This translation is by Rackham in Loeb CL, 1949.

[15] The word luxury alone occurs in more than sixty passages, see Wallace-Hadrill (1990: 86).

[16] About exaggerrated values see for example Seneca, *De brev. vit.*, 12.2; Corinthian bronze which the 'furor' of few makes '*pretiosa*' (see Beagon, 1992: 76, note 42).

[17] Healy (1991: xvii-xviii) makes an interesting comparison between Pliny and Herodotus: their approach to history seems suprisingly similar at points.

[18] Many of the authors who had been distinguished for their collections of *mirabilia* figure in the source-lists of Pliny, as for instance Callimachus and his pupil Philostephanus of Cyrene. Also in several instances Pliny acknowledges as his sources Isigonus of Nicaea and Alexander Polyhistor. *HN* is a valuable source for the study of similar writers (Beagon, 1992: 8-9, also note 25).

[19] For Mucianus see Jex-Blake and Sellers, 1896: lxxxv-xci; Bardon, 1956: 179-182; Le Bonniec, 1953: 38-39 and 78-80.

[20] About Pliny and *mirabilia* see Isager (1991: 44-47), where also further references; especially note the computer search of Mayhoff's Pliny edition that provided 831 examples of the root *mir and 83 variants of *mirabilis, admirabilis* (ibid: 46, nt. 149). Also see Shelton (1994: 179) on the word 'mirror' and 'mirari'.

[21] Tanner (1995: 212) argues that the resemblance the scholars mention is misleading and is 'rooted in the architectural iconography of modern museums as temples of the Muses rather tahn in ancient realities'.

[22] The search for Pliny's sources has been a very popular subject, especially of German scholarship during the last century and the beginning of the present one. Münzer (1897), Sellers (1896), Kalkmann (1898), Schweitzer (1932), Jahn (1850), Ferri (1946) are examples of such an approach.

[23] The picture was originally in Athens (Plut., *Thes.* iv) whence it may have been brought from Sulla. Destroyed in fire in 70 BC (Jex-Blake and Sellers, 1896: 113).

[24] But Cass. Dio (53.27.2) implies that it was finished in 25 BC and was called Pantheon because of the number of statues it contained. See discussion in Richardson, 1992: 283-286, where also bibliography.

[25] About the bronze capitals of the columns, see 34.13.

[26] The motif of the 'ultimate folly' of falling in love with a celebrated statue appears quite frequently in Pliny. For instance, in 36.20-25 [T107-110] a young man is mentioned who fell in love with the reknowned work by Praxiteles, Eros of Parium; he remained with the statue overnight and left a mark of his passion on it. A Roman knight, J. Pisciculus, had fallen in love with one of the Nine Muses formerly in front of the temple of Prosperity (36.29 [T112]).

[27] About Licinius Mucianus as a source on the sanctuaries of the East see Jex-Blake and Sellers, 1896: introduction.

[28] For his biography see André, 1949.

[29] Papylus was most probably a student of Pasiteles, and not Praxiteles (see Isager, 1991: 165, note 584). The paragraph follows the translation of Eichholz, in Loeb CL, 1971.

[30] In the same paragraph are also mentioned two pendants of Vesta by Scopas, which was in the Horti Serviliani; scholars do not agree what exactly these were - *lampteras*, as Becatti suggests (1956: 199-201), *camiteras*, or *campteras* (see André, Bloch and Rouveret, 1981: 147-148). Facsimiles of them were kept in the *monumenta Asini Pollionis* (see Loeb CL).

[31] About 'Brutus' boy' see also Martial, XIV.171.

[32] About a presentation of the 'first generation' of collectors, i.e. the ones which were responsible for the introduction in Rome of works of art, see discussion in Pape (1975): M. Fulvius Nobilior (p. 12), Q. Caecilius Metellus (p. 15), L. Mummius (p. 16), L. Licinius Lucullus (p. 22), Cn. Pompeius (p. 24), and Augustus (p. 25).

[33] See also Gros, 1976: 157.

[34] See also Isager, 1991: 168-174, where further bibliography.

[35] Here we may detect what Rouveret argued about Pliny claiming the primary role of Rome, even in consumption of luxury (6.89 [T5]).

[36] transl. by Rackham, Loeb CL, vol. IX, 1952.

[37] The same issue of art 'challenging' nature, by producing artefacts so naturalistic that they actually resemble to nature are the subject of paragraph 35.94 [T95]; challenging nature in terms of naturalism is a major issue concerning the art history ideas of Pliny (see Tanner, 1995).

[38] A list of luxurious possessions in 35.162-164 [T102] includes earthenware dishes sold at an auction by the heirs of Aristotle, a dish that cost a tragic actor 100,000 sesterces, and Vitellius the meperor who had an eartheware worthy of 1,000,000.

[39] Trans. by Rackham, in Loeb CL, 1952.

[40] About Corinthian bronze, see Emanuele, 1989.

[41] About a discussion of this see Gros, 1976 and Rouveret, 1989: 454; Rouveret, 1989 also connects this with the notion of '*cessavit...revixit ars*' (34.52), see esp. pp. 454ff.

[42] *Peritus, a, um* is an adjective meaning the 'experienced person'.

[43] transl. by H. Rackham in Loeb CL, vol. IV, 1945.

[44] About Tiberius called 'ungracious' see 35.27-28 [T85-86]. He is criticised as being 'ungracious' (*minime comis imperator*) - as opposed to Augustus who went beyond all others and presented pictures for public display.

[45] The paragraph is translated by D. E. Eichholz in Loeb CL, vol. X, 1971. The Latin text reads: *'vidi tunc adnumeri unius scyphi fracti membra, quae in dolorem, credo, saeculi, invidiamque Fortunae tamquam Alexandri Magni corpus in conditorio servari, ut ostentarentur, placebat'* (37.19 [T126]).

[46] For a similar argument about Rome, although with a much broader time horizon, see Edwards, 1996.

[47] See Pollitt, 1983 and the descriptions of triumphs he provides; Koch, 1967 (esp. 12-30) discusses the subject in great detail; also see Greenhalgh, 1988; 1989; Bennett, 1995 about the 'Great Exhibition'.

[48] Transl. by Rackham, Loeb CL, 1949.

[49] That there is a gradual transition from one class of organisms to another and not a clear distinction between groups of organisms.

[50] Translated in Loeb CL by Jones, 1980 (2nd edn).

[51] As above.

[52] Trans. in Loeb by Jones, in 1963.

[53] Translated by Luigi Grasselli, in *Il Museo del Cardinale Federico Borromeo*, Milan 1909, p. 44.

[54] Quoted in Findlen, 1994: 62; from BAV, *Vat. Lat.* 6192, Vol. II, f. 656v.

[55] It is from Richard Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy, or a Compleat Journey Through Italy. In Two Parts* (London 1670), vol. I, pp. 147-148.

[56] The translation follows that of Findlen (1994: 69), which is based on Arlene Quint, *Cardinal Federico Borromeo as a Patron and Critic of the Arts and His Musaeum of 1625*, New York, 1986.

[57] This is an issue that forms the subject of another research, that the author is planning to undertake, i.e. a detailed recording of all the information available on ancient Greek works on *heuremata* and material culture in general, in order to discuss their character, compare it with textual collections of the Renaissance and reach further conclusions about textual museums and collections in the ancient, and Renaissance world.

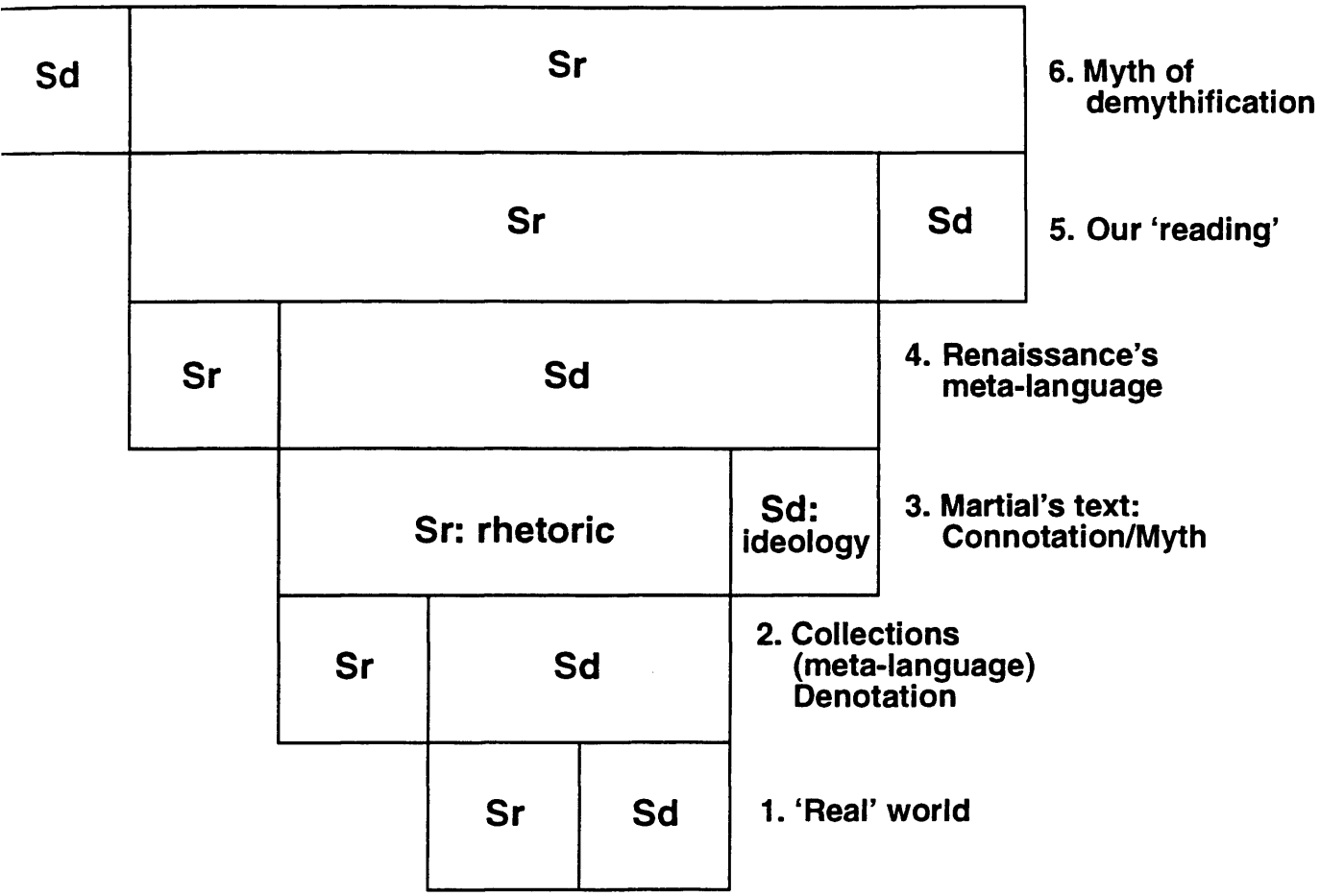
CHAPTER SEVEN

POET'S GIFTS, COLLECTOR'S WORDS: THE EPIGRAMS OF MARTIAL

I. Introduction.

Martial's *oeuvre* rendered the literary genre of epigram the vehicle of a successful integration of a long established poetic tradition, with critical reflection on Flavian historical and cultural circumstances. Although from a strictly historicising approach Martial's credibility is considerably at risk, since the derisive character of his poetry does not allow it to be taken at face value as a direct reflection of Roman life, an alternative reading allows for some interesting insight into his cultural ambience. It is a presumption of the present enquiry that the validity of the 'answers' provided by the ancient authors depends largely on the validity of the questions, expectations and assumptions set originally. When these are determined by positivism and historicism, inevitably their results are highly disputable. Similarly, the construction of the historical narrative as merely the Same or the Other leads to a monolithic, and thus incomplete comprehension of the past. Consequently, and in compliance with the methodological tools presented and discussed in chapter 1 (see figure 7.1), this reading of Martial's epigrams will attempt, by taking into account the characteristics of the genre which defined what both the author and his audience expected, to propose a possible 'reading' of Martial's 'reading' of his society's relation to material culture.

Martial did not contribute to art history or criticism, in the formal sense. Nevertheless, his personal and social relation to material culture and art is more than evident throughout his literary production. The literary genre through which he chose to express himself also becomes indicative, especially when we consider its historical development. As the Greek etymology of the word denotes, ἐπίγραμμα (epigramma) was any word or mark inscribed on a grave, a monument, a building, or an artefact, representing the donor, the maker, the



Sd = signified

Sr = signifier

Fig. 7.1: Model of analysis applied to Martial's *Epigrams*

owner, or the dedicatee. In the early Alexandrian period, and due to the extension of the use of the term during the classical period to describe sepulchral, dedicatory or commemorative inscriptions in verse, the word came to cover a whole genre of brief poems. These were reminiscent of, and analogous to, such inscriptions, but they now dealt with almost any subject, sentiment, event, occasion, or person. Earlier models of those epigrams have been written or ascribed to archaic and classical authors,[1] like Sappho, Alcaeus, Simonides, Anacreon, Pindar and Plato (Sullivan, 1991: 78). The standard subdivisions of epigram, which were established by Cephalas[2] in the tenth century CE, read as follows: 1) votive inscriptions and dedications (ἀναθηματικά) (AP vi); 2) epitaphs to tomb inscriptions (ἐπιτύμβια) (AP vii and viii); 3) amatory and pederastic epigrams (ἐρωτικά καί παιδικά) (AP v and xii); 4) 'epideictic' (ἐπιδεικτικά), which were a broad group dealing with curious incidents, praising or blaming famous personages or places; within this category we may group the 'ecphrastic' epigrams, describing works of art, monuments and buildings (ἐκφράσεις) (AP ii, iii, ix); 5) reflectory and advice on life and morality (protreptika) (προτρεπτικά) (AP x); 6) convivial pieces (συμποτικά) (AP xi); and 7) abusive and satirical epigrams (σκωπτικά) (AP xi). Martial worked on all of these subgenres and he particularly developed the ἀποφόρετα (apophoreta) and ξένια (xenia), which were descriptions of gifts, very similar to the descriptions of offerings (εκφρασεις) (Sullivan, 1991: 81-82).

Although Martial clearly distinguishes his epigrams from satire (Coffey, 1989), he shares with it the professed aim of *'pacere personis, dicere de vitiis'* (X.33.10). Without aiming to address or denigrate specific persons, his aim was to castigate vice, ridicule wickedness and inanity, to satirize the social vices of Rome - extravagance, social climbing, legacy-hunting, pretentiousness, greed, stupidity, and other human frailties - but also to entertain. On the other hand, Martial was part of the same society. He himself led the life of a needy client dependant on wealthy patrons; this definitely influenced his poetry and his beliefs. He was part of a society where conspicuous consumption was a fundamental characteristic of social life. Rich possessions and extravagance needed to be conspicuous to serve their purpose in that status-conscious society. Martial, therefore, is fully aware of this when he makes his pleas for money and gifts. Hence also the hyperbolic compliments on grandiose artistic acquisitions and lavish villas (Sullivan, 1991: 124).

These two contradictory approaches will be considered in the epigrams that we are going to discuss. In the first part, in reverse order to that of publication, the poems which have been selected from books I to XII will be briefly presented and discussed. Then we will focus on one of Martial's first books, Book XIV. Finally, all points will be brought together in an attempt to 'read' Martial's attitude toward collecting in a comprehensive mode.

II. Martial's views on collectors and collecting.

Martial published his first book in 80 CE, under the title *Liber de Spectaculis*, to celebrate the opening of the Colosseum by Titus. The book, probably published with the encouragement and support of the emperor to glorify his father and his dynasty, offered the equestrian status to Martial. Books *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* (XIII and XIV respectively in modern editions) appeared in 84-85 CE.[3] From then on he used to publish regularly until 101, when the last book was sent to Rome from Spain.[4]

Books I and II were published around 86 CE, when Martial was an already established, well-known Flavian poet with a circle of influential friends: a man of distinction. Presenting the books to the public was an attempt to develop or acknowledge a wider readership. The next book (III) appeared late in 87 CE; it was sent from Forum Cornelii (in Gallia Togata, the modern Lombardy). As the last epigram of the book suggests, it was offered to a friend of Martial's, a certain Rufus.[5] In this book there are five 'epideictic' poems, among which are introduced for the first time two descriptions of works of art: on a bowl with very realistic fishes supposedly by the hands of Phidias (III.35), and on a cup by Mentor decorated with an equally realistic and threatening lizard (III.40). This genre, which was prominent in the *Apophoreta*, from this point on appears in his miscellaneous books, perhaps stimulated by *ex tempore* challenges or even commissions (Sullivan, 1991:32). The IVth book was published in Rome in 89 CE (IV.11). It presents a greater variety of themes than the previous ones, and there is a strong sense of a greater political and historical awareness. The percentage of satiric epigrams is lower (less than a third of the book). In this book new private patrons are added[6] (Sullivan, 1991: 33-34).

Book V, published perhaps for the Saturnalia in 90 CE, opens with an address to emperor Domitian, honouring him as a guardian and saviour, *rerum felix tutela salusque* (V.1.8). He

is asked to accept the volume as the sort of book he could read in the presence of Minerva (V.2.7-8). Book VI was published in 91 CE, perhaps in December. Apart from a dozen or so poems relating to the emperor and his triumphs (e.g. VI.4; 10), there are a number of poems devoted to new patrons and friends.[7] Book VII, published in December 92 (VII.8), again focuses on the court. Book VIII appeared in December 94, and is explicitly dedicated to Domitian: *Imperatori Domitiano Caesari Augusto Germanico Dacico* (Sullivan, 1991: 40). Book IX appeared perhaps in the spring of 95 CE. The brief preface is addressed to Martial's dear friend Toranius (*frater carissime*), known to the reader from V.78 (a dinner invitation). Martial indulges in a little self-congratulation, since senator L. Stertinius Avitus, himself a poet, had decided to honour Martial by placing a portrait or a bust of him in his library along with those of other distinguished writers (Sullivan, 1991: 43). Book X is one of the best of Martial's books, but it presents a number of problems. Posterity has the second edition, published in mid-98, when the poet was preparing to return to Spain. The earlier edition had been put out in December 95, but Martial informs his audience (X.2.3) that many of the poems of the first edition had been revised, and more importantly, that over half of them were new (Sullivan, 1991: 40). Book XII the nucleus of which was perhaps put together for December 101, was given to the public after a silence of about three and a half years (Sullivan, 1991: 52) and was the last one to be published.[8]

Epigrams II.43 [T137], II.53 [T138], IV.85 [T141], VIII.51 [148] belong to the large group of those referring to patronage and patrons. The tradition of patronage was deeply embedded in Roman social and political life.[9] It involved a protective non-commercial relationship between unequal individuals, or social and national groups, in which one, the patron, used resources to help and protect his less powerful friends and dependents. The clients,[10] in return, were expected to provide various tangible or intangible services or gratifications (Sullivan, 1991: 116). For Martial the relationship between patron and his friends was personal and reciprocal. Although an unequal relationship, at least in conventional terms, Martial regarded his services as of special value, since he was in a position to offer to his patrons the gifts of immortality and fame, by the inclusion of their names in his poetry. The patrons, on the other hand, had to provide money, services, legacies, gifts, as well as honour as a poet and respect as an individual. Martial was disappointed with the system of private patronage as he encountered it, and his general criticism is included in an epigram to Domitian (V.19). Although his main addressee is the emperor,[11] private patrons are also often addressed.

The importance of patronage for Martial's poetry is reflected in many ways. The most common motif in his poetry is his plea for tangible proof of friendship and support. He also reflects on the proper relations between client and patron, on the nature of gratitude, avarice, humiliation; he complains about the burdensome *officia* or excuses himself for not presenting for a duty. On the other hand he offers thanks and compliments with his verses.

The strong interest of Martial (and other poets) in money and the obsession with gifts have been discussed extensively by scholars.[12] Whether the poet was dependent on them to support himself though, has been doubted. More importantly, it seems, rich possessions and extravagant gifts were the tokens of friendship, the proof of support; they were 'read' as bearers of esteem and their value was extended to their owners and *vice versa.*[13]

Consequently, stingy patrons and wretched clients figure quite often in his poetry. In II.43 [T137], Martial complains to Candidus - the name can be, and probably is, fictitious - for not treating him as equal and real friend. Although Candidus divulges his belief in the Greek proverb 'Κοινὰ φίλων' (friends must share), he does not practice it. He, therefore, leads a luxurious life, proof of which are - among other more trivial things like clothes and food - 'Libyan tabletops on legs of Indian ivory' (II.43.9) and 'gold-inlaid dishes' (II.43.11) covered with huge mullet.

Similarly, the same gold-inlaid dishes are tokens of dependence and lack of freedom in II.53 [T138]. This epigram belongs to the category of προτρεπτικά (protreptika), and it may be interpreted as revealing Martial's 'real' feelings about patronage; he encourages Maximus, the person the poem is addressed to, to liberate himself from the enjoyment of material culture, provided by patrons, if he really wants to acquire freedom. This view echoes Cynic ideas that material culture is a kind of slavery, which instead of enjoyment it offers trouble and worries (see also Juvenal, *Sat.* 14.303-308). But not *all* material culture is like this: just the inlaid dishes, the luxurious goods. Interestingly Cinna - another fictitious character - is called 'wretched' (*miseri*), although he possesses these objects of desire. Maximus has to laugh at him, to ridicule his dependance on objects, if he wants to be free. Freedom involves poverty, or at least, self-denial (Sullivan, 1991: 127).

The same motif of the stingy patron is employed again in IV.85 [T141] (as above in II.43). Ponticus (another personage of Martial's gallery of fictitious, but probably easily recognizable, personages/stereotypes) uses his luxurious objects, in this case murrhine cups, to disclose his stinginess.[14] The inequality between patron and client is once again brought to the forefront. A rather mocking mood and a clear exaggeration characterize epigram VI.94 [T143]. The instigator of satire is again the gold-enameled plate. This time the emphasis has shifted from the stingy patron to the mean-spiritedness of the client. Calpentianus is a wretched creature, so dependent on the external signs of wealth that he deserves to be criticized and laughed at through a satiric epigram.

Epigram VIII.50 (51 in 1919 Loeb edition) [T148] refers to an autobiographical incident in Martial's life as a client.[15] He describes a cup offered to him by his friend Istantius Rufus. The wrought silver[16] cup decorated with mythological scenes is admired by Martial who wonders who might have been its maker: Mys, Myron, Mentor or Polyclitus. Whether this is an 'eponymous' piece or not is not of prime interest. The compelling point of this epigram is that the attribution of an *objet d' art* to a famous artist from the past could enhance its value. Furthermore, the object acquired its importance not only from the intrinsic quality of its material, but, most importantly, from its associations. Along with this we cannot fail to notice that this appreciation has an art historical aspect as well. Although it is difficult to distinguish where art historical appreciation ends and where compliance with specific requirements of the Greek literary *topos* of ekphrasis starts, it is quite obvious that the writer actually appreciates the artistic merits of the object. Finally, another dimension of the object's value is that it is a token of personal esteem and friendship.

Another group of epigrams includes those which refer to extravagance in the way of living. A characteristic epigram of this category is III.62 [T139]. It is an aggressive poem, quite rude in its directness, which addresses Quintus, a passionate 'collector', 'accumulator' of luxurious goods. Quintus acquires all the external signs of wealth, among which furniture and silver plate hold a prominent place. Martial's 'objection' to this kind of behaviour concerns the fact that, in his view, precious accumulations cannot 'transform' the person - no matter what Quintus reckons - since it is not his great mind which is projected through acquisitions; rather they are indications of his pathetic disposition (!). This epigram is of interest for two reasons: first, it provides insight into Martial's thinking, even if we consider it to be only the public façade, as in the case of Cicero for example.[17] Second, it makes

clear - even if this is exaggerated - that, at least, some of the Romans considered objects able to transmit their values and their prestige. This is the point upon which Martial organises his criticism.

Objets d' art are also described in many epigrams.[18] The names of Greek artists of the past are what dominate there and indicate parameters of value and artistic appreciation. Although some of these epigrams might have been commissions, or descriptions of works owned by patrons whom Martial wanted to emulate, their inclusion in the books is indicative of a certain state of mind. Two of these epigrams present special interest, IX.43 and IX.44 [T150-151], both referring to Hercules Epitrapezius. This was, according to the literary tradition, a bronze statuette Alexander the Great had commissioned from Lysippus, of Hercules reclining on a rock, where he had spread his lionskin, holding his club and a wine cup.[19] Statius (*Silvae* 4.6) wrote a poem on the same subject. In IX.43 the 'genealogy' of the statue is presented: it belonged to Hannibal, Sylla and, finally, Novius Vindex, a contemporary of both Martial and Statius. Plausible chronologically and historically though this appears,[20] the statue's provenance seems a patent fabrication, at least to Martial. Although in the first epigram Martial intends to ennoble Vindex by aggrandizing the worth of his statuette by exaggerating its genealogy,[21] and Vindex is called learned (*docti*) in antithesis to other, pretentious, connoisseurs, IX.44 reveals a certain facetiousness on Martial's part. Was Vindex a real connoisseur, we may wonder, or was he simply a patron of Martial's? The discussion between 'ignorant' Martial and '*docti*' Vindex, during which is revealed that Vindex trusts that the maker of the statuette is the person whose name appears on its base, makes this difficult to answer. According to Henry (1948: 94), the second epigram is written because Martial did not believe that it was the original statue which was once given to Alexander by its creator. Henry suggests that Martial 'relieves his artistic conscience' by suggesting with his fine irony that this statue was a very good fake. But then, this would make the adjective '*docti*' of the previous one possibly more ironic than the omission of it would be. It does nevertheless concur with Martial's personal disapproval of collectors who bragged of the pedigrees of their possessions (see discussion of epigram VIII.6 below).

Women's relation to material culture is also discussed by Martial. Epigram VIII.81 [T149] is about Gellia's passionate relationship to her pearls. She appreciates them more than anything, and they are above any sacred or familial relationship in her hierarchy. Thus

Martial wishes for Annaeus Serenus to have been employed; we do not know who he was, whether a thief, as Shackleton-Bailey (1993) suggests, or some notorious wearer of pearls (Ker, 1919). In any case, Martial's wish is for him to remove Gellia's pearls so that 'she would not live an hour' (VIII.81.9), away from her ridiculous - according to Martial - passion.

The same misogynous attitude is exemplified in epigram VII.13 [T144]. Although the emphasis in this one is on the vain and futile attempts of an old woman, Lycoris, to retain her beauty and remain desirable - a subject which attracts Martial's fierce criticism and disgust - more interesting for the present research is the comparison of Lycoris' beauty practices with those followed for the protection of the 'ivory of an old tusk'. The sulphurous exhalations of the springs at Tibur were supposed to have the property of whitening ivory. Although Martial's aim is not to discuss connoisseurship practices, this information is indeed indicative of them. Lycoris is mentioned again in another epigram (I.102 [T135]) as owner of a bad quality painting of Minerva. It is doubted that Lycoris was a 'collector' - the painting of Minerva must have been a possession related to Lycoris' profession (Minerva was the goddess of arts and Lycoris was probably a prostitute - see Howell, 1980: 317-8). But even this is indicative: Martial's argument is that women cannot possess good or precious things.

Another very important group of epigrams refers to fakes. Martial discusses fakes explicitly twice (he makes implicit references in other epigrams as well - see below). Firstly, in epigram VIII.34 [T147], he addresses possibly a silversmith who was in the habit of faking his antiques. 'You may not have faked this' says Martial 'but that does not prove it genuine'. Just as in the previous ones, where Martial in order to make his point uses well known examples and practices easily recognizable by his audience as common in everyday life, in this case, he discusses the possession of antiques made by eponymous Greek artists. Not only is possession of antiques desirable, but the demand is higher than the supply, a fact which gives rise to practices like faking. He takes that for granted and builds his point upon it. Similarly, XII.69 [T155], addressing Paullus, uses the motif of antique possessions to compare Paullus' friends with: although Paullus considers them authentic, they are as genuine as his antiques; in other words, they are fakes. Once again the collection of antiquities is taken for granted and upon it the point about genuine friendship is built. The

vocabulary used in these two epigrams is structured around two words: *archetypos*[22] and the verb *habere.*[23]

The most engaging group of epigrams (for this research), though, is that directly referring to collectors and connoisseurs. These are epigrams IV.39 [T140], VIII.6 [T146], IX.59 [T152], X.80 [T153] and X.87 [T154]. In the last one, X.87, there is a brief mention of the 'aged admirer of our antique forefathers (who) present(s) embossed works of Phidias' chisel' (trans. Shackleton-Bailey, 1993); this periphrasis is used to describe the 'collector of antiquities'. Martial ranks his gift, poetry, among other precious gifts: genuine sardonyxes, embossed works of Phidias' chisel, slaves, and so on.

Epigram IV.39 [T140] refers to Charinus, an ardent collector of antique works of art. Undoubtedly the name is fictitious and Charinus probably a stereotype. The emphasis of the epigram is not on collecting *per se*; Charinus is 'attacked' mainly on the grounds of his private life. He has collected (*comparasti*[24]) *all* (*omne*[25]) silver plate, he *alone* (*solus*[26]) possesses antique works of art by Myron, Praxiteles, Scopas, Phidias and Mentor. He *owns* (*habes*) *genuine* (*vera*[27]) works of Grattius, gold-inlaid dishes and *ancestral* tables. Martial is feigning surprise, that a rich connoisseur of wrought *objets d' art* and tableware has no *argentum purum* in his collection. Sullivan (1991: 246-7) argues that this point has direct sexual connotations (for the use of '*purum*' in this context he provides a series of references). The epigram projects the picture of a passionate relationship between the collector and his objects. The use of the words '*omne*', '*solus*' (repeated four times), '*desunt*' (lack), '*comparasti*' and '*habes*' are used by Martial consciously to make a point about both Charinus and his collecting activities. They sketch the picture of a man who strives towards his completion and his purification through collecting a 'complete' as well as 'unique' set of the much admired tokens of the antique, with all their connotations. Very much in the spirit of the theory of contemporary collecting research, Martial suggests that collecting is for Charinus a mechanism of compensation for his lost purity, along with a powerful symbol of his personal inadequacies. The objects selected and collected participate, in other words, in a process of narcissistic projection on behalf of Charinus: he extends himself to the very limits of his collection and he collects his ideal self, which, as Martial ruthlessly unveils far exceeds the actual personal quality of the collector.

Martial gets to the heart of collecting with this epigram, since he questions the basic assumption behind the process: it is invariably the ideal self that a person collects, and the collection is undoubtedly the bearer of that connotation. But Martial disappoints collectors by arguing that no matter what mechanisms of concealment they employ, their personal inadequacies cannot be disguised behind objects, and they cannot become 'better' or something they are not because of their association with them. This point appears in other epigrams as well, e.g. in III.62 [T139]. However, there are other instances when the same argument is contradicted, and Martial seems to appreciate objects simply because of their associative value (e.g. XIV.98, VIII.50 and so on). This probably relates to the double capacity of Martial, as a client, who needs to emulate, and as a poet with personal beliefs. As a result, when his poems aim to satisfy patrons, he praises their acquisitions, and celebrates their ownership; when he expresses freely his personal opinion, he is ready to unveil the fallacy in which collectors live. Nevertheless, the personal and circumstantial views of the poet himself aside, it has to be acknowledged fully that Martial's world believes in the connotative capacities of objects. Martial's pains to disprove it cannot but be taken as evidence of its existence, or of Martial's 'reading' of its existence. The inconsistency of his rhetoric is not enough to disprove its presence.

The same inconsistency is evident in VIII.6 [T146]. Martial rejects Euctus' antiques collection on the grounds of it being 'despicable' (*odiosus*). Based upon the now common motif of enhancing an object's value by attributing prestigious associations to it, Euctus is presented as proud of the prestigious pedigrees of his objects; their defects are proofs of their glorious past, and, therefore reasons for extra appreciation and valuation in actual financial worth. They have 'participated' in famous mythological incidents and well-known Greek and Roman mythological personages have been associated with them. Nevertheless, Martial is sceptical: the collector is not able to distinguish between old and new wine, so how can he appreciate antiques? We have come across a stereotype again - although whether this is the stereotype of connoisseur or of the uneducated person who pretends to be erudite can be disputed. The objects have become the vehicles of pretension - or so Martial believes them to be. If we compare this approach with his own personal appreciation presented elsewhere of 'eponymous' artistic pieces, as well as his plea for gifts, Martial's personal stance on collecting becomes incomprehensible. Is this approach part of a stereotype (following the tradition established earlier in the Roman past of rejecting extravagance), or is it genuine?

Similar considerations emerge in epigram IX.59 [T152]. Although it was categorized also among those which criticise pretentiousness and social climbing (Sullivan, 1991: 43), the epigram presents interest for this research since it is a unique and vivid picture of the antique market in Rome and of a connoisseur's practices. Mamurra is a poor man pretending to be a connoisseur. He wanders in the Saepta Julia (for details of this place as one for the public display of works of art, see II.14 [T136]), where he behaves in a manner similar to that of all (pretentious) wealthy connoisseurs: he inspects objects, he measures them, he smells (!) them, he values them, he binds and, finally he purchases... two cheap cups that he carries home without the aid of a slave (whom he cannot afford). Once again collection, connoisseurship and related practices are 'read' as signs of pretension and inanity. Although Martial recognizes that Mentor's handiwork made the cups precious (IX.59.16), Mamurra's craving for them seems to his eyes ridiculous. Mamurra is most probably a stereotype; nevertheless, his attitude could not have been foreign to Martial's contemporaries. On the contrary, the choice of this personage by Martial and the assumption that this is a stereotype, are evidence of the routine (for the Romans) that this epigram describes.

Finally, X.80 [T153] is a short presentation of another collector, Eros. He weeps and groans whenever he spots objects he desires, objects finer than usual that he cannot acquire. He wishes he could carry home the whole Saepta. Eros is another stereotype, who would normally attract people's laughter, argues Martial. But he is not just that: as a personage, he is a caricature of a large number of Romans who although laughing at the exterior, in their hearts share the feelings of Eros! Martial is shocked and embarrassed to recognize and record that. The description of the collector makes a couple of interesting points. The name Eros itself, chosen for the collector, refers to the point made before about sexual undertones. Furthermore, Martial criticises not collecting as such, but avarice in terms of the acquisition of material culture. This is the point where Martial's contradictory attitudes to material culture is finally resolved.

The last epigram of the discussion is VII.19 [T145]. Martial aims to improve awareness of, and attract attention to, a piece of wood, part of a vessel, possibly the vessel of the Argonauts. He asserts that despite its old age and fragmentary condition, it is probably more sacred than the unscathed boat. The contradiction here is between the intrinsically precious objects that other connoisseurs and pseudo-connoisseurs appreciate, and the objects of *real* value that Martial does. There is also a contradiction between objects of use and objects of

admiration, which again might be indicative of Martial's own beliefs. Intrinsically precious objects are sought after because they advertise the owner's importance when they are used - the objects we should admire though are of a different, internal and associative value.

Collecting seems to be a common practice for his contemporaries, and Martial, a man of his age, certainly shares the cultural pursuits and aspirations of his era. What estranges him though, and attracts his criticism is the hyperbole related to it. All collectors mentioned, by name or not, share the same assumptions about objects and collections. They all project themselves on them, they all collect these for their intrinsic financial merit, but also for their associative values, in the hope that material culture will ennoble them. The objects are highly desirable as they represent and convey a glorious past, whose virtues and prestige collectors wish to share. The art historical dimension deserves a special reference too, since art appreciation seems quite widespread to people of certain culture and wealth - so much that *nouveaux riches* wish to embrace it as a proof of their newly acquired status. Martial does not disagree with these values in principle. What he criticises is the passion involved in the act of collecting. He appreciates precious and expensive gifts, but he cannot see the point of being enslaved by the appreciation and assemblage of them.

III. Martial's *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*: their relation to collecting.

Book XIV appeared (together with Book XIII) in December 85.[28] It is entitled *Apophoreta*[29] - it contains 223 distichs and describes miscellaneous gifts. The epigrams read like witty descriptive labels, eminently suitable for gifts given at the Saturnalia (Sullivan, 1991: 12). According to Martial's introductory poem of book XIV, the arrangement of the epigrams was intended to present alternately a rich and a poor gift: 'accept those lots, alternately for the rich man and the poor man' (XIV.1.5, trans. by Shackleton-Bailey, 1993). It is alleged, therefore, that the epigrams should be paired with that criterion in mind, and thus scholars, like Birt (1882), Friendländer (1886), and recently Leary (1996), assume textual corrections wherever a textual ordering problem arises. Following this assumption, a gift's value is indicated by its position, or *vice versa*. Other principles of pairing are mentioned by Leary (1996:13): that objects made in identical material, but of different value, are matched; that different gifts with some common element are matched or alternated (e.g. XIV.197-198 where both gifts are animals); and that a poor

gift sometimes complements a rich gift (e.g. a ring is complemented by a ring case, XIV.122-123). Epigrams are also grouped according to subjects: e.g. writing materials (XIV.3-11; 20-1; 37-8), household equipment and tools, books and so on. The important description of artistic productions and literary works are kept together (XIV.170-182; 183-196). In some cases, when the above pattern does not seem to apply, a textual corruption is assumed, and the case is similar when a pair finds itself among other items. Difficulties of interpretation (e.g. XIV.183-196; Leary, 1996: 20) are similarly dealt with. Not all scholars agree with this type of arrangement though. Shackleton-Bailey, for instance, thinks that as the couplets now stand, 'they show only residual traces of Martial's intended arrangement' (1993: 2).[30]

Before we discuss *Apophoreta*, we should consider the social phenomenon, which, together with patronage, give the character and tone in Martial's poetry and provide a tool for its understanding: it is the Roman's passion for gift exchange. Martial fully shares this passion, whose complex sociological roots must be taken into account. Rome, like other ancient and some modern societies - the world of Homeric epics and our Christmas gift exchange, for instance (see also chapter 3) - saw the exchange of goods not just as an economic system, but as a moral transaction, generating and maintaining personal relationships between individuals, divinities and groups. The gift in primitive custom is to be followed by a gift in return. Gifts appear voluntarily, but in fact they are given and repaid under an implicit obligation. The giver, even of something intangible, and the receiver are bound in a sort of contract. Nowhere is this more manifest than in Martial's own epigrams expressing his disappointment at not being rewarded when he has mentioned someone in his work (V.36). Gift-giving is then tied into patronage. By a neat paradox, Martial argues that true return and the safe possession of one's own goods is guaranteed only through generous gift-giving to friends (V.42), somewhat in the spirit of the potlatch (XII.53).

Martial's obsession with gifts, large or small, suitable or unsuitable, generous or stingy, an obsession nowhere more manifest than in *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*, is to be explained then by the moral underpinnings of the exchange of gifts. The greater the estimation that Martial places on his own unique gift, the poetry that bestows contemporary reputation and ultimate immortality, the louder is his insistence on the return due to his friendship and talent, and the greater his demands for the proper observance of the occasions of gift-giving, the Saturnalia, birthdays, anniversaries and so on.[31] Wealth confers honour and power; honour is upheld

only by the distribution of wealth for generous purposes, whereas avarice destroys it. Giving is a moral duty, part of a social contract, hence the praise Martial bestows on the emperor for his gifts to the people, to Rome and to individuals in fulfillment of his sacred duty (Sullivan, 1991: 13-14). What you give away is what you most truly own (V.42), according to Martial (Sullivan, 1991: 121-2).

Among these poems, there is special interest for our research in the inclusion as gifts of items of citrus-wood (XIV.3; XIV.89), of maple tables (XIV.90), of a Corinthian candelabrum (XIV.42), of antique cups (XIV.93) and chased gold bowls made by well known artists like Mys (XIV.95), of crystal cups (XIV.111), murrhine items (XIV.113), ivory tusks (XIV.101) and gemmed chalices (XIV.109).

Apophoreta undoubtedly are related to gift-exchange and thus belong to a long established social tradition. Besides the group of the works of art - which will be discussed later on - other distichs provide information mainly on the rhetoric and vocabulary of value. Hence, exotic and difficult to find material is much appreciated, as for instance in epigrams XIV.3 [T156] (writing tablets of citrus-wood[32]), XIV.89 [T158], XIV.101. Intrinsically worthy material is also appreciated; prominent among this is Corinthian bronze[33] (e.g. XIV.43), silver (e.g. XIV.93 [T161]), *chrysendetae lances*[34] (e.g. XIV.79), and gemmed chalices (e.g. XIV.109 [T163]). But these are not the only values appreciated. The adjectives *antiquus*[35] (XIV.43 [T157]) and *archetypa* (XIV.93 [T161] - see also previous section) which are used to denote 'genuiness' and antiquity - both bear further value related connotations. *Antiquus* can be used to denote origins in the past, but it also has connotations of past simplicity, goodness and thrift. Similarly *archetypa* implies authenticity. This is evidenced also by the reference to ancient Greek masters, like Mentor (XIV.93 [T161]), or Mys (XIV.95 [T162]). The objects' authenticity is further confirmed by defects on them made by their use by the artist before finishing them (IV.39 - also before VIII.6 [T146]). Artistic merit and craftsmanship is also appreciated (IX.59 [T152]; XIV.93 [T161]). Similarly, value by association is quite common. Even when the material is not luxurious or intrinsically worthy, previous ownership of an object aggrandizes its value (e.g. XIV.98; XIV.171 [T166]). Likewise, objects acquire value by association with past glory, as in the case of Arretine ware, which relates to Etruscan ancestry - a source of pride to those who could claim it (Rawson, 1985). Similarly, Martial, when he discusses 'poor' gifts, often implies (with his choice of vocabulary) value relating to old time virtues - e.g. the use of the words

fictilis (clay) indicates old world frugality, old world poverty and accompanying values (XIV.98.2, XIV.171).

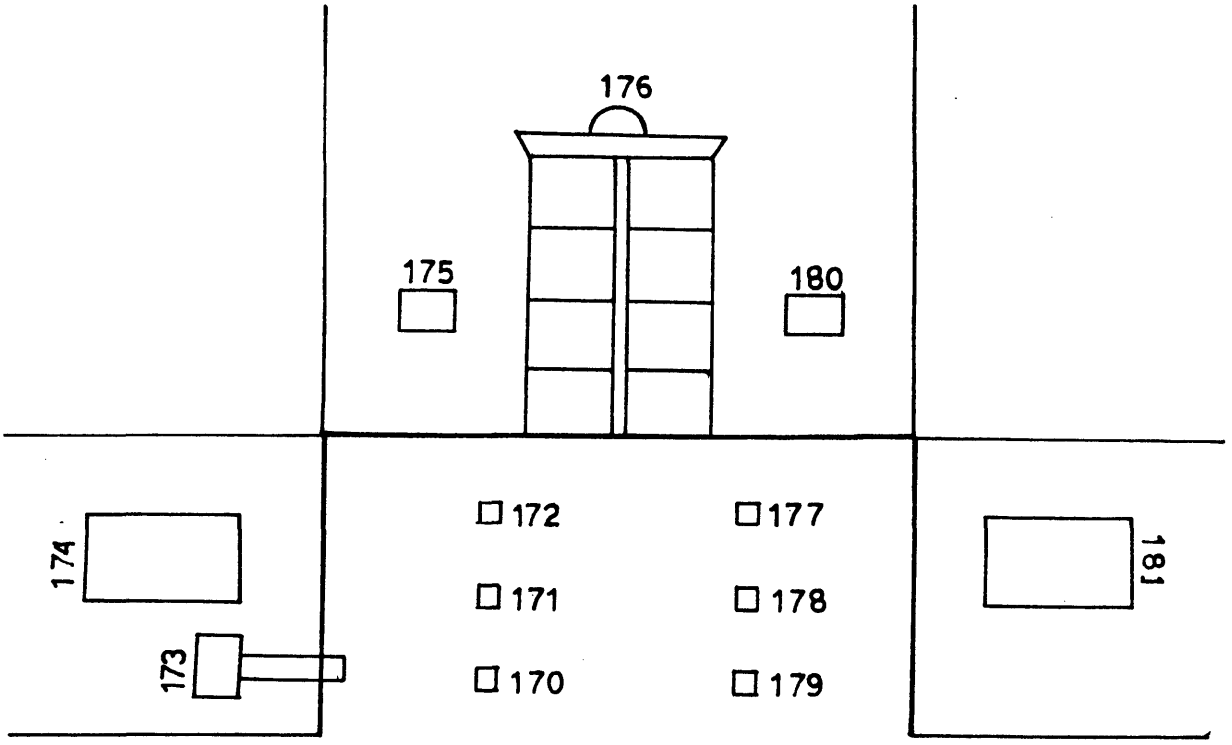
Naturally, the series of objects in the epigrams XIV.170-182 [T166] attracted major attention. There has been an interesting discussion about them. Lehmann (1945) suggested that they actually present a collection held in the temple of Divus Augustus, offered by Tiberius. This 'collection', whether actual or not, included: a golden statue or statuette of Victory,[36] a clay image of Brutus' boy,[37] the lizard slayer in Corinthian bronze,[38] a picture of Hyacinthus,[39] a marble Hermaphroditus,[40] a picture of Danae,[41] a German mask,[42] a Hercules in Corinthian bronze,[43] a Hercules in clay,[44] a Minerva in silver,[45] a picture of Europe,[46] a marble Leander[47] and, finally, a clay statuette of a hunchback.[48]

Lehmann (1945) justifies his thesis with the following arguments. Firstly, his is the first attempt to reconstruct the objects in their comprehensive significance. Although for some of the dictichs, commentators and archaeologists have established some relation with the literary tradition or extant monuments, no one ever before had discussed them in their comprehensive significance. Secondly, this literary assemblage of the works of art cannot but reveal some essential trends about the taste of the period. In order to overcome the limitations imposed by the assumption that the distichs are organised according to their value, so that cheap and expensive ones alternate, Lehmann argues that Martial was a poet, so he did not feel obliged to follow that arrangement throughout; thus he chose to change the order as he was taken over by the subjects. To support this argument, Lehmann refers to the alterations in the order of the epigrams that previous scholars had felt necessary, in order to comply with the alternated arrangement; for instance, because of the changes of Birt (1882) and Friendländer (1886) the whole book collapses, he argues, especially if one considers the last two sections, 170-182 on the works of art and 183-196 on books. Furthermore, Lehmann continues, hypothetical and unfounded assumptions need to be made about the value of the objects. He criticizes Birt and Friendländer particularly for a reason similar to the one for which we could criticize Leary (1996), i.e. the fact that she assumes that pictures are cheaper than sculpture - a fact which is not absolutely justified by the sources of antiquity (Lehmann, 1945: 260).

The third and most powerful argument refers to the authenticity of each of the *objets d' art* that Lehmann assumes. After a detailed discussion of each of the works, during which the

authenticity of each of the pieces is 'proved' or 'not disproved', Lehmann concludes that this was an *actual* collection, on the grounds that at least two of the artefacts were originals (Brutus' boy and Hercules in clay); as far as the others are concerned, there are no arguments against the fact that they were (the) well known originals on display somewhere in Rome. As far as the pieces that are left out of the 'cycle of the originals' (i.e. pictorial relief panels of Hermaphroditus and Leander, as well as the mask) are concerned, Lehmann argues that these are indications of the architectural setting of the collection. Therefore, from the objects of the collection stems the attribution to an original setting: Lehmann suggests that the works of art were displayed in the temple of Divus Augustus, for which we have no actual site and plan; what we know is that the paintings of Hyacinthus and Danae by Nicias were exhibited there (Pliny, *HN* 36.28; 36.131; see also chapter 6). By assuming that both the original pictures are mentioned in Martial's epigrams, Lehmann 'traces' and reconstructs the setting of the collection as well (figure 7.2). The existence of a library, attached to the temple futher supports this thesis, so that Lehmann offers an explanation for the following part as well. Hence, Lehmann's reading works to banish textual corruption completely.

The discussion in its entirety relies on the assumptions made on the originality of the works of art described by Martial. There is no doubt that Lehmann wrote this article in a spirit similar to that of his article on Philostratus *Imagines* (1941); he visualised the text, and offered a hyper-realistic image of a gallery envisioned in detail. In order to do that of course, he had to hypothesize on the value of the objects, to prove them originals. According to the archaeological and museological discourse of his era, a clear distinction should be set between 'valuable' originals as opposed to copies. The latter's deposition in a temple (in a museum) was simply incomprehensible. Lehmann thus used archaeological evidence in order to justify the assumptions he made about the value of these objects. In his article, art history emerged in one of its heroising guises, to 'restore' the fallen works of art. Then they were placed in the only space appropriate for high art, the temple (the museum), where they could be admired by a poet and could offer him inspiration. In a setting wholly designed by an art historical approach, the objects were grouped according to their subjects, and the most prominent position was held by the most prominent (in art historical terms) of the works of art. In other words, Lehmann's reading of the epigrams of Martial aimed to associate literary tradition with historical positivism. Furthermore, as Bryson suggested in the case of the article on Philostratus, Lehmann seemed to underestimate the reader in the sense that he could not see him as a reader 'who can see bizarre connections, who can understand hidden



176: Persona Germana.

75: Danaë picta.
74: Hermaphroditus marmoreus.
73: Hyacinthus in tabula pictus.

172: Sauroctonos Corinthius.
173: Βρούτου παιδίον fictile.
170: Signum Victoriae aureum.

177: Hercules Corinthius.
178: Hercules fictilis.
179: Minerva argentea.

180: Europe picta.
181: Leandros marmoreus.

Figure 7.2: Possible arrangement of a collection in the temple of Divus Augustus (after Lehmann, 1945: 269).

mythic narratives within imagery, who can exercise the visual equivalent of the elaborate verbal dexterity that characterizes Hellenistic poetry' (1994: 282). Furthermore, Lehmann's rationality seemed to render its text unaware of its own dimension as text. 'Opening on to other investments and other scenes than that simply of archaeology and reconstruction, Lehmann's text speaks its own unconscious' (Bryson, 1994: 282-3).

At the other end of the same axis lies Leary's (1996) approach. Sharing the same objective with Lehmann, i.e. to be 'neutral' and objective, Leary uses the same German positivist scholarship which influenced Lehmann, but in a different way. Interestingly, Leary does not mention Lehmann neither in her commentary nor in her introduction - possibly because she sees the role of her book as limited to being a commentary and not an interpretation. Basically, she appreciates the role of gift exchange and provides interesting suggestions, although she does not cross the boundaries which the text imposes on her. She therefore discusses the epigrams on the basis that they are a directory of gifts offered at the Saturnalia, and a literary exercise for Martial. She follows Citroni (1989: 207) in the suggestion that *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* belong to the Saturnalian poetic tradition, but identifies this tradition not with the didactic/mock-didactic verse (as did Citroni), but with the 'catalogue' of gifts, listing presents, as for instance Statius' *Silvae* 4.9. These, usually set in the context of *amicitia*, often would focus on the value of Saturnalian gifts and the extent to which people exchanging them profited or lost. Book XIV therefore reflects the concern of these poems with material value. Furthermore, Leary argues that writing a book of this sort was an intellectual and artistic challenge for Martial, since he would have to strive for variety and interest in order to hold attention to what otherwise would be a boring poem or collection of poems. Last, but not least, Leary acknowledges that the origins of epigram in dedicatory inscriptions might also be responsible for such an attempt, since it would present literary interest to employ received conventions into a new context.

The above explanations are not to be rejected; they provide legitimate answers to many questions and place the epigrams into their context, taking into account all the social dimensions (namely patronage and gift exchange) that we mentioned above. Indeed, Martial's poetry, in its entirety, and *Apophoreta* in particular, focus on *amicitia*, and on the value of the objects, and they do comply with the Saturnalian spirit since they are in the course of making some joke or humorous social comment. Furthermore, the literary challenge was a powerful motive for a poet like Martial and his compliance with literary

tradition certainly was necessary in Roman poetry. Nevertheless, this approach does limit our perception of the epigrams, and underestimates both Martial and his audience in the sense that the epigrams are perceived either as literary exercises, or as a handbook of proper social behaviour. Leary takes the opposite stance to Lehmann. While Lehmann argues for objects' authenticity in order to support his thesis that the objects were 'real', actually seen by the poet, Leary argues for them being reproductions, in order to support her view of them as social and literary conventions.

Martial's professed aim was to describe '*apophoreta*'. It is worth quoting in full the two introductory epigrams of Book XIV, which set the parameters of our discussion:

> 'While the knight and my lord senator rejoice in dinner suits and the wearing of the cup of liberty befits our Jupiter, while the slave as he shakes the dice box does not fear to look at the aedile, though he sees the cold pools so close: *accept these lots, alternately for the rich man and the poor man; let each one give his guest the appropriate prize.* 'They are trash and rubbish and anything worth less than that, if possible.' Who but knows it? Or who denies anything so obvious? But what better have I do in your tipsy days, Saturn, which your son himself gave you in return for the sky? Do you want me to write of Thebes or Troy or wicked Mycenae? 'Play with nuts', you say. But I don't want to lose my nuts.' (XIV.1) (emphasis added).
>
> 'You can finish this book at any place you choose. Every performance is completed in two lines. If you ask why headings are added, I'll tell you: so that, if you prefer, *you may read the headings only*. (XIV.2).' (emphasis added) (trans. Shackleton-Bailey, 1993)

Martial does not state explicitly whether these were real objects, '*apophoreta*' distributed at an actual dinner, or suggestions for gifts or gift-labels accompanying actual gifts. Both approaches discussed above have employed a historicing and positivist stance, in the sense that the objects are categorised as either genuine or reproductions, either an actual collection or figments of imagination, either a poetic creation or the echo of an (actual) social event. It does not take into consideration the fact that they are all of these at the same time. Far from being either actual or literary, this 'collection' was a mixture of reality and imagination with witty aspirations. In Martial's epigrams words and objects melt together. Similarly, ancient traditions of patronage and gift exchange 'meet' in the appreciation of the status-embodied-

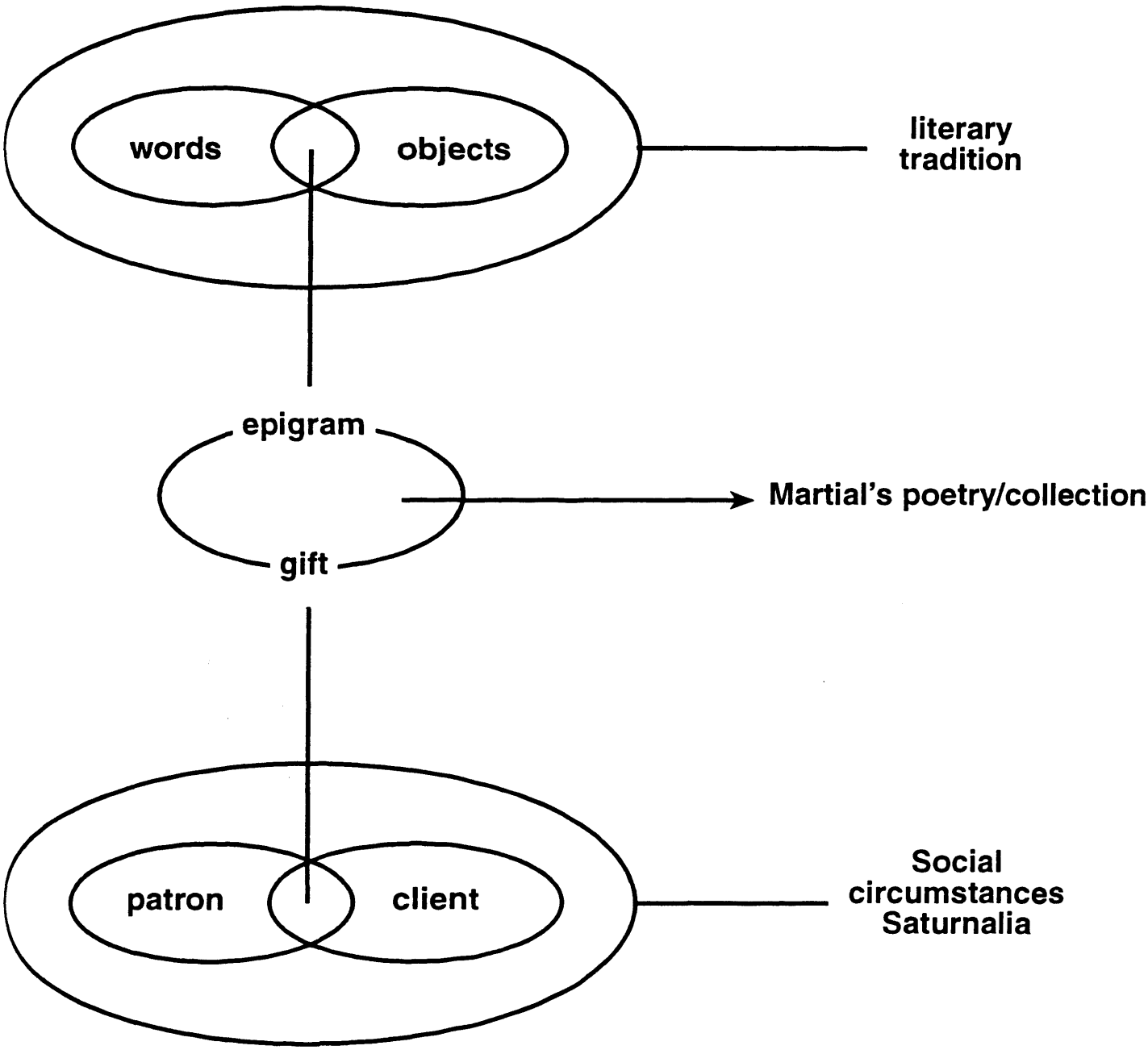


Fig. 7.3: A schematic presentation of Martial's poetic collection

in-the-object, i.e. the gift. So epigram and gift become interchangeable in Martial's poetry - see also his introduction to Book XIII ('you can send these couplets to your guests instead of a gift...' XIII.3). This area of inter-changeability is the area where Martial creates his own 'collection'.

Figure 7.3 is a schematic presentation of Martial's poetic collection, which stands as a bridge between the literary tradition and the social circumstances for which it was produced. The epigram thus resides in the common ground between words and objects as these are accommodated in the literary tradition, and it corresponds to the gift, which in its turn defines the relationship between patron and client. In this regard, Martial's poetry bridges the two realms, and is offered as both a gift and an example of literature. His 'collection' is formulated in the sphere where the real and imaginary, actual and textual, literary and social meet, so that in an ideal context these are interchangeable and equally valuable. An epigram is good enough as a gift in social circumstances, and a gift can become the area where words and objects meet. In addition, this is a sphere that transcends the limits of natural destruction, since literature is a exercise in immortality; a collection of gifts-in-words, therefore, is the ideal arrangement, that would eternalise the social circumstances, the poet and the patron.

Thus we can assume that Pliny describes objects he sees around him, maybe actual collections, maybe not, while he looks for inspiration, expressing at the same time his wishes about how an actual gift exchange should ideally be. Consequently, 'the collection' is neither real, nor fictitious, and as such it belongs to another sphere. Martial 'assembles' his own collection, selecting from among the objects he can afford (the literary ones), and he formulates it the way he desires it to be: with objects important for some reason, even intrinsically cheap ones, but with associative values, that bring the real and the ideal together.

IV. Conclusions.

In all epigrams Martial uses stereotypes. This, by the definition of 'stereotype', favours the assumption that he refers to practices and beliefs widespread in the Rome of his era. Martial's personal agreement with these practices is not obligatory and does not alter their

actuality. There is a contradiction in Martial's approach. On the one hand, he appeals for gifts, explicitly recognizes the enhanced value of objects for their artistic quality (this may be a literary convention up to a point, but the choice of this particular genre cannot be absolutely coincidental and might reveal something about Martial's own interests), and recognizes that objects can be bearers of valuation, personal appreciation, esteem and recognition.

On the other hand, he seems to discourage *nouveaux riches* from believing that objects could transform their ignorance, pretentiousness and vulgarity to refinement, 'purity' and, ultimately, could usher in the ideal self. All the collectors he discusses are unworthy and frivolous. Among their vices he includes ignorance, pretentiousness, inability to behave properly, avarice and the passion for collecting. Consequently, and although he seems to share the belief in the objects/collections' capacity to convey the values of their owners, he cynically and relentlessly denies that this could happen the other way round. The objects then are passive bearers of virtues, but not active transmitters of them.

His contradictory approach can be interpreted in two ways (not necessarilly mutually exclusive): it may be that Martial follows the tradition of the early Roman world, when actual appreciation of art and 'dependence' on it was something to be blamed for and no boast of, a sign of contemptible effeminacy and extravagance. Cicero is a good example of such a two-sided approach. On the other hand, it should be taken into account that Romans reserved a special appreciation for what was considered 'appropriate' (*prepon*). In this sense, although it was appropriate for a cultivated man - and a man of means - to own precious works of art and luxurious items, it was not appropriate for him to 'depend' on them, to exaggerate, to be passionately involved in their appreciation. This motif occurs quite often in the epigrams presented above.

On the other hand, and mainly through *Apophoreta*, Martial seems very much concerned with gifts and objects. All those he mentions have some intrinsic or other quality. In the *Apophoreta*, more than anywhere else in his work, though, the social aspect of material culture acquires predominance. No matter whether *Apophoreta* were actually 'apophoreta', labels or gifts exchanged, no matter if they were constructions of the imagination or a handbook of proper social practice, it makes two very interesting points, relating to two practices constantly at the forefront of collecting: the social practice of patronage, and the

practice of gift exchange. Martial explicitly asserts that giving is the only way of having, revealing the confirmation of a tradition very much in the spirit of the potlatch with all its connotations. Martial also seems to adumbrate collecting 'proper', as this is defined in the following paragraph by Baudrillard (1994):

> 'Collecting proper emerges at first with an orientation to the cultural: it aspires to discriminate between objects, privileging those which have some exchange value or which are also 'objects' of conservation, of commerce, *of social ritual, of display*- possibly which are even a source of profit. *Such objects are always associated with human projects*. While ceaselessly referring to one another, they admit within their orbit the external dimension of social and human intercourse' (1994: 22) (emphasis added).

Martial's poetry is an indirect rephrasing of the above paragraph and provides not only an insight into similar practices and beliefs, but also forms the ideology projected. If we add to that the extraordinary and, indeed, unique appeal of Martial's poetry to the men of the Renaissance and onwards,[49] his influence in the shaping of collecting becomes more obvious.

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[1] For the history of literary epigram see e.g. Dihle (1994: 121-126); according to Dihle, literary epigram goes back to the eighth century BCE, when it became a habit for the Greeks to use verse inscriptions on graves and on buildings consecrated to gods, and also on those marking the origin or destination of diverse kinds of man-made objects; the next step was taken in the fourth century BCE, when fictitious funeral or consecrational inscriptions were written for a reading public. The Hellenistic age brought *epigramma* at the first rate of literary expression; we have epigrams from nearly all the major poets of Hellenism. About Martial's role in the development of the literary genre of epigram, see Laurens (1980).

[2] No other literary genre ever had such a long and unbroken tradition as that of the epigram; on the Greek side, that tradition included the entire Byzantine era. As early as 70 BCE, the epigrammatic poet Meleager from Gadara in Syria put together a large collection of older and contemporary epigrams in alphabetical order, including of course his own works. Around 40 CE the poet Philippus of Thessalonica adopted this collection, adding some more recent specimens. The collection edited by Agathias around 50 CE had a similar genesis but it grouped the epigrams according to the subject matter; that collection was in turn adopted and enlarged around 900 CE by Constantius Cephalas. The latter collection, complemented by an anthology of non-epigrammatic poetry from the late classical and the early Byzantine ages, is presumably what we have in the famous *Anthologia Palatina (AP),* a codex from the tenth century, one half of which is kept on Heidelberg and the other half in Paris. One later compilation, though largely identical in content, was written by Maximus Planudes around 1300 CE; in his collection features an appendix with four hundred poems which are missing in the *AP* (Dihle, 1994: 123).

[3] For the dates of *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* see discussion and notes below.

[4] Marcus Valerius Martialis was born in March 38 CE to 41 in the ancient Celtiberian town of Bilbilis, in Hispania Tarraconensis. Although not the offspring of a wealthy family, he received a good education. About 63-4 CE (i.e. the last days of Nero) he came to Rome and attached himself to his countrymen Quintillien, Lucan and Senecas, who were influential poets (although not on very good terms with Nero). Martial was established in imperial favour with the Flavians, and he became an honorary military tribune, which gave him equestrian

status, to which accrued the minimum property qualification of an equestrian, 400,000 sesterces (Pliny, *HN* 33.32). He had been practicing the vocation of poet as well as client. He never married (see Sullivan, 1991: 25-6). Martial retired and died in Bilbilis; his attitude to his birth place changed from idealization to disappointment. Nevertheless, his nostalgic pride in his native town and indeed in his whole Celtiberian ancestry is a recurrent theme in his epigrams (Ker, 1919: vii; Sullivan, 1991:1). About Martial's life see also Bramble (1982), and for an detailed bibliography, see Szelest (1986).

[5] Probably Canonius Rufus of Bononia (III.82; III.94) (Sullivan, 1991: 30).

[6] Among them the writer Silius Italicus; their relationship was to be continued even after Silius' retirement in Campania (see IV.14).

[7] An interesting commentary of that book was published recently; see Grewing, 1997.

[8] On Martial's relation to the emperor Domitian as well as a detailed analysis of his literary production in the socio-cultural circumstances see Sullivan (1991: 1-52).

[9] See Sullivan (1991):116-129; Saller (1983); Wallace-Hadrill (1989); Gold (1982); White (1978).

[10] On the vocabulary of the institution of patronage, see note 9.

[11] Martial did not have any illusions about the restoration of the Republic. He was satisfied with the imperial regime as long as the ruler corresponded with the general Stoic idea of kingship: a ruler with mercy, foresight and other kingly virtues, who took good care of his subjects and his clients. It was through this system that Martial had risen to the equestrian status and enjoyed the imperial favour that this secured (Sullivan, 1991: 129).

[12] See, for instance, Saller (1982) and White (1978).

[13] Similar ideas about value of objects see XIV.98 and others; also discussion below.

[14] This is quite a common subject for Roman literature (cf. IV.68; X.80; Pliny, *HN*, 37.8).

[15] Shackleton-Bailey suggests in his comments accompanying his translation in Loeb (1993) that there is a problem with this poem, since although the cup must have been a gift after a banquet at Istantius' house, Martial is in his house as vv. 23-26 seem to suggest and he is the 'master' of v.18, though that verse better suits a wealthy patron. No matter what the circumstances are, his relation to the object remains the same.

[16] 'The cup was not made of gold and silver like genuine electrum, but of silver and some sort of bronze' (Shackleton-Bailey, 1993).

[17] See also discussion about Cicero; it had to do first with what they considered appropriate, or not - collecting was reasonable, passion was not - and second with the relation to Greek works of art and current political circumstances.

[18] Paintings: I.102; I.109.18-23; IV.47; V.40; VII.84; IX.74; IX.76; X.32; XI.9; V.55; Sculpture: VI.13; VII.15; IX.23; 24; 64; 65. cf. VII.44 and 45 (death mask) - about antiques see II.77; III.35; 40; IV.39; VI.92; VIII.6; 34; 50; IX.43; 44; X.87.15-16; 89. cf. IV.47; VII.11; XII.69. This complies with the Hellenistic tradition of *ekphrasis*, which is descriptions of works of art (for *ekphrasis*, see chapter 8).

[19] The term '*epitrapezius*' (on the table) probably refers to the small scale of the statue, 'it was made to be put on the table' (see Bartman, 1984).

[20] The chain of owners included generals who plundered many famous works of art from the artistic capitals of Greece and the East (see Pape, 1975).

[21] Objects that once belonged to a famous person were highly desirable and their previous owners are often mentioned. Friendländer (1886) and Wissowa (*RE*, II 331-2) cite several examples, including Caracalla's claim to having drinking vessels and weapons that once belonged to Alexander the Great (Cassius Dio, 72.7.1).

[22] *archetypus, -a, -um* (adjective): means taken from life, original, genuine. OLD (I) 163.

[23] *habeo, -ui, -itum, -ere* (verb): means to possess, to own, see OLD (I) 780-782.

[24] OLD 1968 (1), 373: 'to collect, secure, merchandise, to purchase, buy; (of a connoisseur) to 'collect'.

[25] OLD (II) 1248-9: *omnus, -a, -um:* means every single thing, all things.

[26] *solus, -a, -um:* means sole, exclusive, with no equal, unique; see OLD (II) 1789.

[27] *verus, -a, -um:* means real, genuine, authentic; see OLD (II) 2046-7

[28] Whether the traditional date for both books in 84/5, which became standard after Friendländer (1886), is correct or not, see the discussion in Leary (1996: 9-12), where the arguments of other scholars are summarised.

[29] MS evidence cited by Friendländer (1886: 17) makes it plain that the title '*Apophoreta*' was Martial's intended title. Initially employed for food given to guests to take home after dinner, 'apophoreta' came to apply by extension to non-edible gifts associated with dinners, an adherence to gifts of all kinds, whether given at meal times or not (Leary, 1996: 9).

[30] Leary (1996:13) finds this too extreme.

[31] He may also joke about it, cf. XII.6.

[32] Citrus-wood tablets were exceptionally valued since the tree it comes from seldom grew large enough for its wood to make a table-top. The base of a citrus-wood table invariably was ivory. The writing tablets of the epigram derive their value from the fact that the wood from which they were made was originally suitable for table-tops, but instead had been cut, extravagantly, into small thin leaves (Leary, 1996: 58-9).

[33] Corinthian bronze was famous in antiquity and was nearly as costly as gold (Pliny,*HN,* 34.1; Petronius, 50.2, Cicero, *ad Att.* 2.1.11; Martial IX.59; XIV.172; 177). Pliny identifies three varieties (*HN,* 34.8) that in which the main ingredient was silver, that in which the main ingredient was gold, and that containing a blend of metals in equal proportions. He tells of how (*HN,* 34.6) it was first produced by accident when Corinth was sacked by Rome; for further discussion, see Emanuele, 1989, where also a list of all ancient references to Corinthian bronze.

[34] *Chrysendetae* (XIV.97) seem to have been silver dishes with gold inlay. Whenever Martial mentions them, it is in the context of wealth and ostentation. The *lanx* was a serving dish, usually fine and of precious metal (those at Martial IV.15.4 are very valuable) but sometimes also of clay or glass. *Lances* appear to have been common Saturnalian gifts (Leary, 1996: 158-9).)

[35] cf. OLD s.v. *antiquus* paragraph 6a.

[36] Martial relates this to the victories of Domitian in Germany. Leary believes that this was a *sigilla* and she argues that extant examples of golden Victory *sigilla* are scarce. (Leary, 1996: 231). Lehmann, on the other hand, believes that it could be a Roman or earlier Greek work (Lehmann, 1945: 261).

[37] 'Brutus' boy' was a clay statuette; it has been recognised that the figure is identical to a work which Pliny mentions and which was greatly admired by Brutus. It was made by Strongylion in the 4th century BCE (Pliny *HN,* 34.82, Martial II.77.4; IX.50.5-6). No copies of Strongylion's statue survive today. The statue mentioned here was taken to be the original one by Lehmann (1945: 261), whereas Leary (1996: 232) suggests that it would have been a copy replica. Her argument relies on the assertion '*gloria...non est obscura*' which, together with the pentameter, she believes to indicate that its value was not intrinsic but derived from Brutus' association (about value by association, see also XIV.98).

[38] *Sauroctonos Corinthius* was a work by Praxiteles, in bronze, representing the young Apollo, arrow in hand, about to stab a lizard. Also described by Pliny, *HN,* 34.70 (Leary, 1996: 233). The statue Martial describes has been widely accepted to be a copy, see Lehmann, 1945: 262, and previous bibliography in note 16.

[39] Hyacinthus was represented dying after having been hit by the discuss thrown by Apollo. A connection might exist between this picture (or relief) here and a famous picture of Nicias (see Pliny, *HN*,. 35.130). This was taken to Rome by Augustus after the fall of Alexandria (Leary, 1996: 235) and held in the Temple of Divus Augustus (Pausanias, III.19.4). According to Lehmann, Martial here refers to the original (1945: 262).

[40] Hermaphroditus is in marble - possibly a relief. It refers to the metamorphosis of Hermaphroditus that resulted from his love with the nymph of the fountain Salmakis (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV. 285-389).

[41] Since *'in tabula'* is not specified (as in XIV.173) it is possible that we have here not a painting but a coloured statue (for such *sigillaria*, see Leary, 1996: introd.). If a painting, the work could well be associated with Artemon's famous picture, as Ker (1919) argues (Pliny *HN*,. 35.139) or a picture by Nicias, as Lehmann believes, also mentioned by Pliny (*HN*, 35.131). Whether statue or painting, the gift appears cheap after the expensive Hermaphroditus, according to Leary (1996:237). Lehmann believes this to be the original, removed from Alexandria by Augustus, and corresponding to the other famous painting by Nicias, held in the same temple (1945: 263).

[42] Birt (1882) has argued that an epigram describing an expensive gift has fallen out between XIV.175-6. This view is also adopted by Leary (1996: 237). Lehmann (1945: 263) solves the problem by taking it as having a decorative function.

[43] There are various Hellenistic and Roman works of this kind. Lehmann argues that this epigram could refer to either a bronze copy of any of those or to an original held in Temple of Divus Augustus (1945: 263-4).

[44] Possibly a replica of Hercules *fictilis* made by Vulca in the time of Tarquinius Priscus. *Fragilis* does not necessarily indicate absence of value, but does so here given that it describes pottery. Again, value by association with an important figure is claimed for another earthenware gift (XIV.98). If the great Hercules is not ashamed to be called *fictilis* and to be a cheap *sigillum*, the recipient of such a gift should also be happy (Leary, 1996:240-1). Lehmann (1945: 264), on the other hand, suggests that this was the original, on the grounds of it coming in the same idiomatic form used for the Brutus' παιδιον, and on the lack of any serious argument against that.

[45] This epigram is part of a poetic tradition of dialogue exchanges between artwork and viewer; see Lausberg (1982: 206-7) for discussion.

[46] This 'poor' epigram describes either a statue (Leary), or a picture (Lehmann 1945: 264). It relates to XIV.175, both questioning Zeus/Jupiter's course of action when dealing with mortal women. Europa featured frequently in art. For instance, there was a famous picture by Antiphilus in the porticus Pompei (*HN*, 35.114). From Martial we learn of another representation, be it picture or statue, which seems to have been near the Saepta Julia in the Campus Martius (see Martial II.14; III.20.12; XI.1.11) (Leary, 1996: 243).

[47] *Marmoreus* identifies this Leander as a rich man's gift. Lausberg (1982: 204) thinks in terms of a marble relief, which would allow for easier depiction of a drawing swimmer than would a statue and would accord with the painted tablet of XIV.173 (Leary, 1996: 244).

[48] Hunchbacks were considered ugly and in consequence had the same appeal as dwarfs to Romans, most of whom delighted in grotesqueness,. Statues of monstrosities were no doubt commonly given as Saturnalian gifts - although Mohler (1927/1928) suggests that this gift might had been suitable for a child (Leary, 1996: 245).

[49] For a discussion of Martial's influence on Winkelmann, for instance, see Closa Farres, 1987.

CHAPTER EIGHT

'LUXURY IS NOT FOR EVERYBODY': COLLECTING AS A MEANS OF SHARING CULTURAL AND SOCIAL IDENTITY

When the ex-consul Titus Petronius was facing death, he broke, to spite Nero, a murrhine dipper that had cost him 300,000 sesterces, thereby depriving the Emperor' dining-room table of this legacy.

(Pliny, *HN*, 37.vii.20)[1]

I. Introduction.

Satyrica is an ironic, sarcastic and self-reflective response to the cultural ambience of the reign of Nero. Through the distorting mirror of irony and satire, Petronius reflects not only on the culture of his era, but also on the standard responses toward this culture. Having an insight in the life of the court, but without being an indispensable member of it,[2] Petronius addresses his work to an intellectual elite, who would share his sense of humor and cultural refinement, evident throughout *Satyrica*. Whether his stance was critical, didactic, and ultimately moralising, or merely self-indulgent cannot be safely concluded. Alternative readings have favoured different interpretations of both the author's intentions and his success in accomplishing them.[3] Discussions usually involve the scale of the book, its structure and plot, along with its genre and style, while even the author's name and date of the book's composition have been subject to dispute.[4]

If we can name the author with relative certainty, it is due to a growing consensus among scholars who identify the author Petronius Arbiter with T. Petronius Niger,[5] Nero's *'elegantiae arbiter'*, whom Tacitus[6] (*Annals*, 16.18) describes as a connoisseur, 'the finished artist of extravagance' (Jackson, 1951). The references to contemporary figures, allusions to court events, features of daily life, the economic and social indications offered

by the book, the legal arguments and the literary connections with the younger Seneca and Lucan make this Neronian date highly probable (Walsh, 1996: xiii). Therefore, the work's composition dates to Nero's reign, between 66 CE to 65 CE,[7] and its dramatic setting, possibly, slightly earlier.[8]

The rewards for including this work in our enquiry are evident immediately. Besides its difficulties, briefly outlined above and pursued in greater detail in the second part of this chapter, *Satyrica* maybe more than any other work, offers an indispensable insight into Neronian society and its relation to material culture and collecting. At a primary level, it makes practicalities concerning collecting and material culture evident: the extent to which these phenomena are common is exemplified by the portrait of a collector, Trimalchio, and inclusion of the picture-gallery among the central institutions of the Roman world, where action takes place. At a secondary level, interpretations of how Petronius' contemporaries viewed their relation to material culture and art, and of how they constructed their identity in relation to it, are also available to the scholar. At a tertiary level, finally, the narrator's and Petronius' personal appreciation and 'reading' of these attitudes, along with the interaction of these with social reality can also be deduced.

Before we proceed to the analysis of Petronius' and his contemporaries' views on collecting, we will explore briefly some of the issues we may encounter during our attempt. In particular, we will consider the genre to which *Satyrica* belongs, how it reflects the author's stance, how distanced the work is from social reality and, finally, what are the conditions for our 'recovery' of it.

Having set the framework which relies on hermeneutical discourses developed so far, we are going to discuss Petronius' and his society's relation to material culture, as this is illustrated in ten central and several other minor passages from *Satyrica*.[9] Instead of attempting to understand or put Petronius' ideas about art in an art historical context (e.g. Slater, 1987; Elsner, 1993), the present discussion takes a rather different perspective and considers the material aspect of it. Trimalchio, the central figure of the extant work, is surrounded by objects: lavish, expensive, vulgar, they follow the latest trends, but also his personal obsessions. The questions that arise then are: what exactly is Trimalchio's relation with his objects, how do they shape his connection to the world, what sort of identity does he hope to acquire through them, where does this expectation stems from, what are the symbolic

dimensions of it, and whether we can talk about structuring his life through the collection, or not?.

The incident in *pinacotheca* (paragraph 83ff) needs to be studied in a similar light. Although the existence of *pinacothecae* is well attested in the Roman world (see discussion below) there has been little, if any, consideration of the reasons it was considered necessary to build and hold collections of *pinakes*, whether they were actually collections of objects or images (and what is the difference), what changes between the sacred and the secular this meant for the objects, what was the difference between collections held in temples and public *pinacothecae* and those held in houses, and finally, what conclusions, if any, concerning issues of display and taxonomy we can extract from their study.

II. The literary character of *Satyrica*.

The title *Satyrica*, commonly also known as *Satyricon,*[10] corresponds to titles such as *Milesiaca* (Milesian tales) and *Poimenica* (shepherd's stories) and thus suggests affinities with the Greek romantic novel, a genre already established in Petronius' times. It means 'satyr stories' or 'a recital of lecherous happenings' - as more freely translated by Walsh (1996: xv).[11] Naturally, the work has nothing to do with the satyrs of Greek mythology, but the title is quite appropriate for a tale about lecherous rogues. The word *Satyrica* is ambivalent: it may have recalled the word *satura* (a medley), similar in sound but not in meaning, and in this sense it could have been a pun suggesting a satirical purpose.[12] At one time it was generally conceded that the *Satyrica* was an example of Menippean satire, mainly because of the formal feature of this alternative convention of satire, i.e. *prosimetrum* (the mixture of prose and verse in the same genre). Recently published papyrus fragments (Parsons, 1974; Henrichs, 1982) have complicated the issue, since they demonstrated that a mixture of prose and verse was also possible in the Greek novel.[13]

There is no need to go into the connection between *Satyrica* and satire: the satiric element is evident throughout the work, not only in the subject matter - the various ordeals that a couple of aged pederasts go through - but also in characterisation and in the employment of parody. On the other hand, though, *Satyrica* is something less than a full satire, since Petronius does not follow the full path of satirists, in other words, he does not attempt the

stance of protest, denunciation and preaching. Nevertheless, the work is fully dominated by parody and irony (Conte, 1994b: 463). Unlike the satiric conventions, the tale is told not by Petronius himself, or his rhetoric *persona*, who thus would grasp the opportunity to express his own views on the subjects he discusses; on the contrary, the tale is told by Encolpius, a man who besides being the narrator is also an active participant in roguery. Although, in some cases it is quite probable that Encolpius expresses Petronius' own disdain at the events (e.g. at Trimalchio's dinner party he is appalled and amazed), at other times his behaviour and attitudes are equally contemptuous.[14] In other words, Petronius' personal opinion, filtered through an actively involved narrator, is granted or withheld, but overall it remains enigmatic (Coffey, 1989: 186-187; Horsfall, 1989: 75; Conte, 1996).[15]

The 'quest for the genre'[16] approach to *Satyrica* is not dictated merely by a philological interest; it also relates to its interpretation. The author's intentions (if we agree to pursue this line of thought) along with the work's realism, largely depend on (or can be facilitated by) a clear attribution of the work to one literary genre. Unfortunately though, such an attribution seems impossible. Audience-oriented criticism (Slater, 1990:18) maintains that *Satyrica* was a puzzle even to its contemporary Roman reader, who would not have been able to say whether *Satyrica* was a Menippean satire, a comic novel, or something else. There is no point in trying to argue in favour of one genre or the other. *Satyrica* is very much indebted to both the novel and the satire, yet in its complexity and richness of effects it transcends both traditions (Conte, 1994b: 462; 1996). It is a long narrative, enriched with ironic and self-reflective contrasts, evident in both the style and tone of the prose as well as in the verse parts. Consequently, it provides the reader with a response toward contemporary culture, a way of looking at things (material and immaterial); it responds not only to the culture itself, but also to other possible responses to this culture. The irony is directed toward life and its delusions, but it is also directed toward literature, the models it proposes, and the work itself.[17]

There seems to be no doubt that Petronius selects his satirical targets among features of his contemporary society.[18] He pays close attention to realistic details. He ridicules, exaggerates, frowns, inflates, but does not fundamentally misrepresent that part of the Roman cultural life he had decided to explore (Horsfall, 1989: 76; Walsh, 1996: xxvii). In *Cena Trimalchionis* in particular - but also during the description of other characteristic places and characters of the Roman realm - we are allowed to explore the world as

representing a novelist's construction, which actually *did* exist. The cultural world of *Satyrica* must, therefore, rest on realistically conceived detail and cannot be mere fantasy (Horsfall, 1989: 76). Trimalchio - who is at the centre of the extant work and for this reason offers the most detailed picture of the author's intentions - is a clear combination of the two kinds of experience succesfully combined by Petronius' creative imagination: the observation of the real world and literary reminiscence. Petronius' characters are recognisable from other sources types of their era and their portraits incorporate the attitudes and mannerisms of living figures. Besides the *nouveaux riches* and the other Roman types Petronius had encountered in the flesh, we find parallels too with the main and subordinate characters of the plot in Seneca (e.g. portrait of Calvisius Sabinus in *Epist.* 27.6), Horace's host Nasidienus (*Sat.* 2.8), or Theophrastus' *Characters.* These melt together with descriptions matched by archaeological evidence (e.g. parallels of the picture of the dog described in paragraph 29 discussed below have been found in Pompeii) and evidence provided by other contemporary writers (e.g. certain characteristics of Trimalchio correspond to Suetonius' Nero). In this sense, therefore, it has been argued that the work of Petronius has

> 'collected, reinterpreted and parodied all the literary genres and cultural myths of his day (Homer and Virgil, tragedy, elegy, history and philosophy), as well as popular literature (sentimental novels, short stories, mimes, declamations, and sensational tales of witches, magic and werewolves). Petronius may be studied as a shrewd depicter of customs and also as the author of a kind of literary encyclopedia of Imperial Rome' (Conte, 1994b: 464; also see Griffin, 1984: 152-3; Walsh, 1996: xxivff).

Those who favour the satiric aspect of *Satyrica* are mainly those willing to argue for a moralizing intent behind its writing. Epicurean credentials have been established for Petronius (e.g. Raith, 1963). Among the most elaborate attempts to justify such an approach we find Highet (1941), Bacon (1958) and Arrowsmith (1966) - although they do not agree on the model of moral attitudes they advocate for Petronius. In his paper, Highet (1941) argued that Petronius was an Epicurean, but not the debased Roman type of Epicurean; he did not regard philosophy of the garden as justification for tasteful self-indulgence and the pursuit of such pleasures as one felt appropriate. He believed that violent pleasures were to be avoided, like politics, in the interest of *ataraxia* (the freedom from violent passions), the contentment that Epicurus himself and true Epicureans are thought to have advocated and found (also

Sullivan, 1985a: 1671). Bacon accepted that Petronius' conscious criticism of his corrupt society has a fundamental gaiety; however, she argued that behind that gaiety lies a 'deep, searching analysis of the death-throes of Classical Romanitas' (1958: 276), for Petronius is the last classical author where a firm moral ethos underlies the prose. Arrowsmith (1966), on the other hand, takes the stance that *Satyrica* is a sophisticated Epicurean satire against the vision of satiety and *luxuria* as a description of an entire culture.

> 'Petronius believes that perversion and also impotence are typical symptoms of a luxurious and unnatural society... As constipation stands to food, so impotence stands to sexuality; both are products of *luxuria* in a society which has forgotten its cultural modalities and which cannot recover life, except by Epicurean *askesis* - by rediscovering the sense of true need, of necessary economy, in pleasure...' (Arrowsmith, 1966: 127).

On the other hand, the novel-approach seems to favour the 'entertainment version', which argues that *Satyrica* was an intellectual game, written for the amusement of the Neronian literary circle; 'it pandered to the tastes and snobbisms of that group; and relied on its literary sophistication for appreciation. When morality lifts is head, in the *Satyrica* it turns out to be a parody of moralizing, whose implications are properly "placed" by contextual irony' (Sullivan, 1985a: 1686). Central among the counter arguments[19] against the moralistic view is that the plot of *Satyrica* is disorganised and arranged so as to depict the author's sense of the world as irrational, confused and illusory (see also Zeitlin, 1971: 676ff). Although this seems quite an accurate analysis of Petronius' outlook on the world, it still remains to consider whether this attempt was seriously undertaken, or it was simply *un jeu d' esprit.* Internal evidence regarding the tone in which the book is written, along with the brief biography by Tacitus, strongly support the latter (Walsh, 1970: 79-80; also 1974).

III. *Cena Trimalchionis*: dinner at the house of a (not-very-original) collector.

Cena Trimalchionis is a critical description of a pretentious dinner party and thus belongs unmistakably to the tradition of Roman satire. But it is also indebted to Greek descriptions of feasting and the symposium (e.g. Plato's and Xenophon's *Symposia* were the setting for philosophical discussion) (Coffey, 1989: 187-188). In the Roman satiric tradition, which Petronius selects to follow, the host characteristically appears as a boorish figure

condescending to his intellectually superior guests and humiliating his freedmen by serving them with inferior food and wine (e.g. Juvenal *Sat.* 5, Martial, III.60). Trimalchio, then, is described deliberately to evoke the themes recognizable from the Roman satire. But he is also more than that. Trimalchio is a rich creation in whom Petronius achieves a synthesis of the traditional portrayal of the unrefined, arrogant master and the contemporary freedman of substantial wealth - that is between the vulgar man in Theophrastus and Horace, and the vulgar man of Petronius' own observation; in short, Trimalchio is a combination of the literary and the observed (Walsh, 1970).[20] From this synthesis, Petronius created a portrait underlining three features that particularly offended him in his contemporary society: the vulgar abuse of wealth, evident in both the boorish behaviour at the dinner and the contemptuous treatment of the slaves, the pretentious claims to learning, and the superstition that dominates his thought. These criticisms make it possible to see that Petronius proclaims the opposites of the above, in other words: social refinement, literary taste and a rational attitude toward life and death (Walsh, 1974: 187; also in Walsh, 1996: xxvii-xxxiii).

These values (or anti-values) are evident immediately as Encolpius enters Trimalchio's house. In paragraph 29 [T167], the hero-narrator comes across the first symbols of Trimalchio's vulgarity: the depiction of a dog on a chain, with the subscription *'Cave canem'*, probably quite popular during Petronius' time (cf. the House of the Tragic Poet, and the House of Paquio Proculo, Pompeii),[21] but hardly the essence of elegance. Interestingly, Encolpius is deceived by the dog-mural. The colonnade inside the front door is decorated with more frescoes, or picture-panels, depicting scenes from Trimalchio's own life (as was evident from the inscriptions identifying the participants), as well as from the *Odyssey*, the *Iliad* and *Laenas Gladiatorial Games;* these are explained by one of Trimalchio's slaves. The scenes were indebted to the mythological tradition, and Trimalchio was shown accompanied by his gods-protectors, Mercury, Minerva and Fortune. In the corner, Encolpius also notices a large cupboard-*lararium*, where Trimalchio kept silver house-gods (*Lares*) and a marble image of Venus, along with a golden casket containing his first beard. The *depositio barbae*, marking the transition to manhood, was a solemn occasion for Romans, but not for an ex-slave from Asia. Some scholars (e.g. Walsh, 1996: 163) have supposed that Petronius is drawing a parallel here with Nero, whose first shaving-hair was likewise enclosed in a golden casket (Suetonius, *Nero* 12).

This interesting assemblage of artefacts is used by Petronius as a clever refinement of his techniques of characterisation (Walsh, 1970: 118). More thorough and effective than a simple descriptive characterisation, this 'leaves the facts, rather the objects, to speak for themselves' - and their owner. Objects usually found in public, sacred places are in this case deposited in a private, self-indulgent environment - to shape the owners' self-indulgent identity. They are curiosities - the beard especially of a sort that could very easily be called fetishistic in other contexts - with a symbolic and sentimental value: relics from the past, a status-symbol for the future, and so stand for their vulgar owner.

Paragraph 31 [T168] is an example of the objects that Trimalchio held dear. The statue of a donkey (Corinthian bronze, of course), is used to serve olives for the *hors d' oeuvre* to the diners, and there are two silver dishes that bear Trimalchio's name and their weight[22] inscribed on them! The fact that Trimalchio appreciates Corinthian artefacts does not come as a surprise: collecting these was far from being uncommon during the period. Trimalchio uses the objects he praises to display his wealth and refinement. But he does not consider the mere existence of them prominent enough and thus he adds to their intrinsic value two more indications: the inscription of their weight and of his name!

Paragraphs 32-33 [T169] also discuss personal - although not strictly speaking collected - objects and their use as status symbols. Not only is Trimalchio the owner of important and precious artefacts, but he uses them to display his wealth and social position on every possible occasion. In a way, he uses them to 'forge' his social status. He wears a gilded ring (only equestrians of free birth were allowed to wear gold rings), whereas his other, gold, ring is hidden by iron stars (which make it an amulet, i.e. a mark of his superstition). His golden bracelet is another feature shared with Nero (Suetonius, *Nero* 6). It is a further mark of a man of low taste to have no regard for the value of his possessions (Walsh, 1970: 119). The most trivial and mean of utensils - here a quill, in other paragraphs a chamber pot (27.3), a dish for foot-ointment (70.8), a bird-cage (29.1) - are made of precious metals. Similarly, in paragraph 34 [T170], when a silver dish accidentally dropped on the floor and is swept away with the debris, the slave who tried to save it, is punished.[23] The motif is the same throughout. Silver objects with intrinsic financial value are not important to Trimalchio because he is sensationally wealthy! Hence, Petronius satirizes the *nouveau riche* of his era, who appreciates only financial value and lacks those qualities, like refinement and education, to appreciate and share other values as well.

Trimalchio owns two libraries - one Greek, one Latin (paragraph 48 [T172]). Such an assertion from a man whose ignorance has been so carefully illustrated throughout the scene[24] is quite hilarious. This is made even more hilarious by the fact that in many MSS there is the number (III), instead of (II), and only two libraries are mentioned.[25] The point here may be simply that Trimalchio boasts of possessing something that a bettter educated person would take for granted. The reading *tres* and the subsequent failure to describe the third library would produce a bizarre effect (Smith, 1975: 130). Literary appreciation has not been among the qualities of the man described. This is just another comic reference to the lack of education on behalf of the *nouveaux riches*, who acquire the external signs of culture without the ability to appreciate them, and believe that in this way they can counterfeit it.[26]

Paragraphs 50-52 [T173] are the most explicit both in terms of Trimalchio's collecting habits and of Petronius' response to it. Trimalchio claims that he is the sole owner of real Corinthian bronzeware. Encolpius thinks this is just another boast of wealth, but it turns out to be a pun: Trimalchio's dishes are made by a man named Corinthius. Trimalchio is very concerned not to be thought 'ignorant' (*nesapium*[27]), so he caps with this a hilariously scrambled account of the origin of Corinthian ware. In his attempt he mixes the cities of Ilium and Corinth, the sack of Corinth with the seizure of Spain by Hannibal, Hannibal with Mummius!

Clearly, to collect Corinthian ware was no longer by Trimalchio's age a sign of luxury or vulgarity.[28] The fashion of Corinthian bronze is frequently attested to by most authors. Cicero recurrently refers to it (see chapter 9), and Augustus was notorious from his youth for being *'pretiosae supellectilis Corinthiorumque praecupidus'* (Suetonius, *Aug.* 70). However, it was thought that the fad had become a mania and a menace. Velleius Paterculus (1.13.4) deplored the popularity of Corinthian ware in 30 CE, and blamed it on the *rudis* Mummius for his sack of Corinth in 146 BCE. This connection was stressed by the elder Pliny, who thought that most devotees of Corinthian artefacts were ignorant chasers-after-fashion who could easily be fooled by counterfeit items (*HN,* 34.6-7). By contrast, the younger Pliny found these objects on the table of the respectable Vestricius Spurinna, and thought it acceptable since Vestricius followed the fashion with restraint (*Epist.* 3.1.9). Elsewhere, the younger Pliny mentions his own purchase of a *Corinthium signum*, bought *'ex hereditate*

quae mihi obvenit' and destined for the temple of Jupiter at Comum. Pliny states that he will not retain the item for private delectation: *'emi autem non ut haberem domi (neque enim ullum adhuc Corinthium domi habeo)'*. Trimalchio's private story of the original Corinthian ware created by Hannibal at Troy is more than a confused version of Mummius and Corinth. He is mocking both the myth and the fashion. This becomes clear a few lines below; while presenting the reasons for his personal preference of glass, he maintains that 'at least it does not smell', referring indirectly to the pretentious practice, attested to by Martial (IX.59) and the younger Pliny (*Epist.* 3.6), of connoisseurs and collectors who used to smell Corinthian bronzes to detect their authenticity! Awareness of the myth is subtly indicated also by his later mention of Mummius' bequest of one thousands cups to his patron, who in turn left them to Trimalchio (*Sat.* 52) - if we allow for this reading of the text (Baldwin, 1973: 46-47).

Trimalchio continues in the same line with his confession that he prefers glass, but he does not collect it because it is very cheap! The assertion is complemented by a cautionary tale of the danger of too much knowledge - a man who knows how to make malleable glass dies because of this knowledge. Various versions of this anecdote were current in antiquity.[29] In this case, the tale along with Trimalchio's confession serve to emphasize the interdependency of Trimalchio's setting of values with intrinsic merit. Material which is cheap in financial terms is not appreciated, the only value is gold. Petronius' personal point about the existence of other values besides the ones Trimalchio can discern seems present once again.

Paragraph 52 is Trimalchio's clear admittance that he has a 'great passion for silver' (*studiosus sum*). He admits the ownership of cups engraved with mythological scenes, like that of Cassandra killing her sons (*sic*).

> 'I have something like a hundred three-gallon bumpers...with the motif of Cassandra killing her sons; the boys are lying there so vividly dead that you'd think they were alive! I have a bowl which King Minos bequeathed to my patron; on it Daedalus is enclosing Niobe in the Trojan horse. I've also got in relief on goblets all of solid silver the fights of Hermeros and Petraites. I wouldn't sell these evidences of my learning at any price.' (*Sat.* 52)[30]

Bactrian imitations of such Greek silver cups in fact survive (see Horsfall, 1989 with references; also Ville, 1964). Trimalchio's clearly did not have labeled figures, as many of

the surviving mould-made imitations of such lost silver originals in fact do. Naturally, it was not Cassandra who killed her sons (52.1) but Medea. As for the bowl that Minos - or Mummius (the reading depends on the MSS[31]) left to his patron and he bequeathed to Trimalchio, it also bears engravings that again confuse incidents of Greek mythology. The error here concerns three unrelated events of the Greek mythology, Daedalus, Niobe and the Trojan horse, which are brought together in Trimalchio's mind - the man who owns two libraries. However, more than his mythology is confused.[32] His praise for the realism of the 'Cassandra cups' fits in with a disturbing sense of naive realism. There is here a fundamental 'confusion of the modalities of life and death' (Arrowsmith, 1966: 311), mediated through realistic art - which is in turn satirized (Slater, 1990: 67-68). Trimalchio also owns silver goblets decorated with the fights of Hermeros and Petraites.[33] The bizarre combination of these gladiators with the preceding mythological motifs recalls the wall-paintings at paragraph 29 [T169].

The concluding remark summarizes both the literal and metaphorical notions of the paragraph. All the above collector's items are beyond anything else 'evidence of learning', and as such cannot be sold at any price. The hilarious mixture described above, though, undermines the importance of such a statement. Trimalchio thinks that these are evidence of his learning, but in fact they are quite the opposite.[34] He possesses neither the literary-mythological, nor the art-critical knowledge to understand, and thus Trimalchio represents the antitype of the true connoisseur. In other words, he is in the position that Bourdieu (1984: 323ff) calls 'cultural allodoxia', i.e 'the mistaken identification and false recognition which betray the gap between acknowledgement and knowledge', and which means that although there is good will, the lack of 'real' knowledge, guidelines and principles do not allow him to find his way in the cultural world, and reach the cultural fulfilment of connoisseurship (also Tanner, 1995: 197-198).

Petronius' irony lies exactly in this naiveté, or ignorance of ignorance, which purports to know, and *does* know, the symbol and the symbolism, but ignores the meaning of the latter. In Trimalchio's case, obviously, what collecting stands for - knowledge, culture, education - are clear; and so is the medium for such a symbolism: objects (lavish, expensive, engraved...). But the true meaning of the symbolism escapes him.

Trimalchio has an obsessive relationship with his objects. Petronius uses the medium of art and artefacts to underline that obsessive character of some of Trimalchio's tastes and interests, repeating them (gladiators, his own career, dogs) in different forms (Horsfall, 1989: 198). He prizes them for their costliness, which depends on the intrinsically valuable material; he also appreciates their 'meaning': i.e. their mythological scenes. They are bearers of prestige and knowledge: they bring alive the possibility of having their owner included in a social and intellectual, cultural élite. Undoubtedly, Petronius recognizes the fact that Trimalchio and his like can and do recognise the possibilities offered to them by the objects. But exactly because this is so, while not being *all*, Petronius criticizes him. The author of *Satyrica* could not have been the man who would distance himself from the futilities of life. The accounts by both Tacitus and Pliny argue for quite the contrary. In Pliny's account (*HN*, 37.20), Petronius breaks his favourite murrhine cup to 'spite Nero', not to let him have it on his table. In Tacitus' version he breaks his signet ring, so that his personal validity dies with him. A man so immediately and passionately associated with material culture, could not have considered it disreputable for somebody else to relate to it as well. The emphasis is placed elsewhere. Trimalchio follows a road well lit by his predecessors. Collecting Corinthian ware was by then a common practice. Similarly common were the 'qualities' that such a collection carried with it: distinction, wealth, worthiness, knowledge, education. This is the identity that he hopes to shape for himself and share. But where do all these values stem from?

Petronius offers a clue. They probably stem from their patterns of acquisition. If we examine the text closely, especially paragraph 52, we come along the following pattern:

sacred	:	profane
inherited	:	bought
(gift) given	:	bought
priceless	:	expensive
authentic	:	(false) counterfeit

Petronius seems to operate within the above schema. Although Trimalchio is obsessively proud of his career (paragraph 29) and personal advancement, when it comes to his collection of jugs he admits inheritance! This is also a witticism from Petronius. The man who so abruptly admits and exhibits his low descent, has the lack of subtlety to suggest that he has inherited his collection! He is so bereft of culture that he inscribes the weight on the

objects, as if their value was measurable; he even inscribes his name on them, as if this is necessary for the noble inheritance tradition. The 'real' (?) connoisseur would by this point be appalled. The confusion of the mythology serves to emphasise the same point. Trimalchio confuses the most basic erudition; he confuses knowledge in both the 'measurable' sense (know your myths) and the immeasurable (know about your objects).

Paragraph 73.20-24 [T174], finally, is a description of the 'collection' of Fortunata, Trimalchio's wife. She owns statuettes of bronze fishermen, tables of solid silver and pottery with gold settings, in other words the collection that one would expect from a female: objects of intrinsic value related to the household (see Pearce, 1995).

IV. A visit to the *pinacotheca*.

The next two paragraphs are from a different setting: the action is now taking place in a picture gallery, where Encolpius seeks temporary solace from the problems of his personal life. Paragraph 83 [T175] describes Encolpius' entrance in the art gallery where an astonishing (*mirabilem*) collection of paintings was hung. He lists the works he sees - definitely betraying the taste of his era as we know it from other literary sources, mainly the elder Pliny - paintings by Zeuxis, rough drawings by Protogenes, the work of Apelles.[35] Encolpius praises what he sees in art historical/critical terms: he recognises the names of the painters,[36] uses the formal aesthetic vocabulary of art criticism (realism, naturalism), and succeeds where Trimalchio had failed earlier, i.e. in recognising the codes and stories of Greek mythology. He concentrates on specific paintings - whose artist(s) we do not know - to 'read' their subjects: one is the picture of Jupiter and Ganymede, another of Hylas and Naiad, the third of Apollo and Hyacinthus. The pictures remind Encolpius of his own affairs and he regrets his choice of companion. His personal concentration is interrupted by the entrance in the gallery of an aged, shabby-looking man, Eumolpus.[37]

The second paragraph (88) [T176] describes a further stage of the two heroes' acquaintance. After the men have met, and Eumolpus has introduced himself as a poet and also as a pedagogue of satire (his credentials are his self-attested talents in seducing young boys, paragraphs 84-88), 'stimulated by this conversation' he is about to draw on his interlocutor's superior (?) knowledge about art. He is interested in the works' antiquity and themes. He is

also eager to discuss the decadence of the arts during his lifetime! Eumolpus very eloquently attributes the latter to the increasing importance money had gained in their generation, which had transformed their culture from a superior to one 'obsessed with wine and women of the street' (trans. Walsh, 1996). He concludes his speech with an *ekphrasis* (?) of the painting that had attracted Encolpius' attention, the Fall of Troy - an *ekphrasis* not much related to what he actually sees, but rather a free poetic composition (paragraph 89).

Following the tradition of the Greek sanctuaries, where the rooms for the display of picture-panels had been an almost standard feature (e.g. the Propylaea on the Athenian Acropolis, the Stoa Poikile in the Athenian Agora, the Lesche of the Cnidians in Delphi), private art collections were formed in Rome. Testimonies about picture-galleries in private or public settings are available from many sources (e.g. see the debate about the actual existence of the gallery of Philostratus' *Imagines* in Lehmann-Hartleben, 1941 and Bryson, 1994; Ebert, 1950 with references; van Buren, 1938; Leach, 1982b; 1988). They were held in public or private spaces, and their presence was taken for granted (Vitruvius, *De Archit.* VI.iv.2; VI.v.2). They formed a characteristic element in the luxurious mansions of the period, and were a manifestation of the aesthetic tendencies of the age - collection and appreciation (van Buren, 1938). *Pinacothecae* are described from the time of Lucullus (Varro, *R. R.* I.2.10) and Varro (*R. R.* I. 59.2). The elder Pliny (*HN,* 35.4; 148) was not very favourable towards those who collected *pinakes*, although it was a widespread practice in his era. Imperial *pinacothecae* are also mentioned in an inscription dated in 153 CE (*CIL* VI. 10234 = Dessau *ILS*, 7213, line 2ff) (van Buren, 1938: 76).

The picture of art collections that our literary and inscriptional sources construct is that of a practice motivated chiefly by the craving for ostentation; the collections consisted of works from earlier periods, many forgeries, copies of famous originals or panels attributed to Old Masters, whereas a special place was reserved for works of art that had belonged to distinguished personages. The pretensions of collectors to expertise and their lack of true feeling for art have been recounted (Friendländer, 1921). The common motif during the account of these collections has been the one created by Roman writers themselves, of a decadent materialistic civilization. Obviously there has been more to it than simply that, and Petronius can contribute to its unveiling.

The incident in the *pinacotheca* of *Satyrica* can easily be placed in the context of the novel tradition. Similar incidents occur more that once: the romantic pattern of lovers as viewers of art is found also in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, and Achilles Tatius' *Adventures of Leucippe and Clitophon* (Zeitlin, 1994: 151). Non-erotic, but similar patterns also occur in works like Cebes' *Pinax*, the Philostrati's (Elder and Younger) *Imagines* and Lucian's *De domo*. At a first level, therefore, the incident in the *pinacotheca* is a satiric adaptation of a popular motif that contributes to the denseness of the literary texture of *Satyrica* (Slater, 1987: 170). At another level, it can be interpreted as an example of a highly elaborate literary game, which aims to question the views of the world that Petronius and his contemporaries share. It questions the act of interpretation itself and laughs ironically at all attempts, even his own, to interpret the world (Slater, 1987: 167; Elsner, 1993). The thrust of his irony rests on Stoicism and the notion of *phantasia*.

To follow and comprehend Petronius' highly sophisticated irony we need to see what are the interpretative qualities that novels attribute to works of art and how these operate, and then to compare this with Petronius' 'reading' of that interpretation, as well as with practices known from other sources. Thus we will be enabled to reach conclusions about the role of painting collections and their settings, in the pattern of the questions outlined at the introduction.

Within the tradition of romance, the work of art possesses instructive or interpretative functions (e.g. Longus' painting instructs and consoles). The work of art can transfer - usually through an *exegetes* - a moralistic and redemptive message. The medium through which the instructive message can reach the viewer is *ekphrasis*. This, in turn, relates to Stoicism and the notion of *phantasia* ('visualisation' or 'presentation'), central to this philosophical system.[38] Unlike the Platonic theory of the moral influence a work of art can have on the viewer, Stoicism embraces a rather different view of art and its functions. It argues that Truth can be derived from a sensual perception of reality, and art - like all objects - can assist the mind in building up a *kataleptike phantasia*, a comprehensive representation of reality, which is something more than simply a *mimesis* of appearance. '*Phantasia* can teach the viewer something which he cannot, or cannot as easily, learn without the work of art. The merit of the work of art then is not measurable by its approximation to reality, but by its power of invention and suggestion' (Slater, 1987: 173).

However, *phantasia* does not exist in isolation, but can be communicated in its entirety by language/*ekphrasis*: 'language makes *phantasia* explicit, and *phantasia* brings language into existence' (Imbert, 1980: 182). In the novel tradition, a picture, or assemblage of pictures, arouses wonder (*thauma* - the Greek word for *mirabilis*) and demands an interpreter (*exegetes*) who comes to encompass the literary transformation of the painting. The movement is Socratic, Imbert (1980: 205) maintains: first comes wonder, then interpretation by a master, then *ekphrasis* which brings out the truth. Alternatively, the viewer/speaker attempts to become part of the beauty he confronts by actually performing it. To go away speechless after merely looking at the splendour of a place would not be appropriate contact for a connoisseur (*philokalos*), nor of one in love with the most beautiful things. A man of culture (*pepaideumenos*), as opposed to an ordinary man, cannot be mute in front of beautiful things. He needs to pay homage to their beauty through speech (Zeitlin, 1994: 151-152). In other words, the work of art excites in the mind a vision (*phantasia*), which in turn gives rise to an utterance (*ekphrasis*). *Phantasia* is also the initial vision that an artist has in order to create an art object; the viewer/speaker (*rhetor*, *exegetes*) receives the same vision when he looks at the picture, and transmits it to the viewer/listener through an *ekphrasis*.[39] So, *ekphrasis* through *phantasia* tells the truth and offers access to epistemological reality (Elsner, 1995: 23-28).

Petronius addresses interpretation on two levels: first as a process to understand art, and then as a process to reach the truth through art. His heroes, Encolpius, Eumolpus and Trimalchio, in their attempt employ in varying extents, the fourth of the categories of ancient art criticism that Pollitt (1974: 11-12) has distinguished.[40] This is the 'popular' tradition, which emphasises three standards of value: realism, magical (marvelous) properties and costliness. There is no doubt that these three values persist throughout *Satyrica,* to record appreciation of the arts and use of them to interpret the world that Petronius does not share and, what is more, of which he disapproves. Naturally, costliness as a value that Petronius could share is easily dismissed (Slater, 1987: 167). Although at points (especially at *Cena*) he clearly expects his narrative audience to appreciate it, Petronius himself could not have shared such an appreciation, and he could not have expected his authorial audience to do so either.[41] Nevertheless, this value persists throughout the book, and records a fact. It is used by Petronius to dismiss Trimalchio as embodiment of all those who lack the necessary refinement to understand otherwise. In this sense, we are dealing with two values: one, the financial merit and the other, the cultural alternative that Petronius maintains in silence.

Realism, on the other hand, is also questioned. Right from the start (paragraph 29), but also in Trimalchio's discussion of 'Cassandra's sons', and later during Encolpius wandering in the gallery, it has become apparent that realism for Petronius' heroes means deception and confusion (Slater, 1987: 167). In the gallery incident, in particular, realism and marvelous qualities (*mirabilis*) in a sense interact. The works are marvelous because they are amazingly realistic but also because they arouse emotional and intellectual reactions to the viewer - although these are melodramatic and overacting as usually with Encolpius (Panayotakis, 1995: 119). But even these are questioned by Petronius. Encolpius is unsure where he stands as a viewer in the gallery in relation to the paintings, so at first (and despite the seemingly appropriateness of vocabulary, Plinian taste, etc.), the pictures are just puns on the artists' names. Later they become projections of his own self. Eventually, and despite the 'heroic' attempt of Eumolpus to introduce an *ekphrasis* and consequently, *phantasia*, i.e. to reach the truth, he manages only to be thrown out of the gallery pursued by a hail of stones! Naturalistic/realistic art is used to illustrate how deceptive appearances are and, therefore, is used to dismiss the function of *mimesis* in Platonic theory.[42] Both the 'popular' way of appreciating art, along with the equally ill-fated attempt to reach the moral values inherent in realistic works have failed. Similar failure results from the *Troiae Halosis ekphrasis* and its use to reach *phantasia*. The poem that Eumolpus cites is a long narrative that ignores any relation to the painting and fails to make any contact with it. In other words, the viewer in the Petronian *pinacotheca* fails to confront the paintings meaningfully, and all attempts, initiated from whatever philosophical perspective fall 'into the empty air'. Petronius' heroes have not been able to reach the truth, whereas the initiation in the symbolic meaning, which would be expected in other circumstances to be the result of such a meeting (of a viewer, an *exegetes* and a painting), becomes initiation of a sexual kind (Elsner, 1993: 41).

Where does this discussion leave us as far as the collecting of art is concerned? Through the failures and shortcomings of Petronius' characters, we can reach some interesting conclusions about what a collection of paintings was supposed to be. More than merely a collection of objects, an assemblage of paintings is a repository of knowledge and a medium to interpret the world, through the appropriate philosophical concerns. This is stated explicitly in the elder Philostratus' *Imagines* (I.4.26-30), where the phrase 'ους εμοι δοκει ουκ αμαθως συνελεξατο', besides containing the key-word 'συνελεξατο' (sinelexato -

the verb 'to collect', in its past tense), it also includes the phrase 'ουκ αμαθως',[43] which means 'not without knowledge'. It is clear, therefore, that collecting pictures implied a certain sort of knowledge or appreciation on behalf of the collector, knowledge that did not exhaust itself in the mere assemblage of pictures made by famous artists, or in the appreciation of qualities like realism (which equals deception). Petronius' caricature of the motif of the novel tradition clarifies and underlines the true nature of collecting behind the widespread practice.

In the novels, the paintings are placed either in temples/sanctuaries, following the Hellenic tradition, or in private spaces. Longus' picture in the preface of *Daphnis and Chloe* and Cebes' *Pinax*, for instance, are kept in shrines, while Philostratus' *Imagines* and Lucian's objects of admiration are in private settings. Although there seems to be unanimous agreement as far as their capacity to communicate the truth is concerned, there seems to be a difference in the kind of truth that is advocated in each case. Elsner (1995: 21-48), for instance, compared Philostratus and Cebes to conclude that their stance toward 'reality' (truth) differs radically. Cebes' truth is symbolic; the paintings resemble a door to a reality that is outside known cultural and psychological expectations, and which involves a detour into things divine (Elsner, 1995: 22). In Philostratus the viewer is encouraged to think that 'reality' is within his reach, within ordinary physical and psychological expectations, and, therefore, the 'Other' is, or can be, under control. I would like to take this point further and argue that although collections of paintings are collections of the truth, the setting of the works of art has implications for the 'type' of truth which *objets d' art* reveal.

Relatively recently the discussion of *pinacothecae* in the ancient Roman world was extended to include the interior decoration that turned parts of the Roman house into picture galleries. With the growth of private art collections in Rome, rooms depicting the same motif in painting came to be incorporated in the luxurious villas of late Republican nobles. In the mid Second Style,[44] imitation *pinakes* already were represented standing on picture mouldings, much as they might have done in a theme on mural decoration. By the end of the Fourth Style well-off householders were collecting reproductions or adaptations of Greek Old Masters in much the same way that more recent generations have collected copies of the Mona Lisa (Ling, 1991: 135). This development from the actual repositories of works of art brought into Italy before the mid-first century, to the *pinacotheca* theme of wall-painting, was attributed to the political initiative attested by Pliny (*HN,* 35.9) of Asinius Pollio and

Augustus, who in their propagandistic building programme encouraged the deposition of pictures and other objects into public 'museums', e.g. the theatre of Pompey, or the Public Library of Asinius Pollio (Leach, 1982b: 162-164). To attract attention to this initiative Asinius Pollio delivered his famous oratory recommending that collectors should not retain their objects for private delectation, but should place them on public display (*HN,* 35.26-8; [T84-86] see also chapter 6). In addition, this trend of the painted galleries was attributed to the personal taste of the middle-class house-owners/patrons who had realized that through the imitation of the public displays of works of art, they had an opportunity to participate in and share notions of culture and wealth. Picture-gallery decoration, therefore, was taken to attest the refinement and comfortable well-being of the private man. Furthermore, it was argued that the theme offered to artists an easily adaptable format, and to house-owners opportunities for individualism.[45] In addition, the mythological orientation of Pompeian *pinacothecae* was taken to indicate the placement of emphasis upon the display of acquired learning rather than anything else. In this sense, the painted picture-galleries were considered to be of vital help to the understanding of the owner's level of culture. Consequently, Trimalchio's case has been interpreted as an example of a man who chose in his house to connect art, literature and life in the most intimate way (29) ((Leach, 1982b: 166-7).

We will argue that all these issues had made an appearance in Petronius' work, which thus offers a valuable insight into the trends and the ideology accompanying them. Petronius' gallery is a public *pinacotheca,* set in a temple (90.1). Obviously, it belongs to the canonical tradition, and forms a model of what has been suggested as proper and even patriotic. The political reasons, behind the encouragement of public collections as opposed to private ones, relate to the role of the collections as sources of knowledge and therefore, power. They aimed to discourage the strong men of the Republic from advertising themselves as possessors of such power through their collections. Clearly, collecting artefacts had become something more that actual, financial wealth by the time of the late Republic, due to the rapid changes in political, economic and social fields related to the Roman expansion. It had become 'cultural capital', in other words able to mark élite status, culture and power. Petronius' penetrating eye satirises what was considered to be a standard motif (in critical terms of romance) and a politically correct behaviour. The pretense that galleries were public so that all people could use them to find 'consolation from the ordeals of life' and share this capital is not valid, according to Petronius. The remedies for the decadence of

society/arts - a decadence that Petronius illustrates and lives - are not found in making cultural goods available to the mass, as the argument might have run. The role and essence of these collections is read thus as being assemblages of knowledge (moral and epistemological more than anything else); but Petronius argues that it takes more than their public display for them to disseminate this knowledge. It takes cultural refinement, education, ability to 'read' literally, mythologically and critically, in other words, it takes participation in the real and philosophical knowledge, more than in the accumulated practices and trends.

By satirising the motif of the novel, Petronius also provides his 'reading' of the transfer of *pinakes* from the sacred to the secular. Although the *pinacotheca* in question is in a temple, the assemblage of works of art does not transmit the same message of unity that it used to in the sanctuaries of the Hellenic tradition. There, the works of art carried sacred messages; now, he argues, they have lost their sacred meaning, the *exegetes* is not necessary (because he may be somebody like Eumolpus!), and the experience of art is 'pure'. The institution of the gallery, as described by Petronius, is an abstraction from the original setting, (in the manner of the modern museum, we could add). In this sense, paintings instead of being organic parts of a sacred whole, become profane, units brought together to illustrate artificial - and false - stories. In this case, it is the story of the personal life of Encolpius, a little later it becomes the self-deceptive story of Eumolpus as a heroic Trojan. In this sense, Trimalchio's collection (29) and the public collection were equally deceptive and similarly misunderstood. They became a sort of repository of knowledge, albeit illusory, self-centred and ultimately wrong. Although the sacred role of objects superficially was still there, this role was not delivered organically any more, but was artificially retained and imposed.

Furthermore, the setting of the collection implies a certain attitude toward the source of knowledge. By assembling collections, private patrons transfer the source of knowledge, 'collect' in their hands the power to consecrate and initiate. Truth does not stem anymore from the sacred domain. The wealthy patron considers himself, falsely and arrogantly Petronius insists by the example of Trimalchio, in a position to be actively involved in the process of consecration and initiation; but he also uses the objects/paintings to consecrate and initiate himself by placing these in his house (Bourdieu, 1987: 203). In other words, collections originate a dual evolution: personal distinction for the patron as an individual, through his participation in the cultural élite community.

Petronius does not offer any information on the display of the works of art and their arrangement in the gallery - although from Encolpius' monologue we may assume that the works were not organised chronologically or according to their painter. They seem to be arranged in subjects - although this, of course, may be just part of the satiric point. In so far as the collections of paintings are programmatic, the interest in their arrangement may lie in the underlying theme - in this case the amorous adventures of the lovers. Petronius' criticism of his heroes, that they can see only the subject in the paintings, may lead to the suggestion that the relationships between the paintings in the galleries were those of rhetorical articulation (Tanner, 1995).

V. A few words on objects from the *Bellum Civile*.

The last passage of interest (119. 1-32 [T177]) is part of the long poem Eumolpus recites while the heroes are on their way to Croton. After criticizing the historic poems (118) for violating the epic tradition in two ways, first because they recount the adventures and feelings of men in verse, and second because they lack the divine activities of deities, the ambitious albeit outcast poet exemplifies his disapproval by composing verses on the *Bellum Civile*. The poem starts with a general introduction on Rome's abuse of world dominance that made civil war inevitable (lines 1-84), continues with the evil forces conspiring in Hades to cause war (85-171), and Julius Caesar's arrival in Italy (172-301), and reaches its peak with the involvement of the gods and the commencement of battle (302-363). The poem evokes Virgil and echoes Lucan, together with a few phrases derived from Seneca, Horace and Ovid (Walsh, 1996: 191).

Whether Petronius aims with this poem to criticise Lucan's homonymous verse composition[46] or not, has been the subject of dispute. Undoubtedly, Petronius knew part of Lucan's poem - he must have read or heard in a recitation the first three books that Lucan had ready in 61 CE. Nevertheless, the poem itself does not turn against merely Lucan. It is a semi-serious critique, which might be connected with other poetic attempts as well (e.g. Seneca or Nero's *Troica* have been two of the alternative suggestions) (Coffey, 1989: 190; Heseltine, 1919: introduction).

In any case, the poem is a satiric self-reflection of the type we have already noticed in Petronius. In the first 20 lines, Eumolpus criticizes Rome's plundering of the resources of the world, as has been the *topos* in other literary sources as well (e.g. Virgil, *Georgics* 2.463ff; 503 ff; Pliny, *HN,* 12.1.2 and so on). He insists on all those materials used to promote *luxuria* and, consequently, vice and effeminacy. Among them we note Numidian marble, Chinese silk, Arabian perfumes, beasts for public shows, and so on. In the following lines, 21-44, Encolpius reflects on how these imports had led to the moral degeneration of Rome. From the collecting point of view, we may notice that among the objects related to that moral decadence were Corinthian bronzes[47] and tables made of citrus-wood (which fetched high prices in Rome, cf. Pliny, *HN,* 13.29ff).

Of course, a speech following the traditional Catonian example of criticising decadence from the mouth of Eumolpus, who is far from being the model of virtue himself, produces only laughter (Conte, 1994a: 463). Like the incident in the *pinacotheca*, decadence (moral and artistic - here mentioned in relation to poetry) becomes a vehicle of self-reflection and irony on the part of Petronius, who questions even his own assertions. The immorality of the imported luxuries has been also criticized in verse in paragraph 55.5. In that case, the lines were put in the mouth of Trimalchio, another character that could not have had claims to morality and restraint. Not surprisingly, material goods stand once again for moral, ethical and artistic judgments.

VI. Conclusions.

To conclude, *Satyrica* is a full account of all the implicit and explicit codes regulating collecting in the Roman context of the first century CE. Besides recording current practices, it documents accepted beliefs and responds to them, questioning their validity and debating their legitimacy. With the portrait of Trimalchio,[48] a rather standard collector, similar (for reasons of literary composition, if not of realism) to other portraits of collectors delivered through other contemporary texts, eponymous or not, we have the opportunity to see in greater detail than usual the mechanisms (social and psychological) behind the formation of a collection. In addition, Petronius' negation of such a model records a far deeper and substantial role for collections. Trimalchio is the anti-type of the true connoisseur: he does not share even the most basic qualities necessary to participate in the status he claims to have

gained through his material assemblages. With no *paideia*, no literary-mythological and art-critical knowledge, exemplified by his mixture of mythological events and his preoccupations with the futility of life, Trimalchio's claims to have joined the élite with the power of his possessions are proved inadequate and ultimately hilarious.

But there is more to it than that. Trimalchio does not share the essence of collecting, the code that connects objects and their possessors in that intimate sacred and consecrating link. He claims inheritance, while his actions and words prove that this is not true, and although he may consider objects able to make his life transcend the limits imposed by physiological constraints, i.e. death, he does not really recognise the path in this direction. Petronius' criticism could not have been the same if he did not share some of these aspirations, or at least, if he did not know that there are some who did.

In the incident in the picture gallery, we are taken a step further into the discussion of the nature of collecting. Although here the heroes share at least the external signs of culture - they recognise the creators of the paintings, they use the appropriate terminology, they identify the mythological themes - they still do not fully participate in the power that potentially the assemblage of pictures bears. Apparently, there needs to be an initiation process that will enable the individual to redeem the real worth of collections, i.e. have access to the truth. By questioning and taking an ironic stance to all the standard features of such a procedure, i.e. the setting of the collection, the presence of the mediator, the philosophical concerns that lead to that end, and have shaped such a view of it, Petronius questions not only the practices of his era, but even himself. He ends by dismissing all these codes and secret/sacred meanings. In the process though, we have the opportunity to record what was there for his contemporaries to see and choose from. Trimalchio, Encolpius and Eumolpus' attempts share an ill-destined end, as far as Petronius' approval is concerned, no matter what procedures they follow. But although this is so, Petronius provides examples of two ways of appropriating art and objects - each with its shortcomings. In the latter, Petronius overcomes the limits of *paideia*, and concentrates on the philosophical and political dimensions to indicate that there is an undeniable connection between appreciation of material culture and concepts of power and control.

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[1] Trans. by D. E. Eichholz in Loeb CL, *Pliny Natural HIstory*, 1962.

[2] Petronius was in the inner circle of Nero's friends and he was the 'arbiter of *elegantiae*', in other words a judge of the pleasures of life at court. It seems safe though to conclude that he did not receive literary patronage from the court. The fact that he was forced to commit suicide is indicative of his dispensability (Morford, 1986: 2013).

[3] See discussion below.

[4] For a bibliography of Petronius see Smith, 1985, Holzberg, 1995a and the one compiled by Panayotakis in Walsh, 1996: xlv ff.

[5] Elder Pliny (*HN* 37.20) and Plutarch (*Moralia* 60 D) refer to Petronius as Titus. A single MS of Tacitus refers to him as Gaius; at Petronian MSS there is no *praenomen*, just the title Arbiter, which must have been an attempt to associate the author with the bearer of the imperial title.

[6] from Loeb CL, Tacitus, *Annals*, vol IV. (trans. by John Jackson, 1951).
XVI.xviii. Petronius calls for a brief retrospect. He was a man whose day was passed in sleep, his nights in the social duties and amenities of life: others' industry may raise to greatness - Petronius had idled into fame. Nor was he regarded, like the common crowd of spendthrifts, as a debauchés and wastrel, but as the finished artist of extravagance. His words and actions had a freedom and a stamp of self-abandonment which rendered them doubly acceptable by an air of native simplicity. Yet as proconsul of Bithynia, and later as consul, he showed himself a man of energy and competent in affairs. Then lapsing into the habit, or copying the features, of vice, he was adopted into the narrow circle of Nero's intimates as his Arbiter of Elegance; the jaded emperor finding charm and delicacy in nothing save what Petronius had commended. His success awoke the jealousy of Tigellinus against an apparent rival, more expert in the science of pleasure than himself. He addressed himself, therefore, to the sovereign's cruelty, to which all other passions gave pride of place; arraigning Petronius for friendship with Scaevinus, while suborning one of his slaves to turn informer, withholding all opportunity of defense, and placing the greater part of his household under arrest.
XVI.xix. In those days, as it chanced, Caesar had migrated to Campania; and Petronius after proceeding as far as Cumae, was being there detained in custody. He declined to tolerate further the delays of fear or hope; yet still he did not hurry to take his life, but caused his already severed arteries to be bound up to meet his whim, then opened them once more, and began to converse with his friends, not in a grave strain and with no view to the fame of a stout-hearted ending. He listened to them as they rehearsed, not discourses upon the immortality of the soul or the doctrines of philosophy, but light songs and frivolous verses. Some of his slaves tasted of his bounty, a few of his lash. He took his place at dinner, and drowsed a little, so that death, if compulsory, should at least resemble nature. Not even in his will did he follow the routine of suicide of flattering Nero or Tigellinus or another of the mighty - detailed the imperial debauches and the novel features of each act of lust, and sent the document under seal to Nero. His signet-ring he broke lest it could render dangerous service later.

[7] Tacitus' Petronius died in early 66 CE - Lucan committed suicide in 65 CE; Petronius seems to know and satirise Lucan's unfinished epic, see also section V.

[8] About the date of the composition see Rose, 1966 and 1971; for a more sceptical view see Smith, 1975. About economic and social factors see D' Arms, 1981; for literary connections see Sullivan, 1985b.

[9] For a complete list of Trimalchio's material possessions as described in *Satyrica* see Horsfall, 1988: 9-10.

[10] It has been argued that the title *Satyricon* is incorrect (e.g. see Goodyear, 1982a: 635; also Coffey, 1989:181 and Highet, 1941:176, nt.1). *Satyricon* is the genitive plural with *libri* understood, whereas *Satyrica* is a neutral plural. In this paper the latter is prefered.

[11] 'An account of lecherous happenings' in Walsh, 1974: 185.

[12] The relation between *satura* and *satyroi* (satyrs), as well as with the satyresque drama is pursued by Conte, 1996: 74ff; Holzberg, 1995b: 63-64.

[13] Both papyrus fragments date from the second century CE. They are *P. Ox.* 3010 and fragments of Lollianus romance. They are translated by G.A.Sandy in *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, ed. by Reardon (also see Walsh, 1996: xix).

[14] On Encolpius as narrator and participant in the *Cena Trimalchionis,* see Beck, 1975.

[15] Conte (1996: 22ff) describes the *persona* that Petronius creates as author of his text as 'the hidden author'; in other words, the writer creates a kind of conspiracy between the reader and himself, behind the back of the narrator of his novel, Encolpius. Although the latter is the one who reaches the reader directly, Petronius aims to gain the reader's approval for himself, as an indirect voice at the background of the novel, who believes in a normality his narrator definitely does not. The reader therefore has to identify not with the narrator, as would have been expected, but with the 'hidden author'; together they should feel superior to the narrator, whose faults and shortcomings, inconsistencies and mistakes, they can discern easily. This literary technique has implications for our discussion as well. It is expected that the reader share the values, the criteria and the views about material culture that the 'hidden author' maintains. About this see also discussion further down.

[16] This phrase is used too as a title of a chapter discussing the genre of *Satyricon* by Conte (1996).

[17] There is an extensive discussion about the influence of Menippean satire in the writing of *Satyrica,* and the genre to which the work belongs in Conte, 1996: 140-167.

[18] Since Auerbach's essay (1953), the banquet of Trimalchio has been the most renowned for its representation of reality ancient text. Although not fully accepted any more, Auerbach's declaration that Petronius' ambition was to imitate the everyday, contemporary milieu with its sociological background intact, and that he reached the ultimate limit of the advance of realism in antiquity, has shaped subsequent generations' understanding of realism in Petronius (Auerbach, 1953: 30). For similar views see Sullivan, 1968: 98-106 and Arrowsmith, 1966: 304; for different views see Jones, 1991 and for another perspective on the subject see Slater, 1987. In support of the 'realistic' approach has been the use of a realistic language during the *Cena,* see Boyce, 1991. For a view supporting the belief that *Satyrica* is more concerned with the misintepretations of reality, rather than reality itself, see Conte, 1996: 171-194. About the difficulties of using texts to extract historical conclusion see Bowersock, 1994, Bowie, 1971, Bartsch, 1989, Lane Fox, 1996 and more bibliography there.

[19] Walsh (1974: 184 ff) presents the arguments against the moralistic view: These can be summarised briefly as follows: 1. The character of the author as derived from Tacitus, 2. The title *Satyrica* suggests low comic rather than moralising intent, 3. absence of a moral point of reference in the story, 4. Petronius' constant reference to the world of the mime, 5. Almost every scene of *Satyrica* has a literary point of reference.

[20] For a discussion of Trimalchio as an example of a social type or category of this period, see Veyne, 1961.

[21] For the decoration of the House of the Tragic Poet, and examples of this mosaic decoration, see Bergmann, 1994: 228-229 and figures 3-4; also previous bibliography. For the similarity with the House of Paquio Proculo, see Bagnani, 1954: 23. See, also, Mau, 1899.

[22] Of the 108 items of the Boscoreale treasure, 30 bear the owner's name, 4 the weight, and 8 both; there is a single signed mirror (Horsfall, 1988: 10). See also Strong, 1966.

[23] The same attitude occurs when crystal glasses are shattered in a fight between the dogs (64.10).

[24] There are many examples of Trimalchio's ignorance: for example, *homeristae* (par. 59), his philological comparison of Cicero with Publilius Syrus, the composer of mimes, (par. 55); his confusion of Hercules, and the incident of Ulysses and the Cyclops (par. 48), etc.

[25] Müller (edn 1965: p. 92, note 10): *post Mentelium Bücheler*: tres (bibliothecas); Loeb CL (1969: p.98, note 4): duas *Mentel*: II *Buecheler*: tres (III).

[26] For similar incidents see Seneca, *Tranq. An.* 9.5 on buying books to decorate the dining rooms, and Juvenal, *Sat.* 3.203-207.

[27] *nesapius, -a, -um*: (*ne-sapio*) adjective which means man without knowledge, not wise .

[28] See Pliny, *Ep.* 3.1.9, 3.6.1, against Seneca, *De brev. vit.* 12.1 (cf. Smith on 50.1) and Martial, IX.59.11 (though Martial is not consistently condemnatory XIV.43; 172; 177, IX.57.2).

[29] See also Pliny, *HN,* 36.195, and Dio Cassius, *Roman History,* 57.21.7. From Dio we learn that the Emperor was Tiberius.

[30] Trans. by Walsh, 1996: 41.

[31] There are various emendations of which *'patronorum unus'* (Goes) and *'patronus meus'* (ed. Patav.) are the simplest (Loeb 1969: 106, note 1). See also Müller (edn 1965: 98, note 5/6). According to Walsh (1996: 173) the reading *'patrono meo rex Minos'* is Müller's ingenious emendation.

[32] 'Triple confusion by Trimalchio: In Greek mythology Niobe, wife of Amphion, a traditional King of Thebes, had nothing to do with the Trojan war and the wooden horse; nor had Daedalus the Athenian architect and craftsman who built or designed the labyrinth at Cnossos in Crete. He did, however, make a wooden cow for Pasiphaë (wife of King Minos for whom that labyrinth was built) who loved a fine white bull and hid inside the cow so as to be covered by it. She gave birth to the monstrous Minotaur for which the labyrinth at Cnossos was built' (Warmington, 1969: 106-7).

[33] These were gladiators. The first name appears on a first century lamp found in Puteoli, the second on several commemorative cups speculatively dated to the Neronian period (see, Walsh, 1996: 173).

[34] Huet (1996: 29ff) argues that the imagery is the crucial factor in this case, and not the objects themselves; she also asserts that these objects were used only for display, and therefore as bearers of 'ekphrasis'. This view seems to rely exclusively on the art-historical approach to art objects, and to neglect the social parameters involved in their appreciation. The materiality of the objects is an indispensable part of their roles as signifiers of wealth, power and distinction.

[35] They are all Greek painters of the fourth century BCE.

[36] Although at the beginning his appreciation of them does not exceed their names being puns, (see Elsner, 1993: 32).

[37] The names of the characters in *Satyrica* denote role-playing: Eumolpus means roughly 'Good singer', Encolpius 'On the bosom', Giton (Encolpius' boyfriend and the source of his worries) 'Neighbour' in the sexual sense, etc. See also Walsh, 1996: xvii-xviii.

[38] On *phantasia* see Imbert, 1980; Watson, 1988; 1994; Ioppolo, 1990 and bibliography there.

[39] On *ekphrasis* see Friedländer, 1912 and Palm, 1965.

[40] Pollitt (1974: 63) summarises these as follows: the professional artist's tradition, a philosophical discussion of moral and epistemological value of artistic experience, a tradition concerned with style, and finally, the 'popular' tradition. In addition, he discusses the Roman in origin *decor* theory of Vitruvius. Also Slater, 1987: 166.

[41] About the terms 'authorial' and 'narrative' audience see Rabinowitz, 1986.

[42] About the role of *mimesis*, see Koller, 1954.

[43] In the Loeb edition (1931) it is noted that in Reiske and Thiersch 'ἀμαθῶς' is corrected with 'ἀπαθῶς', in which case 'οὐκ ἀπαθῶς' means 'not without passion' or 'not without suffering'. This correction also has interesting implications for collecting.

[44] For the four Pompeian styles that were firstly introduced by Mau (1882) see e.g. Ling, 1991.
Roughly the styles correspond to the following: First Style: 3rd century BCE - c. 80 BCE.
Second Style: c. 90/80 BCE - 20/10 BCE, Thrid Style: c. 20/10 BCE - 50/60 CE, Fourth Style: 50/60 CE - 79 CE (also Descoeudres, 1994)

[45] About the limitations relating to classical collecting as expression of individualism see chapter 3; basically such comments are based on an inadequate, or incomplete understanding of the implications of the term 'individualism', and they usually mean to define much simpler developments than those the term leads to. In this case, I believe that the argument that the pictorial depiction of *pinacothecae* offered to the patrons

opportunities for individualism, aims to suggest that it offered them the opportunity to choose an environment, or decoration, that could be made acccording to their choices,rather than their means or availability, or other factors that usually dictate and restrict actual collections of works of art (the wish to own a Van Gogh cannot always be satisfied), and not one that would signify personal importance above communal ideals.

[46] Petronius' poem has no title, but we may conclude from chapter 118 that it can be called *Bellum Civile*. Lucan's poem has the title *Bellum Civile* in the best MSS, the title *Pharsalia* (from Pharsalus, scene of the final defeat of Pompeius by Caesar) in others (Heseltine, 1919: 381).

[47] Is the fact that he refers to soldiers a cross-literary reference, we may wonder, related to Mummius and his army, or are soldiers mentioned simply to emphasise the size of decadence?

[48] Bodel (1994) reads *Satyrica* in the context of the ancient novel and discusses *Cena Trimalcionis* as depicting the *Katavasismotiv*. He argues that the visual decoration of Trimalchio's household decor is added to Petronius' narrative to suggest that this trip to the underworld, besides being modelled on the high culture of Aeneid's underworld, is related inextricably to Trimalchio's status as a freedman. The lack of the essential quality of having been born free is the reason of melancholy in Trimalchio's table and of his constant preoccupation with death, evident throughout (the clock that counts the time he has left to live, the silver skeleton brought to the table, the poem about the vanity of life he cites, his interest in astrology, etc). His attitude is explained by Bodel as being an attempt to make up for a past which can be neither redeemed, nor effaced (Tatum, 1994: 11-12). Paragraph 29 then is discussed as depicting funerary decoration (similar to tombs and sarcophagi reliefs) which aims to characterise Trimalchio's world as an underworld of ex-slaves. This point of view provides an interesting insight into Trimalchio's objects as well. If Trimalchio's house is the underworld, then the obejcts he possesses are funeral goods! They are sacred, they mediate between the upper- and the under-worlds. Banquet utensils and funerary banquets are well documented in other sources as well. Can Petronius have made such a connection? This is a question that again refers to the stance that we choose to take when we read the work. It is the gap between realism and symbolism, that Bodel argues he wants to cross. For this reason he reads employing a literary and a social historical stance. But such a reading, besides its claims, is based on a rather serious stance toward *Satyrica*. It implies a writer who had a serious intent behind the work (whether we agree to call it moralising or not does not really matter). It seems to me that it takes *Satyrica* too seriously.
Another alternative way of 'reading' the events at *Cena Trimalchionis* and the role of objects in them has been offered recently by Toohey (1997) who discusses *Cena* in the light of notions of 'time'.

CHAPTER NINE

'FURNISHING' THE COLLECTORS' WORLD: CICERO'S *EPISTULAE* AND THE *VERRINE ORATIONS*

'For capitalists and farmers of the revenue, somewhat comfortable and showy apartments must be constructed, secure against robbery; for advocates and public speakers, handsomer and more roomy, to accommodate meetings; for men of rank who, from holding offices and magistracies, have social obligations to their fellow citizens, lofty entrance courts in regal style, and more spacious atriums and peristyles, with plantations and walks of some extent in them, appropriate to their dignity. They need also libraries, picture-galleries, and basilicas, finished in a style similar to that of great public buildings, since public councils as well as private law suits and hearings before arbitrators are very often held in the house of such men.'

Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, VI.v.2[1]

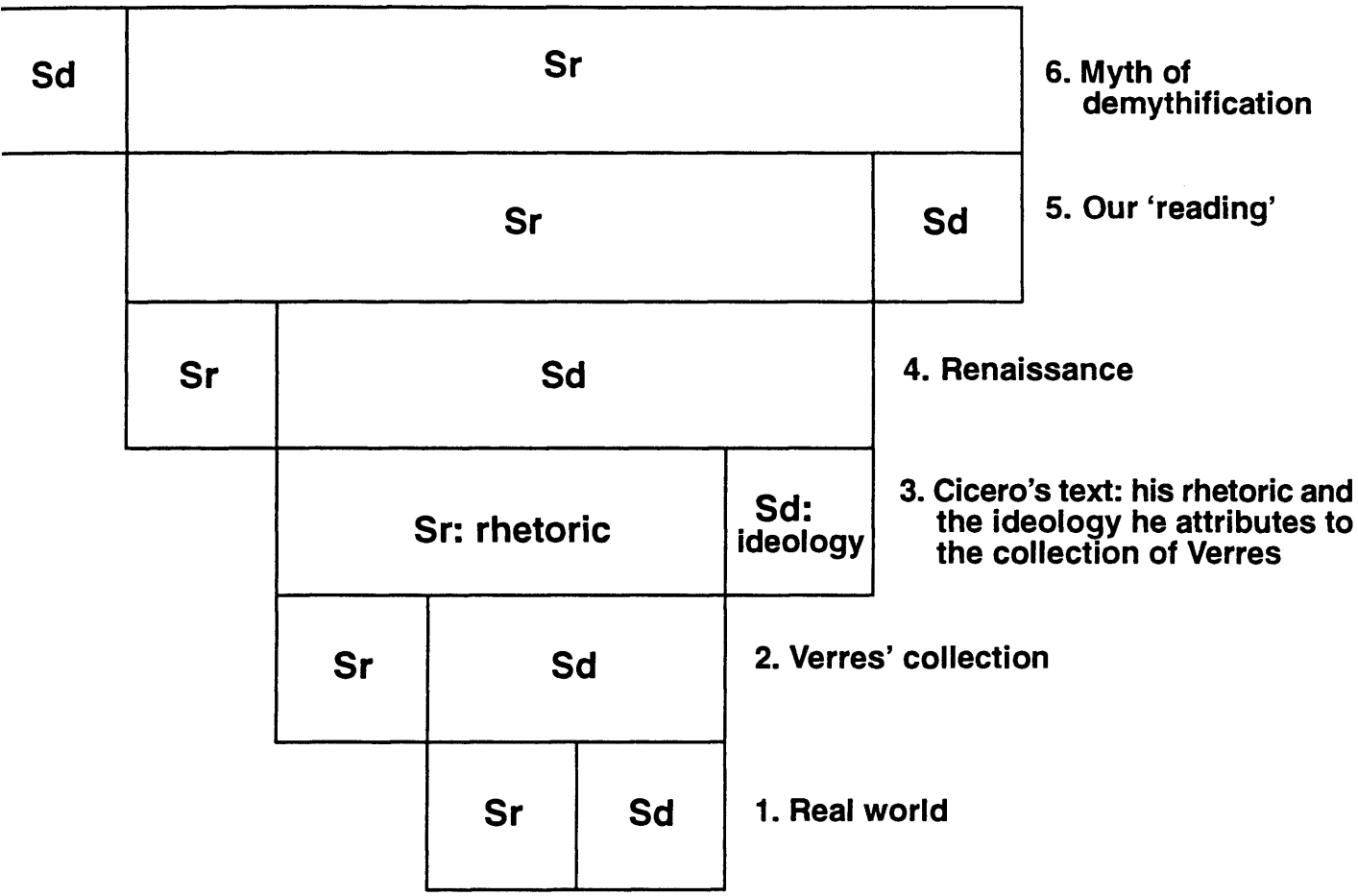
I. Introduction.

A prolific writer and an active participant in the political and intellectual scene of Rome, Cicero[2] is also one of the best testimonies available for our better understanding of the frame of mind of Roman amateurs and collectors. *Verrine Orations* and his *Correspondence*, in particular, but also extracts from other parts of his work, offer an insight into the collecting practices and discourse of the late Republic along with individual and communal responses to them. In fact, there are two collecting paradigms that can be discerned in the Ciceronian work: that of the passionate connoisseur, which finds its best expression in the person of Verres, and that of the rational, intellectual collector, like Cicero himself.

The *Verrines* and Cicero's private *Epistulae*, which illustrate each of the above respectively, have been discussed extensively by scholars, mainly in an attempt to account for the leading orator's reluctance to talk about art in the former text, and about aesthetics in the latter. The formal and public character of the *Verrines*, intended to be delivered (or, rather be read) in front of an audience by Cicero as the prosecutor of Verres, as opposed to the private interests expressed in the *Epistulae*, which were not meant to be published (Conte, 1994b: 203) and were addressed to an intimate friend, is usually a strong argument that accounts for the seemingly contradictory views Cicero professes towards collecting. Nevertheless, his unclear and quite often incoherent ideas on art (Rawson, 1985: 198, nt. 63; Bardon, 1960a: 5) have initiated a debate about his aesthetics and their influence on his collecting discourse and practice (e.g. Göhling, 1877; Bertrand, 1890; Showerman, 1904; Cayrel, 1933; Carcopino, 1969; Bardon, 1960a and 1960b; Michel, 1966; Desmouliez, 1949; 1976). This was based mainly on the widespread, Romantic, assumption that collecting of art relates merely to individual notions of connoisseurship.

It is only recently that the study of the decorative programmes of the houses and villas excavated in Pompeii and elsewhere shed a new light on Cicero's texts, and suggested a compromise, by arguing for an intellectual rationale and social aspirations behind the decoration of the private dwellings of the late Republican Romans (e.g. see Leach, 1988; Marvin, 1989; Bartman, 1994; Leen, 1991; Pantermalis, 1971; Sauron, 1980; Lafon, 1981; Coarelli, 1972; Neudecker, 1988, to mention only a few). Collecting theory is also a new subject that has allowed for alternative views to be developed in relation to the amateurs' interest in objects of virtue. The aim of this chapter therefore is to take these perspectives further, focus on the collecting issues of Cicero's *oeuvre*, and restore them in their unity within the broad context of the Ciceronian philosophical and cultural system, as well as of the collecting history of the long-term (Pearce, 1995).

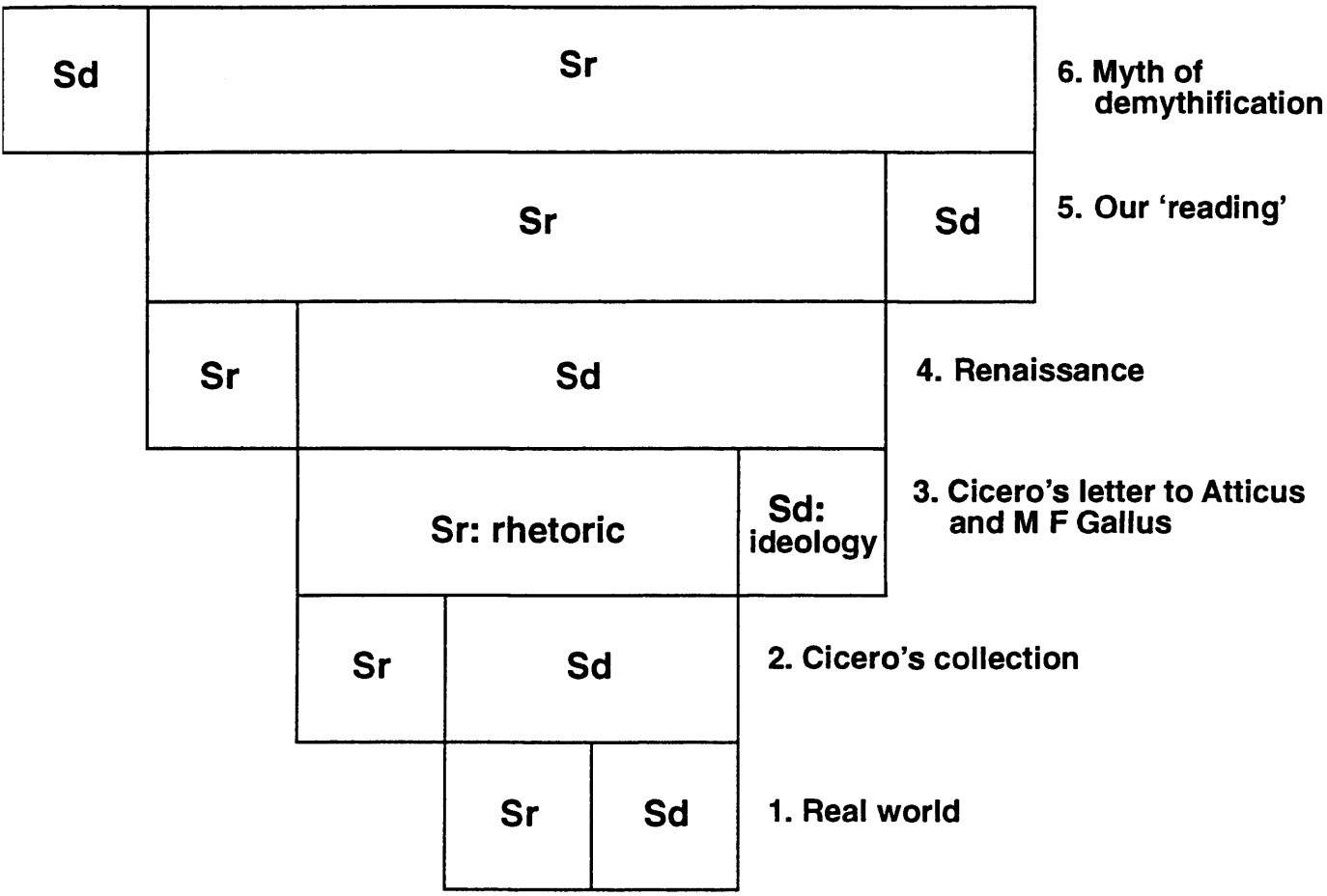
As has rightly been observed, Cicero '[I]n semiotic terms [he] was less interested in the signifier - the arrangement and decoration of his house and gardens - than in the signified - the philosophical and political connotations of his property...' (Leen, 1991: 244-245). This is undoubtedly true, whether he discusses the decoration of his villa, or Verres' collections. Therefore, there will be an attempt here to discuss the rhetoric of each of the texts, and to define the 'signified', the ideology, Cicero promotes in each case (see also figures 9.1 and 9.2). Thus we will be able to reconstruct - as far as possible and within the limitations



Sd = signified

Sr = signifier

Fig. 9.1 Model of analysis applied to Cicero's *Verrine Orations*



Sd = signified

Sr = signifier

Fig. 9.2: Model of analysis applied to Cicero's *Epistulae*

discussed already in chapter 1 - the collecting paradigms of the Roman era. We will argue that Cicero's views on collecting fall within a broader philosophical discourse and his proposal of a cultural model, which although conservative, in the sense that it was still dominated by traditional virtues, aimed to strip them of their rigidity and render them more responsive to a rapidly transforming world (Conte, 1994b: 184). Furthermore, by placing his views within the collecting process of the long-term, we will be able to appreciate the phenomenon to its full extent and impact.

The second part of this chapter will focus on the *Verrine Orations* and the rhetorics and ideology of collecting it advocates. Next, we will turn our attention to Cicero and his private views expressed in his *Correspondance*. All the arguments will be brought together and enriched with examples from other Ciceronian texts, so that in the final part, the conclusions, we will able to evaluate collecting and its significance for Cicero and his era.

II. Verres' collecting paradigm.

Having won the reputation of an honest and scrupulous governor during his quaestorship in Sicily in 75 BCE, Cicero was asked by the Sicilians to prosecute their case against Verres, the governor of their province for the years 73 to 71 BCE.[3] The representatives of important cities of the island (except of Messana and Syracuse) demanded Verres' punishment for the systematic and rapacious looting of their province (*de repetundis*). Cicero managed to overcome the problems Verres' supporters, the old Roman nobility, brought in his way and to collect the necessary evidence in a short time that allowed for the trial to take place before the change of the year, a fact which would have had an immediate impact on the verdict, since the political conditions of the following year were far more favourable to Verres (Q. Hortensius Hortalus, his defense orator was going to be a consul in 69 BCE). In order to speed up the process Cicero chose to deal with the political background of the trial rather than the facts of the case in his opening speech (*Actio Prima*), and to proceed immediately in calling up the witnesses and letting them present the evidence. Overwhelmed by it Verres fled into exile before the second part of the trial, and was sentenced by default.[4] Subsequently, Cicero published the second part of the prosecution speech, *Actio Secunda in Verrem*, in order to demonstrate those oratorical abilities which he had not been able to do in the first part, and to justify Verres' conviction.[5] The *Actio Secunda* is divided into five

books: II.1 (*de praetura urbana*) is a review of Verres' career, where all the misdeeds of his life before becoming the governor of Sicily are presented. The other four orations are devoted to Verres' misbehaviour during his rule of Sicily: II.2 (*de praetura Siciliensi*) refers to his corrupt administration of justice, his supervision of Sicilian elections and his demand of statues to commemorate his office; II.3 (*oratio frumentaria*) is devoted to the mismanagement of the tithes and other matters related to the grain supply of Rome; II.4 (*de signis*) is a detailed account of Verres' thefts of works of art from the province, whereas II.5 describes Verres' conduct while facing of dangers from the slaves' uprising and the pirates, as well as the illegal treatment of Roman citizens (Conte, 1994b: 179, Dickison, 1992, Peterson, 1920: 141-170, Lintott, 1986).

Even though the despoiling of Syracuse is the subject of only one of the five orations of the second *actio*, the importance of the argument relating to the works of art is emphasised by its presence in all the parts of Cicero's prosecution procedure. Even in the *divinatio*, the short speech he delivered in order to prevail against a rival prosecutor, Q. Caecilius, a friend of Verres and member of the Roman nobility, Cicero mentioned this important aspect of Verres' misconduct. In the *exordium* of that speech (i-ix), where he justifies his undertaking of the role of prosecutor, the fact that Verres had 'carried off the holy images of the gods and their most sacred shrines' (I.3 [T178]),[6] and that he had plundered and stolen all the beautiful things of the island (v.19 [T179]), becomes part of Cicero's own moral responsibility towards the people and their province, as well as his ethical justification for undertaking the case. Paragraph I.v.14 [T180] of the first *actio* against Verres is written in a similar spirit. During the presentation of the charge against the ex-governor, Cicero produces a complete list of values attributed to the works of art that had been removed from Sicily: they were famous and ancient (*antiquissima monumenta*), some were gifts of wealthy kings, some of Roman generals who thus commemorated their victories. Others came from the holiest and most venerated sanctuaries (*sanctissimis religionibus*). Whether private or religious, these objects were all of superb workmanship and admirable in terms of antiquity and artistic merit.

The obvious aim of this presentation was to arouse the indignation of the Roman judges towards the man who had the impertinence to remove objects endowed with such a complex and powerful set of associations. Cicero relies largely upon this rhetorical line of argument to support his case against Verres' pillage (Vasaly, 1993: 104). Although the plunder of

precious objects was far from uncommon among his contemporaries, Cicero builds a rhetorical strategy in order to differentiate Verres' deeds from other enterprises, similar in spirit, if not practice, to appropriate and justify the past, and thus alienate and ostracise what Verres represents.

Verres' rapacity, cruelty and wickedness had characterised his life even before he went to Sicily, as Cicero argues in the *de praetura urbana* (II.1). A list of his thefts in Achaia and Asia offered to Cicero the opportunity to attack Verres' moral quality, but it also offers to his readers an insight into the collections held in the East and peoples' feelings about them. We learn that Verres stole pictures and statues, which are not specified, from Achaia, he was responsible for a major theft from the Athenian Acropolis, and he participated in the attempted plundering of Delos by Dolabella (II.1.45-46 [T182-183]). He forcibly carried off statues from Chios, Erythrae and Halicarnassus and removed the statue of the patron god from the island of Tenedos (1.49-51 [T184-185]). He also robbed the sanctuary of Juno (Hera) in Samos and carried away all the statues of the city of Aspendus (ancient city of Pamphylia) (II.1.53-61 [T186]). The city of Perga and the sanctuary of Diana did not escape his greed either (II.4.71 [T217]). All looting resulted in the despair and sorrow of the people who suffered the loss.

Cicero of course is well aware of the fact that impressive as it is, mere enumeration of Verres' thefts is not enough to reach the hearts of the Roman nobility. It was, therefore, necessary to enrich his speech with information that could make it immediately relevant to the Romans, show how these thefts relate to them and steadily build his argument about Verres' un-Roman character (Vasaly, 1993: 110). The stolen objects are all described by Cicero as 'ancient' (*antiquissima*) and beautiful, (*pulcherrima*) (II.1.45-46 [T182-183]; II.1.49-51 [T184-185]). They were not unknown to the Romans, who had seen them during temporary exhibitions organised to celebrate aedilships (as, for instance, the statue of Tenes). It was customary for Romans to ask the owners of celebrated works of art to lend them for the occasion; afterwards, they returned them as appropriate (II.1.49-51).[7] Verres, unlike generals of the past and contemporaries, removed the objects not to display them in public but to keep them for his private enjoyment. Cicero maintains that he had seen the stolen statues from the sanctuary of Samos arranged in Verres' house, when he went to collect the evidence for the trial. They were set by the pillars and in the spaces between them, and also in the garden. When the trial started, Verres tried to mislead the court by transferring the

statues to friends' places, but he still kept two of them (II.1.49-51) 'set beside the rainpool' in his hall (II.1.61 [T186]).

This was quite contrary to the practice of celebrated generals like M. Marcellus, who captured Syracuse, (characterised as a 'treasury of art'), L. Scipio, who prevailed Antiochus in Asia, Flamininus, who conquered king Philip and Macedonia, L. Aemilius Paullus, who overcame king Perseus, L. Mummius, who captured Corinth (a city full of art treasures) and many other cities of Achaia and Boeotia.[8] They offered everything to the gods and the city of Rome, although they had the right to keep their plunder. To the generals of the past, Cicero adds a contemporary of Verres, P. Servilius, who had conquered the city of Olympus. His integrity and virtue is compared to Verres' viciousness. He removed the objects during peacetime, stole them from venerated sanctuaries and stored them in his house, whereas Servilius, after displaying them in his triumphal procession, entered them in the official catalogues of the public Treasury. Cicero, therefore, compares Verres' individualism with the satisfaction the public benefaction entails. In addition, he offers an example of the ideal recording of works of art. This should include the number of statues involved, their size, shape and pose.[9]

On one occasion, we hear, Verres had adorned the Forum and the Comitium (II.1.59-61). Cicero admits remembering it. But he also recalls the ambassadors of Achaia and Asia who were present then in Rome weeping at the sight of their stolen treasures. The fact that Verres displayed some of his spoils in public is not enough to justify his acts. The method of acquisition is also of prime importance. Verres had acquired the objects through robbery and despoiling of friends and allies. The fact that he received encouragement from other 'servants of desire for such things', i.e. passionate collectors according to the orator, is indicative of a certain disease of their society (a fact that may be interpreted in the light of the nobility versus 'new men' controversy).[10]

In the same paragraph we also learn about an art market available for those who wanted to acquire *objets d' art.* How unbecoming the participation in such activities was for a governor is ironically underlined. So is the fact that Verres' accounts were either falsified or non-existent, and, therefore, could not allow for his claims to have purchased the works to be verified.[11]

Verres' avarice regarding objects of virtue and works of art also finds a place in the presentation of his mismanagement of the province of Sicily (II.2 and II.3). Prominent citizens were deprived of their property (II.2.20 [T189], the case of Dio) and legacies (II.2.35-36 [T190]; II.2.46-47 [T191]). Heraclius of Syracuse, for instance, a man who had also a 'crazy passion for such things' (*cupiditate ... insanias*) was forced to submit to Verres all the interesting objects, and family heirlooms he had inherited, after the governor conspired with the '*curatores*' of a park to accuse him of not fulfilling his only condition of inheritance, i.e. to erect statues in the park. Thus, several pairs of goblets, costly silver jugs, a large quantity of fabrics, and some valuable slaves found their way to the house of Verres. The inclusion of slaves in the list of valuables usually is understood to be indicative of the value attributed to human life when enslaved. It would be interesting to reverse this reading though, and consider that it may well be indicative of the value attributed to certain objects (equivalent to that of human beings - see also chapter 3 about gift exchange).

Cicero offers an extensive list of Verres' thefts from public and sacred buildings (fig. 9.3), and also from individuals.[12] These were all collectors, as Cicero's remarks make clear: for instance, he mentions Malleolus (II.1.91 [T187]), who had 'a morbid passion' (*morbo et cupiditate*) for silver plate (a union between himself and Verres); Heraclius of Syracuse felt a 'crazy passion' for such things (II.2.35-36 [T190]). Sthenius of Thermae, whose misfortune is discussed in II.2.83-85 [T193], was also a keen collector (*studiosus*) of Delian and Corinthian bronze of 'special elegance', pictures and fine-wrought silver, objects of 'unusual beauty' that Verres naturally desired and did not hesitate to remove. Nevertheless, Sthenius is contrasted with Verres. Instead of criticizing him for sharing Verres' passion, Cicero justifies his collection with the argument that Sthenius acquired the objects in order to receive his guests appropriately. It is emphasized that the collection was 'less with a view to his own enjoyment' (*non tam suae delectationis causa)* and more for a utilitarian purpose. This is a main point of the Ciceronian discourse: works of art should have a reason for their existence, since mere enjoyment is not enough. Although this could well be a point Cicero makes in order to structure his arguments against Verres and present Sthenius as a victim - which could not be achieved if the man was as guilty of cupidity as Verres himself - it is still an important remark, since it is expected to be a valid and appropriate justification.

Verres, on the contrary, displayed his usual 'cupidity' for which he was 'notorious' all over the world, and 'fell in love' with some 'very fine and ancient statues' (*Interea iste cupiditate*

VERRES' THEFTS (Public)

Location of works	Nature and author	Circumstances	Reference in *De Signis*
Agrigentum			
• temple of Aesculapius	statue of Apollo, by Myron	memorials of P. Scipio	II.4.93
• temple of Hercules	statue of Hercules in bronze		II.4.94
Assore			
• temple of the River Chrysas	marble statue of the River Chrysas one small statue of bronze		II.4.96
Catina (Catane)			
sanctuary of Ceres	statue of Ceres	stolen by slaves	II.4.99
Engyion			
sanctuary of the Grand Mother	Corinthian helmets and breastplates, waterpots, and other artefacts from the same material	they were offered by Scipio and had his name engraved on	II.4.97
Henna			
• temple	marble statue of Ceres		
• temple	statue of Libera one more, bronze with torches		II.4.109-110
• in front of the temple of Ceres	statue of Ceres carrying a Victory		
• left in place	statue of Triptoleme		
Segesta	bronze statue of Diana	taken by the Carthaginians and restored by Scipio	II.4.72
Syracuse			
• temple of Apollo	statue of Apollo Temenite		II.4.119
• temple of Minerva	pictures presenting the cavalry of Agathocles,		II.4.122
	27 portraits of the kings and tyrants of Sicily,		II.4.123
	the ivory ornaments of the doors of the temple	Verres removed the ivory carvings of the door which where done with major interest and art; in these were included	II.4.124

		the very beautiful head of Medusa surrounded by serpents	
Syracuse			
• (prutaneion)	a statue of Sappho by Silanion	an ancient inscription on its base that Verres apparently could not read	II.4.126-127
• temple of Aesculapius	statue of Paean		II.4.127
• temple of Bacchus	statue of Aristaeus		II.4.128
• temple of Jupiter	statue of Jupiter Imperator that the Greeks called Urios		II.4.128
• temple of Libera	a marble bust from Paros		II.4.130
Tyndaris			
• gymnasium • various locations	a statue of Mercury from all the sacred edifices marble tables from Delphe bronze vessels large number of Corinthian vases		II.4.131
Melita (island)			
temple of Juno	huge ivory tusks, great quantity of other ivory, many objetcs of art including figures of Victory	had been removed from King Masinissa during the Punic War - returned with written apologies	II.4.103

Fig. 9.3: Public thefts of Verres from Sicily and Melita (after Chevallier, 1991: 115-116)

illa sua nota atque apud omnes pervagata, cum signa quaedam pulcherrima atque antiquissima Thermis in publico possita vidisset, adamavit' (II.2.85 [T193]). These were held in public in Thermae (II.2.87-88 [T194]): they included the bronze statues of Himera, 'of exceptional beauty', of the poet Stesichorus, 'a very fine work of art', and of a she-goat, 'a clever and charming bit of work'. Verres, who had a 'frantic craving to acquire' (*ad insaniam concupiverat*) is contrasted with Scipio Africanus, one of the heroes of the Latin tradition. Scipio preferred to return the objects to the people of Thermae, instead of keeping them to decorate his own house. His justification for such a preference is presented by Cicero, and seems valid for contemporary donors of collections as well: if Scipio had kept them, the objects would have been called his own while he was alive. Afterwards, they would have been called his inheritors'. By returning them, he ensured that they would be remembered always as his.

The political implication that Verres' behaviour had for Rome and its relations to alliances and friends is a subject quite frequently mentioned by Cicero (e.g. II.2.142 [T196]; II.2.158-159 [T198-199]; II.5.126-127 [T230]; II.4.60-71 [T216-217]). But it is also a question of internal politics: Cicero wonders how could the judges, and in consequence the Roman people, tolerate the private and public spaces of Rome to be filled with objects that were acquired in such a manner. The orator posed a dilemma to his audience: would they forgive Verres and prove that they shared his 'greedy passion', and ignore the country's tradition, history and pride (to which Verres was continually opposed) or punish the man and prove that although they liked fine things, they were rationally predisposed against them? (II.3.9)

This argument finds its intellectual justification in another work by Cicero written many years after the oration against Verres. In passage III.30-32 [T282] of the *De Legibus*, a political treatise written by Cicero in 52 BCE, the same idea becomes more concrete. Cicero directly accuses the Roman senatorial order of not providing the correct role model for the rest of the citizens. He refutes the argument of Lucius Lucullus, who in an attempt to justify the criticism of his luxury and abundance of works of art in his villa at Tusculum, had claimed that he had the right to enjoy a quality of life maintained even by his neighbours who were inferior in rank and wealth (an *eques* and a freedman). Cicero argues that 'if you had not indulged in it, it would not have been permitted for them to do so' (*non vides, Luculle, a te id ipsum natum, ut illi cuperent?)*, and suggests therefore that it is the behaviour of the prominent men of a country that is imitated and has to offer a role model for all the

others to follow. If they approve, or simply allow, the citizens to fill their houses with statues, paintings, and other objects, which were partly public property and partly sacred (*partim publicis, partim etiam sacris et religiosis*), then they are 'guilty of the same passions' (*cupiditatis eiusdem tenerentur*), and share the same 'inordinate' (*eorum libidiness*) desires. A transformation in a country, Cicero argues, needs to start from the way the leading men of it live. Such a power is entrusted to their hands.[13]

In book II.4 of the *Actio Secunda* all the arguments regarding collecting and works of art are resumed and expanded. Verres appropriated everything 'his heart has coveted': vessels of silver, Corinthian and Delian bronze, pearls and jewellery, bronze, marble or ivory statuary, paintings, embroidery. Whether in private dwellings, public buildings, or sanctuaries, it did not make any difference - it was the same, whether the owner was an ally or an enemy, a Sicilian or a Roman (II.4.1-2 [T200]). In order to present his case, Cicero links the individual accounts thematically and develops them through a number of repeated images and ideas (Vasaly, 1993: 110-111).

The first incident he discusses is the removal of the statues from the *sacrarium* of Heius in Messana (II.4.4-28 [T201-204]; also II.2.13 [T188]).[14] This was an extremely sacred place (*sacrarium....perantiquum*) handed down to Heius from his ancestors. Within it, and behind altars, stood four statues of exceptional beauty - a marble Cupid by Praxiteles, placed next to a bronze Hercules by Myron, and two small-scale bronze Canephoroe (maidens carrying baskets). Cicero pays special attention to the Cupid, which was similar to the one by the same artist in Thespiae (a city of Boeotia in Greece); when Mummius captured the city, he respected and did not carry away this statue because it was consecrated; but he removed all the other celebrated, profane statues, among which was the 'Ladies of Thespiae' which was then transferred to the Temple of Good Fortune. Heius' Cupid had been borrowed earlier by G. Claudius Pulcher to celebrate his aedilship and was returned to its owner after the end of the celebrations. Cicero contrasts this behaviour with that of Verres. The only object that was left behind was a wooden figure of Good Fortune, an object possibly too primitive to attract Verres' interest. All the previous governors of Sicily had visited the chapel, which was open daily for visitors,[15] but none before him had the impudence to remove the statues. Cicero invests the objects in question with mystery, importance and value for outsiders (*idiotae*, II.4.4-5 [T201]) and Heius alike. Besides their aesthetic value, that traditionally ordinary Romans would not appreciate, as Cicero constantly reminds his audience, the

objects had sacred value for Heius; they were handed down to him from his ancestors, they were worshipped by him and his family, they were part of his patrimonial duties and responsibilities, as well as honour.

In the next part of the narrative (II.4.11-14 [T202]), Cicero confronts the claim of the defense that Verres had purchased, rather than extorted, the objects from Heius. Cicero refutes the argument by evidence and by probability: the 'purchase' was not allowed, but even if it was, the amount stated in Verres' inadequate accounts is absurdly low - an equivalent of £16! The current practice of the art market of Rome[16] would have put higher prices on works by the Old Masters. Of course, the orator hurries to claim that he does not share these views and places little value on such objects. He contrasts that with the value attributed to them by Verres - although the price he allegedly paid was low enough, the fact that he risked a public scandal and violent censure shows the importance he bestowed on them. Cicero notes that it was not uncommon in his day for a small bronze to fetch (an equivalent of) £400 in the market, and usually people were prepared to pay even more to acquire what they wanted (Cicero himself, according to Pliny's testimony, *HN,* 13.91 [T26]). He then makes another valid point: the prices of objects depend on people's desire for them.[17] On the other hand, Cicero argues that Heius had no reason, financial or other, to sell the statues at all, much less for such a sum.

In the final part (II.4.15-28 [T203-205]), Heius' feelings towards the objects are once more emphasised: they were sacred (*sacra*, II.4.17), handed down to him from his forefathers (II.4.17, *deos penatis...patrios*). He, therefore, demands that the 'images of the gods' (*deorum simulacra)* be returned to him. The deep piety that motivates Heius is expected to be shared by the Roman senators, if it is not by Cicero himself. There is a clear contrast between Verres, who had no shame, no sense of piety, no fear (II.4.18 [T203]: *pudor/religio/metus*) and did not hesitate to steal the statues from his host, and Heius (and Cicero and the Roman jurors, in consequence) who appreciated their religious value, and their role as paternal gods and demanded their restitution (II.4.18: *quia religioni suae... in dis patriis repetendis... proximus fuit*); Heius' moral quality is further underlined by his compliance with the laws of his city, that had sent him to praise and defend the man who had robbed him of everything dear and sacred (II.4.16).

In this narrative, the statues, and Cupid in particular, constitute the focal visual image used to symbolise ideas and arguments. They are associated with the acts of greed from Verres, of piety from Heius and of rationality from Cicero and his audience. The statue of Cupid and the reference to its similar Cupid of Thespiae is an opportunity to make a comparison between Verres and Marcellus. Cicero distinguishes between the practices of *evocatio* and the plundering of Verres on the sacred versus profane grounds (II.4.122 [T226]). He indicates that the Romans believed that the sacred objects that became victims of the Roman arms were 'deconsecrated'. Marcellus, after the fall of Syracuse, 'had rendered all things profane' (II.4.122). There is a great distance, therefore, between Verres and the generals' plundering. The former removed the objects when still sacred, and thus his behaviour was utterly disgraceful and sacrilegious (Vasaly, 1993: 107).

The list of Verres' thefts includes more collectors that the ex-governor deprived of their objects: Phylarchus of Centurippa, from whom Verres removed embossed silverware, once the property of king Hiero; Aristus of Panhomus, from whom Verres took another famous set; Cratippus of Tyndaris, who was the owner of a third (II.4.29 [T205]). The discussion of the theft of the artefacts of Pamphilus from Lilybaeum is preceded by a presentation of Verres' methods of acquiring objects: he had agents chosen to pursue the booty on his behalf. These were two brothers, Tleptolemus and Hiero from Cibyra, both artists, accused of having robbed a temple, who found support and protection in Verres' retinue. When Pamphilus was asked to submit his beautifully decorated cups to the governor, after he had already been robbed of his exquisite jug made by Boethus, he resolved his distress and melancholy by bribing the two men and keeping his objects. This incident is characteristic for a number of reasons. First, it aims to question the moral quality of Verres' accomplices, who did not hesitate to betray for money even the man who had rescued them. Second, it aims to question Verres' capacity as a connoisseur. Cicero argues that Verres was below all human levels and thus not endowed with the humanity necessary for art appreciation. (Of course, this does not answer how the two brothers - who were not much better qualified in moral terms - could perform aesthetic judgments). Cicero, therefore, assumes that Verres tried hard to pose as a connoisseur, although he was not one. As an example of his attempts and evidence not only of the importance he attributed to such a public perception, but also of his incurable relationship and attachment to objects, Cicero mentions the events that took place at the house of L. Sisenna at a dinner party held there, after the trial had already started. Verres, although currently accused of exactly these vices, did not hesitate to inspect

closely the silverware, much to the amazement of all those present, who would have expected more restrained behaviour. It was also an act, Cicero argues, dictated by his incredible passion - since no connoisseurship, as Cicero understands it, can be attributed to the man. In any case, the orator uses the incident to argue that since Verres could not control his passion when in danger, he could certainly not do so when the circumstances were different. Finally, the incident reminds us that Verres' passion was shared by other people as well, Pamphilus being one.

Other thefts include those from Marcus Coelius, Gaius Cacurius, Quintus Lutatius Diodorus (from whom he took a citrus-wood table), Apollonius of Drepanum (who had become a Roman citizen with the name Aulus Clodius - this is the only theft Cicero justifies on the grounds that this person was so disreputable that he deserved it), Lyso of Drepanum (from whom Verres took a statue of Apollo), and Gaius Marcellus (chased goblets). Cicero summarises Verres' activities with this phrase 'reveal you not merely his greed, but the insanity, the madness, that sets him apart from all other men' *('...rem eius modi ut amentiam singularem et furorem iam, non cupiditatem eius perspicere possitis')* (II.4.38 [T210]).

The list of people who had suffered from Verres includes Diodorus from Melita, whom the governor attempted to deprive of his embossed silverware, of the Thericlian type, made by Mentor. Verres conceived a passionate desire for them, without actually having seen the objects. While he sent to ask for them, Diodorus left the island and chose to stay in exile rather than lose his exquisite plate. Verres considered himself 'robbed' of the objects he did not succeed in acquiring, and felt an irrational rage about the loss. Cicero compares his feelings with that of Eriphyle, the mythical queen who became responsible for her husband's death because of her greed for an object. Verres was even worse, according to Cicero, since his passion was aroused merely by hearing about the objects' beauty; he did not need to see them (II.4.39 [T210]). The governor did not hesitate to prosecute Diodorus (a glance at his own fate - see Pliny, *HN,* 34.6-8)[18] because of his covetous desire for his figured silver plate. Diodorus went to Rome and asked for the support of important figures there. But it was only with the intervention of Verres' father that he managed to save his life, although he still could not return to Syracuse.

The narrative of Verres' villainous activity continues with more examples of his thefts. The knight Gnaeus Calidius had also a collection of 'beautiful' silver plate, although, like

Sthenius before, he intended them to be used to decorate his house and entertain his guests. But of all the visitors G. Calidius received in his house, it was only Verres, the unscrupulous and impudent 'madman', who had the arrogance to remove these 'famous' and beautiful artefacts. The enumeration of thefts has no end. Lucius Papinius was another victim, from whom Verres took embossed silverware. He returned the vessels, after having removed the decoration. Cicero points out that this was part of Verres' attempt to be thought of as a connoisseur, not interested in precious metals, but in precious artefacts; a claim that Cicero later refutes, when he refers to the removal of the gold knobs from the doors of the temple of Minerva at Syracuse (II.4.124 [T226]). Aeschylius and Thrasso, both of Tyndaris and Nymphodorus of Agrigentum, were also Verres' victims. He could not resist a beautiful object even when the sacred rules of hospitality did not allow such behaviour. For instance, he did not hesitate to take a plate during a dinner organised for him by his host Gnaeus Pompeius (Philo) of Tyndaris, or two small cups when he was invited to dine with Eupolemus of Calacte (II.4.46 [T212]). In all cases, Verres returned the objects after he had removed the artwork.

Sicily, Cicero argues, had a tradition of producing such objects of art; it was natural, therefore, for all households to have specimens of these products of ancient artists and of fine craftsmanship. The Sicilians appreciated them as treasures. Verres removed all of them, in order to satisfy not only 'his single appetite, not the lust of his eyes, but the perverted desires of all the most covetous of men' (*Nonne robis id egisse videtur ut non unius libidinem, non suos oculos, sed omnium cupidissimorum insanias, cum Romam revertisset expleret?*) (II.4.45 [T212]). These thefts, conducted mainly by Verres' agents who, like 'hounds', hunted everything of some value, left the women of the island most distressed. Although they were small things, Cicero continues, women tend to get distressed about them. There is here the now familiar motif of women's relation to material culture: 'poor' women value these objects that they use for their religious ceremonies, that they have in their homes, and have inherited from their kinsmen (II.4.44-52 [T212-213]). A sentimental relationship with objects thus is attributed easily to effeminacy.

When Cicero illustrates with his words the situation in every city (e.g. Catina, Agyrium, Halluntium - see fig. 9.4 for their location), where Verres ordered the inhabitants to bring him their valuables, we get a clear picture of people's feelings about them, as well as about the appreciation and value these enjoyed. The scenes described during the plundering of

Figure 9.4: Map of Sicily (after Dickison, 1992: ii).

Halluntium resemble that of Ilium, after the Trojan horse was admitted. Vessels were stripped of their decoration (like women of their clothes), they were torn from women's hands (like children from their mothers), the houses were forced open for the objects to be taken away (just like they would do for people). And everybody was in the deepest distress at loosing their beautiful silver treasures to the hands of a stranger. After the depredation had finished, the people with their stripped vessels in their hands returned home - a description very much resembling that of people returning home after the war.

As soon as Verres had collected (*collegerat*) all these decorations, he set up a workshop and had them attached onto new gold vessels of his own. He used to attend the workshop in a grey tunic and a Greek mantle (II.4.54 [T214]), another sign of incomprehensible, effeminate behaviour, that proved the un-Roman attitude of the ex-governor (see also Desmouliez, 1976: 242-243 with similar views).

The narrative is enriched with other minor events, like Verres dragging off the signet-ring of Lucius Titius, or the description of his 'incredible passion' for furnishings and woven cloth (another traditionally sacred category of artefacts) (II.4.58 [T215]), until Cicero comes to discuss another major theft, that of the candelabrum that Verres tricked Antiochus, crown prince of Syria, into surrendering (II.4.60-71 [T216-217]). The story starts with Verres tricking the prince into surrendering a series of precious objects of unique workmanship, among which were gold vessels adorned with jewels, a wine vessel with a ladle hollowed out of a single precious stone and a handle of gold. He borrowed them, never to return them to their owner's hands. But such an act was really minor compared with the theft of a magnificent candelabrum the prince intended to dedicate to the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in the Capitol, as soon as it was restored, after the fire of 83 BCE. This was not a simple act of theft. The gods were violated, the reputation and authority of the Romans was impaired, the duties of hospitality betrayed and the interest of the Roman state harmed. The symbolism of this behaviour is stereotypical: Verres was greedy, impious, cruel. Cicero wished at this point to mark the degeneration of Verres into the archetypal tyrant, a man who resembled the cruel tyrants of the island before the Romans (II.4.73 [T218]; II.4.123 [T226]; II.5.145) (Vasaly, 1993: 118-119).

Immediately after that, Cicero recounts the story of the theft of the statue of Diana from Segesta (II.4.72-83 [T218]), an ancient city related to Rome through their common founder,

Aeneas. Segesta was the host of an ancient statue of Diana, a work of fine workmanship. The statue had been plundered by the Carthaginians. Many years later, when Carthage fell to Scipio Aemilianus, the statue was returned and reinstalled with an inscription commemorating the Roman general. When Verres, the 'enemy of all that is holy and sacred' (*sacrorum omniumet religionum hostis*) (II.4.75) saw the statue, he became almost mad with desire to acquire it. Cicero leads his audience to see the meaning of the statue in religious terms, but also as a monument to Scipio's victory and a symbol of Roman rule (II.4.75; II.4. 78). Verres' corrupt administration blackened the reputation of the upper classes and endangered the Roman power and hegemony. The statue comes to stand for the virtues of the Roman rule, justice, diligence, self-control, protection of the wretched (II.4.81).

The same issue of the value of objects and their significance recurs in the speech. Already in II.2.88 [T194] Cicero had offered the signifieds of the objects in question: they were 'the memorial of our fathers', 'trophies of victory', 'gifts of illustrious benefactors', 'tokens of their alliance and friendship with the Roman nation'. Similarly, in II.4.88 [T220] he refers to the removal of the statue of Mercury from Tyndaris as a multiple offence: against monetary issues, since the statue was particularly valuable in the art market; against the Roman people, since it is to them that the statue ultimately belonged: it had been taken from Rome's major enemy and erected by one of its leading generals; a crime of treason, since Verres removed the memorial of Roman triumph, fame and power, as well as of impiety because it was also a holy object; finally, a crime of cruelty because its removal meant the torture of friends and allies of Rome. Similar patterns appear in paragraph II.4.93-96 [T221-222] where Verres' thefts (of a beautiful statue of Apollo by Myron, also a memorial of Scipio) from the temple of Aesculapius at Argigentum is recorded, along with the removal of a bronze image of Hercules by his sanctuary in the same city. People were devastated of the 'loss of so many things at once: Scipio's benefaction, their own religious peace of mind, their city's art treasures, the record of their victory, the evidence of their alliance with Rome'.

More examples of similar ideas are recorded: the removals of the statue of the River Chrysas from Agrigentum, of the Corinthian breastplates, helmets and vessels from the sanctuary of Great Mother near Engyion. All these were symbolic events depriving the people of objects bestowed with ideological value: spoils, memorials of great commanders, ornaments of the holy place, from then onwards they were destined to be described as Verres' property

(II.4.96-99 [T222]). The dichotomy between private and public comes thus to the forefront, along with questions of aesthetic appreciation. Is it possible for such behaviour to originate from the appreciation of beautiful things? The answer is negative, since it entails qualities Verres lacked: he was uncultivated, illiterate and ludicrous. On the other hand, Scipio, who was quite the opposite and thus could appreciate the aesthetic value of such works, was rational enough to judge them appropriate for adorning cities and temples, and for being memorials for future generations, rather than individual property.

The fourth extended narrative of *De Signis* (II.4.105-115 [T225]) refers to the removal from the shrine of Ceres at Henna of the most sacred cult image of the goddess - a bronze statue of outstanding workmanship, although of moderate size. He carried off also an extraordinarily beautiful (II.4.110 [T202]: *pulcherrime factum*) statue of Victory, standing on the right hand of the goddess. As previously (and quite unlike what he had claimed about Verres' motives), the orator denies that consideration of monetary loss was the principal complaint, and attributes the grief, indignation and desperation of the inhabitants to the sacrilegious character of such an act. Verres once again is compared to the ancient tyrants, who were cruel, governed by whims rather than reason, greedy for wealth and power, dissatisfied with everything. The portrait Cicero draws of Verres presents extraordinary similarities with that of Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, whom he describes in his *De Natura Deorum*, one of the philosophical works, written in 45 BCE (Conte, 1994b). In passage III.83-84 [T262] Cicero describes the sacrilegious acts of Dionysius: apart from plundering the temple of Proserpina at Locri, he stole from the temple of Zeus at Olympia the god's golden mantle that had been a present of the tyrant Gelo after his victory over the Carthaginians; from Epidaurus, he removed the golden beard of the statue of Aesculapius. From both sanctuaries he appropriated the Victories and the vessels that stood in the open hands of the statues, as well as all the silver tables. When he returned to Syracuse, he sold everything at an auction, only to issue a proclamation soon afterwards whereby he ordered all those who had sacred objects to return them immediately. Dionysius was a man who did not hesitate to do injustice to gods and humans alike; neither fear, nor piety prevented him. It is interesting to note the marked similarities between Verres and this cruel tyrant.

Moreover, there is another characteristic of the tyrant - and the collector - that functions as a kind of emblem for the depravity of his character: it is the sexual *libido*. Verres had this characteristic, as well. It is evidenced not only through his behaviour to women (II.1.63-85),

but also in relation to images of women. In II.4.5 [T201], for instance, two of the statues removed from Heius had the appearance and clothing of virgins; in II.4.7 [T201], the marble Cupid regretted his end in the house of a prostitute; the statue of Diana in Segesta was that of a virgin (II.4.74), that nobody 'could lay hands upon' (II.4.77), except Verres, of course. In Syracuse, Verres also removed beautiful paintings and exquisite doors from the temple of Minerva, thereby 'transferring the embellishments of the virgin Minerva to the house of a prostitute' (II.4.123 [T226]). The seizure of the image of Ceres, the goddess most sacred to Sicily, could not but be the culmination of his acts. And the symbolism goes further. Since the story starts with the abduction of Proserpina from Pluto, Cicero brings Verres to resemble Orcus (Pluto) (II.4.111: *alter Orcus*); and exactly as Ceres (Demeter) mourned the loss of her daughter to the distress of people, so did this abduction end in the general desolation and the abandonment of the rich Sicilian fields. Cicero wished his audience to 'read' the events as an allegory of Verres' rape of Sicily herself.[19] The vocabulary Cicero chose in order to discuss Verres' thefts very frequently reveals the disturbed sexuality of the passionate collector: '*cupiditas*' (love) (II.4.41-42 [T211]; 44-49 [T212]; 58 [T215]; 85 [T219]; 96-99 [T222]; 101 [T223] and so on), '*concupisco*' (to desire) (II.4.87-88 [T220]; 101 [T223]), '*libido*' (desire) (II.4.44-49 [T212]), are the terms Cicero uses to describe the acts of Verres and, by extension, the man himself.

Among the thefts from the public and sacred places are included also those from the island of Melita. There was a temple of Juno there, which held many works of art and rarities. Among them there were ivory tusks of incredible size which were transferred to king Masinissa, after the Punic army captured the island. However, even he returned them immediately with his written apologies when he realised where the tusks came from. Verres, on the contrary, knowingly removed the tusks from the holy sanctuary along with other ivories and objects of art, ancient and of exquisite workmanship (II.4.103 [T224]). In addition, he stole the adornments of the door of the temple of Minerva in Syracuse, along with twenty-seven pictures, including portraits of the tyrants and kings of Sicily, that besides their aesthetic value were also of historical importance, since they preserved for the future generations the likenesses of these important public figures (II.4.121-124 [T226]).[20] This remark evidences another quality - that of evidence - attributed to objects, by Cicero; consequently, this means that he expects his audience to understand and appreciate his point (maybe related to the tradition of family wax portraits).

Although quite frequently in his speech Cicero refers to works of art with terms that display admiration (e.g. *pulcherrima*), he is very cautious not to be too enthusiastic about them. He continually professes personal ignorance in matters of art.[21] He claims little aesthetic judgment himself - not equal to the number of statues he had seen (II.4.94 [T221]). He calls himself and his audience '*idiotae*' (II.4.4 [T201]) and '*rudes*' (II.2.87) in the field of art, and, although well informed about the art market, he denies that he places any value on objects of this sort (II.4.13 [T202]), a statement easily proved rhetorical by comparison with information from other sources and with passages from other parts of his work.[22] When describing the statues from the shrine of Heius, he pretends not to remember the names of Praxiteles, Myron and Polyclitus (II.4.4-5 [T201]). On the other hand, he refers with an almost patronising tone to the feelings of the Greeks towards their objects (II.4.132-134 [T228]; II.4.124 [T226]). Even statues of their enemies, like Mithridates, were held in honour and protected - except of that of Verres (II.2.157-158 [T197]). For this reason, generals of the past had allowed the conquered people to retain many of the works that offered - unduly - such delight to them, as a kind of solace for the loss of their independence (II.4.124 [T226]; 135 [T229]). It is highly improbable, Cicero reassures the judges, that the Greek cities would agree willingly to sell to Verres any of the works of art in their possession (II.4.132-134 [T228]). The attachment to objects, therefore, is presented as another un-Roman characteristic that Verres shares with the Greeks.

The procedure against Verres was a character trial (May, 1988). Cicero's rhetoric relied on differentiating between two ways of relating to material culture: one rational, patriotic, religious, the other irrational, insane and profane. Both were well-known to his audience. Cicero only had to underline the moral and ideological investment in each of them, sketching a clear model, possibly much more simplified than the one he and the judges shared in real life. For this reason, Cicero's speeches are invaluable for the insight they offer into the collecting of the antique world. The audience had to decide which model they preferred, and on which side of this set of binary pairs they stood, in theory if not in practice:

Verres	:	Cicero
robbery	:	purchase
libido	:	*logos*
insania	:	rationality
non-religious	:	religious

profane	:	sacred
treason	:	patriotic sentiment
enjoyment	:	utility
delectatio	:	*decor*
inappropriate	:	appropriate
house	:	temple/public building
private	:	public
individual	:	collective
monetary interest	:	connoisseurship
monetary interest	:	humanity
tyrant	:	Roman rule

There is no reason to argue that Cicero in the *Verrines* expresses his disapproval of collecting as a notion and a practice already largely present in the Roman world. On the contrary, by introducing an extensive list of individual collectors, along with the public collections, and by using the objects to reveal the character of their owners, he admits a profound understanding of the power and role of material culture in shaping human identity. It is exactly on this point that he founds his prosecution strategy. Verres is the character that Cicero wants to incriminate, and it is the *kind* of collection he kept, the *way* he had acquired it, and the *ideology* it conveyed that are used in order to achieve that. The orator manipulates his audience to feel repelled by the values Verres bestows on his collection, and not by the collection itself.

Other collectors, Cicero argues, endow their collections with different values, and render them respectable and justified. Heius' assemblage, for instance, is cherished and appreciated as an example of a 'good' collection, for expressing piety towards the gods, and compliance to the ancestral tradition, a sentiment with which the Roman audience could certainly empathise. Antiochus of Syria used the objects of his collection to honour his guests, and treated the precious candelabrum described in the narrative as a token of his piety and respect for the chief Roman god and the Roman state. The citizens of Segesta also endowed the statue of Diana with their admiration and respect for Scipio Aemilianus (II.4.82), and they understood it to form a bond between their city and Rome. Similarly, in Henna, the statue of Ceres was seen as a deposition of piety and honour upon the city in particular, and the island in general (Vasaly, 1993: 126). The assemblage of the artefacts, or even the

objects themselves are not criticised by Cicero. It is the collecting paradigm of Verres that meets with his disapproval and contempt.

Verres had all the characteristics of a vicious man, and a 'bad' collector. His passion for the material collected reached the point of insanity. His relationships with other people were problematic, and largely formed through donating objects (for example, see the gift of a Sphinx to his lawyer, Hortensius).[23] His love for works of art, as compared to his cruelty towards people, testifies to the disturbed nature of his character, including his sexuality (Forrester, 1994; Edgar, 1997). Greedy (he had too many objects, and he was still unsatisfied), tyrannically cruel, and villainous, Verres represents the 'bad' collector, the dangerous kind, whose relation with material culture resembles that of Eriphyle. His collection, then, can be described as follows:

collection	:	collection
Verres	:	Cicero
Orcus	:	Jupiter
Eriphyle	:	Ceres
profane	:	sacred/mystified/mysterious
traitor	:	patriotic
woman	:	man
useless	:	useful
otium	:	*negotium*
inappropriate	:	appropriate
occupy living space	:	'*ornamenta*'
meaningless	:	meaningful
without a context	:	in a context
Greek	:	Roman
bad	:	good
abnormal	:	normal
non-virtuous	:	virtuous
dangerous	:	safe

Nevertheless, Verres was not a unique example of such a collecting mode. Similar behaviour (or, similar 'readings' of collecting) is recorded in other parts of Cicero's works.

In the *Paradoxa Stoicorum,* V.36-38 [T278], for instance, the very first of his philosophical works, written in 46 BCE, and dedicated to Marcus Brutus (Conte, 1994b), Cicero openly criticises those who take *excessive* delight in statues and pictures, Corinthian bronzes, and silver plate. His disapproval relies on their belief that the possession of these objects makes them superior to the rest of the world. This is not true, he argues; on the contrary, the people 'who had given themselves up to coveting that sort of thing' occupy the lowest place in the slave-order. He accuses them of not holding a spirit deserving praise when they stand 'spell-bound' in front of a statue or a picture (*stupidum detinet*). Even if the questions of provenance and method of acquisition are ignored, the mere fact of being enchanted by works of art, of 'gazing and marvelling and uttering cries of admiration' (*intuentem te admirantem calmores tollentem cum video*) is enough to denote a slave of material culture. The fact that these objects are delightful, does not justify such behaviour. In this case, Cicero admits that he has 'trained eyes' (*oculos eruditos habemus*) as well. But clearly he draws a line and urges the Roman citizens not to allow appreciation to take them too far. As he did repeatedly in the *Verrines*, he brings to the discussion the celebrated generals of the past, Mummius and Manius Curius, and rhetorically asks how would they have felt if they could see their compatriots handle 'eagerly' and 'covetously' the artefacts (*matellionem Corinthium cupidissime tranctantem*), products and symbols of ideas and people they had fought against (*cum ipse totam Corinthium contempsisset*). The same pattern of 'covetousness' and its result for people occur in other paragraphs of the same work (paragraphs 13, 49 [T277-279]). It is evident that Cicero places the emphasis not with the collection *per se*, but with the loss of moderation regarding the collectors' desire for them. Other collectors who had lost their moderation and had succumbed to let their desire lead their life are also mentioned. In *Philippics* II.109 [T289], Antonius, for instance, is presented as so irrational that he even removed from the city objects that had been donated to the Roman people by Caesar himself. His irrationality is compared to that of Verres; he was the one who proscribed the ex-governor for not submitting his Corinthian bronze (Pliny, *HN*, 34.6-8). In the *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino* (XLVI.133 [T292]), Cicero uses the collection in order to criticise Chrysogonus: the abundance of objects, the man's irrational behaviour displayed in the enormous amount he had paid for a single vessel, his luxury and insatiable appetite for acquisitions, become indicative of his moral unworthiness.

The notion of desire is discussed by Cicero in an interesting passage from the philosophical dialogue *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*. This was written in 45 BCE, and was dedicated

to M. Brutus, as are many others of Cicero's works (Conte, 1994b); it deals with ethical questions, i.e. the problem of the highest good and the highest evil, as the title indicates. In books 1 and 2, it is the Epicurean philosophy which is examined. On more than one occasions Cicero refers to works of art as being sources of pleasure (*voluptas* and *delectatio*) (II.207; II. 23-24 [T284]). Nevertheless, in paragraph II.115 [T285] he argues that those who believe that pleasure is the chief good decide that with the lower part of their mind, i.e. the faculty of desire (*nisi quod is qui voluptatem summum bonum esse decernit non cum ea parte animi in qua inest ratio atque consilium, sed cum cupiditate, id est cum animi levissima partem deliberat?).* This is a central notion in Ciceronian philosophy and in his collecting paradigm alike. When a man admits pleasure as the chief good, it is because he operates outside *Logos*, which should provide his prime guidance. The faculty of desire misleads men, and drives them to misbehaviour and sacrilege. In the case of Verres, this has been amply exemplified. This paragraph is also an example of Cicero's disapproval of the doctrine of 'art for art's sake' and, consequently, of his entirely different way of understanding collecting and art.

III. Cicero's collecting practice and discourse.

To unravel Cicero's character and personality, the clues provided by his *Correspondence* with friends and acquaintances are invaluable. These are real letters, not written in order to be published, and show the unofficial side of Cicero, who reveals and shares his thoughts, doubts, fears, concerns and wishes. The style in which they are written confirms their genuine character, and reflects the everyday language of Rome. Four main sets of letters have been transmitted to us: the first consists of sixteen books of *Epistulae ad Familiares*, friends and relatives, which date from 62 to 43 BCE. The second group includes sixteen books of letters *Ad Atticum*, Cicero's most intimate friend who lived in Athens. They cover the period from 68 to 44. There are also three books *ad Quintum Fratrem,* from 60 to 54, and two books of disputed authenticity *ad Marcum Brutum*, with letters dated from 43 BCE. All were published long after Cicero's death, and were edited most probably by his freedman Tiro (Conte, 1994b: 202-203).

A series of ten letters to Titus Pomponius Atticus,[24] dated between November 68 and the summer of 65 BCE, according to the arrangement of Shackleton Bailey (1965: 65-75; 277),

and a much later letter (46 BCE) addressed to another friend, M. Fabius Gallus, are the most revealing evidence regarding the orator's personal collection and the rationale that led to its formation. Atticus and Gallus had undertaken the assignment of finding and purchasing statues for Cicero, and it is to this project that the orator refers in his letters. They are also a unique first-hand testimony, the only direct communication of a Roman collector with his agents/suppliers available down to our days, and as such has often been regarded as representative of its era as a whole, and thus used as a textual support for many discussions of archaeological data.[25]

Cicero endowed his commissioners with complete confidence, justified in the case of Atticus, not quite so in the case of Gallus. This, along with the brevity of his references to the subject (sometimes just a short phrase), and the lack of details regarding his commissions (like style, date, workmanship, beauty, originality, artist, etc.), have been interpreted as personal indifference and/or lack of aesthetic judgement (Vermeule, 1977; Lafon, 1981; Bardon, 1960a; Showerman, 1904). Therefore, the 'collection' was seen as been part of a decorative programme alone, and was deprived of any personal meaning and rationale. In other words, Cicero was not discussed as a collector (but as a commissioner).[26] This seemed to conform quite well with the purported criticism of collecting in the *Verrines*, and overemphasised the role and importance of the decorative programme, that did not allow for personal expression. On the other hand, it tacitly denied the existence of any but the art-historical, taste-oriented approach to the formation of art collections.

The element that such a view had overlooked is that Cicero had a very clear idea of what he wanted to buy, and this is reflected clearly in the consistency and precision of his language in the letters (Leen, 1991: 237). The key-notion is 'suitability'; he constantly urges Atticus, or criticises Gallus, for objects that would bear this characteristic and chief value. The choice of vocabulary he uses is indicative: *convenire* (1.7 [T244]), *dignum* (5.2 [T248]), *proprium* (9.3 [T252]) (all three mean appropriate), *gratum* (9.3 [T252]) (pleasant), οἰκεῖον (6.3 [T249]) (πρέπον = appropriate),[27] *esse videtur* (4.2 [T247]) (δοκεῖ μοι), γυμνασιώδη (2.2 [T245]; 5.2 [T248]).

This last term, *ornamenta γυμνασιώδη*, which appears more than once (2.2; 5.2), defines the kind of statuary Cicero commissions by referring to the setting for it. He is interested in objects being 'suitable for a gymnasium';[28] the term refers to the Greek building type

originally intended for the training of athletes, but gradually associated with places where young men went to study philosophy. Wealthy Romans followed the tradition of their Hellenistic precedents of internalising and privatising gymnasia by naming parts of their extensive private houses after this Greek public building type (Delorme, 1960; Marvin, 1989; Dickman, 1997). The aristocratic and philosophical associations of gymnasia made them particularly popular. Cicero, who had studied philosophy in Athens (and whose nostalgia for those days is often evident in his dialogues, e.g. *De Finibus* V.1.1-2; V.2.4), could not but follow the trend. He therefore defines the destination of his collection: it is going to be the gymnasium and the palaestra (2.2; 4.2; 5.2; 6.3; 10.5), sometimes designated as the Academy (5.2; 7.3; 9.3), a *xystos* or colonnade (4.2), the library (3; 6.4), the *exhedria* (*ad Fam.,* VII.23), and an *atriolum* (6.3). These were all parts of an architectural ensemble including a garden (Shackleton Bailey, 1978: 282-283). The terms gymnasium, palaestra, and Academy are used interchangeably (Grimal, 1969: 246-247). Cicero actually was in the process of constructing two gymnasia at Tusculum, situated on different terraces, one above the other, the higher one called the Lyceum and the lower one the Academy (*Div.* 1.8; *Tusc.* 2.9; Shackleton Bailey, 1965: 282), both named after the two gymnasia of Athens, were Plato and Aristotle had taught respectively. Each consisted of a garden surrounded by a *xystos* and annexed buildings; in the case of the Lyceum this was a library (Grimal, 1969: 249).

The function of space, consequently, is related immediately to the selection of objects for its decoration. The place itself reminds its owner of these needs, as Cicero remarks to Atticus (*ut me locus ipse admoneret*) (2.3-4). Similarly, it is on the grounds of appropriateness and of finding the right space for them in his house, that he rejects the purchases made by Gallus. He cannot think of a room in his properties where they could fit appropriately (*ad Fam.* VII.23 [T243]). It is obvious therefore, that Cicero looks for two primary values when it comes to the objects of his collection: suitability (*decor*) and utility (*utilitas*), the two key-principles of Roman aesthetics.

Decor clearly is the first. It is the aesthetic equivalent of the ethical term of *decorum* (Pollitt, 1974). It can be defined broadly as 'suitability of style to place and purpose, or to tradition' (Rawson, 1985: 187). Cicero himself defines the notion in the *Orator* (xxi.69-xxiii.74): 'propriety is what is fitting and agreeable to an occasion or person', and he develops this in his ethical system presented in *De Officiis* (I.93-98). The notion finds its origins in the

Hellenic ethic philosophy of Aristotle and the Peripatetics; they used the word πρέπον (prepon), and more often the phrase πρέπον καὶ καλόν (prepon kai kalon), to denote a behaviour appropriate to the character of the person and the circumstances. Panaetius gave wider significance to the term to indicate the sense of measure and the harmony of human behaviour which is disciplined by *Logos* (final virtue, moderation). Cicero adopted the Greek doctrine and transformed it to include the social life: 'Le sens du prepon était pour le Grec le sens de sa propre mesure. La vertu du decorum selon Cicéron consiste pour l' homme à s' adapter au milieu humain' (Desmouliez, 1976: 304). Cicero followed the Greek tradition, but he turned the πρεπον from an internal notion to an external one. It is not that moral beauty is reduced by a code of appropriateness; it is that human morality is engaged in the social life. The social orientation of *decorum*, therefore, is its chief characteristic; it is a concept realised in others' approval. Within the dense web of obligations and responsibilities of the Roman social milieu, the measure of success is the reception by others. In the case of collecting, the Roman amateur aims to project through his purchases an appropriate self-image, bearing the correct values and social standing, constantly attending to what others may think. In other words, Cicero's collecting has a clear social orientation and shares the view that the house (the space, the arrangement of it) defines the man (*De Officiis* 1.138-139) (Conte, 1994b: 197-198).

We then come to the second value, *utilitas*. The works of art Cicero assembled were more than appropriate for their setting. They also served the purpose of creating and promoting an identity for their owner, of enhancing his image. Cicero spoke of the utility of art in order to manifest the relation between beauty and function. Again it is a notion originating in Greek ethical philosophical thought. Panaetius, and before him, Socrates and Aristotle, had already connected the beautiful with the useful (Xen., *Mem.* III.8.4ff; Arist., *De part. an,*. I.1, 639b, 19; 5, 645a, 22ff) (Svoboda, 1960: 111). Cicero follows their tradition but transforms it, so that he creates his own rich and complex system of aesthetic ideas, which although neither fixed nor original, does fit into the Roman reality (Desmouliez, 1976, where an extensive discussion on the term).

The list of statues that Atticus had bought for Cicero is indicative of this view. Atticus sent a Hermathena (double bust of Minerva and Hermes, made of Pentelic marble with bronze heads). The object met the most unreserved approval and satisfaction, expressed more than once (10.5; 9.3). Cicero found the object appropriate both for his Academy and for himself:

'Hermes is the common emblem of all such places and Minerva special to me' (*Hermes commune est omnium et Minerva singulare est insigne eius gymnasi*) (9.3). Atticus and Cicero knew that the Athenian Academy had a sanctuary of Minerva in it, one of the tutelary deities of the place. This, along with the philosophical connotations of Minerva as goddess of wisdom, is seen to fit well into Cicero's views about what constitutes an object γυμνασιῶδες and what is appropriate as a personal symbol. Similarly, the promise of Atticus to send him a Heracles herm[29] is accepted with enthusiasm (9.3). In *Brutus* 24, we also learn about a statue of Plato that Cicero possessed, although it is unclear whether this was part of his Tusculan collection, or of another of his villas (see also Valenti, 1936: 265).[30] Gallus' purchases, on the contrary, are rejected exactly on the same grounds: besides their price, which is the polite excuse Cicero uses to refuse the acquisitions, the rejection is based on their inappropriateness: they are statues of Bacchantes and of Mars. The orator finds them totally unbecoming for the environment he wants to create around him, and the image of himself he wants to promote: Bacchantes, which Gallus compared with Mettelus' Muses, had no place in a household devoted to literary pursuits - although the Muses could have been appropriate for the decoration of his library. As for the statue of Mars, Cicero cannot see where such a figure can stand in the house of an author of peace (*auctor paucis*).

The attempt to create evocative spaces in a villa is quite typical, as excavated material and literary evidence came to show. Atticus, for instance, shared his friend's collecting paradigm and created an Amaltheium in his house (I.16 [T254]). Cicero asked Atticus for a description of the place, as well as for poems and tales about Amaltheia, in order to decide whether it would have been 'appropriate' for his public *persona* to create one at his villa at Arpinum, something which he later did, as we find out in other letters of the series (II.1.11; II.7.8) (Lafon, 1981: 165-167; Neudecker, 1988: 9-11; Grimal, 1969: 302-304). Varro earlier had created a *musaeum* in his villa (Varro, *R.R.*, III.5.9).[31] The term refers to a sanctuary devoted to the Muses, as was already common in the Greek world (for instance, see Pausanias, 9.27ff about the first 'Museum' in Helicon, Boetia).[32] The exact arrangement of those 'museums' is not clear, and the presence of an actual temple in them is highly doubtful. In Plato's Academy there was an altar devoted to the Muses (Pausanias, 1.30.2), and in Aristotle's Lyceum there was a Museum (μουσεῖον), probably a small temple; Theophrastus was concerned about it and left instructions to his successors to finish its rebuilding, and to make sure that a bust of Aristotle was installed in it, together with all the

other offerings (ἀναθήματα) that were there before the destruction (Diogenes Laertius, V.51). The Alexandrian Museum was, after all, an intellectual construction of the Peripatetics. It has been argued that since the very first 'museums' were mainly open-air sanctuaries discernable as such only because of the offerings that decorated them, their transition to the Renaissance and modern museums was much facilitated, since the term was used to denote not primarily a temple, but mainly a collection of works of art and relics set aside in a sacred garden or grove consecrated by the presence of the divine Muses (Roux, 1954: 45). In any case, this Greek type influenced the arrangement of the Roman gardens, where intellectuals and upper class Romans used to enjoy their role and importance as successors of their famous Greek predecessors. The objects these amateurs displayed in their gardens assimilated the arrangment in the Greek μουσεῖα, by hosting statues, portraits of famous personages, and so on.[33]

The finds from the villa of the Papyri is another example of a decorative arrangement by the owner (Calpurnius Piso) to exeplify the Epicurean ideals (Sauron, 1980). Sperlonga is also an example of the transformation of a grotto into a landscape of heroic mythology (Marvin, 1989: 33; Stewart, 1977). In the Palatin there was a *Hermaeum* where emperor Claudius sought refuge (Suetonius, *Claudius,* X). Finally, the villa of Hadrian at Tivoli, in the second century CE, also used sculpture in architectural settings to elicit a special world for the visitor. These decorative programmes are centred around the parts of the Roman house that would be accessible to the public, and thus allow for the public image to be created: 'lieux de promenade (portiques-jardins) [et] lieux de travail intellectuel au sens large, comme les *musaeum* connus chez Varron et Cicéron, bibliothèques et éventuellement salles d' exposition de collection, comme les pinacothèques dont l' usage était devenu canonique des Auguste' (Lafon, 1981: 157-158). These were appropriations of Greek building types, very common during the Roman era. The Greek institutions, reworked during the Roman period, were meant to satisfy practical needs, and were associated with a whole set of connotations. They were not simply architectural types, they had become architectural symbols that connoted philosophical and intellectual rationale. In this sense, they formed the context for a lifestyle for the Roman élite which was elevated in intellectual terms. This process is very similar to the one noted when the first museums were built; they were constructed in the shape and form of their ancient equivalents as these were understood, the Greek and Roman temples.

The dichotomy between private and public makes its appearance quite often when discussing collections and collecting. The most common approach is the one that criticises private collections as inappropriate and individualistic, collections can be, and are, used to benefit the individual rather than the public, considered to be the 'right' thing to do (see discussion in other case-studies). Behind these concerns, of course, lie political considerations, which have to do with the power that the possession and acquisition of works of art entail (see Bourdieu, 1974). Cicero himself, in *Tusculan Disputations*, V.101-102 [T260], discusses briefly this part of the idea, with the argument that it is the public collections that benefit everybody, and that they are much more important and valuable than the private ones; the public collections are set to balance the inequality of poor and rich, by providing to the latter access to something continually acknowledged as a source of pleasure.

The notions of private and public are brought to the forefront again when the discussion goes to Cicero's own collection and rationale. Although the country-villa, which was the collection's destination, was the backdrop of the world of *otium*, the very counterpart of the *negotium* which expressed the public duties and responsibilities, no Roman involved in public life could claim complete privacy there.[34] Vitruvius highlighted the social role of the Roman house, when he insisted on the different domestic and architectural needs of each class. Private houses therefore were designed with the public in mind, and Roman domestic architecture was a statement of social status (Leen, 1991: 243-245). Instead of being a strictly private space, as we more or less consider the house today, the Roman dwelling was a microcosm in itself, and contained both private and public spaces. They were arranged in architectural terms so that one space followed the other and thus allowed for a gradual progression from the public to the private domain. Yet the axial arrangement gave a certain public access deep into the house (Stambaugh, 1988: 164).[35] In Elsner's (1995: 60) words: '(the Roman house) was both a vital constituent of the Roman social world (in standing for "private space" and thereby establishing the opposition with "public" space), and at the same time, it was a central cultural mechanism for negotiating the very distinction of "public" and "private" (which it in part was responsible for setting up).'

Cicero in the *De Oratore*, I.161-162 [T269], presents a discussion about a visit to a Roman house:

> '...as though I had entered some richly stored mansion, wherein the draperies were not unrolled, nor the plate set forth, nor the pictures and statuary displayed but all these many and splendid things were piled together and hidden away...'

Obviously, visitors expected to see these objects displayed in front of them, for their honour. The dialogue continues with a suggestion:

> '...why not do then, ..., as you would do, if you had come to some mansion or country-house that was full of objects of art? If these were laid aside, as you describe, and you had a strong desire to behold them, you would not hesitate to ask the master of the house to order them to be brought out, especially if you were his familiar friend.'[36]

In a home where visitors were expected, or allowed, to scrutinise every detail during their visit, as Cicero suggests, the painted decoration, and the architectonic and statuary embellishment, as well as any other display of artefacts, must have enjoyed an enormous importance (see Leach, 1988; Wallace-Hadrill, 1994). The collection of artefacts within the Roman house, therefore, must have been an act of negotiation between the very distinction of private and public. In other words, choosing what was appropriate for the decoration of someone's house, and placing it in the appropriate setting, was equivalent to setting boundaries and defining the private and the public space in that house. Collections, in other words, together with their painted equivalents,[37] were means of defining space.

No one seemed to understand this better than Cicero. Although all the Romans, as well as the ancient Greeks, could appreciate complex cultural messages of this sort (see for instance, the political exhibitions of art decorating the temples in Greece), Cicero and the other Roman orators seem to have one more reason for developing such a sensitivity to allowing objects to define their space. Their awareness of a topographical sense of flow in architectural space led them to use it in the most remarkable way as a mnemotechnic tool to structure the way they memorised their speeches. According to Quintilien (*Instit. Orat.* II.2.18-20) and Cicero (*De Oratore*, 2.86.351-88.360),[38] the house, the *locus*, and the images created within it, statues and objects included, could be used by the orator to elicit an emotional reaction, but also to make a link with large and complex ideas. The *ars memoriae*, therefore, provides a theoretical link between the attempt to create images in the minds of the listeners and the technique to attach symbolic values to those images (Vasaly, 1993: 101; see also discussion in chapter 5). This line of thought makes the decoration and arrangement of a house an issue of careful planning and consideration, and indicates a clear relationship

between space and men. From this point of view, it is interesting to note the common description of memory as a 'treasure-house'. If we leave aside the obvious connection of memory with a store-room where memories, personal treasures, are kept, the comparison becomes even more important: memory is a treasure-house, in the sense that we can recall any narrative, by simply following around the objects held in our treasure-house; in other words, a treasure-house is, and can be, our memory.

The phenomenon of decorating private space in order to evoke a series of feelings and ideas is not confined merely to the Roman era. Even in the contemporary world, where the idea of privacy seems to enjoy enormous appreciation and is protected by law, people tend to decorate their private spaces, like the public ones, in order to convey messages about their identities, their beliefs, the social, economic or other status they enjoy or have claims to. Visitors form a view about the inhabitants of a house, according to the 'decoration' (*ornamenta*), the artefacts they have chosen to surround themselves. Collections are consciously or unconsciously used to make an impression upon others; in this sense, they are intended to play a public role in a private setting, and thus make a statement towards a wider group of peers, friends, or family. They allow for the domestic space to be defined (and domesticated); and finally, they help to shape the notions of privacy and public access. Viewed from this perspective, collections are grounded, in every sense, in their 'capacity to place objects into significant spatial relationships' (Pearce, 1995: 258, 270).

Although there is no doubt that Cicero's choices about his collection were directed by a consciously and carefully prepared plan, his letters allow for a more personal characteristic to emerge as well; its presence might affect the formality that compliance to a decorative programme can imply. Cicero was prepared to pay 20,400 sesterces for Megarian statues which Atticus had purchased for him (*signa Megaricis*) (3; 4.2 [T246-247]).[39] The term itself, un-accompanied by any further description, has been found rather confusing: Megara was never celebrated particularly for its artistic production, although it is the provenance of a fine quality dark-coloured marble. It has been suggested that the statues were antiques bought at Megara (Marvin, 1989: 31). In any case, Cicero was prepared to pay a high price for them, in contrast to what he was protesting a few years earlier during Verres' trial.

In another letter (5.2 [T248]), he urges Atticus to spare no expense in order to buy the objects he requires, since his '*voluptas*' (pleasure, satisfaction, desire) (5.2) makes him

indifferent to the cost. These views come to confirm, in his own words, the testimony of Pliny[40] (*HN,* 13.91). So do the words '*delectatio*' (*admodum delectant*) (4.2 [T247]; 7.3 [T250]; 10.5 [T253]) and '*studium*' (7.3 [T250]; 4.2 [T247]), associated with collections and collectors in the *Verrines* already, although the references had not always meant to be positive there. Similar words accompany Cicero's request to buy Atticus' library: books also bring '*delectatio*' (3 [T246]), they are a 'stand-by for the old age' (6.4 [T249]) (*subsidium senectuti*), and provide wealth beyond that of Crassus (9.3 [T252]) (*supero Crassum divitiis*). The same library is called a treasure house (*thesauris*) in another letter, dated on 44 BCE (XV.27 [T256]). Finally, in his epistle to F. Gallus, Cicero reveals that 'if anything of that sort gives me any pleasure at all, it is painting' (*etenim, si quid generis istius modi me delectat, pictura delectat*) (VII.23 [T243]). Consequently, it becomes clear that Cicero was not completely alien to many of the collecting 'flaws' he had attributed to Verres and other collectors. Nevertheless, these seem to lose their disadvantageous character, since now they are put into the service of an intellectual rationale that defined the formation of the collection; so the 'passion' has been put into the service of *logos*, and thus justified.

Cicero is one of the most reliable sources about the art market in Rome.[41] Martial's epigrams inform us of the location of the actual art market of the city of Rome, in the portico of Saepta Julia: there connoisseurs and collectors assembled in order to acquire the objects of their desire (II.14 [T136]; IX.59 [T152]). But the supply of art and antiques for an art market presupposes the presence of art dealers who undertake the responsibility of locating, transporting, and selling the artefacts. Information about these people is available also in the ancient literary sources. Atticus offers his services to Cicero on a friendly base. He actually locates and purchases for his friend objects that meet with his own approval, as a man of taste, and with his friend's requirements in mind. Then he arranges for these to be transferred to Rome, to their final destination. So does F. Gallus, another one of Cicero's agents. The most common way of transferring the artefacts would be by sea. Cicero mentions Lentulus as the person who would undertake the transportation (about his identity see Coarelli, 1983: 45-46).

Direct testimony about these transportations and the routes of the art trade are available from the archaeological remains. Ship-wrecks on the seabed of the Mediterranean have been very valuable in determining these routes, as well as aspects of the Roman taste. Among the most well-known wrecks that provide information on the art trade are those of Madhia, that dates

from approximately 86 BCE, and Antikythera (c. 80-70 BCE), the first testifying to a trade from Athens, the second to one from Delos.[42] Examples of similar cases are the Riace warriors, found in Sicily (1972), and the discovery at Piraeus in 1959 of a quantity of works possibly part of the booty of Sylla ready to be transferred to Italy. The intermediaries in this art trade, however, were not only friends. They were also specially employed agents, like the ones Verres had hired, or the more decent Damassipus whom both Cicero and Horace mention (Horace, *Satires*, II.3.18). The trade also supported a range of other professionals, among whom were conservators, like C. Avianus Evander mentioned by Cicero (*ad Famil.* XII.2; XIII.23), and fakers, like those named by Martial (IV.88; VIII.34).

The prices of works of art that writers record for us also indicate not only their importance, but also the folly of collectors (this is the context where these are usually presented), as well as the prosperity of the market. Cicero often refers to prices, either to suggest that the ones Verres paid to his victims as compensation were ridiculous, in which case he expects the judges to understand and appreciate this as an argument, or in order to express his desire for his own objects, in which case he urges Atticus to acquire them without sparing any money. Pliny is also an important source for learning about enormous prices, again in order to suggest the false values people of his era, and collectors in particular, appreciate. From Pliny, for instance, we learn that Attalus offered 100,000 denarii for the picture of Father Liber by Aristides, and thus made Mummius interested in the value of works of art (35.24); that Agrippa bought two pictures for the sum of 1,200,000 sesterces (35.26); that Alexander paid Apelles 20 talents of gold for his work (35.92); that Hortensius paid 144,000 sesterces for the *Argonautica* of Cydias, and so on (e.g. 35.98;100; 107; 125; 131; 136; 156; 163; 24.39; 45; 195).

Cicero in his private correspondence reveals a collecting paradigm very closely resembling the 'good collecting' described in the *Verrines*, in opposition to Verres' 'bad' collecting. It is a rational attitude toward works of art, whose importance is acknowledged in terms of signifying cultural and intellectual aspirations, as well as social characteristics. In addition, the value of material culture as defining power of human identity is acknowledged. Cicero organises his space so that it evokes a refined individual with intellectual pursuits. His collection's power relies on its capacity to place objects into significant spatial relationships, which define space and shape notions of privacy and public access. Moreover, it has the capacity to define the individual in question and place him within a broader community of

peers. Therefore, Cicero's collection remains the same in both texts and there is no 'gap' or contradiction, as it has been usually assumed. The ideal collection Cicero advocates in the *Verrines* is the one he assembles in his *Epistulae*: it is a collection shaped by *decor* (appropriateness) and utility, virtuous and appropriately acquired through purchase. The ethical value of the collector is illustrated through his collection, exactly as the opposite was displayed in the *Verrines* with the ex-governor.

Cicero is representative of a category of collectors, for whom the objects were not important for themselves, as they were in the case of Verres (Desmouliez, 1976, argues that Verres was interested in the 'intrinsic quality' of the objects). This category appreciated collecting for its social and political function, together with its moral (in a philosophical sense) and intellectual significance. Their tastes, as Cicero's, were eclectic, and determined by philosophical ideas and the influence of classical and rhetorical education. Preisshofen (1978) suggests that the aesthetic judgements of Cicero are based on rhetoric schemas and classicistic theories which had been developed since the second century BCE; these theories rejected the ancient criteria of artistic form *(diligentia* and *symmetria)* and replaced them with moral criteria *(decor, auctoritas, pulchritudo).* This collecting category was not interested in the qualities the 'passionate' collectors appreciated. The main difference between these two collecting modes is neither the objects they were collecting, nor the prices they were prepared to pay, or even the social prestige that collectors were trying to accumulate through their collections. The main difference is the intellectual rationale which exists behind the latter category, and the lack of one behind the former.

Cicero represents the 'intellectual' collectors, who introduced new notions: collecting as *dignitas,* as *humanitas,* as *nobilitas* and as *virtus. Dignitas* is related to the worthiness that collecting added to the collectors; *virtus* is related to the excellence of mind associated with a preoccupation with such activities; *nobilitas* expresses the superior quality which was expected by the collectors; *humanitas,* finally, embodies that Roman amalgam of kindness and culture, width of mind and tact of manner (Chevallier, 1991). Cicero personified this kind of collecting, which belongs to the cultural model he had envisioned for his contemporaries, and which although conservative (in the sense that all the above mentioned values are aristocratic in origin) conforms with the changes taking place in the rapidly changing world of the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire; collecting not

only is seen as part of this world, but also seems to have been appreciated for its power of defining this world.

IV. Conclusions.

Cicero and Verres provide two examples of the collecting paradigms prominent in the late Roman Republic.[43] Although largely exaggerated due to the rhetorical purpose of the *Verrine Orations*, there is no doubt that the two portraits correspond quite well with the growing tendencies of the Roman aristocrats toward material culture. Verres as an example of a 'bad' collector, concentrates in his person characteristics and attitudes that have been traditionally associated with the individualistic, sterile, and largely animistic relation to material culture. It is interesting to note that his collecting motive is described by Cicero as being a passion for works of art. This is based not on rational criteria, such as conforming to the social role expected from a man in his rank, and attempting to promote his personality and culture through art (as was the case with Cicero himself) but on a blind love for everything beautiful and ancient. In addition to him being uncultivated, unorthodox in his methods, and irrationally predisposed against objects, or rather, exactly because of this, Verres is compared to tyrants, and even to perverted philanderers. There is a long tradition that views the personality of collectors of the passionate kind, unfolding within exactly these boundaries: unconsummated passion, leading to inadequate social relations, based upon the objects themselves; the insatiable desire for objects finds an equivalent in an insatiable desire for women, and completes the model of the socially handicapped person. This model extends from the antique world, as our discussion has shown, to contemporary views of collecting in popular fiction and literature (Edgar, 1997; Wilkinson, 1997). It is not that Verres was uninterested in his public image. It was that the public image he wanted to create for himself, that of the connoisseur, was incorrectly perceived; not that his practice was differed greatly from that of his contemporaries (although Cicero tries hard to prove the opposite), but it was endowed with a set of values that were too selfish and individualistic to be appreciated.

Verres behaviour towards material culture resembles very much that of female collectors, as all four writers have described it. Women's relation to material culture is structured around the traditional female stereotypes. According to these, women can be associated with the

domestic environment, the female domain, and the adornments of the house, or religious practices and the objects that are used for these. In this case, they conform with the stereotype of the pious and respectful Roman matron, who is interested in the welfare of her household, and thus fulfills the desired model for a woman. In Petronius' *Satyrica*, for instance, Fortunata tries, in vain, to persuade the participants in her husband's banquet, and the readers, that she is a typical noble Roman matron (73.20-24). Similarly, Cicero tries to win the sympathy of his audience by presenting exactly this picture of the good and honourable women of Sicily, who know their position in society, and they develop relations with their material culture based on the objects being parts of religious ceremonies, part of the domestic decoration and inheritance from their relatives (II.4.44-52); these may not make sense to rational Roman judges, but still provide recognisable and respectable models. The second stereotype that associates women with material culture, is the one that refers to objects of personal adornment. Material acquisitions of this category, mainly jewellery, offer the model of the woman as a frivolous, vain, time-wasting person, unconcerned with the civic life, who instead presents a danger to society, since personal adornment of this sort aims at men's seduction, and the making of biased decisions. The women that Pliny presents, Lollia Paulina and Cleopatra, belong to this category (*HN*, 9.117-121; also 33.40; 34.11-12; 37.29; 13.91-95), and so does Gellia in Martial's epigram (VIII.81). In Martial also we come across a comparison of beauty practices applied by women with connoisseurship (Lycoris follows the same practice for the beauty of her skin that the connoisseurs use for whitening objects of ivory - VII.13).

The use of both these stereotypes implies an unnatural and irrational relation to material culture, and thus aims to alert the male readers of the dangers involved in such behaviour. Firstly, women are expected to be more passionate and irrational when it comes to acquiring personal property (as, for instance, Eriphyle, the mythic queen, was), and therefore, passionate collecting can be related to behaviour appropriate for women. Secondly, just like the wrong sort of attention to his appearance is considered to undermine man's status as a male and exposes him to the charges of effeminacy (Wyke, 1994), so does interest in 'things female'. In this sense, collections that belong to the household, silverware, statuettes, furniture, and so on, along with objects that traditionally belong to the adornment of women, like jewellery, rings, etc., are meant to imply a man's unorthodox behaviour, that exceeds what is appropriately male, and thus puts at risk his male identity. Interest in them therefore can be considered a sign of effeminacy, and therefore degeneracy. Pliny declares this view

in his words 'the tablemania which the ladies use as a retort to the men against the charge of extravagance in pearls' (13.91-95). Finally, women's collecting that we have seen so far relates to the private domain rather than the public (although the presence of female public benefactors is attested to in the literary sources - see, for instance, Fischler, 1994; Van Bremen, 1993; Kleiner, 1996), and therefore, 'private' and passionate collecting is expected to bring feminine behaviour to mind.

Cicero, on the contrary, in the *Verrines* as well as in his correspondence and other parts of his work, presents the other end of the collecting spectrum. He conforms to the social role he has adopted for himself, complies with the social and cultural expectations his position entails, and practices collecting as an activity based on a clearly planned rationale, that views material culture as a medium for creating and extending one's self. Interestingly, it is exactly on this belief that he bases his criticisms of Verres when charging him with the thefts of works of art. It is not collecting *per se* that he finds distressing and reprehensible, it is the kind of self that is expressed through that particular practice, that particular collection of which he disapproves. In his view, the way an individual relates to his material culture, that is the poetics of collecting, reveals the personality of the man: his social, personal, and political aspirations. For this reason, his collection is a carefully planned manifestation of his social and other aspirations and beliefs. Collections should be rational, he professes, should respect the religious and patriotic character of Rome, be appropriate and useful, and display a connoisseurship that goes beyond the mere appreciation of appearances, to a profoundly philosophical appreciation of art, to *humanitas*. Objects have to be conceived within a context, a Roman meaningful context, that will empower the viewer, the visitor, and the collector himself to domesticate, to make sense of the values (his) collecting advocated. Collections, therefore, are meant to be used as a medium of allocating use of space, of differentiating between notions of public and private, and of structuring the collector's relationship with his immediate world. In addition, space and its decoration are for the Romans an *aide-memoire*. In this sense, collections are also part of the attempt to structure memory; we have here the basis of the operation of collecting as souvenir (Stewart, 1993; Pearce, 1995).

In the case of Verres and Cicero therefore, we reach an epitome of the nature of classical collecting; collections can be and are used to help their owners structure their identity, memory, past and future, they are indications of power and wealth, they are media of

communication with the sacred domain, they are definitions of space use and means of appropriating spatial and temporal distance. But they can also be carriers of negative meaning, when their role is misunderstood and their power unduly used. Unconventional, unlawful, and destructive methods of acquisition, as well as associations that emphasise individuality and egotism above communal ideals and compliance with human-defined valuations, which are naturel-oriented, humanistic and carry sacred connotations, are to be condemned. In a surprisingly modern manner, collections acquire their supreme power in the right place, defined as the public, sacred, or semi-sacred realm, where memories of individuals blend to provide identity for communities at a 'national', or 'international' level - a description remarkably equivalent to that of the 'museum'. The dichotomy between collectors and 'museums' thus has been firmly founded in the Graeco-Roman past, and its legacy defines many aspect of museum work and thought today.

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[1] Translated by H. Morgan, in *Vitruvius: Ten Books on Architecture*, N.Y: Dover Publications Inc., 1960.

[2] Marcus Tullius Cicero was born at Arpinum in 106 BCE; he was the son of an equestrian family and received good education in rhetoric and philosophy at Rome. He had as his teachers L. Licinius Crassus and the two Scaevolas. There also formed a friendship with Titus Pomponius Atticus that was to last for all his life. He made his debut as a pleader in 81. In 80 he defended Sextus Roscius, a case that brought him into conflict with the Sullan regime. Because of these troubles, he had to leave Rome; consequently, he traveled to Greece and Asia, between 79 and 77. There he studied rhetoric under Molon of Rhodes. In 75 he was quaestor of Sicily, and in 70 he undertook the prosecution of Verres, the ex-governor of the province. He was aedile in 69, praetor in 66, and consul in 63, when he suppressed the conspiracy of Catiline. In 58 he was accused of having put to death without trial Catiline's accomplices, and he went into exile. He was recalled in Rome in 57, and during 56 and 51 he attempted to collaborate with the triumphirs, although without much success. During this period he composed the *De Oratore*, the *De Republica* and began working on the *De Legibus*. In 51 he was governor of Cilicia. During the civil war he joined the side of Pompey. After Pompey's defeat he obtained pardon from Caesar. In 46 he wrote the *Brutus* and the *Orator*. In 45 his daughter Tullia died. While Caesar's domination kept him removed from public affairs he composed a long series of philosophical works. He returned to political life in 44 after the death of Caesar, and attempted a fierce confrontation of Antony (the *Philippics*). When Antony joined the second triumphirate, Cicero was proscribed and was slain by Antony's assassins in December 43 (From a vast bibliography devoted on the different aspects of the life of Cicero see: Conte, 1994b: 175; Peterson, 1920; Mitchell, 1991; Rawson, 1994; Shackleton Bailey, 1971; Habicht, 1990; see also *Plutarch's Life of Cicero,* trans. by J. L. Moles, 1988).

[3] C.Verres was born at the end of the second century BCE (121/2, or 151, or 115 BCE, according to different scholars), when luxury had already invaded Rome and established a new way of life (Bonnafé, 1867: 9-10). He was the son of a senator, and he was soon involved in the overcrowded and highly competitive world of Roman politics himself. He begun his political life as a suppporter of the Cinnan regime. He became a quaestor in 84 and he served under the consul Cn. Papirius Carbo. He joined Sulla in 83, and after the latter's victory he was rewarded with lands in Beneventum. He became a legate to the governor of Cilicia, Cn. Dolabella, in 80 BCE, then urban praetor in 74 BCE, and finally, propraetor in Sicily in 73-70 BCE Verres also succeeded in gaining the friendship of a number of leading nobles. Foremost among them were the celebrated orator Q. Hortensius and the three brothers of the powerful Metellan clan, Quintus, Marcus and Lucius. Furthermore, Verres accumulated sufficient wealth to allow full exploitation of his expertise in political bribery and machination. Cicero implied more than once that his friends' support was sustained by bribes. Such collaboration with the powerful was typical of Verres' political life, and his opportunism, combined with effective use of his wealth

had brought him a place of considerable prominence and influence in Roman politics (Bieber, 1977; Mitchell, 1991: 5-6, and Peterson, 1920; for a detailed biography of Verres see Cowles, 1917).

[4] There is a debate about the actual delivery of a defense speech by Hortensius, with some scholars denying it in view of information presented by other writers and Cicero himself, whereas some others believe that Hortensius did defend his client, although not successfully. It is generally agreed though that it is a great misfortune that we have only one side of the story intact. For a detailed review of both sides, and support of the latter, see Alexander, 1976.

[5] About a detailed account of Cicero's profits from publishing the second speech see Peterson, 1920: 142, and May, 1988.

[6] The translated phrases and words that are quoted throughout this part are from the Loeb edition of the *Verrine Orations*, translated by Greenwood (1948/1953).

[7] Similar events are recorded in a number of passages: in II.1.57 Cicero refers to the triumph of P. Servilius, in II.4.6 in the aedilship of C. Claudius Pulcher, in II.4.126 in the statues and ornaments of the Temple of Felicitas, the temple of Fortuna, the Porticus Metelli, the villas of Verres' friends and the shows of *aediles*, in II.4.133 to the aedilships of L. Crassus, Q. Scaevola, G. Claudius.

[8] The events are dated in 212 BCE, 194 BCE, 190 BCE, 168 BCE, and 146 BCE, respectively. About the plundering that took place during these events see Pape, 1975.

[9] About the practices of Roman collecting and methods of documentation, see Strong, 1975.

[10] About this see May, 1988.

[11] The argument of purchase is often used by Cicero; it has been suggested that it must have been an argument made by Hortensius when he presented his side of the story; it is also used as an argument to support that such an speech was actually delivered by Hortensius, and that he did not desert his client and friend. See note 4 here, and Alexander, 1976.

[12] The 'temple treasures' in the works of Cicero are discussed in detail in Griffiths, 1943.

[13] Wallace-Hadril (1994) discusses this paragraph in chapter 7 of his book; also see pp. 289-290 here.

[14] About the *sacrarium* of Heius, its reconstruction and the statues involved see Zimmer, 1989.

[15] When describing the sites and collections Verres stripped of precious artefacts, it is mentioned always that these had been visited by all Romans travelling abroad before. We have come across a practice of cultural tourism here, already known from other sources, Pliny and Pausanias in particular. In paragraph II.4.132 he refers to the 'mystagogues' of the temples, who were available to guide visitors around the sanctuary and display the precious offerings, very much like modern guides in museums. Elsewhere, when describing the *sacrarium* of Heius, he refers to the fact that it was open every day for visitors, and that all governors of the island had at some point visited it. The same assumption is made for other sights worth visiting in the island, as for instance the sanctuary of Ceres at Henna (II.4.109). The famous Cupid of Thespies is mentioned also as the only reason that makes a visit to the city worth undertaking.

[16] Cicero provides ample information on the art market in Rome through his books; not only in the *Verrines*, but also when corresponding with Atticus about his commissions, he seems to be well informed and quite familiar with the art market practices of his era. For more information of the subject see Coarelli, 1983; and the articles on the Madhia ship wreck in Hellenkemper Sallies, G. (ed), 1994.

[17] Elsewhere too in his private correspondence Cicero argues that no price is expensive if somebody wants something (see Carcopino, 1969).

[18] 'and there has been a wonderful mania among many people for possessing this metal - in fact it is recorded that Verres, whose conviction Marcus Cicero had procured was, together with Cicero, proscribed by Antony for no other reason than because he had refused to give up to Antony some pieces of Corinthian ware;' Pliny, *HN*, 34.6-8 (trans. by Rackham, 1952).

[19] About the collector as a philanderer and the sexual connotations of collecting, see Edgar, 1997 and Forrester, 1994.

[20] The notion of assembling the likenesses of old rulers, philosophers, etc., is also exemplified in the 'collections' of Varro and Atticus, who had created a corpus of likenesses; it is the same rationale that led to the creation of the picture and bust galleries from the Renaissance, see also chapter 2 on antiquarianism.

[21] The validity of such a claim has been the subject of the most fierce debate regarding Cicero's aesthetic appreciation. Whichever position we take, there is no doubt that in the *Verrines* Cicero pretends to be more ignorant than he actually is. He must had had some kind of art education, even if he did not have a profound understanding of Greek art. In other parts of his work some interest and knowledge of art becomes evident: e.g. *Brutus*, 70, 75, 228, 257; *Orator*, 5; *De Oratore*, III.195; *De Officiis*, III.15. The fact that in the *Verrines* he pretends to be ignorant for rhetorical reasons becomes even more evident when we compare his assertions with similar ones as for instance in *De Oratore*, II.56, where there is the pretense that the speaker cannot quite understand what is written in Greek.

[22] Quite frequently, Cicero leaves for what could be considered as connoisseurship to interfere in his work: small tips, or comparisons, during his speeches and dialogues, betray Cicero's, and his audience's, familiarity with the world of connoisseurship: for instance, in *Brutus*, 261, the right embellishments for the oratorical style are compared with the effect one has when placing a well-painted picture in a good light. Or, in the same book, paragraph 320, Hortensius' development was compared to the slow fading of the colours in an old picture. In *Tusculan Disputations*, IV.32, gifted men are compared to Corinthian bronze which is slow to be attacked by rust, whereas in the *De Oratore,* III.98, the old and the new pictures are compared in terms of attractiveness and the offering of pleasure.

[23] There is no agreement in the sources about the material of the sphinx Verres gave to Hortensius; nevertheless, the gift is recorded in many ancient authors: Pliny, *HN,* XXIV.xviii.47-48; Plutarch, *Cicero*, 7.8; Plutarch, *Moralia*, 205b; Quintilien, *Inst. Orat.* 6.3.98; also see Alexander, 1976: 50-51 with discussion.

[24] 109-32 BCE; for an ancient biography of Atticus, see also Cornelius Nepos, *Atticus*. See also Feger, in *RE*, 1956: 503-547.

[25] Together with the text of Petronius on Trimalchio; see, for example, Leach, 1988, Wallace-Hadrill, 1994.

[26] Although there are discussions of Cicero as a collector, see Valenti, 1936.

[27] The word οἰκεῖον is used as a synonymous for πρέπον by both rhetoricians and literary critics. See for instance, Aristotle *Poet.* 3.7.4, and Demetrius, *Eloc.* 114.

[28] Shackleton Bailey (1965) translates the word γυμνασιώδη as appropriate for a 'lecture-hall'; clearly, Cicero does not mean a lecture-hall, but a gymnasium, after the Greek building type.

[29] 'Herm' is the archaeological term used for this particular type of quadrangular shaft surmounted by a sculptured head (Pollitt, 1974: 76, nt. 138).

[30] In the *Orator* 110, there is a reference to a bronze statue of Demosthenes held in a Tusculan villa, most probably that of Cicero's brother Quintus. Also in a letter to Atticus (4.10), Cicero expresses the wish to have been able to be in his friend's house, which is denoted with the phrase 'in that niche of yours under Aristotle's statue', an indication of space decorated with a work of art appropriate for both men. It is interesting that the little corner is a connotation for the whole house.

[31] *'Qu<o>i ego, Cum habeam sub oppido Casino flumen, quod per villam fluat, liquidum et altum marginibus lapideis, latum pedes quinquaginta septem, et e villa in villam pontibus transeatur, longum pedes DCCCCL derectum ab insula [ad musaeum], quae est in imo fluvio, ubi confluit altera amnis, ad summum flumen, ubi est mus[a]eum, circum huius ripas ambulatio sub dio pedes lata denos, ab hac [ambulatio] est in argum versus ornithonis locus ex duabus partibus dextra et sinistra maceriis altis conclusus.'* (Varro, *Rerum Rusticarum*, III.5.9 - Teubner edn.)

[32] For a very detailed presentation of the ancient sources referring to the Greek μουσεια, and the genealogy of the museum in the ancient world, see Oberhummer, 1933.

[33] A more detailed discussion of the role and form of those early museums, as well as their influence in the creation of the institution of museum, will be pursued further by the author in a short article.

[34] For *otium* and *negotium* see Dangel, 1996 and André, 1996.

[35] About the ancient sources testifying the axial arrangement of the Roman house, see Stambaugh, 1988: 360, nt. 15: Livy, 6.25.9; Suet. *Augustus*, 45.4; Martial, 1.70.13-14 etc.

[36] Trans. by Rackham, 1942, in Loeb CL.

[37] I refer to the decoration that resembles *pinacothecae*, which were modelled on them; see also chapter 8.

[38] Also in *Auctor ad Herrenium*, 3.15.27-3.24.40; the work is now considered falsely attributed to Cicero.

[39] As a general indication of value we may refer the example cited by Varro (*R.R.*. 3.2.15), who claims that a farm of two hundred iugera (about 130 acres) should produce an annual income of about HS 30,000; see also Marvin, 1989: 44, nt.18 and Pensabene, 1983.

[40] '*There still exists a table that belonged to Marcus Cicero for which with his slender resources and, what is more surprising, at that date he paid half-a-million sesterces;*' Pliny, *HN*, XIII.91 (translated by Rackham, 1945, Loeb CL)

[41] With the term 'art market' we mean the purchase and sale of works of art and antiques; we do not include the market for primary materials for artists, like marble, bronze, etc, nor the workshops of artists, where patrons could place their orders.

[42] About the Madhia wreck, see, for instance, Fuchs, 1963; Hellenkemper Sallies, 1994; about the Antikythera wreck, see Weinberg, *et al.*, 1965; Bol, 1972

[43] For a brief discussion of Cicero and Verres as expressing two different modes of collecting in the antique world, see Zimmer, 1994: unfortunately his article does not deal with the subject in depth.

CONCLUSIONS

'Illuminating the genesis, meaning, and limitations of ideas in their own time, we might better understand the implications and significance of our own affinities for them in our own time' (Schorske, 1985: xxv).

'I suggest that research into the deep origins of this strange and pervasive creature of human societies - the museum - is the most critical museum research today. To undertake this task there must be new perspectives and priorities in museology.' (Cameron, 1995: 48).

This thesis set out to explore the nature of classical collecting as this is revealed through the literary sources that record contemporary perceptions and interpretations of the phenomenon. The limitations posed by the chronological distance between our enquiry and the Latin writers used as data, along with the textual character of the sources, and their use as a form of historical evidence instead of as literary attempts, were recognised and carefully taken into consideration. Thus we aimed to reach an insight into the classical world, which although not devoid of modern misconceptions and prejudices, would allow for a set of valid conclusions to be drawn regarding our subject.

The discussion was structured around four parameters that relate directly to collecting and define its character: the notion of the past and the role of material culture as a mediator between people and their perception of it; the gift-exchange as a social tradition with deep anthropological roots, that structures relations between people, people and God(s), and people and the material world; the notion of identity at a communal and individual level and the capacity of objects to shape and structure it; and, finally, the notions of time and space, whose understanding and appreciation requires the mediation of material culture. The discussion of each of those parameters comes together in the four chapters on the Latin

authors, Gaius Plinius Secundus, M. Valerius Martialis, T. Petronius Arbiter and M. Tullius Cicero.

Antiquity appears as a common motif in the discussion of collections. In addition, the phenomenon of antiquarianism is deeply embedded in the creation of modern museums. Therefore, the second chapter of this thesis was structured around an attempt to trace the relation Greeks and Romans developed toward their past and its material remains, and in particular the role objects and monuments held in their efforts to (re-)construct and comprehend that past. These questions are immediately related to antiquarianism, as a strand of historiography, and the shape this took during the classical period. Historiographical traditions incorporate philosophical thought and reflect a society's ideas and feelings toward its past. We distinguished two areas where the interest of ancient historians focused: the recent past, which attracted the attention of the major historians and developed in accordance with the view that only that for which personal testimonies are available deserves to be studied; and the distant past, which formed the area of interest of erudite men and antiquarians: their task was to assemble in a systematic manner all data available (monuments, objects and inscriptions included), in the form of lists and catalogues, in order to shape a coherent picture of the past and save it for the future. This latter approach reflects philosophical concerns that legitimise erudition and support it by denouncing political historiography as interested only in the mundane and the particular instead of in general truths, but also complies with the assumption that material culture as an embodiment of technological progress corresponds to the level of civilisation.

Therefore, material culture acquired the status of a source of information and knowledge, and eventually the power to symbolise, signify, 'stand for' events, personalities, actions, 'the past'. In this sense, material remains were the 'evidence' of 'reality' (true versus false), of the acquisition of knowledge and the power this entails. They signified ideas and notions distant or imminent (in time and space), that could define the self and the 'Other'. These capacities of objects were brought forward in collections assembled in order to construct the narrative the collector wished in order to prove his 'reality', to document his knowledge and power, to appropriate the distant and the exotic. In other words, collections narrated stories about the collector's self, as well as about his perception and appropriation of the 'Other'; they were poetic metaphors of this self and 'Other', and therefore, defining mechanisms for the construction and understanding of identity.

The impact of these views on both the practice and the politics of classical collecting, as well as the poetics of it, were illustrated in the work of writers, mainly Pliny and Petronius, and further discussed in the chapter on the concept of individual and related ideas.

Pliny's *HN* belongs to the antiquarian tradition, although it undoubtedly expands the horizon of the traditional historical account to include all aspects of natural, as well as cultural history. He collects in a systematic manner all items relevant to his aims, all *thaumasia*, that the city of Rome and the Roman world at large had amassed, in order to provide a treasury of knowledge about the history of human civilisation and of Roman power. Thus Pliny can be held responsible for creating the notion that antiquarians of subsequent periods adopted, that Rome was the 'archetypal museum', the 'Ur-collection', that combined in the most complete manner ever achieved natural and cultural excellence. *HN* is based on Pliny's perception of the world as defined by Stoicism: nature, a simultaneously passive and active element, is inherent in the world as a whole, but also in every little individual creature or thing. Consequently, the assemblage of these creatures or things leads to an assemblage of nature in its full scale. The aim of the work therefore was to amass nature and record it for posterity, so that the Roman people and their accomplishments could be celebrated.

The perception and pursuit of Pliny's aims relies on his understanding of material culture in antiquarian terms; this becomes explicit from his 'definition' of collection as a set of works of art, artefacts, and natural curiosities set aside to symbolise and prove Roman military prowess and superiority. The holding power of the units of the collection were the political and ideological messages, and not the aesthetic value of objects. This was so because of the role of the collection as a space of artificial memory. Therefore, collections operated as *monumenta* of illustrious men, 'evidence' of human achievements and of Nature's grandeur.

HN itself is an example of this kind of collection; it subscribes to the antiquarian tradition of assembling in a book objects of interest, lists of votive offerings in sanctuaries, inscriptions, *heuremata*, along with intangible information on practices, beliefs, institutions, which thus were set aside for the benefit of future generations, sources of knowledge, admiration, symbols of political and national pride, that would bear witness to the grandeur of their society.

In this sense, Pliny bridged the transition from the ancient antiquarian tradition to the Renaissance one: he provided not only the myth of success for the ancient collections and an extensive description of the 'archetypal museum', but with his *HN* he also offered the model of a collecting mode that would be extremely influential. His encyclopedic spirit, his classification principles, his understanding of collections as a holistic phenomenon, as methods of commemoration and *locus* of memory, as well as the dialectic relation between *res* and *verba* that he advocated, provided the model on which Renaissance collectors and antiquarians shaped themselves.

The chapter on the concept of the individual and its influence on classical collecting aimed to focus on the notion of identity, self and 'Other', and follow further the assumption that collections shape identities, define the self, and reconcile individual agents with centres of power. We examined the arguments supporting an alleged 'rise of individualism' during the Hellenistic period, when the first private collections were formed. The argument maintained was that the collections in the classical world signify an advanced role for the individual, but that cannot be associated with the 'rise of individualism'. On the contrary, they were means through which classical collectors aimed to create a niche for themselves in the social sphere, by acquiring access to a community of culture and prestige that the assemblage of Greek works of art and other precious artefacts signified. Far from being an exercise in individualism, classical collections, we argued, were attempts to prove belonging to a tradition of excellence, that would transfer to the owner the prestige and qualities that belonging to such a community implied. In other words, the collections of the Hellenistic and Roman eras aimed to help their owner gain his individuality through the perfect accomplishment of his social role.

To support this argument, we reviewed the philosophical concepts regarding individuals as these were developed in Hellenistic philosophies (Cynicism, Stoicism and Epicureanism), and concluded that despite a phenomenal encouragement of individuality, these philosophies maintained a remarkable faith in the traditional communal organisation, although they redefined it for purposes of the changing world. They advocated alternative communities, where the person would be able to achieve completion and ethical excellency. The social perception of these values is particularly prominent in the Roman world, where the notion of *decorum* propagates this responsibility of the individual to comply with his internal nature, but also with the social circumstances in which he finds himself involved. Collections were

part of the social role the individual had to fulfill, and sources of pre-eminence within this social framework.

These views found their most explicit justification in the works of Petronius and Cicero. *Satyrica* records these beliefs, while it questions their validity and debates their legitimacy. Petronius draws the portrait of Trimalchio, a typical anti-connoisseur (very similar to those described by Martial), and provides an account of the social and psychological mechanisms that led to the creation of such a collection. Trimalchio aimed to construct a narrative about himself through his material possessions, that would allow him participation in a cultural élite - to which he did not belong - and the power, actual and symbolic, this entails. His collections therefore were means of constructing a 'self', and appropriating the cultural 'Other'.

Their effectiveness, though, is questioned by Petronius, who extends his doubts to include also the beliefs assigned to public collections. In another part of *Satyrica*, the narrative takes place in the picture-gallery. Although the heroes of this episode share at least the external signs of culture - they are educated enough to recognise the artists, to use appropriate terminology, and to identify the mythological themes, all areas in which Trimalchio had failed - they still cannot participate in the power that the assemblage of pictures potentially carries. Petronius thus goes even further to invalidate current views about how this power, which is equated to truth, can be approached, and how the public assemblage of legitimately acquired collections differs from the private ones in effectiveness. According to these views, echoes of which we have in the other authors, the process of appreciating material culture assemblages consisted of the setting of the collection in a special public space, the presence of a mediator, and the initiation into philosophical concerns, along with sound literary, art-historical and mythological education. By presenting his anti-heroes as fulfilling all these requirements, but still unable to reach the truth, Petronius debates the legitimacy of these views supporting a formal and rational, initiated, relationship to collections and collecting as that presented above.

Martial draws portraits of collectors similar to that of Trimalchio, and records and debates the belief that it is through objects that collectors aim to shape an ideal self, and appropriate qualities that will transform their ignorance, pretentiousness and vulgarity to refinement, knowledge and 'purity'. We come across the same point here again: the widespread belief in

the capacity of objects to bring moral and cognitive metamorphosis, as a result of their treasuring.

The difference between private and public collections is a recurrent one in the classical sources. The dichotomy between the false values that individual collectors allot to their possessions, as opposed to the real values represented by the public collections, occupies a central place in the discussion of all four writers. Before we proceed to summarise these, though, we should note the interrelation between this dichotomy and the notions of time and space.

Ancient Greek and Roman philosophical thought was concerned with time and space as physical, cosmological, and metaphysical concepts: time was perceived as having the capacity to order and arrange events on a prior/posterior basis, as related to movement and rest, as being numerable and measurable. Space was understood as the container of the body, and essential for the existence and conception of everything in the world. It arranged bodies, just like time arranged events. It was related to the natural place of all elements in the world, and corresponded to biological ideas about order and sequence. Space and time together guaranteed cosmic order and helped the construction of notions of knowledge and human life at large. With these broad ideas in mind, classical collectors had the necessary framework and thinking tools to develop ideas about the role of objects in the arrangement of the world, as well as to develop elaborate techniques of display, and patterns of assemblage that would reveal ideas of order, development, and natural place.

Furthermore, linguistic evidence suggests that time can be understood as space, and could be related to ideas about order and cultural constructs, like the pre-eminence of the past over the future, of the ancestors over the descendants, of what comes before, first or higher, over what comes after, or lower. These ideas influence values attributed to material culture, but also the very ways of thinking about life, and knowledge, as well as ideas about the setting of collections, the organisation of space to reveal world order, and to associate with time. The impact of these ideas still can be detected in the chronologically arranged collections of modern museums.

In the Roman period, the capacity of objects to define the time and place to which they belonged, and to carry this dimension with them so as to evoke a different temporal and

spatial dimension when placed elsewhere, was well recognised. Examples drawn from literary sources, and archaeological finds, suggest that the Romans used material culture to recreate and evoke the sense of a different time and place both in private and in public. Therefore, collections were a vital element of the attempts of Roman patrons and collectors to recreate in their villas the environment they longed for - usually a Greek public building type, now appropriated to the private domain, bearing philosophical or cultural associations - be it a *gymnasium*, a library, or a *musaeum*. The social and ritual role of the Roman house could thus be fulfilled only through collections that would evoke certain feelings, and would facilitate communication and interrelation by providing well-recognised signifiers for that. In addition, they were expected to signal personal and family power. All these were accomplished through material objects that were expected to bring past and distant ideas, beliefs and accomplishments to the eyes of their owners and visitors. In other words, objects were meant to bring people in touch with their imagination and previous knowledge, their memory.

The mnemotechnics developed by Romans was largely a system connecting material culture (in the form of artefacts and their setting) with memory and the depths of the human mind. Aristotle's elaborate discussion of places thus was put into practical use in Roman thought, as were the mythical associations of memory (Mnemosyne) with her daughters (Muses) who could bring a man (usually a poet, or a historian) in contact with other times and places, his inner memory and thought. Roman houses and public buildings were the *loci* where orderly arrangement led to the transference of the viewer to another temporal or spatial dimension, to the reconstruction of memories which would bring in front of him the ideas that would otherwise be lost in λήθη (forgetfulness), the opposite of ἀλήθεια (truth), but also of memory. In this sense, ancient and modern venues of collections share many similarities, that go beyond the fact that they accommodate collections: they are both venues of social and ritual practices, and rely on material culture to achieve a virtual transference to another world (in temporal and spatial meaning). Both transmit cultural and social messages, aim to facilitate communication between visitors and the social order of things, but also to bring visitors in front of their memory, in front of their past. This is revealed through the evocative power of objects, but also through their selective arrangement in time and space, that corresponds to, and defines cultural valuations.

The appreciation of exactly these qualities of material culture is expressed by Cicero, who defines 'reasonable collecting' (we will return to this) as a carefully planned manifestation of the social, religious and patriotic character of Rome, which would be 'appropriate' for the social role of the individual, and 'useful', displaying a connoisseurship rooted to a profound philosophical appreciation of art, to *humanitas*. Collections therefore were understood as parts of a meaningful Roman context, meant to allocate domestic or public space, to differentiate between notions of public and private, and to structure the collector's relationship with the world. In other words, they meant to empower the collector, as well as the visitors, to domesticate, to make sense of the values (his) collecting advocated, and to be part of the socialisation of the collector, and of the necessity for him to express and support in every possible way the social *status quo*.

At this point lies the major issue of classical collecting: the dichotomy between the public and the private domains. All four writers are concerned with this dichotomy and their views are remarkably similar (although Petronius chose to differentiate himself, by adopting an ironic stance toward public collections along with his criticism of the private ones): only public collections were acceptable and justified. The idea of public has to be seen through Roman eyes though: in this sense, even collections held in what we would consider a private space, i.e. a Roman villa, were acceptable when they had an explicitly social character and lacked any hint of personal attachment to the artefacts, or appreciation that went beyond what was considered rational and 'normal'. Here we should bear in mind that the notion of domestic privacy as we understand and appreciate it, was not valid in the Roman world, and that Roman houses were simultaneously private and public spaces. Therefore, collections held in the 'public areas' of the Roman house, and addressed to the fulfillment of the social responsibilities and aspirations of the owner, were still acceptable.

Naturally, the collections held in public buildings attracted much praise, and were associated with honourable motives: Pliny, for instance, approves of the collections in the public domain, since they were products of beneficial interference by emperors and victorious generals, as well as of collections which were the result of the 'rightful' spoliation of the enemies of Rome after their defeat on the field of battle. Similarly, Cicero praises the generals of the past for using the spoils of their victorious military campaigns to adorn the city of Rome, and create *monumenta* of their personal magnificence and Roman glory.

In opposition to this, collections meant for private delectation were discouraged, as suspect for encouraging a sinister association with material culture, ignorance or negligence of natural values, and for a lack of rationality. Cicero condemns Verres for acquiring his collection by plundering cities during peace time, and for keeping the objects of his pillage for himself, instead of offering them to the public. The portrait of the typical collector all four writers drew was that of an ignorant, *nouveau riche* anti-connoisseur, who confused external appearances with profound values, and when not assembling objects for vulgar and contemptible reasons, developed sinister relations to material culture, 'depended' psychologically on material possessions, and was unduly and passionately involved in their appreciation and acquisition. Verres was the epitome of this category of collecting: uncultivated, unorthodox in this method of acquisition, irrational in his relation to objects, and compared with tyrants and philanderers. Collectors of this sort, present also in Martial's descriptions, suffered from unconsummated passion, that led to inadequate social relations, which in turn led to an insatiable desire for objects, used to compensate for social inadequacies. This found an equivalent in an insatiable desire for women, and thus completed the model of the socially deficient person.

Material culture and women is an issue of particular interest in classical collecting. The act of collecting itself was described as 'effeminate' when it did not conform to the rational patterns the authors thought appropriate for men. Being a part of material culture themselves in the very early notion of precious items, women were seen as developing an irrational and passionate relation to objects with intrinsic financial value, but rarely to any other kind. Wherever in our texts discussion was concerned with women collectors, we saw them assembling objects that related to personal vanity or household interest, i.e. objects that relate to the female stereotypes: the housewife whose intelligence is exhausted in the efficient running of her household, and the *femme fatale* whose vanity is a danger for society at large and men in particular. Feelings about these objects, as well as proper behaviour in terms of setting and displaying the collection cannot be controlled. Grief for the loss of material possessions overcomes women, desire for material acquisitions leads to dangerous associations. In this sense, all women were 'bad' collectors, who lacked the intellectual depth for a 'good' collection, and similarly all 'bad' collections were signs of effeminacy and degeneracy.

At the other end of the spectrum was the rational collector, who practiced collecting as a clearly planned rational activity, who viewed material culture as a medium for creating and extending one's self, but within the limits set by community laws. Interestingly, all four writers juxtapose their own 'true criteria' and 'real value' of objects with the criteria imposed by the collectors, and the values they appreciated. Even Petronius, who seems to adopt a completely ironic stance toward both public and private collections, implies that there is a different, more profound, set of values that ordinary collectors simply miss.

The notion of object valuation is paramount in the discussion of the fourth of the parameters we set out in the introduction, the gift exchange tradition. We examined the presence of the phenomenon in Homeric epic poetry, where we isolated the vocabulary used and the values most commonly associated with precious objects. We located in these the power of objects to mediate between sacred and profane worlds, divine and human realms, their capacity to create relationships between people, to carry moral value, and to transfer it to people. We focused then on the treasuries built in Greek sanctuaries during the sixth century BCE; their presence, name and role suggest that they simply signify another stage in the same tradition. The objects kept in these treasuries, and the buildings themselves, held similar powers: they mediated between men and gods, they developed relations of perpetual dependence, and they carried symbolic meanings. The value of the objects goes beyond their financial worth, derives from their symbolic rather than actual use, and relates to their power to communicate with the Other. The main notion remains the one which has been central in the gift exchange: the objects participating in it are inalienable - although they are given away they never parted from their owner. Here we find the roots of their value as carriers of parts of human psyche, and of the notion of prestigious genealogy. These dimensions are 'mythologised' - in myths we come across objects as mediators of interpersonal relations, but also as seals of the mythic character of facts. Consequently, objects become parameters of stability, reassurance of the social and individual identity, as well as of the social order and hierarchy.

Martial is the writer most explicitly associating the tradition of gift-exchange with object valuation and collections. He asserts that giving is the only way of owning, a long-lasting notion associated with gift-exchange, and relates the 'true' value of objects with their participation in social practice, namely the relation between patron and client. His poetry - even in the choice of the genre - stands at the crossroad between real and imaginary worlds,

individual and social order, tradition and innovation. Martial inscribes collecting, through the views expressed in his poetry but also through the poetry itself, into a cultural context that discriminates and privileges objects as parts of social ritual, of display, of social interaction. There collections were propagated as the result of a social phenomenon, deeply committed to the aim of reproducing dialogue between individuals, social order, imagination and the real world.

A similar dichotomy between the 'real' values, that coincide with those defined by the gift-exchange tradition, and the 'false' values appreciated by collectors, appears implicitly or explicitly in all four writers. They formed a vital criterion of the distinction drawn between 'good' and 'bad' collections.

Classical collections, therefore, could and were used to help their owners structure their identity, personal and communal, memory, past and future; they were expressions of power and wealth, and means of appropriating spatial and temporal distance. They were intended to mediate with the sacred domain, and to empower their owners to accomplish their role as participants in cultural pre-eminence and thus power and control. Their method of acquisition was part of their role and meaning, and therefore, unlawful and destructive methods of acquisition were condemned along with the emphasis on individuality, egotism and human-defined (rather than nature-oriented) values. Collections acquired their supreme power when placed in the right context, i.e. the public, sacred, or semi-sacred realm, where memories and thoughts of individuals blend together to provide identity for communities. This description corresponds well with the one of contemporary museums, and it is in this dichotomy between 'good' and 'bad', public and private collecting that we would find the foundation of the dichotomy between collectors and museums today.

The study of classical collecting, its nature and relevance to collecting traditions of subsequent periods, is very rewarding for the researcher, whether it is approached with the stance of a classicist or that of a museum professional. The aim of this thesis has been to discuss classical collecting as a phenomenon that deserves special consideration, to focus on the motives behind the interest in collecting that developed in the period under examination, and to provide more elaborate and analytic suggestions about these motives than the usual descriptive ones. In particular we aimed to examine the collecting attitudes in the classical world, and to trace the seeds of this practice and mentality in the shared

tradition that runs through European thought. For that purpose, we structured our argument around four parameters that belong at the centre of this tradition. We thus hoped to put the discussion of classical collecting on a broader and deeper foundation than that of the historical circumstances of the short-term, as other attempts have done in the past. The examination of the immediate implications of this classical mentality to Renaissance collecting has been beyond the scope of this work, for practical reasons, length and time, but also because early modern collecting has received some attention already, and therefore we felt that the 'archaic phase' can, and should, be at the centre of this work. In the process of writing this thesis, many issues have emerged, like the role of the women collectors, or the religious and ritual character of the 'museum' before and after the creation of the Museum in Alexandria, or even classical collecting as practiced and experienced before and after the period that I have chosen to confine myself within, which deserve more than the limits of a thesis with a different aim can provide, in other words a full discussion of their own. These will be pursued further in the future. The thrust of the argument of this thesis, however, has been to bring out classical collecting as a phenomenon in its own right, that deserves to be studied and can contribute immensely to a more profound appreciation of the history of collecting in the long term, of the origins and cultural character of the museum institution, and of the relationship between society, individual and material culture in the Western tradition. And this we hope we have achieved.

THE NATURE OF COLLECTING IN THE CLASSICAL WORLD: COLLECTIONS AND COLLECTORS, c. 100 BCE - 100 CE.

VOLUME TWO

Alexandra Bounia

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Department of Museum Studies

University of Leicester.

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APPENDIX A

LITERARY TESTIMONIA.

The following passages contain references to collections, collectors, and collecting in the work of the four writer that we have chosen as case-studies. I have included also a few passages (those in brackets) which are not directly relevant to collecting, but refer to terms and notions that support my argument. I have not included passages that refer merely to works of art, as this is not the scope of this thesis. Some of these passages have appeared before, i.e. in Vessberg (1941), Pollitt (1983), and Marvin (1989), but these materials were put together in order to illustrate issues of ancient art history and provide sources on Roman art, and not as a corpus of data for the discussion of collecting paradigms. The majority of passages are written by Cicero and Pliny; Martial's contribution is the third in terms of the number of passages provided, while Petronius, possibly due to the fragmentary status of the *Satyrica,* contributes an even smaller number of texts. I have grouped the passages according to their theme, so it is not uncommon for one entry to include more than one references.

The passages collected here were written between 84 BCE and 101 CE. The first century CE is represented by three authors (Pliny the Elder, Martial, Petronius), with just one (Cicero) from the first century BCE; but the number of paragraphs available from the work of Cicero makes up for the limited number of writers involved. Dates in brackets refer to the time when the text was composed. The main source for both the Latin texts and their translations was the Loeb Classical Library editions. When a new translation has replaced an older one, both are included (see, for instance, some of Martial's epigrams), since the earlier translations usually, but not always, follow the ancient text closer, while the new ones are more 'readable' in English. At the end of each section (of each writer's texts), there are a few notes, most of them also from the Loeb edition, which aim to facilitate reading and understanding. Passages written by other Roman and Greek writers could have been selected too, and the presentation of our arguments in the main body of this thesis in not limited to the texts listed below, since we felt free to use other parts of the same works, or other texts by other writers to support our thesis. However, the most relevant texts are presented here.

The passages that follow are from the Loeb CL, *Pliny, Natural History*, vol. I (praefatio and libri I, II), trans. by H., Rackham, 1949.

Historia Naturalis

[T1] Praefatio, 16-19 [77 or 78 CE]

Equidem ita sentio, peculiarem in studiis causam eorum esse qui difficultatibus victis utilitatem iuvandi praetulerunt gratiae placendi; idque iam et in aliis operibus ipse feci, et profiteor mirari T. Livium, auctorem celeberrimum, in historiarum suarum quas repetit ab origine urbis quodam volumine sic orsum: satis iam sibi gloriae quaesitum, et potuisse se desidere, ni animus inquies pasceretur opere. Profecto enim populi gentium victoris et Romani nominis gloriae, non suae, conposuisse illa decuit; maius meritum esset operis amore, non animi causa, perseverasse, et hoc populo Romano praestitisse, non sibi. Viginti milia rerum dignarum cura - quoniam, ut ait Domitius Piso, thesauros opportet esse, non libros - lectione voluminum circiter duorum milium, quorum pauca admodum studiosi attingunt propter secretum materiae, ex exquisitis auctoribus centum inclusimus triginta sex voluminibus, adiectis rebus plurimis quas aut ignoraverant priores aut postea invenerat vita. Nec dubitamus multa esse quae et nos praeterierint; homines enim sumus et occupati officiis, subsicivisque temporibus ista curamus, id est nocturnis, ne quis vestrum putet his cessatum horis. Dies vobis inpendimus, cum somno valetudinem conputamus, vel hoc solo praemio contenti quod, dum ista (ut ait M. Varro) muginamur, pluribus horis vivimus: profecto enim vita vigilia est. Quibus de causis atque difficultatibus nihil auso promittere hoc ipsum tu praestas quod ad te scribimus. Haec fiducia operis, haec est indicatura: multa valde pretiosa ideo videntur quia sunt templis dicata.

For my own part I am of opinion that a special place in learning belongs to those who have preferred the useful service of overcoming difficulties to the popularity of giving pleasure; and I have myself already done this in other works also, and I declare that I admire the famous writer Livy when he begins one volume of his *History of Rome from the Foundation of the City* with the words 'I have already achieved enough of fame, and I might have retired to leisure, did not my restless mind find its sustenance in work'. For assuredly he ought to have composed his history for the glory of the world-conquering nation and of the Roman name, not for his own; it would have been a greater merit to have persevered from love of

the work, not for the sake of his own peace of mind, and to have rendered this service to the Roman nation and not to himself. As Domitius Piso says, it is not books but store-houses that are needed; consequently by perusing about 2000 volumes, very few of which, owing to the abstruseness of their contents, are ever handled by students, we have collected in 36 volumes 20,000 noteworthy facts obtained from one hundred authors that we have explored, with a great number of other facts in addition that were either ignored by our predecessors or have been discovered by subsequent experience. Nor do we doubt that there are many things that have escaped us also; for we are but human, and beset with duties, and we pursue this sort of interest in our spare moments, that is at night- lest any of your house should think that the night hours have been given to idleness. The days we devote to you, and we keep our account with sleep in terms of health, content even with this reward alone, that, while are dallying (in Varro's phrase) with these trifles, we are adding hours to our life- since of a certainty to be alive means to be awake. (par. 19) Because of these reasons and these difficulties I dare make no promise; the very words I am writing to you are supplied by yourself. This guarantees my work, and this rates its value; many objects are deemed extremely precious just because of the fact that they are votive offerings.

[T2] Praefatio, 24-26 [77 or 78 CE]

Inscriptionis apud Graecos mira felicitas: κηρίον inscripsere, quod volebant intellegi favom, alii κέρας Ἀμάλθειας, quod copiae cornu (ut vel lactis gallinacei sperare possis in volumine haustum), iam ια, Μοῦσαι, πανδέκται, ἐγχειρίδια, λειμών, πίναξ, σχέδιον – inscriptiones propter quas vadimonium deseri posit. At cum intraveris, di deaeque, quam nihil in medio invenies! nostri graviores Antiquitatum, Exemplorum Artiumque, facetissimi Lucubrationum, puto quia Bibaculus erat et vocabatur. Paulo minus adserit Varro in satiris suis Sesculixe et Flextabula. Apud Graecos desiit nugari Diodorus et βιβλιοθήκης historiam suam inscripsit. Apion quidem grammaticus (hic quem Tiberius Caesar cymbalum mundi vocabat, quom propriae famae tympanum potius videri posset) immortalitate donari a se scripsit ad quos aliqua componebat. Me non paenitet nullum festiviorem excogitasse titulum. Et ne in totum videar Graecos insectari, ex illis nos velim intellegi pingendi fingendique conditoribus quos in libellis his invenies absoluta opera, et illa quoque quae mirando non satiamur, pendenti titulo inscripsisse, ut Apelles faciebat aut Polyclitus, tamquam inchoata semper arte et inperfecta, ut contra iudiciorum varietates

superesset artifici regressus ad veniam, velut emendaturo quicquid desideraretur si non esset interceptus.

There is a marvellous neateness in the titles given to books among the Greeks. One they entitled *Κηρίον*, meaning Honeycomb; others called their work *Κέρας Ἀμάλθειας*, i.e. Horn of Plenty (so that you can hope to find a draught of hen's milk in the volume) and again *Violets, Muses, Hold-alls, Hand-books, Meadow, Tablet, Impromptu* - titles that might tempt a man to forfeit his bail. But when you get inside them, good heavens, what a void you will find between the covers! Our authors being more serious use the titles *Antiquities, Instances and Systems*, the wittiest, *Talks by Lamplight*, I suppose because the author was a toper- indeed Tippler was his name. Varro makes a rather smaller claim in his *Satires A Ulysses-and-a-half and Folding-tablet*. Diodorus among the Greeks stopped playing with words and gave his history the title of *Library*. Indeed the philologist Apion (the person whom Tiberius Caesar used to call 'the world's cymbal', though he might rather have been thought to be a drum, advertising his own renown) wrote that persons to whom he dedicated his compositions received from him the gift of immortality. For myself, I am not ashamed of not having invented any livelier title. And so as not to seem a downright adversary of the Greeks, I should like to be accepted on the lines of those founders of painting and sculture who, as you willl find in these volumes, used to inscribe thier finished works, even the masterpieces which we can never be tired of admiring, with a provisional title such as *Worked on by Apelles* or *Polyclitus*, as though art was always a thing in process and not completed, so that when faced by the vagaries of criticism the artists might have left him a line of retreat to indulgence, by implying that he intended, if not interrupted to defect any defect noted.

The passages that follow are from the Loeb CL, *Pliny Natural History*, with an English translation by H., Rackham, vol. II (libri III-VII), London and Cambridge Mass. 1947.

[T3] [3.xvi.120] [77 or 78 CE]

hoc ante Eridanum ostium dictum est, ab aliis Spineticum ab urbe Spina quae fuit iuxta, praevalens, ut Delphicis creditum es thesauris, condita a Diomede. auget ibi Padum Vatrenus amnis ex Forocorneliensi agro.

This mouth was formely called the Eridanus, and by others the Spineticus from the city of Spina that formerly stood near it, and that was believed on the evidence of its treasures deposited at Delphi to have been a very powerful place; it was founded by Diomede. At this point the Po is augmented by the river Santerno from the territory of Cornelius Market.

[T4] 5.i.12 [77 or 78 CE]

quinque sunt (ut diximus) Romanae coloniae in ea provincia, perviumque fama videri potest; sed id plerumque fallacissimum experimento deprehenditur, quia dignitates, cum indagare vera pigeat, ignorantiae pudore mentiri non piget, haut alio fidei proniore lapsu quam ubi falsae rei gravis auctor existit. equidem minus miror inconperta quaedam esse equestris ordinis viris, iam vero et senatum inde intrantibus, quam luxuriae, cuius efficacissima vis sentitur atque maxima, cum ebori, citro silvae exquirantur, omnes scopuli Gaetuli muricibus, purpuris.

The province contains, as we have said, five Roman colonies, and to judge by common report, the place might well be thought to be easily accessible; but upon trial this criterion is discovered to be for the most part exceedingly fallacious, because persons of high position, although not inclined to search for the truth, are ashamed of ignorance and consequently are not reluctant to tell falsehoods, as credulity is never more easily let down than when a false statement is attested by an authority of weight. For my own part I am less surprised that some things are outside the knowledge of gentlemen of the equestrian order, some of whom might indeed nowadays actually get into the senate, than that anything should be unknown to luxury, which acts as an extremely great and powerful stimulus, inasmuch as forests are ransacked for ivory and citrus-wood and all the rocks of Gaetulia explored for the murex and purple.

[T5] 6.xxiv.89 [77 or 78 CE]

Sed ne Taprobane quidem, quamvis extra orbem a natura relegata, nostris vitiis caret: aurum argentumque et ibi in pretio, marmor testudinis simile, margaritae gemmaeque in honore; multo praestantior est totus luxuriae nostra cumulus. ipsorum opes maiores esse dicebant, sed apud nos opulentiae maiorem usum:

But even Ceylon, although banished by Nature beyond the confines of the world, is not without the vices that belong to us: gold and silver are valued there also, and a kind of marble resembling tortoise-shell and pearls and precious stones are held in honour; in fact the whole mass of luxury is there carried to a far higher pitch than ours. They told us that there was greater wealth in their own country than in ours, but that we made more use of our riches:

[T6] 6.xxxvi. 200 [77 or 78 CE]

contra hoc quoque promunturium Gorgades insulae narrantur, Gorgonum quondam domus, bidui navigationedistantes a continente, ut tradit Xenophon Lampsacenus. penetravit in eas Hanno Poenorum imperator prodiditque hirta feminarum corpora, viros pernicitate evasisse; duarumque Gorgadum cutes argumenti et miraculi gratia in Iunonis templo posuit spectatas usque ad Carthaginem captam.

Opposite this cape also there are reported to be some islands, the Gorgades, which were formely the habitation of the Gorgons, and which according to the account of Xenophon of Lampsacus are at a distance of two days' sail from the mainland. These islands were reached by the Carthaginian general Hanno, who reported that the women had hair all over their bodies, but that the men were so swift of foot that they got away; and he deposited the skin of two of the female natives in the Temple of Juno as proof of the truth of his story and as curiosities, where they were on show until Carthage was taken by Rome.

[T7] 7.iii.34 [77 or 78 CE]

Pompeius Magnus in ornamentis theatri mirabiles fama posuit effigies ob id diligentius magnorum artificum ingeniis elaboratas, inter quas legitur Eutychis a viginti liberis rogo inlata Trallibus enixa xxx partus, Alcippe elephantum, quamquam id inter ostenta est, namque et serpentem peperit inter initia Marsici belli ancilla et multiformes pluribus modis inter monstra partus eduntur.

Pompey the Great among the decorations of his theatre placed images of celebrated marvels, made with special elaboration for the purpose by the talent of eminent artists; among them

we read of Eutychis who at Tralles was carried to her funeral pyre by twenty children and who had given birth 30 times, and Alcippe who gave birth to an elephant - although it is true that the latter case ranks among portents, for one of the first occurrences of the Marsian War was that a maidservant gave birth to a snake, and also monstrous births of various kinds are recorded among the ominous things that happened.

[T8] [7.xxx.113] [77 or 78 CE]

quanta morum commutatio! ille semper alioquin universos ex Italia pellendos censuit Graecos, at pronepos eius Uticensis Cato unum ex tribunatu militum philosophum, alterum ex Cypria legatione deportavit; eandemqae linguam ex duobus Catonibus in illo abegisse, in hoc importasse memorabile est.

What a complete change of fashion! The Cato in question always on other occasion recommended the total banishment of Greeks from Italy, whereas his great-grandson Cato of Utica brought home one philosopher from his military tribunate and another from his mission to Cyprus; and of the two Catos the former has the distinction of having banished and the other of having introduced the same language.

[T9] [7.xxx.115] [77 or 78 CE]

M. Varronis in bibliotheca, quae prima in orbe ab Asinio Pollione ex manubiis publicata Romae est, unius viventis posita imago est, haud minore, ut equidem reor, gloria principe oratore et cive ex illa ingeniorum quae tunc fuit multitudine uni hanc coronam dante quam cum eidem Magnus Pompeius piratico ex bello navalem dedit.

In the library founded at Rome by Asinius Pollio, the earliest library in the world established out of the spoils of war, the only statue of a living person erected was that of Marcus Varro, the bestowal by a leading orator and citizen of this crowning honour on one only out of the multitude of men of genius then existing constituting no less a distinction, in my own opinion, than when Pompey the Great gave to that same Varro a naval crown for his conduct in the war with the pirates.

[T10] 7.xxxviii.126-127 [77 or 78 CE]

Aristidis Thebani pictoris unam tabulam centum talentis rex Attalus licitus est, octoginta emit duas Caesar dictator, Medeam et Aiacem Timomachi, in templo Veneris Genetricis dicaturus. Candaules rex Bularchi picturam Magnetum exiti, haud mediocris spati, pari rependit auro. Rhodum non incendit rex Demetrius expugnator cognominatus, ne tabulam Protogenis cremaret a parte ea muri locatam. Praxiteles marmore nobilitatus est Cnidiaque Venere praecipue, vesano amore cuiusdam iuvenis insigni, et Nicomedis aestimatione regis grandi Gnidiorum aere alieno permutare eam conati. Phidiae Iuppiter Olympius cotidie testimonium perhibet, Mentori Capitolinus et Diana Ephesia, quibus fuere consecrata artis eius vasa.

King Attalus bid 100 talents for one picture by the Theban painter Aristides; the dictator Caesar purchased two by Timomachus for 80, the Medea and the Ajax, to dedicate them in the temple of Venus Genetrix. King Candaules paid its weight in gold for a picture of considerable size by Bularchus representing the downfall of the Magnesians. King Demetrius surnamed Besieger of Cities refrained from setting fire to Rhodes for fear of burning a picture by Protogenes stored in that part of the fortification. Praxiteles is famous for his marbles, and especially for his Venus at Cnidos, which is celebrated because of the infatuation that it inspired in a certain young man, and because of the value set on it by King Nicomedes, who attempted to obtain it in return for discharging a large debt owed by the Cnidians. Daily testimony is borne to Phidias by Olympian Jove, and to Mentor by Capitoline Jove and by Diana of Ephesus, works that have immortalised the tools of this craft.

[T11] 7.lviii.210 [77 or 78 CE]

veteres Graecasfuisse easdem paene quae nunc sunt Latinae indicio erit Delphica antiqui aeris (quae est hodie in Palatio dono principum) Minervae dicata [in bibliotheca] cum inscriptione tali: NAΥΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΤΟ ΤΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΚΟΡΑΙ ΤΑΝ ΔΕΚΑΤΑΝ...

The practical identity of the old Greek alphabet with the present Latin one will be proved with an ancient Delphic tablet of bronze (at the present day in the Palace, a gift of the emperors) dedicated to Minerva, with the following inscription: *Tithe dedicated by Nausicrates to the Daughter of Zeus...*

The passages that follow are from the Loeb CL, *Pliny, Natural History,* with an English translation by H., Rackham, vol. III, (libri VIII-XI), London and Cambridge Mass., 1947.

[T12] 8.x.31 [77 or 78 CE]

Dentibus ingens pretium et deorum simulacris lautissima ex his materia. invenit luxuria commendationem et aliam expetiti in callo manus saporis haut alia de causa, credo, quam quia ipsum ebur sibi mandere videtur, magnitudo dentium videtur quidem in templis praecipua, sed tamen in extermis Africae, qua confinis Aethiopiae est, postium vicem in domiciliis praebere, saepesque in hs et pecorum stabulis pro palis elephantorum dentibus fieri Polybius tradidit auctore Gulusa regulo.

The tusks fetch a vast price, and supply a very elegant material for images of the gods. Luxury has also discovered another thing that recommends the elephant, the flavour in the hard skin of the trunk, sought after, I believe, for no other reason than because the epicure feels that he is munching actual ivory. Exceptionally large specimens of tusks can indeed be seen in the temples, but nevertheless Polybius has recorded on the authority of the chieftain Gulusa that in the outlying pasts of the province of Africa where it marches with Ethiopia elephants' tusks serve instead of doorstops in the houses, and partitions in these buildings and in stabling for cattle are made by using elephants' tusks for poles.

[T13] 8.xiv.37 [77 or 78 CE]

nota est in Punicis bellis ad flumen Bagradam a Regulo imperatore ballistis tormentisque ut oppidum aliquod expugnata serpens CXX pedum longitudinis; pellis eius maxillaeque usque ad bellum Numantinum duravere Romae in templo.

There is the well-known case of the snake 120 feet long that was killled during the Punic Wars on the River Bagradas by General Regulus, using ordonance and catapults just as if storming a town; its skin and jaw-bones remained in a temple at Rome down to the Numantine War.

[T14] [8.xxi.56] [77 or 78 CE]

Sunt vero et fortuitae eorum quoque clementiae exempla. Mentor Syracusanus in Syria leone obvio suppliciter volutante attonitus pavore, cum refugienti undique fera opponeret sese et vestigia lamberet adulanti similis, animadvertit in pede eius tumorem vulnusque; extracto surculo liberavit cruciatu: pictura casum hunc testatur Syracusis.

But there are also instances of occasional mercifulness even in lions. The Syracusan Mentor in Syria met a lion that roled on the ground in suppliant wise and struck such terror into him that he was running away, when the lion stood in his way wherever he turned, and licked his footsteps as if fawning on him; he noticed a swelling and a wound in its foot, and by pulling out a thorn set the creature free from torment: a picture at Syracuse is evidence of this occurrence.

[T15] [8.xl.96] [77 or 78 CE]

Primus eum et quinque crocodilos Romae aedilitatis suae ludis M. Scaurus temporario euripo ostendit. hippopotamus in quadam medendi parte etiam magister existit; adsidua namque satietateobesus exit in litus recentis harundinum caesuras speculatum atque ubi acutissimam vidit stirpem inprimens corpus venam quandam in crure vulnerat atque ita profluvio sanguinis morbidum aliascorpus exonerat et plagam limo rursus obducit.

A hippopotamus was exhibited at Rome for the first time, together with five crocodiles, by Marcus Scaurus at the games which he gave when aedile; a temporary channel was made to hold them. The hippopotamus stands out as an actual master in the department of medicine; for when its inceasing voracity has caused it to overeat itself it comes ashore to reconnoitre places where rushes have recently been cut, and where it sees an extremely sharp stalk it squeezes its body down on to it and makes a wound in a certain vein in its leg, and by thus, letting blood unburdens its body, which would otherwise be liable to disease, and plasters up the wound again with mud.

[T16] 8.lxxiv.196-197 [77 or 78 CE]

aurum intexere in eadem Asia invenit Attalus rex, unde nomen Attalicis, colores diversos picturae intexere Babylon maxume celebravit et nomen inposuit. plurimis vero liciis texere quae polymita appelant Alexandria instituit, scutulis dividere Gallia. Metellus Scipio tricliniaria Babylonica sestertium octigentis milibus venisse iam tunc ponit in Capitonis criminibus, quae Neroni principi quadragiens sestertio nuper stetere. Servi Tulli praetextae quibus signum Fortunae ab eo dicatae coopertum erat, duravere ad Seiani exitum, mirumque fuit neque diffluxisse eas neque teredinum iniurias sensisse annis quingentis sexaginta. vidimus iam et viventium vellera purpura, cocco, conchylio, sesquipedalibus libris infecta, velut illa sic nasci cogente luxuria.

Gold embroidery was also invented in Asia, by King Attalus, from whom Attalic robes got their name. Weaving different colours into a pattern was chiefly brought into vogue by Babylon, which gave its name to this process. But the fabric called damask woven with a number of threads was introduced by Alexandria, and check patterns by Gaul. Metellus Scipio counts it among the charges against Capito that Babylonian coverlets were already then sold for 800,000 sesterces, which lately cost the Emperor Nero 4,000,000. The state robes of Servius Tullius, with which the statue of Fortune dedicated by him was draped, lasted till the death of Sejanus, and it was remarkable that they had not rotted away or suffered damage from moths in 560 years. We have before now seen the fleeces even of living animals dyed with purple, scarlet, crimson..., as though luxury forced them to be born like that.

[T17] 9.iv.11 [77 or 78 CE]

beluae cui dicebatur exposita fuisse Andromeda ossa Romae apportata ex oppido Iudaeae Ioppe ostendit inter reliqua miracula in aedilitate sua M. Scaurus longitudine pedum XL, altitudine costarum Indicos elephantos excedente, spinae crassitudine sesquipedali.

The skeleton of the monster to which Andromeda in the story was exposed was brought by Marcus Scaurus from the town of Jaffa in Judaea and shown at Rome among the rest of the marvels during his aedileship; it was 40 ft. long, the height of the ribs exceeding the elephants of India, and the spine being 1 ft. 6 inches thick.

[T18] [9.xiii. 39] [77 or 78 CE]

testudinum putamina secare in laminas lectosque et repositoria his vestire Carvilius Pollio instituit, prodigi et sagacis ad luxuriae instrumenta ingenii.

The practice of cutting tortoiseshell into plates and using it to decorate bedsteads and cabinets was introduced by Carvilius Pollio, a man of lavish talent and skill in producing the uttensils of luxury.

[T19] 9.xlviii.93 [77 or 78 CE]

ostendere Lucullo caput eius dolii magnitudine amphorarum xv capax atque, ut ipsius Trebi verbis utar, 'barbas quas vix utroque bracchio conplecti esset, clavarum modo torosas, longas pedum xxx, acetabulis sive caliculis urnalibus pelvium modo, dentes magnitudini respodentes.' reliquiae adversatae miraculo pependere pondo DCC. saepias quoque et lolligines eiusdem magnitudinis expulsas in litus illud idem auctor est. in nostro mari lolligines quinumcubitorum capiuntur, saepiae binum. neque his bimatu longior vita.

They showed its head to Lucullus - it was as big as a cask and held 90 gallons, - and (to use the words of Trebius himself) 'its beards which one could hardly clasp round with both one's arms, knotted like clubs, 30 ft. long, with suckers or cups like basins holding three gallons, and teeth corresponding to its size.' Its remains, kept as a curiosity, were found to weigh 700 lbs. Trebius also states that cuttle-fish of both species of the same size have been driven ashore on that coast. In our own seas one kind is taken that measures 71/2 ft. in length and the other kind 3 ft. These fish also do not live more than two years.

[T20] 9.lvii.116 [77 or 78 CE]

Firmum corpus esse manifestum est, quod nullo lapsu fraguntur. non autem semper in media carne reperiuntur sed aliis atque locis, vidimusque iam in extremis etiam marginibus velut e concha exeuntes, et in quibusdam quaternos quinosque. pondus ad hoc aevi semunciae pauci singulis scripulis excessere. in Britannia parvos atque decolores nasci certum est, quoniam divus Iulius thoracem quem Veneri Genetrici in templo eius dicavit ex Britannicis margaritis factum voluerit intellegi.

It is clear that they are of a firm substance, because no fall can break them. Also they are not always found in the middle of the flesh, but in a variety of places, and before now we have seen them even at the extreme edges, as though in the act of passing out of the shell; and in some cases we have seen four or five pearls in one shell. In weight few specimens have hitherto exceeded half an ounce by more than one scruple. It is established that small pearls of poor colour grow in Britain, since the late lamented Julius desired it to be known that the breastplate which he dedicated to Venus Genetrix in her temple was made of British pearls.

[T21] 9.lviii.117-121 [77 or 78 CE]

Lolliam Paulianam, quae fuit Gai principis matrona, ne serio quidem aut sollemni caerimoniarum aliquo apparatu sed mediocrium etiam sponsalium cena vidi smaragdis margaritisque opertam alterno textu fulgentibus toto capite, crinibus, [spira]auribus, collo, [monilibus] digitis, quae summa quadrigenties sestertium colligebat, ipsa confestim parata mancupationem tabulis pronare; nec dona prodigi principis fuerant, sed avitae opes, provinciarum scilicet spoliis partae. hicest rapinarum exitus, hoc fuit quare M. Lollius infamaus regum muneribusin toto orienteinterdicta amicitia a C. Caesare Augusti filio venenum biberet, ut neptis eius quadringenties HS operta spectaretur ad lucernas! computet nunc aliquis ex altera parte quantum Curius aut Fabricius in triumphis tulerint, imagineturillorum fercula, et ex altera parte Lolliam unam imperatori mulierculam accubantem: non illos curru detracos quam in hoc vicisse malit? nec haec summa luxuriae exempla sunt. duo fuere maximi uniones per omen aevum; utrumsque possedit Cleopatra Aegypti reginarum novissima per manus orientis regum sibi traditos. haec, cum exquisitis cotidie Antonius saginaretur epulis, superbo simul ac procaci fastu, ut regina meretrix, lautitiam eius apparatumque omnem obstrectans, quaerente eo quid adstrui magnificentiae posset responditunа se cena centiens HS absumpturam. cupiebat discere Antonius, sed fieri posse non arbitrabatur. ergo sponsionibus factis postero die, quo iudicium agebatur, magnificam alias cenam, ne dies periret, sed cotidianam, Antonio apposuit inridenti computationemque expostulanti. et illa corollarium id esse, et consummaturam eam cenam taxationem confirmas solamque se centiens HS cenaturam, inferri mensam secundam iussit. ex praecepto ministri unum tantum vas ante eam posuere aceti, cuius asperitas visquein tabem margaritas resolvit. gerebat auribus cum maxime singulare illud et vere unicum naturae opus. itaque expectante Antonio quidnam esset actura detractum alterum mersit ac

liquefactumobsorbuit. iniecit alteri manum L. Plancus, iudex sponsionis eius, eum quoque parante simili modo absumere, victumque Antonium pronunitavit omine rato. comitatur fama unionis eius parem, capta illa tantae quaestionis victrice regina, dissectum, ut esset in utrisque Veneris auribus Romae in Pantheo dimidia eorum cena.

I have seen Lollia Paulina, who became the consort of Gaius, not at some considerable or solemn ceremonial celebration but actually at an ordinary betrothal banquet, covered with emeralds and pearls interlaced alternately and shining all over her head, hair, ears, neck and fingers, the sum total amounting to the value of 40,000,000 sesterces, she herself being ready at a moment's notice to give documentary proof of her title to them; nor had they been presents from an extravagant emperor, but ancestral possessions, acquired in fact with the spoil of the provinces. This is the final outcome of plunder, it was for this that Marcus Lollius disgraced himself by taking gifts from kings in the whole of the East, and was cut out of his list of friends by Gaius Caesar son of Augustus and drank poison - that his granddaughter should be on show in the lamplight covered with 40,000,000 sesterces! Now let some one reckon up on one side of the account how much Curius of Fabricius carried in their triumphs, and picture to himself the spoils they displayed, and on the other side Lollia, a single little lady reclining at the Emperor's side - and would he not think it better that they should have been dragged from their chariots than have won their victories with this result? Nor are these the topmost instances of luxury. There have been two pearls that were the largest in the whole of history; both were owned by Cleopatra, the last of the Queens of Egypt - they have come down to her through the hands of the Kings of the East. When Antony was gorging daily at recherché banquets, she with a pride at once lofty and insolent, queenly wanton as she was, poured contempt on all his pomp and splendour, and when he asked what additional magnificence could be contrived, replied that she would spend 10,000,000 sesterces on a single banquet. Antony was eager to learn how it could be done, although he thought it was impossible. Consequently bets were made, and on the next day, when the matter was to be decided, she set before Antony a banquet that was indeed splendid, so that the day might not be wasted, but of a kind served every day- Antony laughing and expostulating at its niggardliness. But she vowed it was a mere additional douceur, and that the banquet would round off the account and her own dinner alone would cost 10,000,000 sesterces, and he ordered the second course to be served. In accordance with previous instructions the servants placed in front of her only a single vessel containing vinegar, the strong rough quality of which can melt pearls. She was at the moment wearing

in her ears that remarkable and truly unique work of nature. Antony was full of curiosity to see what in the world she was going to do. She took one earring off and dropped the pearl in the vinegar, and when it was melted swallowed it. Lucius Plancus, who was umpiring the wager, placed his hand on the other pearl when she was preparing to destroy it also in a similar way and declared that Antony had lost the battle - an ominous remark that came true. With this goes the story that, when that queen who had won on that important issue was captured, the second of this pair of pearls was cut in two pieces, so that half a helping of the jewel might be on each of the ears of the Venus in the Pantheon at Rome.

[T22] [11.cxiv.273-276] [77 or 78 CE]

CXIV. Miror equidem Aristotelem non modo credidisse praescita vitae esse aliqua in corporibus ipsis verum etiam prodidisse. quae quamquam vana existimo, nec sine cunctatione proferenda ne in se quisque ea auguria anxie quaerat, attingam tamen, quia tantus vir in doctrinis non sprevit. igitur vitae brevis signa ponit raros dentes, praelongos digitos, plumbeum colorem pluresque in manu incisuras nec perpetuas; contra longae esse vitae incurvos umeris et in manu unam aut duas incisuras longas habentis et plures quam xxxIII dentes, auribus amplis. nec universa haec, ut arbitror, sed singula observat, frivola, ut reor, et volgo tamen narrata. addidit morum quoque spectus simili modo apud nos Trogus et ipse auctor e severissimis, quos verbis eius subiciam: 'Frons ubi est magna segnem animum subesse significat, quibus parva mobilem, quibus rotunda iracundum' - velut hoc vestigio tumoris apparente. 'supercilia quibus porriguntur in rectum molles significant, quibus juxta nasum flexa sunt austeros, quibus iuxta tempora inflexa derisores, quibus in totum demissa malivolos et invidos. oculi quibus utrimque sunt longi malificos moribus esse indicant; qui carnosos a naribus angulos habent malitiae notam praebent; candida pars extenta notam inpudentiae habet: qui identidem operiri solent inconstantiae. oricularum magnitudo loquacitatis et stultitiae nota est,' hactenus Trogus.

For my own part I am surprised that Aristotle not only believed but also published his belief that our bodies contain premonitory signs of our career. But although I think this view unfounded, and not proper to be brought forward without hesitation lest everybody should anxiously seek to find these auguries in himself, nevertheless I will touch upon it, because so great a master of the sciences as Aristotle has not despised it. Well then, he puts down as signs of a short life few teeth, very long fingers, a leaden complexion and an exceptional

number of broken creases in the hand; and on the other side he says that those people are long-lived who have sloping shoulders, one or two creases in the hand, more than thirty-two teeth, and large ears. Yet he does not, I imagine, note all these attributes present in one person, but separately, trifling things, as I consider them, though nevertheless commonly talked about. In a similar manner among ourselves Trogus, himself also one of the most critical authorities, has added some outward signs of character which I will append in his words: 'When the forehead is large it indicates that the mind beneath it is sluggish; people with a small forehead have a nimble mind, those with a round forehead an irascible mind' - as if this were a visible indication of a swollen temper! 'When people's eyebrows are level this signifies that they are gentle, when they are curved at the side of the nose, that they are stern, when bent down at the temples, that they are mockers, when they entirely drooping, that they are malevolent and spiteful. If people's eyes are narrow on both sides, this shows them to be malicious in character; eyes that have fleshy corners on the side of the nostrils show a mark of maliciousness; when the white part of the eyes is extensive it conveys an indication of impudence; eyes that have a habit of repeatedly closing indicate unreliability. Large ears are a sign of talkativeness and silliness,' Thus far Trogus.

The passages that follow are from the Loeb CL, *Pliny Natural History,* with an English translation by H., Rackham, vol. IV, (libri XII-XVI), London and Cambridge Mass., 1945.

[T23] [12.v.9] [77 or 78 CE]

Celebratae sunt: ... nunc est clara in Lycia fontis gelidi socia amoenitate, itineri adposita domicilii modo, cava octoginta atque unius pedum specu, nemorosa vartice et se vastis protegens ramis arborum instar, agros longis obstinens umbris, ac ne quid desit speluncae imagini, saxea intus crepidinis corona muscosos complexa pumices, tam digna miraculo ut Licinius Mucianus ter ocnsul et nuper provinciae eius legatus prodendum etiam posteris putaverit epulatum intra eam se cum duodevocensimo comite, large ipsa toros praebente frondis, ab omni alflatu securum, oblectante imbrium per folia crepitu laetiorem quam marmorum nitore, pictvurae varietate, laquearium auro, cubuisse in eadem.

Famous plane-trees are: ... at the present day there is a celebrated plane in Lycia, allied with the amenity of a cool spring; it stands by the roadside like a dwelling-house, with a hollow

cavity inside it 81 feet across, forming with its summit a shady grove, and shielding itself with vast branches as big as tees and covering the fields with its long shadows, and so as to complete its resemblance to a grotto, embracing inside it mossy pumice-stones in a circular rim of rock - a tree so worthy to be deemed a marvel that Licinius Mucianus, who was three times consul and recently lieutenant-governor of the province, thought it worth handing down to posterity also that he had held a banquet with eighteen members of his retinue inside the tree, which itself provided couches of leafage on a bounteous scale, and that he had then gone to bed in the same tree, shielding from every breath of wind, and receiving more delight from the agreeable sound of the rain dropping through the foliage than gleaming marble, painted decorations or gilded panelling could have afforded.

[T24] 12.xlii.94 [77 or 78 CE]

coronas ex cinnamo interrasili auro inclusas primus omnium in templis Capitolii atque Pacis dicavit imperator Vespasianus Augustus. radicem eius magni ponderis vidimus in Palatii templo quod fecerat divo Augusto coniux Augusta, aureae paterae inpositam, ex qua guttae editae annis omnibus in grana durabantur, donec id delubrum incendio consumptum est.

His Majesty the emperor Vespasian was the first person to dedicate in the Temples of the Capitol and of Peace chaplets of cinnamon surrounded with embossed gold. We once saw in the Temple of the Palatine erected in honour of his late Majesty Augustus by his consort Augusta a very heavy cinnamon-root placed in a golden bowl, out of which drops used to distil every year which hardened into grains; this went on until the shrine in question was destroyed by fire.

[T25] 13.xxvii.84-86 [77 or 78 CE]

namque Cassius Hemina, vetustissimus auctor annalium, quarto eorum libro prodidit Cn. Terentium scribam agrum suum in I aniculo repastinantem effodisse arcam in qua Numa qui Romae regnavit situs fuisset; in eadem libros eius repertos P. Cornelio L. filio Certhego, M. Baebio Q. filioTamphilo cos. ad quos a regno Numae collinguntur anni DXXXV; hos fuisse e chara, maiore etiamnum miraculo, quod infossi duraverint- quapropter in re tanta ipsius Heminae verba ponam: 'Mirabantur alii quomodo illi libridurare possent; ille ita rationem

reddebat: lapidem fuisse quadratum circiter in media arca vinctum candelis quoquoversus; in eo lapide insuper libros III sitos fuisse: se propterea arbitrarier non computruisse; et libros citratos fuisse: propterea arbitrarier tineas non tetigisse. in iis libris scriptae erant philosophiae Pythagoricae- eosque combustos a Q. Petilio praetore [quia philosophiae scripta essent].

Cassius Hemina, a historian of great antiquity, has stated in his *Annals*, Book IV, that the secretary Gnaeus Terentius, when digging over his land on the Janiculan, turned up a coffer that had contained the body of Numa, who was king at Rome, and that in the same coffer were found some books of his - this was in the consulship of Publius Cornelius Certhegus, son of Lucius, and of Marcus Baebius Tamphilus, son of Quintus, dating 535 years after the accession of Numa; and the historian says that the books were made of paper, which makes the matter still more remarkable, because of their having lasted in a hole in the ground, and consequently on a point of such importance I will quote the words of Hemina himself: 'Other people wondered how those books could have lasted so long, but Terentius's explanation was that about in the middle of the coffer there had been a square stone tied all round with waxed cords, and that the three books had been placed on the top of this stone; and he thought this position was the reason why they had not decayed; and that the books had been soaked in citrus-oil, and he thought that this was why they were not moth-eaten. These books contained the philosophical doctrines of Pythagoras' - and Hemina said that the books had been burned by the praetor Quintus Petilius because they were writings of philosophy.

[T26] 13.xxix.91-95 [77 or 78 CE]

Atlans mons peculiari proditur silva de qua(?) diximus. confines ei Mauri, quibus plurima arbor citri et mensarum insania quas feminae viris contra margaritas regerunt. exstat hodie M. Ciceronis in illa paupertate et, quod magis mirum est, illo aevo empta HS D; memoratur et Galli Asini HS X. venumdatae sunt et duae ab Iuba rege pendentes quarum alteri pretium fuit HS XIII permutata, latifundii taxatione, si quis praedia tanti mercari malit. magnitudo amplissimisadhuc fuit: uni commissae ex orbibus dimidiatis duobus a rege Mauretaniae Ptolemaeo quattuor pedes et semipedem per medium ambitum, crassitudine quandrantali-maiusque miraculum in ea est artis lantente iunctura quam potuisset esse naturae- solidae autem a Nomio Caesaris liberto cognomen trahenti tribus sicilicis infra quattuor pedes

totidemque infra pedem crassitudinis. qua in re non omittendum videtur Tiberio principi mensam quattuor pedes sextante et sicilico excedentem, tota vero crassitudine sescunciali, operimento lamnae vestitam fuisse, cum tam opima Nomio liberto eius esset. tuber hoc est radicis, maximeque laudatum quod sub terra totum fuerit et rarius quam quae superne gignuntur etiam in ramis; proprieque quod tanti emitur arborum vitium est, quarum amplitudo ac radices aestimari possunt ex orbibus. sunt autem cupresso feminae atque etiamnum silvestri similes folio, odore, caudice. Ancorarius mons vocatur Citerioris Mauretaniae qui laudatissimam dedit citrum, iam exhaustus.

Mount Atlas is said to possess a forest of a remarkable character, about which we have spoken. Adjoining Mount Atlas is Mauretania, which produces a great many citrus-trees - and the tablemania which the ladies use as a retort to the men against the charge of extravagance in pearls. There still exists a table that belonged to Marcus Cicero for which with his slender resources and, what is more surprising, at that date he paid half-a-million sesterces; and also one is recorded as belonging to Gallus Asinius that cost a million. Also two hanging tables were sold at auction by King Juba, of which one fetched 1,200,000 sesterces and the other a little less. A table that was lately destroyed in a fire came down from the Cethegi and had changed hands a 1,300,000 sesterces - the price of a large estate, supposing somebody preferred to devote so large a sum to the purchase of landed property. The size of the largest tables hitherto has been: one made by Ptolemy, king of Mauretania, out of two semicircular slabs of wood joined together, 4 1/2 ft. in diameter and 3 in. thick - and the invisibility of the join makes the table more marvellous a work of art that it could possibly had been if a product of nature - and a single slab bearing the name of Nomius a freedman of the Emperor Tiberius which was 3ft. 11 1/4 in. across and 11 1/4 in. thick. Under this head it seems proper to include a table that belonged to the Emperor Tiberius which was 4ft. 2 1/4 in. across and 1 1/2 in. thick all over, but was only covered with a veneer of citrus-wood, although the one belonging to his freeman Nomius was so sumptuous. The material is an excrescence of the root, and is very greatly admired when it grows entirely underground, and so is more uncommon than the knobs that grow above ground, on the branches as well as on the trunk; and the timber bought at so high a prize is in reality a disease of the trees, the size and the roots of which can be judged from the circular table-tops. In foliage, scent and the appearance of the trunk these trees resemble the female cyprus, which is also a forest tree. A mountain called Ancorarius in Hither Mauretania provided the most celebrated citrus-wood, but the supply is now exhausted.

[T27] [13.xxx.100-102] [77 or 78 CE]

Inter pauca nitidioris vitae instrumenta haec arbor est, quapropter insistendum ei quoque paululum videtur. nota etiam Homero fuit; thyon Graece vocatur, ab aliis thya. hanc itaque inter odores uri tradidit in deliciis Circae, quam deam volebat intellegi, magno errore eorum qui odoramenta in eo vocabulo accipiunt, cum praesertim eodem versu cedrum laricemque una tradat uri, quo manifestum est de arboribus tantum locutum. Theophrastus, qui proximus a Magni Alexandri aetate scripsit circa urbis Romae annum ccccxxxx, magnum iam huic arbori honorem tribuit, memoratas ex ea referens templorum veterum contignationes quandamque immortalitatem materiae in tectis contra vitia omnia incorruptae; radice nihil crispius, nec aliunde pretiosiora opera; praecipuam autem esse eam arborem circa Hammonis delubrum, nasci et in interiore Cyrenaicae parte. de mensis tamen tacuit, et alias nullius ante Ciceronianam vetustior memoria est, quo noviciae apparent.

Few things that supply the apparatus of a more luxurious life rank with this tree, and consequently it seems desirable to dwell on it for a little as well. It was known even to Homer - the Greek name for it being *thyon*, otherwise *thya.* Well, Homer has recorded its being burnt among unguents as one of the luxuries of Circe, whom he meant to be understood as a goddess - those who take the word *thyon* to mean perfumes being greatly in error, especially as in the same verse he says that cedar and larch were burnt at the same time, which shows that he was only speaking of trees. Already, Theophrastus, who wrote immediately after the period of Alexander the Great, about 314 B.C., assigns a high rank to this tree, stating that it was recorded that the flooring of the old temples used to be made of it and that its timber when used in roofed buildings is virtually everlasting, being proof against all causes of decay; and he says that no wood is more marked with veins than the root, and that no products made of any other material are more valuable. The finest citrus, he says, is round the Temple of Hammon, but it also grows in the interior of Cyrenaica. He makes no mention, however, of tables made of citrus-wood, and indeed there is no older record of one before that of the time of , which proves their novelty.

[T28] [15.vii.32] [77 or 78 CE]

...veteri quoque oleo usus est ad quaedam genera morborum, existimaturque et ebori vindicando a carie utile esse: certe simulacrum Saturni Romae intus oleo repletum est.

There is also a use of old olive-oil for certain kinds of diseases, and it is also deemed to be serviceable from preserving ivory from decay: at all events, the inside of the statue of Saturn at Rome has been filled with oil.

[T29] [15.x.38] [77 or 78 CE]

...strutheis autem cotonea insita suum genus fecere Mulvianum, quae sola ex his vel cruda manduntur, iam et virorum salutatoriis cubiculis inclusa ac simulacris noctium consciis inposita. sunt praeterea parva silvestria, e strutheis odoratissima et in saepidus nascentia.

Grafting the ordinary quince on the sparrow-apple has produced a special kind, the Mulvian quince, which is the only one of the quinces that is eaten even raw; these at the present day are kept shut up in gentlemen's reception-rooms, and are placed on the statues that share our nights with us. There is also a small wild quince, the scent of which is the most powerful next to that of the sparrow-apple and which grows in the hedges.

[T30] [16.lxxiii.185] [77 or 78 CE]

quibus sunt tubera sicut sunt in carne glandia, in iis nec vena nec pulpa, quodam callo carnis in se convoluto; hoc pretiosissimumin citro et acere. cetera mensarum genera fissis arboribus circinantur in pulpam, alioqui fragilis esset vena in orbem arboris caesa. fagis pectines traversi in pulpa; apud antiquos inde et vasis honos: M. Curius iuravit se nihil ex praeda attigisse praeter guttum faginum quo sacrificaret.

In the case of trees in which there are tuberosities resembling the glands in the flesh of an animal, these contain no vessels or fibres, but a kind of hard knot of flesh rolled up in a ball; in the citrus and the maple this is the most valuable part. The other kinds of wood employed for making tables are cut into circles by splitting the trees along the line of the fibre, as otherwise the vein cut across the round of the tree would be brittle. In beech trees the grainings in the fibre run crosswise, and consequently even vessels made of beechwood were

higly valued in old days: Manius Curius declared on oath that he had touched nothing of the booty taken in a battle except a flask made of beech-wood, to use in offering sacrifices.

[T31] [16.lxxvi.200] [77 or 78 CE]

Amplissima arborum ad hoc aevi existimatur Romae visa quam propter miraculum Tiberius Caesar in eodem ponte naumachiario exposuerat advectam cum reliqua materie, duravitque ad Neronis principis amphitheatrum. fuit autem trabs ea e larice, longa pedes cxx, bipedali crassitudine aequalis, quo intellegebatur vix credibilis reliqua altitudo fastigium as cacumen aestimantibus.

What is believed to have been the largest tree ever seen at Rome down to the present time was one that Tiberius Caesar caused to be exhibited as a marvel on the deck of the Naval Sham Fight before mentioned; it had been brought to Rome with the rest of the timber used and it lasted till the amphitheatre of the emperor Nero. It was a log of larchwood, 120 feet long and of a uniform thickness of two feet, from which could be inferred the almost incredible height of the rest of the tree by calculating its length to the top.

[T32] [16.lxxix.213-219] [77 or 78 CE]

LXXIX. Maxime aeternam putant hebenum, et cupressum cedrumque, claro de omnibus materiis iudicio in templo Ephesiae Dianae, utpote cum tota Asia extruente cxx annis peractum sit. convenit tectum eius esse e cedrinis trabibus; de simulacro ipso deae ambigitur: ceteri ex hebeno esse tradunt, Mucianus III cos. ex iis qui proxime viso scripsere vitigineum et numquam mutatum septies restituto templo, hanc materiam elegisse Endoeon, etiam nomen artificis nuncupans, quod equidem miror, cum antiquiorem Minerva quoque, non modo Libero patre, vetustatem ei tribuat. adicit multis foraminibus nardo rigari, ut medicatus umor alat teneatque iuncturas - quas et ipsas esse modico admodum miror - valvas esse e cupresso et iam cccc prope annis durare materiem omnem novae similem. id quoque notandum, valvas in glutinis compage quadriennio fuisse. cupressus in eas electa, quoniam praeter cetera in uno genere materiae nitor maxime valeat aeternus. nonne simulacrum Veiovis in arce e cupresso durat a condita urbe DLXI anno dicatum? memorabile et Uticae templum Apollinis, ubi cedro Numidica trabes durant, ita ut positae fuere prima urbis eius origine, annos MCLXXVIII et in Hispania Sagunti templum Dianae a

Zacyntho advectae cum conditoribus annis cc ante excidium Troiae, ut auctor est Bocchus; intra ipsum oppidum id habent - pepercit religione inductus Hannibal -iuniperi trabibus etiam nunc durantibus. super omnia memoratur aedis Aulide eiusdem deae saeculis aliquot ante Troianum bellum exaedificata, quonam genere materiae scientia oblitterata. in plenum dici potest utique quae odore praecellant eas et aeternitate praestare. a praedictis morus proxume laudatur quae vetustate etiam nigrescit. et quaedam tamen in aliis diuturniora sunt usibus quam alias: ulmus in perflatu firma, robur defossum et in aquis quercus obruta; eadem supra terram rimosa facit opera torquendo sese. larix in umore praecipua et alnus nigra; robur marina aqua conrumpitur. non inprobatur et fagus in aqua et iuglans, hae quidem in iis quae defodiuntur vel principales, item iuniperus (eadem et subdialibus aptissima), fagus et cerrus celeriter marcescunt aesculus quoque umoris inpatiens. contra adacta in terram in palustribus alnus aeterna onerisque quanti - libet patiens. cerasus firma, ulmus et fraxinus lentae, sed facile pandantur, flexiles tamen, stantesque ac circumcisura siccatae fideliores.

LXXIX. It is believed that ebony lasts an extremely long time, and also cypress and cedar, a clear verdict about all timbers being given in the temple of Diana at Ephesus, inasmuch as though the whole of Asia was building it it took 120 years to complete. It is agreed that its roof is made of beams of cedar, but as to the actual state of the goddess there is some dispute, all the other writers saying that it is made of ebony, but one of the people who have most recently seen it and written about it, Mucianus, who was three times consul, states that it is made of the wood of the vine, and has never been altered although the temple has been restored seven times; and that this material was chosen by Endoeus - Mucianus actually specifies the name of the artist, which for my part I think surprising, as he assigns to the statue an antiquity that makes it older that not only Father Liber but Minerva also. He adds that nard is poured into it through a number of apertures so that the chemical properties of the liquid may nourish the wood and keep the joins together - as to these indeed I am rather surprised that there should be any - and that the folding doors are made of cypress wood, and the whole of the timber looks like new wood after having lasted nearly 400 years. It is also worth noting that the doors were kept for four years in a frame of glue. Cypress was chosen for them because it is the one kind of wood which beyond all others retains its polish in the best condition for all time. Has not the statue of Vejonis in the citadel, made of cypress after the foundation of Rome? Noteworthy also is the temple of Apollo at Utica, where beams of Numidian cedar have lasted for 1178 years just as they were when they were put in position

at the original foundation of that city; and the temple of Diana at Saguntum in Spain, the statue of the goddess, according to the authority of Bocchus, having been brought there from Zacynthus with the founders of the city 200 years before the fall of Troy; it is kept inside the town itself - Hannibal from motives of religion spared it - and its beams, made of juniper, are still in existence even now. Memorable above all is the temple of the same goddess at Aulis, built some centuries before the Trojan war; all knowledge of what kind of timber it was built of has entirely disappeared. Broadly speaking it can at all events be said that those woods have the most outstanding durability which have the most agreeable scent. Next in esteem after the timbers mentioned stands that of mulberry, which even darkens with age. At the same time also some woods last longer when employed in certain ways than they do otherwise: elm lasts best exposed to the air, hard oak when used under ground, and oak when submerged under water - oak when above the ground warps and makes cracks in structures. Larch and black alder do the best in damp; hard oak is rotted by the sea water. Beech and walnut are also well spoken of for the use in water, these timbers indeed holding quite the first place among those that are used under the ground, and likewise juniper (which is also very serviceable for structures exposed to the air), whereas beech and Turkey oak quickly decay, and the winter oak also will not stand damp. The alder on the other hand if driven into the ground in marshy places lasts for ever and stands a load of any amount. Cherry is a strong wood, elm and ash are tough but liable to warp, although they are flexible; and they are more reliable if the trees are left standing and dried by ringing round the trunk.

[T33] [16.lxxxiv.233] [77 or 78 CE]

placuit deinde materiem at in mari quaeri: testudo in hoc secta; nuperque portentosis ingeniis principatu Neronis inventum ut pigmentis perderet se plurisque veniret imitata lignum. modoluxuria non fuerat contenta ligno, iam lignum et e testudine facit. sic lectis pretia quaeruntur, sic terebinthum vinci iubent, sic citrum pretiosius fieri, sic acer decipi.

Next came the fancy of ransacking even the sea for material: tortoiseshell was cut up to provide it, and recently, in the principate of Nero, it was discovered by miraculous devices how to cause it to lose it a natural appearance by means of paints and fetch a higher price by imitating wood good enough, but now it actually manufactures wood out of tortoiseshell. By these methods high prices are sought for couches and orders are given to outdo turpentine wood, make a more costly citrus, and counterfeit maple.

[T34] [16.lxxxix.239-240] [77 or 78 CE]

Argis olea etiamnum durare dicitur ad quam Io in tauram mutatam Argus alligaverit. in Ponto citra Heracleam arae sunt Iovis Stratiou cognomine: ibi quercus duae ab Hercule satae. in eodem tractu portus Amyci est Bebryce rege interfecto clarus; eius tumulus a supremo die lauro tegitur quam insanam vocant, quoniam si quid ex ea decerptum inferatur navibus, iurgia fiunt donec abiciatur. regionem Aulocrenen diximus per quam Apamea in Phrygiam itur: ibi platanus ostenditur ex qua pependerit Marsuas victus ab Apolline, quae iam tum magnitudine electa est. nec non plama Deli ab eiusdem dei aetate conspicitur, Olympiae oleaster ex quo primus Hercules coronatus est: et nunc custoditur religio. Athenis quoqueolea durare traditur in certamine edita a Minerva.

It is said that at Argos there still survives the olive to which Argus tethered Io after she had been transformed into a heifer. West of Heraclea in Pontus there are altars dedicated to Jupiter under his Greek title of Stratios, where there are two oak trees planted by Hercules. In the same region there is a port called Harbour of Amycus, famous as the place where King Bebryx was killed; his tomb ever since the day of his death has been shaded by a laurel tree which they call the Mad Laurel, because if a piece plucked from it is taken on board ships, quarrelling breaks out until it is thrown away. We have mentioned the region of Aulocrene, traversed by the route leasing from Apamea into Phrygia; in it travellers are shown the plane-tree from which Marsyas was hanged after loosing his match with Apollo, and which was selected for the purpose on account of its size even then. Moreover at Delos may be seen a palm tree dating back to the time of the same deity, and at Olympia a wild olive from which was made the wreath with which Hercules was crowned for the first time - veneration for it is preserved even now. Also the olive tree produced by Minerva in the competition is reported still to exist at Athens.

The passages that follow are from the Loeb CL, *Pliny Natural History,* with an English translation by H., Rackham, vol. V, (libri XVII-XIX), London and Cambridge Mass. 1950.

[T35] [17.iii.37] [77 or 78 CE]

illa temperatae ubertatis, illa mollis facilisque culturae, nec madida nec sitiens, illa post vomerem nitescens, qualem fons ingeniorum Homerus in armis a deo caelatam dixit addiditque miraculum nigrescentis, quamvis fieret ex auro; illa quam recentem exquirunt inprobae alites vomerem comitantes corvique aratoris vestigia ipsa rodentes.

'Tender' soil is soil of moderate richness, a soft and easily worked soil, neither damp nor parched; it is soil that shines behind the ploughshare, like the field which Homer, the fountain-head of all genius, has described as represented by a divine artist in a carving on a shield, and he has added the marvellous touch about the furrow showing black although the material used to represent it was gold; it is the soil that when freshly turned attracts the rascally birds which accompany the ploughshare and the tribe of crows which peck the very footprints of the ploughman.

[T36] 19.ii.12 [77 or 78 CE]

mirentur hoc ignorantes in Agypti quondam regis quem Amasim vocant thorace in Rhodiorum insula Lindi in templo Minervae CCCLXV filis singula fila constare, quod se expertumnuperrime prodidit Mucianus ter cos., parvasque iam reliquias eius superesse hoc experientium iniuria.

This may surprise people who do not know that in a breastplate that belonged to a former king of Egypt named Amasis, preserved in the temple of Minerva at Lindus on the island of Rhodes, each thread consisted of 365 separate threads, a fact which Mucianus, who held the consulship three times quite lately, stated that he had proved to be true by investigation, adding that only small remnants of the breastplate now survive owing to the damage done by persons examining this quality.

[T37] [19.xix.49-51] [77 or 78 CE]

Ab his superest reverti ad hortorum curam et suapte natura memorandam et quoniam antiquitas nihil prius mirata est quam Hesperidum hortos ac regum Adonidis et Alcinoi, itemque pensiles, sive illos Semiramis sive Assyriae rex Syrus fecit, de quorum opere alio volumine dicemus. Romani quidem reges ipsi coluere; quippe etiam Superbus nuntium illum

saevum atque sanguinarium filio remisit ex horto. in XII tabulis legum nostrarum nusquam nominatur villa, semper in significatione ea hortus, in horti vero heredium; quam ob rem comitata est et religio quaedam hortoque et foro tantum contra invidentium effascinationes dicari videmus in remedio saturica signa, quamquam hortos tutelae Veneris adsignante Plauto. iam quidem hortorum nomine in ipsa urbe deficias agros villasque possident. primus hoc instituit Athenis Epicurus otii magister; usque ad eum moris non fuerat in oppidis habitari rura.

It remains to return from these plants to the cultivation of gardens, a subject recommended to our notice both by its own intrinsic nature and by the fact that antiquity gave its highest admiration to the garden of the Hesperids and of the kings Adonis and Alcinous, and also to hanging gardens, whether those constructed by Semiramis or by Syrus King of Assyria, about whose work we shall speak in another volume. The kings of Rome indeed cultivated their gardens with their own hands; in fact it was from his garden that even Tarquin the Proud sent that cruel and bloodthirsty message to his son. In our Laws of the Twelve Tables the word 'farm' never occurs - the word 'garden' is always used in that sense, while a garden is denoted by 'family estate'. Consequently even a certain sense of sanctity attached to a garden, and only in a garden and in the Forum do we see statues of Satyrs dedicated as a charm against the sorcery of the envious, although Plautus speaks of gardens as being under the guardianship of Venus. Nowadays indeed under the name of gardens people possess the luxury of regular farms and country houses actually within the city. This practice was first introduced at Athens by that connoisseur of luxurious ease, Epicurus; down to his day the custom had not existed of having country dwellings in towns.

The passages that follow are from the Loeb CL, *Pliny Natural History,* with and English translation by W. H. S., Jones, vol. VI, (libri XX-XXIII), London and Cambridge Mass. 1951.

[T38] 21.ii.4 [77 or 78 CE]

Arborum enim ramis coronari in sacris certaminibus mos erat primum. postea variare coeptum mixtura versicolori florum, quae invicem odores coloresque accenderet, Sicyone ingenio Pausiae pictoris atque Glycerae coronariae dilectae admodum illi, cum opera eius

pictura imitaretur, illa provocans variaret, essetque certamen atquis ac naturae, quales etiam nunc extant artificis illius tabellae atque in primis appellata Stephaneplocos qua ppinxit ipsam. idque factum est post Olympiada c. sic coronis e floribus receptis paulo mox subiere quae vocantur Aegyptiae ac deinde hibernae, cum terra flores negat, ramento e cornibus tincto. paulatimque et Romae subrepsit appellatio corollis inter initia propter gracilitatem nominatis, mox et corollariis, postquam et lamina tenui aerea inaurata aut inargentata datantur.

For at first it was customary to make from branches of trees the chaplets used at sacred contests as prizes. Later on the custom arose of varying the colour by mixing flowers of different hues, in order to heighten the effect of perfumes and colours in turn. It began at Sicyon through the skill of Paucias the painter and of the garland-maker Glycera, a lady with whom he was very much in love; when he copied her works in his paintings, she to egg him on varied her designs, and there was a duel between Art and Nature. Pictures of this kind painted by that famous artist are still extant, in particular the one called *Stephaneplocos*, in which he painted the lady herself. This took place later than the hundredth Olympiad. Floral chaplets being now fashionable, it was not long before there appeared what are called Egyptian chaplets, and then winter ones, made from dyed flakes of horn at the season when earth refuses flowers. At Rome too gradually there crept in the name *corollae*, given at the first to chaplets because of their delicacy, and presently that of *corollaria*, after the chaplets presented as prizes began to be made of thin plates, bronze, gilt or silvered.

The passages that follow are from the Loeb CL, *Pliny Natural History*, with an English translation by W. H. S., Jones, vol. VII, (libri XXIV-XXVII), 2nd edn., London and Cambridge Mass., 1980.

[T39] [25.i.1-3] [77 or 78 CE]

Ipsa quae nunc dicetur herbarum claritas, medicinae tantum gignente eas Tellure, in admirationem curac priscorum diligentiaeque animum agit. nihil ergo intemptatum inexpertumque illis fuit, nihil deinde occultatum quodque non prodesse posteris vellent. at nos elaborata his abscondere ac supprimere cupimus et fraudare vitam etiam alienis bonis. ita certe recondunt qui pauca aliqua novere invidentes aliis, et neminem docere in

auctoritatem scientiae est. tantum ab excogitandis novis ac iuvanda vita mores absunt, summumque opus ingeniorum diu iam hoc fuit ut intra unumquemque recte facta veterum perirent. at, Hercules, singula quosdam inventa deorum numero addidere, quorum utique vitam clariorem fecere cognominibus herbarum, tam benigne gratiam memoria referente. non aeque haec cura eorum mira est in his quae satu blandiuntur aut cibo invitant, culmina quoque montium invia et solitudines abditas omnesque terrae fibras scrutati invenere quid quaeque radix polleret, ad quos usus herabrum fila pertinent, etiam quadripedum pabulo intacta ad salutis usus vertentes.

This peculiar glory of plants which I am now going to speak of, Mother Earth producing them sometimes for medicinal purposes only, rouses in one's mind admiration for the care and industry of the men of old; there was nothing left untried or unattempted by them, and furthermore nothing kept secret, nothing which they wished to be of no benefit to posterity. But we moderns desire to hide and suppress the discoveries worked out by these investigators, and to cheat human life even of the good things that have been won by others. Yes indeed, those who have gained a little knowledge keep it in a grudging spirit secret to themselves, and to teach nobody else increases the prestige of their learning. So far has custom departed from fresh research and assistance to life; the supreme task of our great minds has long been to keep within individual memory the successes of the ancients, so allowing them to be forgotten. But, heaven knows, there are some whom a single discovery has added to the number of the gods, whose life on earth at any rate has been made more glorious by their names being given to plants, so kind the thanks of a mindful posterity. This careful research of theirs is less wonderful when rewarded by plants of fascinating growth or attractive as food; but they have scoured also trackless mountain heights, unexplored deserts and all the bowels of the earth, finding out the power of every root and the uses to which can be put mere slim threads of vegetation, and turning to healthful purposes that which the very beasts refuse to touch as food.

[T40] 25.iv.8 [77 or 78 CE]

Praeter hos Graeci auctores prodidere quos suis locis diximus, ex his Crateuas, Dionysius, Metrodorus ratione blandissima sed qua nihil paene aliud quam difficultas rei intellegatur. pinxere namque effigies herbarum atque ita subscripsere effectus. verum et pictura fallax est coloribus tam numerosis, praesertim in aemulationem naturae, multumque degenerat

transcribentium fors varia. praeterea parum est singulas earum aetates pingi, cum quadripertitis varietatibus anni faciem mutent.

Besides these the subject has been treated by Greek writers, whom we have mentioned in their proper places; of these, Crateuas, Dionysius and Metrodorus adopted a most attractive method, though one which makes clear little else except the difficulty of employing it. For they painted likenesses of the plants and then wrote under them their properties. But not only is a picture misleading when the colours are so many, particularly as the aim is to copy Nature, but besides this, much imperfection arises from the manifold hazards in the accuracy of copyists. In addition, it is not enough for each plant to be painted at one period only of its life, since it alters its appearance with the fourfold changes of the year.

[T41] 25.v.9-11 [77 or 78 CE]

Quare ceteri sermone eas tradidere, aliqui ne effigie quidem indicata et nudis plerumque nominibus defuncti, quoniam satis videbatur potestates vimque demonstrare quaerere volentibus. nec est difficilis cognitio: nobis certe, exceptis admodum paucis, contigit reliquas contemplari scientia Antoni Castoris, cui summa auctoritas erat in ea arte nostro aevo, visendo hortulo eius in quo plurimas alebat centesimum annum aetatis excedens, nullum corporis malum expertus, ac ne aetate quidem memoria aut vigore concussis. neque aliud mirata magis antiquitas reperietur. inventa iampridem ratio est praenuntians horas, non modo dies ac noctes, solis lunaeque defectuum. durat tamen tradita persuasio in magna parte vulgi veneficiis et herbis id cogi eamque unam feminarum scientiam praevalere. certe quid non repleverunt fabulis Colclhis Medea aliaeque, in primis Itala Circe dis etiam adscripta? unde arbitror natum ut Aeschylus e vetustissimis in poetica refertam Italiam herbarum potentia proderet, multique Circeios, ubi habitavit illa, magno argumento etiamnunc durante in Marsis, a filio eius orta gente, quoniam esse domitores serpentium constat. Homerus quidem primus doctrinarum et antiquitatis parens, multus alias in admiratione Circae, gloriam herbarum Aegypto tribuit, cum etiam tum quae rigatur Aegyptus illa non esset, postea fluminis limo invecta.

For this reason the other writers have given verbal accounts only; some have not even given the shape of the plants, and for the most part have been content with bare names, since they thought it sufficient to point out the properties and nature of a plant to those willing to look

for it. To gain this knowledge is no difficult matter; I at least have enjoyed the good fortune to examine all but a very few plants through the devotion to science of Antonius Castor, the highest botanical authority of our time; I used to visit his special garden, in which he would rear a great number of specimens even when he passed his hundredth year, having suffered no bodily ailment and, in spite of his age, no loss of memory or physical vigour. Nothing else will be found that aroused greater wonder among the ancients than botany. Long ago was discovered a method of predicting eclipses of the sun and moon - not the day or night merely but the very hour. Yet there still exists among a great number of the common people an established conviction that these phenomena are due to the compelling power of charms and magic herbs, and that the science of them is the one outstanding province of women. At any rate tales everywhere are widely current about Medea of Colchis and other sorceresses, especially Circe of Italy, who has even been enrolled as a divinity. This is the reason, I think why Aeschylus, one of the earliest poets, declared that Italy abounds in potent herbs, and many have said the same of Circeii, where she lived. Strong confirmatory evidence exists even today in the fact that the Marsi, a tribe descended from Circe's son, are well-known snake-charmers. Homer indeed, the first ancestor of ancient learning, while expressing in several passages great admiration for Circe, gives the prize for herbs to Egypt, even though at that time the irrigated Egypt of today did not yet exist, for it was formed afterwards by the alluvial mud of the river.

The passages that follow are from the Loeb CL, *Pliny Natural History*, with an English translation by W. H. S., Jones, vol. VIII, (libri XXVIII-XXXII), London and Cambridge Mass. 1963.

[T42] 32.i.5 [77 or 78 CE]

... nos plurium opiniones posuimus in natura aquatilium, cum de eo diceremus, nec dubitamus idem valere omnia ea genera, cum celebri et consecrato etiam exemplo apud Cnidiam Venerem conchas quoque esse eiusdem potentiae credi necesse sit.

... I have given the views of the majority in my account of water creatures, where I discussed the fish, and I do not doubt at all this kind of fish have the same power, since there is a

famous and even divinely sanctioned example in the Temple of the Cnidian Venus, where snails too, we are forced to believe, have the same potency.

[T43] 32.xi.23 [77 or 78 CE]

auctoritas bacarum eius non minus Indorum viris quoque pretiosa est quam feminis nostris uniones Indici. harispices eorum vatesque inprimis religiosum id gestamen amoliendis periculis arbitrantur. ita et decore et religione gaudent....

Coral berries are no less valued by Indian men than are large Indian pearls by Roman women. Indian soothsayers and seers think that coral is a very powerful amulet for warding off dangers. Accordingly they take pleasure in it both as a thing of beauty and as a thing of religious power. ...

[T44] [32.liii. 144-145] [77 or 78 CE]

Ut a beluis ordamur, arbores, physeteres, ballaenae, pistrices, Tritones, Nereides, elephanti, homines qui marini vocantur, rotae, orcae, arietes, musculi et alii piscium forma [arietes], delphini celebresque Homero vituli, luxuriae vero testudines et medicis fibri - quorum generis lutras nusquam mari accerimus mergi, tantum marina dicentes - iam caniculae, drinones, cornutae, gladii, serrae, communesque terrae, mari, amni hippopotami, crocodili, et amni tantum ac mari thynni, thynnides, siluri, coracini, percae.

To begin with large beasts, there are 'sea-trees', blower-whales, other whales, saw-fish, Tritons, Nereids, wlaruses (?) so called 'men of the sea', and others having the shape of fishes, dolphins, and seals well known to Homer, tortoises on the other hand well known to luxury, beavers to medical people (of the class of beavers we have never found record, speaking as we are of marine animals, that otters anywhere frequent the sea); also sharks, 'drinones', horned rays (?), sword-fish, saw-fish; hippopotamuses and crocodiles common to land, sea, and river; and, common to river and sea only, tunnies, other tunnies, 'siluri', 'coracini', and perches.

The passages that follow are from Loeb CL, *Pliny, Natural History*, with an English translation by H., Rackham, vol. IX, (libri XXXIII-XXXV), London and Cambridge, Mass. 1952.

[T45a] 33.ii.4-5 [77 or 78 CE]

Eruitur aurum et chrysocolla iuxta, ut pretiosior videatur, nomen ex auro custodiens. parum enim erat unam vitae invenisse pestem, nisi in pretio esset auri etiam sanies. quaerebat argentum avaritia; boni consuluit interim invenisse minium rubentisque terrae excogitavit usum. heu prodiga ingenia, quot modis auximus pretia rerum! accessit ars picturae, et aurum argentumque caelando carius fecimus. didit homo naturam provocare. auxere et artem vitiorum inritamenta; in poculis libidines caelare iuvit ac per obscenitates bibere. abiecta deinde sunt haec ac sordere coepere, ut auri argentique minium fuit. murrina ex eadem tellure et crystallina effodimus, quibus pretium faceret ipsa fragilitas. hoc argumentum opum, haec vera luxuriae gloria existimata est, habere quod posset statim perire totum. nec hoc fuit satis. turba gemmarum potamus et zmaragdis teximus calices, ac temulentiae causa tenere Indiam iuvat. aurum iam accessio est.

Gold is dug out of the earth and in proximity to it gold-solder, which still retains in Greek a name derived from gold, so as to make it appear more precious. It was not enough to have discovered one bane to plague life, without setting value even on the corrupt humours of gold! Avarice was seeking for silver, but counted it a gain to have discovered cinnabar by the way, and devised a use to make of red earth. Alas for the prodigality of our inventiveness! In how many ways have we raised the prices of objects! The art of painting has come in addition, and we have made gold and silver dearer by means of engraving! Man has learnt to challenge nature in competition! The enticements of the vices have augmented even art: it has pleased us to engrave scenes of licence upon our goblets, and to drink through the midst of obscenities. Afterwards these were flung aside and begun to be held of no account, when there was an excess of gold and silver. Out of the same earth we dug supplies of fluor-spar and crystal, things which their mere fragility rendered costly. It came to be deemed the proof of wealth, the true glory of luxury, to possess something that might be absolutely destroyed in a moment. Nor was this enough: we drink out of a crowd of precious stones, and set our cups with emeralds, we take delight in holding India for the purpose of tippling, and gold is now a mere accessory.

[T45b] 33.iii.6-7 [77 or 78 CE]

III. utinamque posset e vita in totum abdicari [sacrum fame, ut celeberrimi auctores dixere] proscissum conviciis ab optimis quibusque et ad perniciem vitae repertum, quanto feliciore aevo, cum res ipsae permutabantur inter sese, sicut et Troianis temporibus factitatum Homero credi convenit! ita enim, ut opinor, commercia victus gratia inventa. alios coriis boum, alios ferro captivisque res emptitasse tradit. quare, quamquam ipse iam mirator auri, pecore aestimationes rerum ita fecit, ut c boum arma aurea permutasse Glaucum diceret cum Diomedis armis VIIII boum. ex qua consuetudine mulat legum antiquarum pecore constatetiam Romae.

III. And would that it could be entirely banished from life, reviled and abused as it is by all the worthiest people, and only discovered for the ruin of human life - how far happier was the period when goods themselves were interchanged by barter, as it is agreed we must take it from Homer to have been the custom even in the days of Troy. That in my view was the way in which trade was discovered, to procure the necessities of life. Homer relates how some people used to make their purchases with ox-hides, others with iron and captives, and consequently, although even Homer himself was already an admirer of gold, he reckoned the value of goods in cattle, saying that had Glaucus exchanged gold armour worth 100 beeves with that of Diomede worth 9 beeves. And as a result of this custom even at Rome a fine under the old laws is priced in cattle.

[T46] 33.vi.20-23 [77 or 78 CE]

id a. ccccxxxxviiii a condita urbe gestum est et primum anulorum vestigium extat; promiscui autem usus alterum secundo Punico bello, neque enim aliter potuisset trimodia anulorum illa Carthaginem ab Hannibale mitti. inter Caepionem quoque et Drusum ex anulo in auctione venali intimicitiae coepere, unde origo socialis belli et exitia rerum. ne tunc quidem omnes senatores habuere, utpote cum memoria avorum multi praetura quoque functi in ferreo consenuerint - sicut Calpurnium et Manilium, qui legatus C. Marii fuerit Iugurthino bello, Fenestella tradit, et multi L. Fufidium illum, ad quem Scaurus de vita sua scripsit -, in Quintiorum vero familia aurum ne feminas quidem habere mos fuerit, nullos - que omnino maior pars gentium hominumque, etiam qui sub imperio nostro degunt, hodieque habeat. non signat oriens aut Aegyptus etiam nunc litteris contenta solis. Multis

hoc modis, ut cetera omnia, luxuria variavit gemmas addendo exquisiti fulgoris censuque opimo digitos onerando, sicut dicemus in gemmarum volumine, mox et effigies varias caelando, ut alibi ars, alibi materia esset in pretio. alias dein gemmas violari nefas putavit ac, ne quis signandi causam in anulis esse intellegeret, solidas induit. quasdam vero neque ab ea parte qua digito occultantur, auro clusit aurumque millis lapillorum vilius fecit. contra vero multi nullas admittunt gemmas auroque ipso signant. id Claudii Caesaris principatu repertum. nec non et servitia iam ferrum auro cingunt - alia per sese mero auro decorant -, cuius licentiae origo nomine ipso in Samothrace id institutum declarat.

This event took place in the 449th year from the foundation of the city, and is the earliest evidence to be found of the use of rings. There is however a second piece of evidence for their being commonly worn at the time of the Second Punic War, as had this not been the case it would not have been possible for the three pecks of rings as recorded to have been sent by Hannibal to Carthage. Also it was from a ring put up for sale by auction that the quarrel between Caepio and Drusus began which was the primary cause of the war with the allies and the disasters that sprang from it. Not even at that period did all members of the senate possess gold rings, seeing that in the memory of our grandfathers many men who had even held the office of praetor wore an iron ring to the end of their lives - for instance, as recorded by Fenestella, Calpurnius and Manilius, the latter having been lieutenant-general under Gaius Marius in the war with Jugurtha, and, according to many authorities, the Lucius Fufidius to whom Scaurus dedicated his autobiography - while another piece of evidence is that in the family of the Quinii it was not even customary for the women to have a gold ring, and that the greater part of the races of mankind, and even of people who live under our empire and at the present day, possess no gold rings at all. The East and Egypt do not seal documents even now, but are content with a written signature.

This fashion like everything else luxury has diversified in numerous ways, by adding to rings gems of exquisite brilliance, and by loading the fingers with a wealthy revenue (as shall mention in our book on gems) and then by engraving on them a variety of devices, so that in one case the craftsmanship and in another the material constitutes the value. Then again with other gems luxury has deemed it sacrilege for them to undergo violation, and has caused them to be worn whole, to prevent anybody's imagining that people's finger-rings were intended for sealing documents! Some gems indeed luxury has left showing in the gold even on the side of the ring that is hidden by the finger, and has cheapened the gold with collars of little pebbles. But on the contrary many people do not allow any gems in a signet-

ring and seal with the gold itself; this was a fashion invented when Claudius Caesar was emperor. Moreover even slaves nowadays encircle the iron of their rings with gold (other articles all over them they decorate with pure gold), an extravagance the origin of which is shown by its actual name to have been instituted in Samothrace.

[T47] [33.xii.40] [77 or 78 CE]

habeant feminae in armillis digitisque totis, collo, auribus, spiris; discurrant catenae circa latera et in secreto margaritarum sacculi e collo dominarum auro pendeant, ut in somno quoque unionum conscientia adsit: etiamne pedibus induetur atque inter stolam plebemque hunc medium feminarum equestrem ordinem faciet? honestius viri paedagogis id damus, bafineasque dives puerorum forma convertit.

Let women have gold in their bracelets and covering their fingers and on their neck, ears and dresses, let gold chains run at random round their waists; and let little bags of pearls hang invisible suspended by gold chains from their lady owners' neck, so that even in their sleep they may retain the consciousness of possessing gems: but are even their feet to be shod with gold, and shall gold create this female Order of Knighthood, intermediate between the matron's robe and the common people? Much more becomingly do we men bestow this on our page-boys, and the wealthy show these lads make has quite transformed the public baths!

[T48] 33.xiv.48-50 [77 or 78 CE]

haec parit habendi cupido! pudet intuentem nomina ista, quae subinde nova Graeco sermone excogitantur insperso argenteis vasis auro et incluso, quibus deliciis pluris veneunt inaurata quam aurea, cum sciamus interdixisse castris suis Spartacum, ne quis aurum haberet aut argentum. tanto plus fuit animi fugitivis nostris! Messalla orator prodidit Antonium triumvirum aureis usum vasis in omnibus obscenis desideiis, pudendo crimine etiam Cleopatrae. summa apud exteros licentiae fuerat Philippum regem poculo aureo pulvinis subdito dormire solitum, Hagnonem Teium, Alexandri Magni praefectum, aureis clavis suffigere crepidas: Antonius solus contumelia naturae vilitatem auro fecit. o dignum proscriptione, sed Spartaci!

These are the things that the lust for possessions engenders! One is ashamed to see the new-fangled names that are invented every now and then from the Greek to denote silver vessels filigreed or inlaid with gold, niceties which make gilded plate fetch a higher price than gold plate when we know that Spartacus issued an order to his camp forbidding anybody to possess gold or silver: so much more spirit was there then in our run-away slaves! The orator Messala has told us that the triumvir Antony used vessels of gold in satisfying all the indecent necessities, an enormity that even Cleopatra would have been ashamed of. Till then the record in extravagance had lain with foreigners - King Philip sleeping with a gold goblet under his pillows and Alexander the Great's prefect Hagnon of Teos having his sandals 323 soled with gold nails; but Antony alone cheapened gold by this contumely of nature. How he deserved to be proscribed! but proscribed by Spartacus !

[T49] [33.xxiii.81] [77 or 78 CE]

vestusta et electro auctoritas Homero teste, qui Menelai regiam auro, electro, argento, ebore fulgere tradit. Minervae templum habet Lindos insulae Rhodiorum, in quo Helena sacravit calicem ex electro; adicit historia, mammae suae mensura. electri natura est ad lucernarum lumina clarius argento splendere. quod est nativum, et venena deprehendit. namque discurrunt in calicibus arcus caelestibus similes cum igneo stridore et gemina ratione praedicunt.

Electrum also held a high position in old times, as is evidenced by Homer who represents the palace of Menelaus as resplendent with gold, electrum, silver and ivory. There is a temple of Athena at Lindus of the island of Rhodes in which there is a goblet made of electrum, dedicated by Helen; history further relates that it has the same measurement as her breast. A quality of electrum is that it shines more brightly than silver in lamplight. Natural electrum also has the property of detecting poisons; for semicircles resembling rainbows run over the surface in poisoned goblets and emit a crackling noise like fire, and so advertise the presence of poison in a twofold manner.

[T50] [33.xlix.139-140] [77 or 78 CE]

Vasa ex argento mire inconstantia humani ingenii variat nullum genus officinae diu probando. nunc Furniana, nunc Clodiana, nunc Gratiana - etenim tabernas mensis

adoptamus -, nunc anaglypta asperitatemque exciso circa liniarum picturas quaerimus, iam vero et mensas repositoiis inponimus ad sustinenda opsonia, interradimus alia, ut quam plurimum lima perdiderit. vasa cocinaria ex argento fieri Calvus orator quiritat; at nos carrucas argento caelare invenimus, nostraque aetate Poppaea coniunx Neronis principis soleas delicatioribus iumentis suis ex auro quoque induere iussit.

Fashions in silver plate undergo marvellous variations owing to the vagaries of human taste, no kind of workmanship remaining long in favour. At one time Furnian plate is in demand, at another Clodian, at another Gratian - for we make even the factories feel at home at our tables - at another time the demand is for embossed plate and rough surfaces, where the metal has been cut out along the painted lines of the designs, while now we even fit removable shelves on our sideboards to carry the viands, and other pieces of plate we decorate with filigree, so that the file may have wasted as much silver as possible. The orator Calvus complainingly cries that cooking-pots are made of silver; but it is we who invented decorating carriages with chased silver, and it was in our day that the emperor Nero's wife Poppaea had the idea of even having her favourite mules shod with gold.

[T51] [33.lii.145-146] [77 or 78 CE]

Paulo enim ante haec factae sunt lances e centenis libris argenti, quas tunc cuper CL numero fuisse Romae constat multosque ob eas proscriptos dolo concupiscentium. erubescant annales, qui bellum civile illud talibus vitiis inputavere; nostra aetas fortior fuit. Claudii principatu servus eius Drusillanus nomine Rotundus, dispensator Hispaniae citerioris, quingenariam lancem habuit, eui fabricandae officina prius exaedificata fuerat, et comites eius octo ad ccL libras, quaeso, ut quam multi eas conservi eius inferrent, aut quibus cenantibus? Cornelius Nepos tradit ante Sullae victoriam duo tantum triclinia Romae fuisse argentea, repositoiis argentum addi sua memoria coeptum. Fenestella, qui oiit novissimo Tiberii Caesaris principatu, ait et testudinea tum in usum venisse, ante se autem paulo lignea, rotunda, solida nec multo maiora quam mensas fuisse, se quidem puero quadrata et conpacta aut acere operta aut citro coepisse, mox additum argentum in angulos lineasque per commissuras, tympana vero se iuvene appellata, tum a stateris et lances, quas antiqui magides vocaverant.

In fact it was shortly before this period that silver dishes were made weighing a hundred pounds, and it is well-known that there were at that date over 150 of those at Rome, and that many people were sentenced to outlawry because of them, by the intrigues of people who coveted them. History which has held vices such as these to be responsible for that civil war may blush with shame, but our generation has gone one better. Under the Emperor Claudius his slave Drusillanus, who bore the name of Rotundus, the Emperor's steward of Nearer Spain, possessed a silver dish weighing 500 lbs., for the manufacture of which a workshop had first been specially built, and eight others of 250 lbs. went with it as side-dishes, so that how many of his fellow-slaves, I ask, were to bring them in or who were to dine off them? Cornelius Nepos records that before the victory won by Sulla there were only two silver dinner-couches at Rome, and that silver began to be used for decorating sideboards within his own recollection. And Fenestella who died towards the end of the principate of Tiberius says that tortoiseshell sideboards also came into fashion at that time, but a little before his day they had been solid round structures of wood, and not much larger than tables; but that even in his boyhood they began to be made square and of planks morticed together and veneered either with maple or citrus wood, while later silver was laid on at the corners and along the lines marking the joins, and when he was a young man they were called 'drums' and then also the dishes for which the old name had been magides came to be called basins from their resemblance to the scales of a balance.

[T52] [33.liii. 147-150] [77 or 78 CE]

LIII. Nec copia argenti tantum furit vita, sed valdius paene manipretiis, idque iam pridem, ut ignoscamus nobis. delphinos quinis milibus sestertium in libras emptos C. Gracchus habuit, L. vero Crassus orator duos scyphos Mentoris artificis manu caelatos Hs c, confessus tamen est numquam iis uti propter verecundiam ausum. scimus eundem Hs vi in singulas libras vasa empta habuisse. Asia primum devicta luxuriam misit in Italiam, siquidem L. Scipio in triumpho transtulit argenti caelati pondo mille et cccc et vasorum aureorum pondo MD anno conditae urbis DLXV. at eadem Asia donata multo etiam gravius adflixit mores, inutiliorque victoria illa hereditas Attalo rege mortuo fuit. tum enim haec emendi Romae in auctionibus regiis verecundia exempta est urbis anno DcxxII, mediis LVII annis erudita civitate amare etiam, non solum admirari, opulentiam externam, inmenso et Achaicae victoriae momento ad inpellendos mores, quae et ipsa in hoc intervallo anno urbis DCVIII parta signa et tabulas pictas invexit. ne quid deesset, pariter quoque luxuria nata est

et Cathago sublata, ita congruentibus fatis, ut et liberet amplecti vitia et liceret. petiere et dignationem hinc aliqui veterum. C. Marius post victoriam Cimbricam cantharis potasse Liberi patris exemplo traditur, ille arator Arpinas et manipularis imperator.

LIII. Yet it is not only for quantities of silver that there is such a rage among mankind but there is an almost more violent passion for works of fine handicraft; and this goes back a long time, so that we of today may excuse ourselves from blame. Gaius Gracchus had some figures of dolphins for which he paid 5000 sesterces per pound, while the orator Lucius Crassus had a pair of chased goblets, the work of the artist Mentor, that cost 100,000; yet admittedly he was too ashamed ever to use them. It is known to us that he likewise owned some vessels that he bought for 6000 sesterces per pound. It was the conquest of Asia that first introduced luxury into Italy, inasmuch as Lucius Scipio carried in procession at his triumph 1400 Ibs. of chased silverware and vessels of gold weighing 1500 Ibs.: this was in the 565th year from the foundation of the city of Rome. But receiving Asia also as a gift dealt a much more serious blow to our morals, and the bequest of it that came to us on the death of King Attalus was more disadvantageous than the victory of Scipio. For on that occasion all scruples entirely disappeared in regard to buying these articles at the auctions of the king's effects at Rome - the date was the 622nd year of the city and in the interval of 57 years our community had learnt not merely to admire but also to covet foreign opulence; an impetus having also been given to manners by the enormous shock of the conquest of Achaia, that victory itself also having during this interval of time introduced the statues and pictures won in the 608th year of the city. That nothing might be lacking, luxury came into being simultaneously, with the downfall of Carthage, a fatal coincidence that gave us at one and the same time a taste for the vices and an opportunity for indulging in them. Some of the older generation also sought to gain esteem from these sources. It is recorded that Gaius Marius after his victory over the Cimbrians drank from Bacchic tankards, in imitation of Father Liber - he, the ploughman of Arpino who rose to the position of general from the ranks!

[T53] [33.lv. 154-157] [77 or 78 CE]

LV. Mirum auro caelando neminem inclaruisse, argento multos. maxime tamen laudatus est Mentor, de quo supra diximus. quattuor paria ab eo omnino facta sunt, ac iam nullum extare dicitur Ephesiae Dianae templi ac Capitolini incendiis.

Varro se et aereum signum eius habuisse scribit. proximi ab eo in admiratione Acragas et Boëthus et Mys fuere. exstant omnium opera hodie in insula Rhodiorum, Boëthi apud Lindiam Minervam, Acragantis in templo Liberi patris in ipsa Rhodo Centauros Bacchasque caelati scyphi, Myos in eadem aede Silenos et Cupidines. Acragantis et venatio in scyphis magnam famam habuit. post hos celebratus est Calamis, et Antipatro qui Satyrum in phiala gravatum somno conlocavisse verius quam caelasse dictus est Diodorus, Stratonicus mox Cyzicenus, Tauriscus, item Ariston et Eunicus Mitylenaei laudantur et Hecataeus et circa Pompei Magni aetatem Pasiteles, Posidonius Ephesius, Hedys, Thracides, qui proelia armatosque caelavit, Zopyrus, qui Areopagitas et iudicium Orestis in duobus scyphis HS xii aestimatis. fuit et Pytheas, cuius ii unciae XX venierunt: Ulixes et Diomedes erant in phialae emblemate Palladium subripientes. fecit idem et cocos magiriscia appellatos parvolis potoriis et e quibus ne exemplaria quidem liceret exprimere; tam opportuna iniuriae subtilitas erat. habuit et Teucer crustarius famam, subitoque ars haec ita exolevit, ut sola iam vestustate censeatur usuque attritis caelaturis si nec figura discerni possit auctoritas constet.

LV. It is a remarkable fact that the art of chasing gold has not brought celebrity to anyone, whereas persons celebrated for chasing silver are numerous. The most famous however is Mentor of whom we spoke above. Four pairs of goblets were all that he ever made, but it is said that none of them now survive, owing to the burning of the Temple of Artemis of Ephesus and of the Capitol. Varro says in his writings that he also possessed a bronze statue by this sculptor. Next to Mentor the artists most admired were Acragas Boethus and Mys. Works by all of these exist at the present day in the island of Rhodes - one by Boethus in the temple of Athena at Lindus, some goblets engraved with Centaurs and Bacchants by Acragas in the temple of Father Liber or Dionysus in Rhodes itself, goblets with Sileni and Cupids by Mys in the same temple. Hunting scenes by Acragas on goblets also had a great reputation. After these in celebrity is Calamis, and Diodorus who was said to have placed in a condition of heaw sleep rather than engraved on a bowl a Slumbering Satyr for Antipater. Next praise is awarded to Stratonicus of Cyzicus, Tauriscus, also Ariston and Eunicus of Mitylene, and Hecataeus, and, around the period of Pompey the Great, Pasiteles, Posidonius of Ephesus, Hedys, Thracides who engraved battle scenes and men in armour, and Zopyrus who engraved the Athenian Council of Areopagus and the Trial of Orestes on two goblets valued at 12,000 sesterces. There was also Pytheas, one of whose works sold at the price of 10.000 denarii for two ounces: it consisted of an embossed base of a bowl representing Odysseus

and Diomede in the act of stealing the Palladium. The same artist also carved some very small drinking cups in the shape of cooks known as 'The Chefs in Miniature' which it was not allowed even to reproduce by casts, so liable to damage was the fineness of the work. Also Teucer the artist in embossed work attained celebrity, and all of a sudden this art so declined that it is now only valued in old specimens, and authority attaches to engravings worn with use even if the very design is invisible.

[T54] 34.i.1 [77 or 78 CE]

I. Proxime dicantur aeris metalla, cui et in usu proximum est pretium, immo vero ante argentum ac paene etiam ante aurum Corinthio, stipis quoque auctoritas, ut diximus. hinc aera militum, tribuni aerarii et aerarium, obaerati, aere diruti. docuimus quamdiu populus Romanus aere tantum signato usus esset: et alia re vetustas aequalem urbi auctoritatem eius declarat, a rege Numa collegio tertio aerarium fabrum instituto.

I. Let our next subject be ores, etc., of copper and bronze the metals which in point of utility have the next value; in fact Corinthian bronze is valued before silver and almost even before gold; and bronze is also the standard of payments in money as we have said: hence *aes* is embodied in the terms denoting the pay of soldiers, the treasury paymasters and the public treasury, persons held in debt, and soldiers whose pay is stopped. We have pointed out for what a long time the Roman nation used no coinage except bronze; and by another fact antiquity shows that the importance of bronze is as old as the city - the fact that the third corporation established by King Numa was the Guild of Coppersmiths.

[T55] 34.iii.5 [77 or 78 CE]

Reliqua genera cura constant, quae suis locis reddentur, summa claritate ante omnia indicata. quondam aes confusum auro argentoque miscebatur, et tamen ars pretiosior erat; nunc incertum est, peior haec sit an materia, mirumque, cum ad infinitum operum pretia creverint, auctoritas artis extincta est. quaestus enim causa, ut omnia, exerceri coepta est quae gloriae solebat - ideo etiam deorum adscripta operi, cum proceres gentium claritatem et hac via quaererent - adeoque exolevit fundendi aeris pretiosi ratio, ut iam diu ne fortuna quidem in ea re ius artis habeat.

The remaining kinds are made artificially, and will be described in their proper places, the most distinguished sorts being indicated first of all. Formerly copper used to be blended with a mixture of gold and silver, and nevertheless artistry was valued more highly than the metal; but nowadays it is a doubtful point whether the workmanship or the material is worse, and it is a surprising thing that, though the prices paid for these works of art have grown beyond all limit, the importance attached to this craftsmanship of working in metals has quite disappeared. For this, which formerly used to be practised for the sake of glory - consequently it was even attributed to the workmanship of gods, and the leading men of all the nations used to seek for reputation by this method also - has now, like everything else, begun to be practised for the sake of gain; and the method of casting costly works of art in bronze has so gone out that for a long time now not even luck in this matter has had the privilege of producing art.

[T56-58] 34. iii.6-8 [77 or 78 CE]

Ex illa autem antiqua gloria Corinthium maxime laudatur. hoc casus miscuit Corintho, cum caperetur, incensa, mireque circa id multorum adfectatio furuit, quippe cum tradatur non alia de causa Verrem, quem M. Cicero damnaverat, proscriptum cum eo ab Antonio, quoniam Corinthiis cessurum se ei negavisset. ac mihi maior pars eorum simulare eam scientiam videtur ad segregandos sese a ceteris magis quam intellegere aliquid ibi suptilius; et hoc paucis docebo. Corinthus capta est olympiadis CLVSLL anno tertio, nostrae urbis DcvIII, cum ante haec saecula fictores nobiles esse desissent, quorum isti omnia signa hodie Corinthia appellant. quapropter ad coarguendos eos ponemus artificum aetates; nam urbis nostrae annos ex supra dicta comparatione olympiadum colligere facile erit. sunt ergo vasa tantum Corinthia, quae isti elegantiores modo ad esculenta transferunt, modo in lucernas aut trulleos nullo munditiarum dispectu. eius aeris tria genera: candidum argento nitore quam proxime accedens, in quo illa mixtura praevaluit; alterum, in quo auri fulva natura; tertium, in quo aequalis omnium temperies fuit. praeter haec est cuius ratio non potest reddi, quamquam hominis manu est, at fortuna temperatur in simulacris signisque illud suo colore pretiosum ad iocineris imaginem vergens, quod ideo hepatizon appellant, procul a Corinthio, longe tamen ante Aegineticum atque Deliacum, quae diu optinuere principatum.

Of the bronze which was renowned in early days, the Corinthian is the most highly praised. This is a compound that was produced by accident, when Corinth was burned at the time of

its capture; and there has been a wonderful mania among many people for possessing this metal - in fact it is recorded that Verres, whose conviction Marcus Cicero had procured was, together with Cicero, proscribed by Antony for no other reason than because he had refused to give up to Antony some pieces of Corinthian ware; and to me the majority of these collectors seem only to make a pretence of being connoisseurs, so as to separate themselves from the multitude, rather than to have any exceptionally refined insight in this matter; and this I will briefly show. Corinth was taken in the third year of the 158th Olympiad, which was the 608th year of our city, when for ages there had no longer been any famous artists in metalwork; yet these persons designate all the specimens of their work as Corinthian bronzes. In order therefore to refute them we will state the periods to which these artists belong; of course it will be easy to turn the Olympiads into the years since the foundation of our city by referring to the two corresponding dates given above. The only genuine Corinthian vessels are then those which your connoisseurs sometimes convert into dishes for food and sometimes into lamps or even washing basins, without nice regard for decency (or for the neatness of workmanship). There are three kinds of this sort of bronze: a white variety, coming very near to silver in brilliance in which the alloy of silver predominates; a second kind, in which the yellow quality of gold predominates and a third kind in which all the metals were blended in equal proportions. Besides these there is another mixture the formula for which cannot be given, although it is man's handiwork; but the bronze valued in portrait statues and others for its peculiar colour, approaching the appearance of liver and consequently called by a Greek name 'hepatizon' meaning 'liverish' is a blend produced by luck; it is far behind the Corinthian blend, yet a long way in front of the bronze of Aegina and that of Delos which long held the first rank.

[T59] 34.iv.9 [77 or 78 CE]

Antiquissima aeris gloria Deliaco fuit, mercatus in Delo celebrante toto orbe, et ideo cura officinis. tricliniorum pedibus fulcrisque ibi prima aeris nobilitas, pervenit deinde et ad deum simulacra effigiemque hominum et aliorum animalium.

The Delian bronze was the earliest to become famous, the whole world thronging the markets in Delos; and hence the attention paid to the processes of making it. It was at Delos that bronze first came into prominence as a material used for the feet and framework of

dining-couches, and later it came to be employed also for images of the gods and statues of men and other living things.

[T60] 34.v.10 [77 or 78 CE]

Proxima laus Aeginetico fuit, insula et ipsa eo, nec quod ibi gigneretur, sed officinarum temperatura, nobilitata. bos aereus inde captus in foro boario est Romae. hoc erit exemplar Aeginetici aeris, Deliaci autem Iuppiter in Capitolio in Iovis Tonantis aede. illo aere Myron usus est, hoc Polycletus, aequales atque condiscipuli; sic aemulatio et in materia fuit.

The next most famous bronze was the Aeginetan; and the island of Aegina itself became celebrated for it, though not because the metal copper was mined there but because of the compounding done in the workshops. A bronze ox looted from Aegina stands in the cattle-market at Rome, and will serve as a specimen of Aegina bronze, while that of Delos is seen in the Zeus or Jupiter in the temple of Jupiter the Thunderer on the Capitol. Aegina bronze was used by Myron and that from Delos by Polyclitus, who were contemporaries and fellow-pupils; thus there was rivalry between them even in their choice of materials.

[T61-62] 34.vi.11-12 [77 or 78 CE]

Privatim Aegina candelabrorum superficiem dumtaxat elaboravit, sicut Tarentum scapos. in iis ergo iuncta commendatio officinarum est. nec pudet tribunorum militarium salariis emere, cum ipsum nomen a candelarum lumine inpositum appareat. accessio candelabri talis fuit Theonis iussu praeconis Clesippus fullo gibber et praeterea et alio foedus aspectu, emente id Gegania Hs L. eadem ostentante in convivio empta ludibrii causa nudatus atque inpudentia libidinis receptus in torum, mox in testamentum, praedives numinum vice illud candelabrum coluit et hanc Corinthiis fabulam adiecit, vindicatis tamen moribus nobili sepulchro, per quod aeterna supra terras Geganiae dedecoris memoria duraret. sed cum esse nulla Corinthia candelabra constet, nomen id praecipue in his celebratur, quoniam Mummi victoria Corinthum quidem diruit, sed e compluribus Achaiae oppidis simul aera dispersit.

Aegina specialized in producing only the upper parts of chandeliers and similarly Taranto made only the stems and consequently credit for manufacture is, in the matter of these

articles, shared between these two localities. Nor are people ashamed to buy these at a price equal to the pay of a military tribune, although they clearly take even their name from the lighted candles they carry. At the sale of a chandelier of this sort by the instructions of the auctioneer (named Theon) selling it there was thrown in as part of the bargain the fuller Clesippus a humpback and also of a hideous appearance in other respects besides, the lot being bought by a woman named Gegania for 50,000 sesterces. This woman gave a party to show off her purchases, and for the mockery of the guests the man appeared with no clothes on; his mistress conceiving an outrageous passion for him admitted him to her bed and later gave him a place in her will. Thus becoming excessively rich he worshipped the lampstand in question as a divinity and so caused this story to be attached to Corinthian lampstands in general, though the claims of morality were vindicated by his erecting a noble tombstone to perpetuate throughout the living world for all time the memory of Gegania's shame. But although it is admitted that there are no lampstands made of Corinthian metal, yet this name specially is commonly attached to them, because although Mummius's victory destroyed Corinth, it caused the dispersal of bronzes from a number of the towns of Achaia at the same time.

[T63] 34.viii.14 [77 or 78 CE]

Nam triclinia aerata abacosque et monopodia Cn. Manlium Asia devicta primum invexisse triumpho suo, quem duxit anno urbis DLXVII, L. Piso auctor est, Antias quidem heredes L. Crassi oratoris multa etiam triclinia aerata vendidisse. ex aere factitavere et cortinas tripodum nomine (et) Delphicas, quoniam donis maxime Apollini Delphico dicabantur. placuere et lychnuchi pensiles in delubris aut arborum mala ferentium modo lucentes, quale est in templo Apollinis Palatini quod Alexander Magnus Thebarum expugnatione captum in Cyme dicaverat eidem deo.

Again, according to Lucius Piso dinnercouches and panelled sideboards and one-leg tables decorated with bronze were first introduced by Gnaeus Manlius at the triumph which he celebrated in the 567th year of the city after the conquest of Asia; and as a matter of fact Antias states that the heirs of Lucius Crassus the orator also sold a number of dinner couches decorated with bronze. It was even customary for bronze to be used for making the cauldrons on tripods called Delphic cauldrons because they used to be chiefly dedicated as gifts to Apollo of Delphi; also lamp-holders were popular suspended from the ceiling in temples or

with their lights arranged to look like apples hanging on trees, like the specimen in the temple of Apollo of the Palatine which had been part of the booty taken of Thebes and dedicated by him to the same deity at Cyme.

[T64-66] 34.xvii.36-38 [77 or 78 CE]

M. Scauri aedilitate signorum MMM in scaena tantum fuere temporario theatro. Mummius Achaia devicta replevit urbem, non relicturus filiae dotem; cur enim non cum excusatione ponatur? multa et Luculli invexere. Rhodi etiamnum III signorum esse Mucianus ter cos. prodidit, nec pauciora Athenis, Olympiae, Delphis superesse creduntur.

quis ista mortalium persequi possit aut quis usus noscendi intellegatur? insignia maxime et aliqua de causa notata voluptarium sit attigisse artificesque celebratos nominavisse, singulorum quoque inexplicabili multitudine, cum Lysippus MD opera fecisse prodatur, tantae omnia artis, ut claritatem possent dare vel singula: numerum apparuisse defuncto eo, cum thesaurum effregisset heres; solitum enim ex manipretio cuiusque signi denarios seponere aureos singulos. Evecta supra humanam fidem ars est successu, mox et audacia. in argumentum successus unum exemplum adferam, nec deorum hominumve similitudinis expressae. aetas nostra vidit in Capitolio, priusquam id novissime conflagraret a Vitellianis incensum, in cella Iunonis canem ex aere volnus suum lambentem, cuius eximium miraculum et indiscreta veri similitudo non eo solum intellegitur, quod ibi dicata fuerat, verum et satisdatione; nam quoniam summa nulla par videbatur, capite tutelarios cavere pro ea institutum publice fuit.

(XVII.) In the aedileship of Marcus Scaurus there were 3000 statues on the stage in what was only a temporary theatre. Mummius after conquering Achaia filled the city with statues, though destined not to leave enough at his death to provide a dowry for his daughter - for why not mention this as well as the fact that excuses it? A great many were also imported by the Luculli. Yet it is stated by Mucianus who was three times consul that there are still 3000 statues at Rhodes, and no smaller number are believed still to exist at Athens, Olympia and Delphi. What mortal man could recapitulate them all, or what value can be felt in such information? Still it may give pleasure just to allude to the most remarkable and to name the artists of celebrity, though it would be impossible to enumerate the total number of the works of each inasmuch as Lysippus is said to have executed 1500 works of art, all of them so skilful that each of them by itself might have made him famous; the number is said to

have been discovered after his decease, when his heir broke open his coffers it having been his practice to put aside a coin of the value of one gold denarius out of what he got as reward for his handicraft for each statue.

The art rose to incredible heights in success and afterwards in boldness of design. To prove its success I will adduce one instance, and that not of a representation of either a god or a man: our own generation saw on the Capitol, before it last went up in flames burnt at the hands of the adherents of Vitellius, in the shrine of Juno, a bronze figure of a hound licking its wound, the miraculous excellence and absolute truth to life of which is shown not only by the fact of its dedication in that place but also by the method taken for insuring it; for as no sum of money seemed to equal its value the government enacted that its custodians should be answerable for its safety with their lives.

[T67-68] 34.xviii. 47-48 [77 or 78 CE]

Statuam Arvernorum cum faceret provinciae Dubio Avito, praesidente, duo pocula Calamidis manu caelata, quae Cassio Salano avunculo eius, praeceptori suo, Germanicus Caesar adamata donaverat, aemulatus est, ut vix ulla differentia esset artis. quanto maior Zenodoro praestantia fuit, tanto magis deprehenditur aeris obliteratio.

Signis, quae vocant Corinthia, plerique in tantum capiuntur, ut secum circumferant, sicut Hortensius orator sphingem Verri reo ablatam, propter quam Cicero illo iudicio in altercatione neganti ei, aenigmata se intellegere, respondit debere quoniam sphingem domi haberet. circumtulit et Nero princeps Amazonem, de qua dicemus, et paulo ante C. Cestius consularis signum, quod secum etiam in proelio habuit. Alexandri quoque Magni tabernaculum sustinere traduntur solitae statuae, ex quibus duae ante Martis Ultoris aedem dicatae sunt, totidem ante regiam.

When he (Zenodorus) was making the statue for the Arverni, when the governor of the province was Dubius Avitus, he produced facsimiles of two chased cups, the handiwork of Calamis, which Germanicus Caesar had prized highly and had presented to his tutor Cassius Salanus Avitus's uncle; the copies were so skilfully made that there was scarcely any difference in artistry between them and the originals. The greater was the eminence of Zenodorus, the more we realize how the art of working bronze has deteriorated.

Owners of the figurines called Corinthian are usually so enamoured of them that they carry them about with them; for instance the orator Hortensius was never parted from the sphinx

which he had got out of Verres when on trial; this explains Cicero's retort when Hortensius in the course of an altercation at the trial in question said he was not good at riddles. 'You ought to be,' said Cicero, 'as you keep a figurine in your pocket.' The emperor Nero also used to carry about with him an Amazon which we shall describe later, and a little before Nero, the ex-consul Gaius Cestius used to go about with a sphinx, which he had with him even on the battlefield. It is also said that the tent of Alexander the Great was regularly erected with four statues as tent-poles, two of which have now been dedicated to stand in front of the temple of Mars the Avenger and two in front of the Royal Palace.

[T69-70] 34.xix.55-56 [77 or 78 CE]

Polyclitus Sicyonius, Hageladae discipulus, diadumenum fecit molliter iuvenem, centum talentis nobilitatum, idem et doryphorum viriliter puerum. fecit et quem canona artifices vocant liniamenta artis ex eo petentes veluti a lege quadam, solusque hominum artem ipsam fecisse artis opere iudicatur. fecit et destringentem se et nudum telo incessentem duosque pueros item nudos talis ludentes, qui vocantur astragalizontes et sunt in Titi imperatoris atrio - quo opere nullum absolutius plerique iudicant; item Mercurium qui fuit Lvsimacheae, Herculem, qui Romae hagetera arma sumentem, Artemona, qui periphoretos appellatus est. hic consummasse hanc scientiam iudicatur et toreuticen sic erudisse, ut Phidias aperuisse. proprium eius est, uno crure ut insisterent signa, excogitasse, quadrata tamen esse ea ait Varro et paene ad exemplum.

Polycleitus of Sicyon, pupil of Hagelades, made statue of the 'Diadumenos' or Binding his Hair - youth, but soft-looking - famous for having cost 100 talents, and also the 'Doryphoros' or Carrying a Spear - a boy but manly-looking. He also made what artists call a 'Canon' or Model Statue, as they draw their artistic outlines from it as from a sort of standard; and he alone of mankind is deemed by means of one work of art to have created the art itself. He also made the statue of the Man using a Body-scraper ('Apoxyomenos') and, in the nude, the Man Attacking with Spear, and the Two Boys Playing Dice, likewise in the nude, known by the Greek name of *Astragalizontes* and now standing in the fore-court of the Emperor Titus - this is generally considered to be the most perfect work of art in existence - and likewise the Hermes that was once at Lysimachea; Heracles; the Leader Donning his Armour, which is at Rome; and Artemon called the Man in the Litter. Polycleitus is deemed to have perfected this science of statuary and to have refined the art of carving sculpture, just as Pheidias is

considered to have revealed it. A discovery that was entirely his own is the art of making statues throwing their weight on one leg, although Varro says these figures are of a square build and almost all made on one model.

[T71-73] 34.xix.62-64 [77 or 78 CE]

plurima ex omnibus signa fecit, ut diximus. fecundissimae artis, inter quae destringentem se, quem M. Agrippa ante Thermas suas dicavit, mire gratum Tiberio principi non quivit temperare sibi in eo, quamquam imperiosus sui inter initia principatus, transtulitque in cubiculum alio signo substituto, cum quidem tanta pop. R. contumacia fuit, ut theatri clamoribus reponi apoxyomenon flagitaverit princepsque, quamquam adamantum, tum, reposuerit. nobilitatur Lysippus et temulenta tibicina et canibus ac venatione, in primis vero quadriga cum Sole Rhodiorum. fecit et Alexandrum Magnum multis operibus, a pueritia eius orsus, quam statuam inaurari iussit Nero princeps delectatus admodum illa; dein, cum pretio perisset gratia artis, detractum est aurum, pretiosiorque talis existimabatur etiam cicatricibus operis atque concisuris, in quibus aurum haeserat, remanentibus. idem fecit Hephaestionem Allexandri Magni amicum, quem quidam Polyclito adscribant, cum is centum prope annis ante fuerit; item Alexandri venationem, quae Delphis sacrata est, Athenis Satyrum, turmam Allexandri, in qua amicorum eius imagines summa omnium similitudine expressit; hanc Metellus Macedonia subacta transtulit Romam.

Lysippus as we have said was a most prolific artist and made more statues than any other sculptor, among them the Man using a Body-scraper which Marcus Agrippa gave to be set up in front of his Warm Baths and of which the emperor Tiberius was remarkably fond. Tiberius, although at the beginning of his principate he kept some control of himself, in this case could not resist the temptation, and had the statue removed to his bedchamber, putting another one in its place at the baths; but the public were so obstinately opposed to this that they raised an outcry at the theatre, shouting "Give us back the 'Apoxyomenos'" - Man using a Body-scraper - and the Emperor, although he had fallen quite in love with the statue, had to restore it. Lysippus is also famous for his Tipsy Girl playing the Flute, and his Hounds and Huntsmen in Pursuit of Game, but most of all for his Chariot with the Sun belonging to Rhodes. He also executed a series of statues of Alexander the Great, beginning with one in Alexander's boyhood. The emperor Nero was so delighted by this statue of the young Alexander that he ordered it to be gilt; but this addition to its money value so diminished its

artistic attraction that afterwards the gold was removed, and in that condition the statue was considered yet more valuable, even though still retaining scars from the work done on it and incisions in which the gold had been fastened. The same sculptor did Alexander the Great's friend Hephaestio, a statue which some people ascribe to Polycleitus, although his date is about a hundred years earlier; and also Alexander's Hunt, dedicated at Delphi, a Satyr now at Athens, and Alexander's Squadron of Horse, in which the sculptor introduced portraits of Alexander's friends consummately lifelike in every case. After the conquest of Macedonia this was removed to Rome by Metellus;

[T74] 34.xix.69-71 [77 or 78 CE]

Praxiteles quoque, qui marmore felicior, ideo et clarior fuit, fecit tamen et ex aere pulcherrima opera: Proserpinae raptum, item catagusam et Liberum patrem, Ebrietatem nobilemque una Satyrum, quem Graeci periboëton cognominant, et signa, quae ante Felicitatis aedem fuere, Veneremque, quae ipsa aedis incendio cremata est Claudii principatu, marmoreae illi suae per terras inclutae parem, item stephanusam, pseliumenen, Oporan, Harmodium et Aristogitonem tyrannicidas, quos a Xerxe Persarum rege captos victa Perside Atheniensibus remisit Magnus Alexander. fecit et puberem Apollinem subrepenti lacertae comminus sagitta insidiantem, quem sauroctonon vocant. spectantur et duo signa eius diversos adfectus exprimentia, flentis matronae et meretricis gaudentis. hanc putant Phrynen fuisse deprehenduntque in ea amorem artificis et mercedem in vultu meretricis. habet simulacrum et benignitas eius; Calamidis enim quadrigae aurigam suum inposuit, ne melior in equorum effigie defecisse in homine crederetur. ipse Calamis et alias quadrimas bigasque fecit equis semper sine aemulo expressis; sed, ne videatur in hominum effigie inferior, Alcmena nullius est nobilior.

Praxiteles although more successful and therefore more celebrated in marble, nevertheless also made some very beautiful works in bronze : the Rape of Persephone, also The Girl Spinning, and a Father Liber or Dionysus, with a figure of Drunkenness and also the famous Satyr, known by the Greek title Periboëtos meaning 'Celebrated,' and the statues that used to be in front of the Temple of Happiness, and the Aphrodite, which was destroyed by fire when the temple of that goddess was burnt down in the reign of Claudius, and which rivalled the famous Aphrodite, in marble, that is known all over the world; also A Woman Bestowing a Wreath, A Woman Putting a Bracelet on her Arm, Autumn, Harmodius and

Aristogeiton who slew the tyrant - the last piece carried off by Xerxes King of the Persians but restored to the Athenians by Alexander the Great after his conquest of Persia. Praxiteles also made a youthful Apollo called in Greek The Lizard-Slayer because he is waiting with an arrow for a lizard creeping towards him. Also two of his statues expressing opposite emotions are admired, his Matron Weeping and his Merry Courtesan. The latter is believed to have been Phryne and connoisseurs detect in the figure the artist's love of her and the reward promised him by the expression on the courtesan's face. The kindness also of Praxiteles is represented in sculpture, as in the Chariot and Four of Calamis he contributed the charioteer, in order that the sculptor might not be thought to have failed in the human figure although more successful in representing horses. Calamis himself also made other chariots, some with four horses and some with two, and in executing the horses he is invariably unrivalled: but - that it may, not be supposed that he was inferior in his human figures - his Alcmena is as famous as that of any other sculptor.

[T75] 34.xix.84 [77 or 78 CE]

Plures artifices fecere Attali et Eumenis adversus Gallos proelia, Isigonus, Pyromachus, Stratonicus, Antigonus, qui volumina condidit de sua arte. Boëthi, quamquam argento melioris, infans amplexando anserem strangulat. atque ex omnibus, quae rettuli, clarissima quaeque in urbe iam sunt dicata a Vespasiano principe in templo Pacis aliisque eius operibus, violentia Neronis in urbem convecta et in sellariis domus aureae disposita.

Several artists have represented the battles of Attalus and Eumenes against the Gauls, Isigonus, Pyromachus, Stratonicus and Antigonus, who wrote books about his art. Boethus did a Child Strangling a Goose by hugging it, although he is better in silver. And among the list of works I have referred to all the most celebrated have now been dedicated by the emperor Vespasian in the Temple of Peace and other public buildings; they had been looted by Nero, who conveyed them all to Rome and arranged them in the sitting-rooms of his Golden Mansion.

[T76-80] 35.ii.4-11; iii.12-13 [77 or 78 CE]

Imaginum quidem pictura, qua maxime similes in aevum propagabantur figurae, in totum exovelit. aerei ponuntur clipei argentea facie, surdo figurarum discrimine; statuarum

capita permutantur, volgatis iam pridem salibus etiam carminum. adeo materiam conspici malunt omnes quam se nosci, et inter haec pinacothecas veteribus tabulis consuunt alienasque effigies collunt, ipsi honorem non nisi in pretio ducentes, ut frangat heres forasque detrahat laqueo. itaque nullius effigie vivente imagines pecuniae, non suas, relinquunt. iidem palaestrae athletarum imagi nibus et ceromata sua exornant, Epicuri voltus per cubicula gestant ac circumferunt secum. natali eius sacrificant, feriasque omni mense vicesima luna custodiunt, quas icadas vocant, ii maxime, qui se ne viventes quidem nosci volunt. ita est profecto: artes desidia perdidit, et quoniam animorum imagines non sunt, negleguntur etiam corporum. aliter apud maiores in atriis haec erant, quae spectarentur; non signa externorum artificum nec aera aut marmora: expressi cera vultus singulis disponebantur armariis, ut essent imagines, quae comitarentur gentilicia funera, semperque defuncto aliquo totus aderat familiae aius qui umquam fuerat populus. stemmata vero lineis discurrebant ad imagines pictas. tabulina codicibus implebantur et monumentis rerum in magistratu gestarum. aliae foris et circa limina animorum ingentium imagines erant adfixis hostium spoliis, quae nec emptori refigere liceret, triumphabantque etiam dominis mutatis aeternae domus. erat haec stimulatio ingens, exprobrantibus tectis cotidie inbellem dominum intrare in alienum triumphum. exstat Messalae oratoris indignatio, quae prohibuit inseri genti suae Laevinorum alienam imaginem. similis causa Messalae seni expressit volumina illa quae de familiis condidit, cum Scipionis Pomponiani transisset atrium vidissetque adoptione testamentaria Salvittones- hoc enim fuerat cognomen- Africanorum dedecori inrepentes Scipionum nomini. sed- pace Messalarum dixisse liceat- etaim mentiri clarorum imagines erat aliquis virtutum amor multoque honestius quam mereri, ne quis suas expeteret.

Non est praetereundum et novicium inventum, siquidem non ex auro argentove, at certe ex aere in bibliothecis dicantur illis, quorum immortales animae in locis iisdem loquuntur, quin immo etiam quae non sunt finguntur, pariuntque desideria non traditos vultus, sicut in Homero evenit. utique maius, ut equidem arbitror, nullum est felicitatis specimen quam semper omnes scire cupere, qualis fuerit aliquis. Asini Pollionis hac Romae inventum, qui primus bibliothecam dicando ingenia hominum rem publicam fecit. an priores coeperint Alexandreae at Pergami reges, qui bibliothecas magno certamine instituere, non facile dixerim. imaginum amorem flagrasse quondam testes sunt Atticus ille Ciceronis edito de iis volumine, M. Varro benignissimo invento insertis voluminum suorum fecunditati etiam septingentorum inlustrium aliquo modo imaginibus, non passus intercidere figuras aut vetustatem aevi contra homines valere, inventor muneris etiam dis invidiosi, quando

immortalitatem non solum dedit, verum etiam in omnes terras misit, ut praesentes esse ubique ceu di possent. et hoc quidem alienis ille praestit.

III. Verum clupeos in sacro vel publico dicare privatim primus instituit, ut reperio, Appius Claudius qui consul cum P. Servilio fuit anno urbis CCLVIIII. posuit enim in Bellonae aede maiores suos, placuitque in excelso spectariet titulos honorum legi, decora res, utique si liberum turba parvulis imaginibus ceu nidum aliquem subolis pariter ostendat, quales clupeos nemo non gaudens favensque aspicit.

The painting of portraits, used to transmit through the ages extremely correct likenesses of persons, has entirely gone out. Bronze shields are now set up as monuments with a design in silver, with a dim outline of men's figures; heads of statues are exchanged for others, about which before now actually sarcastic epigrams have been current: so universally is a display of material preferred to a recognisable likeness of one's own self. And in the midst of all this, people tapestry the walls of their picture-galleries with old pictures, and they prize likeness of strangers, while as for themselves they imagine that the honour only consists in the price, for their heir to break up the statue and haul it out of the house with a noose. Consequently nobody's likeness lives and they leave behind them portraits that represent their money, not themselves. The same people decorate even their own anointing-rooms with portraits of athletes of the wrestling-ring, and display all round their bedrooms and carry about with them likenesses of Epicurus; they offer sacrifices on his birthday, and keep his festival, which they call the *eikas* on the 20th day of every month - these of all people, whose desire it is not to be known even when alive! That is exactly how things are: indolence has destroyed the arts, and since our minds cannot be portrayed, our bodily features are also neglected. In the halls of our ancestors it was otherwise; portraits were the objects displayed to be looked at, not statues by foreign artists, nor bronzes nor marbles, but wax models of faces were set out each on a separate side-board, to furnish likenesses to be carried in procession at the funeral in the clan, and always when some member of it passed away the entire company of his house that had ever existed was present. The pedigrees too were traced in a spread of lines running near the several painted portraits. The archive-rooms were kept filled with books of records and with written memorials of official careers. Outside the houses and round the doorways there were other presentations of those mighty spirits, with spoils taken from the enemy fastened to them, which even one who bought the house was not permitted to unfasten, and the mansions eternally celebrated a triumph even though they changed their masters. This acted as a mighty incentive, when every day the

very walls reproached an unwarlike owner with intruding on the triumphs of another! There is extant an indignant speech by the pleader Messala protesting against the insertion among the likenesses of his family of a bust not belonging to them but to the family of the Laevini. A similar reason extracted from old Messala the volumes he composed 'On Families', because when passing through the hall of Scipio Pomponianus he had observed the Salvitones - that was their former surname - in consequence of an act of adoption by will creeping into other's preserves, to the discredit of the Scipios called Africanus. But the Messala family must excuse me if I say that even to lay a false claim to the portraits of famous men showed some love for their virtues, and was much more honourable than to entail by one's conduct that nobody should seek to obtain one's own portraits!

We must not pass over a novelty that has also been invented, in that likenesses made, if not of gold or silver, yet at all events of bronze are set up in the libraries in honour of those whose immortal spirits speak to us in the same places, any more, even imaginary likenesses are modelled and our affection gives birth to countenances that have not been handed down to us, as occurs in the case of Homer. At any rate in my view at all events there is no greater kind of happiness than that all people for all time should desire to know what kind of a man a person was. At Rome this practice originated with Asinius Polio, who first by founding a library made works of genius the property of the public. Whether this practice began earlier, with the Kings of Alexandria and of Pergamum, between whom there had been such a keen competition in founding libraries, I cannot readily say. The existence of a strong passion for portraits in former days is evidenced by Atticus the friend of Cicero in the volume he published on the subject and by the most benevolent invention of Marcus Varro, who actually by some means inserted in a prolific output of volumes portraits of seven hundred famous people, not allowing their likenesses to disappear or the lapse of ages to prevail against immortality in men. Herein Varro was the inventor of a benefit that even the gods might envy, since he not only bestowed immortality but despatched it all over the world, enabling his subjects to be ubiquitous, like the gods. This was a service Varro rendered to strangers.

III. But the first person to institute the custom of privately dedicating the shields with portraits in a temple or public place, I find, was Appius Claudius, the consul with Publius Servilius in the 259th year of the city. He set up his ancestors in the shrine of the Goddess of War, and desired them to be in full view on an elevated spot, and the inscriptions stating their honours to be read. This is a seemly device, especially if miniature likenesses of a

swarm of children at the sides display a sort of brood of nestlings; shields of this description everybody views with pleasure and approval.

[T81] 35.vi.17-18 [77 or 78 CE]

Iam enim absoluta erat pictura etiam in Italia. exsrant certe hodieque antiquiores urbe picturiae Ardeae in aedibus sacris, quibus equidem nullas qeque miror, tam longo aevo durantes. in orbitate tecti veluti recentes. similiter Lanuvi, ubi Atalante et Helena comminus pictae sunt nude ab eodem artifice, utraque excellentissima forma, sed altera ut virgo, ne ruinis quidem templi concussae. Gaius princeps tollere eas conatus est libidine accensus, si tectorii natura permisisset. durant et Caere antiquiores et ipsae, fatebiturque quisquis eas diligenter aestimaverit nullam artium celerius consummatam, cum Iliacis temporibus non fuisse eam appareat.

For the art of painting had already been brought to perfection even in Italy. At all events there survive even to-day in the temples at Ardea paintings that are older than the city of Rome, which to me at all events are incomparably remarkable, surviving for so long a period as though freshly painted, although unprotected by a roof. Similarly at Lanuvium, where there are an Atalanta and a Helena close together, nude figures, painted by the same artist, each of outstanding beauty (the former shown as a virgin), and not damaged even by the collapse of the temple. The Emperor Caligula from lustful motives attempted to remove them, but the consistency of the plaster would not allow this to be done. There are pictures surviving at Caere that are even older. And whoever carefully judges these works will admit that none of the arts reached full perfection more quickly, inasmuch as it is clear that painting did not exist in the Trojan period.

[T82-84] 35.viii.24-ix.26 [77 or 78 CE]

Tabulis autem externis auctoritatem Romae publice fecit primus omnium L. Mummius, cui cognomen Achiaci victoria dedit. namque cum in praeda vendenda rex Attalus X VI emisset tabulam Aristidis, Liberum patrem, pretium miratus suspicatusque aliquid in ea virtutis, quod ipse nesciret, revocavit tabulam, Attalo multum querente, et in Cereris delubro posuit, quam primam arbitror picturam externam Romae publicatam. deinde video et in foro positas volgo. hinc enim ille Crassi oratoris lepos agentis sub Veteribus; cum testis

compellatus instaret: dic ergo, Crasse, qualem me noris ? talem, inquit, ostendens in tabula inficetissime Gallum exerentem linguam. in foro fuit et illa pastoris senis cum baculo, de qua Teutonorum legatus respondit interrogatus, quantine eum aestimaret, donari sibi nolle talem vivum verumque.

Sed praecipuam auctoritatem publice tabulis fecit Caesar dictator Aiace et Media ante Veneris Genetricis aedem dicatis, post eum M. Agrippa, vir rusticitati propior quam deliciis. exstat certe eius oratio magnifica et maximo civium digna de tabulis omnibus signisque publicandis, quod fieri satius fuisset quam in villarum exilia pelli. verum eadem illa torvitas tabulas duas Aiacis et Veneris mercata est a Cyzicenis Hs XII; in thermarum quoque calidissima parte marmoribus incluserat parvas tabellas, paulo ante, cum reficerentur sublatas.

This high esteem attached officially to foreign paintings at Rome originated from Lucius Mummius who from his victory received the surname of Achaicus. At the sale of booty captured King Attalus bought for 600,000 denarii a picture of Father Liber or Dionysus by Aristides, but the price surprised Mummius, who suspecting there must be some merit in the picture of which he was himself unaware had the picture called back, in spite of Attalus's strong protests, and placed it in the Shrine of Ceres: the first instance, I believe, of a foreign picture becoming state-property at Rome.[1] After this I see that they were commonly placed even in the forum: to this is due the famous witticism of the pleader Crassus, when appearing in a case Below The Old Shops; a witness called kept asking him: 'Now tell me, Crassus, what sort of a person do you take me to be?' 'That sort of a person,' said Crassus, pointing to a picture of a Gaul putting out his tongue in a very unbecoming fashion. It was also in the forum that there was the picture of the Old Shepherd with his Staff, about which the Teuton envoy when asked what he thought was the value of it said that he would rather not have even the living original as a gift!

But it was the Dictator Caesar who gave outstanding public importance to pictures by dedicating paintings of Ajax and Medea in front of the temple of Venus Genetrix; and after him Marcus Agrippa, a man who stood nearer to rustic simplicity than to refinements. At all events there is preserved a speech of Agrippa, lofty in tone and worthy of the greatest of the citizens on the question of making all pictures and statues national property, a procedure which would have been preferable to banishing them to country houses. However, that same severe spirit paid the city of Cyzicus 1,200,000 sesterces for two pictures, an Ajax and an

Aphrodite; he had also had small paintings let into the marble even in the warmest part of his Hot Baths; which were removed a short time ago when the Baths were being repaired.

[T85-86] 35.x.27-28 [77 or 78 CE]

Super omnes divus Augustus in foro suo celeberrima in parte posuit tabulas duas, quae Belli faciem pictam habent et Triumphum, item Castores ac Victoriam. posuit et quas dicemus sub artificum mentione in templo Caesaris patris. idem in curia quoque, quam in comitio consecrabat, duas tabulas inpressit parieti. Nemean sedentem supra leonem, palmigeram ipsam, adstante cum baculo sene, cuius supra caput tabella bigae dependet, Nicias scripsit se inussisse; tali enim usus est verbo. alterius tabulae admiratio est puberem filium seni patri similem esse aetatis salva differentia, supervolante aquila draconem complexa; Philochares hoc suum opus esse testatus est, inmensa, vel unam si tantum hanc tabulam aliquis aestimet, potentia artis, cum propter Philocharen ignobilissimos alioqui Glaucionem filiumque eius Aristippum senatus populi Romani tot saeculis spectet! posuit et Tiberius Caesar, minime comis imperator, in templo ipsius Augusti quas mox indicabimus. hactenus dictum sit de dignitate artis morientis.

His late lamented Majesty Augustus went beyond all others in placing two pictures in the most frequented part of his forum, one with a likeness of War and Triumph and one with the Castors and Victory. He also erected in the Temple of his father Caesar pictures we shall specify in giving the names of artists. He likewise let into a wall in the curia which he was dedicating in the comitium: a Nemea seated on a lion, holding a palm-branch in her hand, and standing at her side an old man leaning on a stick and with a picture of a two-horse chariot hung up over his head, on which there was an inscription saying that it was an 'encaustic' design - such is the term which he employed - by Nicias. The second picture is remarkable for displaying the close family likeness between a son in the prime of life and an elderly father, allowing for the difference of age: above them soars an eagle with a snake in its claws; Philochares has stated this work to be by him showing the immeasurable power exercised by art if one merely considers this picture alone, inasmuch as thanks to Philochares two otherwise quite obscure persons Glaucio and his son Aristippus after all these centuries have passed still stand in the view of the senate of the Roman nation! The most ungracious emperor Tiberius also placed pictures in the temple of Augustus himself which we shall soon mention. Thus much for the dignity of this now expiring art.

[T87] 35.xxxii.50 [77 or 78 CE]

Quattuor coloribus solis immortalia illa opera fecere - ex albis Melino, e silaciis Attico, ex rubris Sinopide Pontica, ex nigris atramento - Apelles, Aetion, Melanthius, Nicomachus, clarissimi pictores, cum tabulae eorum singulae oppidorum venirent opibus. nunc et purpuris in parietes migrantibus et India conferente fluminum suorum limum, draconum elephantorumque saniem nulla nobilis pictura est. omnia ergo meliora tunc fuere, cum minor copia. ita est, quoniam ut supra diximus, rerum, non animi pretiis excubatur.

Four colours only were used by the illustrious painters Apelles, Aetion, Melanthius and Nicomachus to execute their immortal works - of whites, Melinum; of yellow ochres, Attic; of reds, Pontic Sinopis; of blacks, atramentum - although their pictures each sold for the wealth of a whole town. Nowadays when purple finds its way even on to party-walls and when India contributes the mud of her rivers and the gore of her snakes and elephants, there is no such thing as high-class painting. Everything in fact was superior in the days when resources were scantier. The reason for this is that, as we said before, it is values of material and not of genius that people are now on the look-out for.

[T88] 35.xxxiv.55 [77 or 78 CE]

quod in confesso perinde est Bularchi pictoris tabulam, in qua erat Magnetum proelium, a Candaule, rege Lydiae Heraclidarum novissimo, qui et Myrsilus vocitatus est, repensam auro? tanta iam dignatio picturae erat. circa Romuli id aetatem acciderit necesse est, etenim duodevicensima olympiade interiit Candaules aut, ut quidam tradunt, eodem anno quo Romulus, nisi fallor, manifesta iam tunc claritate artis, adeo absolutione.

And then, it is not equally admitted that Candaules, the last King of Lydia of the Heraclid line, who was also commonly known by the name of Myrsilus, gave its weight in gold for a picture of the painter Bularchus representing a battle with the Magnetes? So high was the value already set on the art of painting. This must have occurred at about the time of Romulus, since Candaules died in the 18th Olympiad, according to some accounts, in the same year as Romulus, making it clear, if I am not mistaken, that the art had already achieved celebrity, and in fact a perfection.

[T89] 35.xxxvi.66 [77 or 78 CE]

fertur et postea Zeuxis pinxisse puerum uvas ferentem, ad quas cum advolassent aves, eadem ingenuitate processit iratus operi et dixit: 'uvas melius pinxi quam puerum, nam si et hoc consummassem, aves timere debuerant.' fecit et figlina opera, quae sola in Ambracia relicta sunt, cum inde Musas Fulvius Nobilior Romam transferret. Zeuxidis manu Romae Helena est in Philippi porticibus, et in Concordiae delubro Marsyas religatus.

It is said that Zeuxis also subsequently painted a Child Carrying Grapes, and when birds flew to the fruit with the same frankness as before he strode up to the picture in anger with it and said, 'I have painted the grapes better than the child, as if I had made a success of that as well, the birds would inevitably have been afraid of it.' He also executed works in clay the only works of art that were left at Ambracia when Fulvius Nobilior removed the statues of the Muses from that place to Rome. 'There is at Rome a Helena by Zeuxis in the Porticoes of Philippus, and a Marsyas Bound, in the Shrine of Concord....'

[T90] 35.xxxvi.69-70 [77 or 78 CE]

pinxit demon Atheniensium argumento quoque ingenioso. ostendebat namque varium iracundum iniustum inconstantem, eundem exorabilem clementem misericordem; gloriosum ..., excelsum humilem, ferocem fugacemque et omnia pariter. idem pinxit et Thesea, quae Romae in Capitolio fuit, et nauarchum thoracatum, et in una tabula, quae est Rhodi, Meleagrum, Herculem, Persea; haec ibi ter fulmine ambusta neque obliterata hoc ipso miraculum auget. pinxit et archigallum, quam picturam amavit Tiberius princeps atque, ut auctor est Deculo, HS LX aestimatam cubiculo suo inclusit. pinxit et Thressam nutricem infantemque in manibus eius et Philiscum et Liberum patrem adstante Virtute, et pueros duos, in quibus spectatur securitas aetatis et simplicitas, item sacerdotem adstante puero cum acerra et corona.

His picture of the People of Athens also shows ingenuity in treating the subject, since he displayed them as fickle, choleric, unjust and variable, but also placable and merciful and compassionate, boastful (and. . . .), lofty and humble, fierce and timid - and all these at the same time. He also painted a Theseus which was once in the Capitol at Rome, and a Naval Commander in a Cuirass, and in a single picture now at Rhodes figures of Meleager,

Heracles and Perseus. This last picture has been three times struck by lightning at Rhodes without being effaced, a circumstance which in itself enhances the wonder felt for it. He also painted a High Priest of Cybele, a picture for which the Emperor Tiberius conceived an affection and kept it shut up in his bedchamber, the price at which it was valued according to Deculo being 6,000,000 sesterces. He also painted a Thracian Nurse with an Infant in her Arms, a Philiscus, and a Father Liber or Dionysus attended by Virtue, and Two Children in which the carefree simplicity of childhood is clearly displayed, and also a Priest attended by Boy with Incense-box and Chaplet.

[T91-93] 35.xxxvi.83-85 [77 or 78 CE]

at Protogenes victum se confessus in portum devolavit hospitem quaerens, placuitque sic eam tabulam posteris tradi omnium quidem, sed artificum praecipuo miraculo. consumptam eam priore incendio Caesaris domus in Palatio audio, spectatam nobis ante, spatiose nihil aliud continentem quam lineas visum effugientes, inter egregia multorum opera inani similem et eo ipso allicientem omnique opere nobiliorem.

Apelli fuit alioqui perpetua consuetudo numquam tam occupatum diem agendi, ut non lineam ducendo exerceret artem, quod ab eo in proverbium venit. idem perfecta opera proponebat in pergula transeuntibus atque, ipse post tabulam latens, vitia quae notarentur auscultabat, vulgum diligentiorem iudicem quam se praeferens; feruntque reprehensum, a sutore, quod in crepidis una pauciores intus fecisset ansas, eodem postero die superbo emendatione pristinae admonitionis cavillante circa crus, indignatum prospexisse denuntiantem, ne supra crepidam sutor iudicaret, quod et ipsum in proverbium abiit. fuit enim et comitas illi, propter quam gratior Alexandro Magno frequenter in officinam ventitanti - nam, ut diximus, ab alio se pingi vetuerat edicto -, sed in officina imperite multa disserenti silentium comiter suadebat, rideri eum dicens a pueris, qui colores tererent. tantum erat auctoritati iuris in regem alioqui iracundum.

Hereupon Protogenes admitted he was defeated, and flew down to the harbour to look for the visitor; and he decided that the panel should be handed on to posterity as it was to be admired as a marvel by everybody, but particularly by artists. I am informed that it was burnt in the first fire which occurred in Caesar's palace on the Palatine; it had been previously much admired by us, on its vast surface containing nothing else than the almost invisible

lines, so that among the outstanding works of many artists it looked like a blank space, and by that very fact attracted attention and was more esteemed than every masterpiece there. Moreover it was a regular custom with Apelles never to let a day of business to be so fully occupied that he did not practise his art by drawing a line, which has passed from him into a proverb. Another habit of his was when he had finished his works to place them in a gallery in the view of passers by, and he himself stood out of sight behind the picture and listened to hear what faults were noticed, rating the public as more observant than himself. And it is said that he was found fault with by a shoe-maker because in drawing a subject's sandals he had represented the loops in them as one too few, and the next day the same critic was so proud of the artist's correcting the fault indicated by his previous objection that he found fault with the leg but Apelles indignantly looked out from behind the picture and rebuked him saying that a shoe-maker in his criticism must not go beyond the sandal - a remark that has also passed into a proverb. In fact he also possessed great courtesy of manners, which made him more agreeable to Alexander the Great, who frequently visited his studio - for as we have said, Alexander had published an edict forbidding any other artist to paint his portrait; but in the studio Alexander used to talk a great deal about painting without any real knowledge of it, and Apelles would politely advise him to drop the subject, saying that the boys engaged in grinding the colours were laughing at him: so much power did his authority exercise over a King who was otherwise of an irascible temper.

[T94] 35.xxxvi.88 [77 or 78 CE]

sordebat suis, ut plerumque domestica, percontantique, quanti liceret opera effecta, parvum nescio quid dixerat, at ille quinquagenis talentis poposcit famamque dispersit, se emere, ut pro suis venderet. ea res concitavit Rhodios ad intellegendum artificem, nec nisi augentibus pretium cessit.

Imagines adeo similitudinis indiscretae pinxit, ut - incredibile dictu - Apio grammaticus scriptum reliquerit, quendam ex facie hominum divinantem, quos metoposcopos vocant, ex iis dixisse aut futurae mortis annos aut praeteritae vitae.

Protogenes was held in low esteem by his fellow-countrymen, as is usual with home products, and when Apelles asked him what price he set on some works he had finished, he had mentioned some small sum but Apelles made him an offer of fifty talents for them, and spread it about that he was buying them with the intention of selling them as works of his

own. This device aroused the people of Rhodes to appreciate the artist, and Apelles only parted with the pictures to them at an enhanced price.

He also painted portraits so absolutely lifelike that incredible as it sounds, the grammarian Apio has left it on record that one of those persons called 'physiognomists,' who prophesy people's future by their countenance, pronounced from their portraits either the year of the subjects' deaths hereafter or the number of years they had already lived.

[T95] 35.xxxvi.94 [77 or 78 CE]

quas utrasque tabulas divus Augustus in fori sui celeberrimis partibus dicaverat simplicitate moderata; divus Claudius pluris existimavit utrisque excisa Alexandri facie divi Augusti imagines addere. eiusdem arbitrantur manu esse et in Dianae templo Herculem aversum, ut, quod est difficillimum, faciem eius ostendat verius pictura quam promittat. pinxit et heroa nudum eaque pictura naturam ipsam provocavit.

Both of these pictures his late lamented Majesty Augustus with restrained good taste had dedicated in the most frequented parts of his forum; the emperor Claudius however thought it more advisable to cut out the face of Alexander from both works and substitute portraits of Augustus. The Heracles with Face Averted in the temple of Diana is also believed to be by his hand - so drawn that the picture more truly displays Heracles' face than merely suggests it to the imagination - a very difficult achievement. He also painted a Nude Hero, a picture with which he challenged Nature herself.

[T96] 35.xxxvi.104-105 [77 or 78 CE]

Hoc exemplo eius similis et Nealcen successus spumae equi similiter spongea inpacta secutus dicitur, cum pingeret poppyzonta retinentem eum. ita Protogenes monstravit et fortunam.

Propter hunc Ialysum, ne cremaret tabulam, Demetrius rex, cum ab ea parte sola posset Rhodum capere, non incendit, parcentemque picturae fugit occasio victoriae. erat tunc Protogenes in suburbano suo hortulo, hoc est Demetrii castris, neque interpellatus proeliis incohata opera intermisit omnino nisi accitus a rege, interrogatusque, qua fiducia extra muros ageret, respondit scire se cum Rhodiis illi bellum esse, non cum artibus. disposuit rex in tutelam eius stationes, gaudens quod manus servaret, quibus pepercerat, et, ne saepius

avocaret, ultro ad eum venit hostis relictisque victoriae suae votis inter arma et murorum ictus spectavit artificem; sequiturque tabulam illius temporis haec fama, quod eam Protogenes sub gladio pinxerit: Satyrus hic est, quem anapauomenon vocant ne quid desit temporis eius securitati, tenentem tibias.

It is said that Nealces also following this example of his achieved a similar success in representing a horse's foam by dashing a sponge on the picture in a similar manner, in a representation of a man clucking in his cheek to soothe a horse he was holding. Thus did Protogenes indicate the possibilities of a stroke of luck also.
It was on account of this Ialysus that King Demetrius, in order to avoid burning a picture abstained from setting fire to Rhodes when the city could only be taken from the side where the picture was stored, and through consideration for the safety of a picture lost the chance of a victory! Protogenes at the time was in his little garden on the outskirts of the city, that is in the middle of the 'Camp of Demetrius', and would not be interrupted by the battles going on, or on any account suspend the works he had begun, had he not been summoned by the King, who asked him what gave him the assurance to continue outside the walls. He replied that he knew the King was waging war with the Rhodians, not with the arts. The King, delighted to be able to safeguard the hands which he had spared, placed guardposts to protect him, and, to avoid repeatedly calling him from his work, actually though an enemy came to pay him visits, and quitting his aspirations for his own victory, in the thick of battles and the battering down of walls, looked on at the work of an artist. And even to this day the story is attached to a picture of that date that Protogenes painted it with a sword hanging over him. The picture is the one of a Satyr, called the Satyr Reposing and to give a final touch to the sense of security felt at the time, the figure holds a pair of flutes.

[T97] 35.xl.126 [77 or 78 CE]

Pausias autem fecit et grandes tabulas, sicut spectatam in Pompei porticu boum immolationem. eam primus invenit picturam, quam postea imitati sunt multi, aequavit nemo. ante omnia, cum longitudinem bovis ostendi vellet, adversum eum pinxit, non traversum, et abunde intellegitur amplitudo.

But Pausias also did large pictures, for instance the Sacrifice of Oxen which formerly was to be seen in Pompey's Portico. He first invented a method of painting which has afterwards

been copied by many people but equalled by no one; the chief point was that although he wanted to show the long body of an ox he painted the animal facing the spectator and not standing sideways, and its great size is fully conveyed.

[T98-99] 35.xl.130-132 [77 or 78 CE]

Eodem tempore fuere Cydias, cuius tabulam Argonautas xH cxxxxIIII Hortensius orator mercatus est eique aedem fecit in Tusculano suo. Euphranoris autem discipulus Antidotus. huius est clipeo dimicans Athenis et luctator tubicenque inter pauca laudatus. ipse diligentior quam numerosior et in coloribus severus maxime inclaruit discipulo Nicia Atheniense, qui diligentissime mulieres pinxit. lumen et umbras custodiit atque ut eminerent e tabulis picturae maxime curavit. operum eius Nemea advecta ex Asia Romam a Silano, quam in curia diximus positam, item Liber pater in aede Concordiae Hyacinthus, quem Caesar Augustus delectatus, eo secum deportavit Alexandrea capta, et ob id Tiberius Caesar in templo eius dicavit hanc tabulam, et Danae, Ephesi vero est megabyzi, sacerdotis Ephesiae Dianae, sepulchrum, Athenis necyomantea Homeri. hanc vendere Attalo regi noluit talentis LX potiusque patriae suae donavit abundans opibus. fecit et grandes picturas in quibus sunt Calypso et Io et Andromeda; Alexander quoque in Pompei porticibus praecellens et Calypso sedens huic eidem adscribuntur.

Contemporaries of Euphranor were Cydias, for whose picture of the Argonauts the orator Hortensius paid 144,000 sesterces, and made a shrine for its reception at his villa at Tusculum. Euphranor's pupil was Antidotus. Works by the latter are a Combatant with a Shield at Athens and a Wrestler and a Trumpeter which has been exceptionally praised. Antidotus himself was more careful in his work than prolific, and severe in his use of colours; his chief distinction was being the teacher of the Athenian Nicias, who was an extremely careful painter of female portraits. Nicias kept a strict watch on light and shade, and took the greatest pains to make his paintings stand out from the panels. Works of his are: a Nemea, brought to Rome from Asia by Silanus and deposited in the Senate-House as we have said, and also the Father Liber or Dionysus in the Shrine of Concord, a Hyacinthus with which Caesar Augustus was so delighted that when he took Alexandria he brought it back with his - and consequently Tiberius Caesar dedicated this picture in the temple of Augustus - and a Danaë; while at Ephesus there is a tomb of a megabyzus or priest of Diana of Ephesus, and at Athens there is a Necyomanteia of Homer. The last the artist refused to

sell to King Attalus for 60 talents, and preferred to present it to his native place, as he was a wealthy man. He also executed some large pictures, among them a Calypso, an Io and an Andromeda; and also the very fine Alexander in Pompey's Porticoes and a Seated Calypso are assigned to him.

[T100] 35.xl.136 [77 or 78 CE]

Timomachus Byzantius Caesaris dictatoris aetate Aiacem et Mediam pinxit ab eo in Veneris Genetricis aede positas LXXX talentis venundatas. talentum Atticum X VI taxat M. Varro. Timomachi aeque laudantur Orestes, Iphigenia in Tauris et Lecythion, agilitatis exercitator, cognatio nobilium, palliati, quos dicturos pinxit alterum stantem, alterum sedentem. praecipue tamen ars ei favisse in Gorgone visa est.

Timomachus of Byzantium in the period of Caesar's dictatorship painted an Ajax and a Medea, placed by Caesar in the temple of Venus Genetrix, having been bought at the price of 80 talents (Marcus Varro rates the Attic talent at 6000 denarii). Equal praise is given to Timomachus's Orestes, his Iphigenia among the Tauri and his Gymnastic-Master Lecythion; also his Noble Family and his Two men wearing the Pallium, whom he was represented as about to converse; one is a standing figure and the other seated. It is in his painting of a Gorgon however that his art seems to have given him most success.

[T101] 35.xlv.156 [77 or 78 CE]

ab hoc Venerem Genetricem in foro Caesaris et, priusquam absolveretur, festinatione dedicandi positam; eidem a Lucullo HS X signum Felicitatis locatum, cui mors utriusque inviderit; Octavio equiti Romano cratera facere volenti exemplar e gypso factum talento. laudat et Pasitelem qui plasticen matrem caelaturae et statuariae scalpturaeque dixit et, cum esset in omnibus iis summus, nihil umquam fecit ante quam finxit.

And that this artist (Arcesilaus) made the statue of Venus Genetrix in Caesar's Forum and that it was erected before it was finished as there was a great haste to dedicate it; and that the same artist had contracted with Lucullus to make a statue of Happiness for 1,00,000 sesterces, which was prevented by the death of both parties; and that when a Knight of Rome Octavius desired him to make a wine-bowl he made a model in plaster for the price of a

talent. He also praises Pasiteles, who said that modeling was the mother of chasing and of bronze statuary and sculpture, and who, although he was eminent in all these arts, never made anything before he made a clay model.

[T102] 35.xlvi.162-164 [77 or 78 CE]

atque ut at luxu quoque aliqua contingat auctoritas figlinis: tripatinium, inquit Fenestella, appelabatur summa cenarum lautitia; una erat munerarum, altera luporum, tertia mixti piscis, inclinatis iam scilicet moribus, ut tamen eos praeferre Graeciae etiam philosophis possimus, siquidem in Aristotelis heredum auctione septuaginta patinas venisse traditur. nos cum unam Aesopi tragoediarum histrionis in natura avium diceremus Hs c stetisse, non dubito indignatos legentes. at, Hercules, Vitellius in principatu suo x Hs condidit patinam, cui faciendae fornax in campis exaedificata erat, quoniam eo pervenit luxuria, ut etiam fictilia pluris constent quam murrina. propter hanc Mucianus altero consulatu suo in conquestione exprobravit patinarum paludes Vitelli memoriae, non illa foediore, cuius veneno Asprenati reo Cassius Severus. accusator obiciebat interisse convivas cxxx. nobilitantur his quoque oppida, ut Regium et Cumae.

And so luxury also may contribute some importance to earthenware, the name of a service of three dishes, we are told by Fenestella, used to denote the most luxurious possible banquet: one dish was of lamprey, a second of pike and a third of a mixture of fish. Clearly manners were already on the decline though nevertheless we can still prefer them even to those of the philosophers of Greece inasmuch as it is recorded that at the auction held by the heirs of Aristotle seventy earthenware dishes were sold. We have already stated when on the subject of birds that a single dish cost the tragic actor Aesop 100,000 sesterces, and I have no doubt that readers felt indignant; but, good heavens, Vitellius when emperor had a dish made that cost 1,000,000 sesterces and to make which a special furnace was constructed out in open country, as luxury has reached a point when even earthenware costs more than vessels of fluor-spar. It was owing to this dish that Mucianus in his second consulship, in a protest which he delivered, reproached the memory of Vitellius for dishes as broad as marshes, although this particular dish was not more disgraceful than the poisoned one by which Cassius Severus when prosecuting Asprenas charged him with having caused the death of 130 guests. Artistic pottery also confers fame on towns, for instance Reggio and Cumae.

The passages that follow are from the Loeb CL, *Pliny Natural History*, with an English translation by D. E., Eichholz, vol. X, (libri XXXVI-XXXVII), London and Cambridge Mass. 1971.

[T103-104] 36.i.1-3 [77 or 78 CE]

Lapidum natura restat, hoc est praecipua morum insania, etiam ut gemmae cum sucinis atque crystallinis murrinisque sileantur. omnia namque quae usque ad hoc volumen tractavimus hominum genita cuasa videri possunt: montes natura sibi fecerat ut quasdam compages telluris visceribus densandis, simul ad fluminum impetus domandos fluctusque fragendos ac minime quietas partes coercendas durissima sui materia. caedimus hos trahimusque nulla alia quam deliciarum causa, quos transcendisse quoque mirum fuit. in portento prope maiores habuere Alpis ab Hannibale exsuperatas et postea a Cimbris: nucn ipsae caeduntur in mille genera marmorum. promunturia aperiuntur mari, et rerum natura agitur in planum; evehimus ea quae separandis gentibus pro terminis constituta erant. navesque marmorum causa funt, ac per fluctus, saevissimam rerum naturae pertem, huc illuc portantur iuga, maiore etiamnum venia quam cum ad frigidos potus vas petitur in nubila caeloque proximae rupes cavantur, ut bibatur glacie. secum quisque cogitet, et quae pretia horum audiat, quas vehi trahique moles videat, et quam sine iis multorum sit beatior vita. ista facere, immo verius pati mortales quos ob usus quasve ad voluptates alias nisi ut inter maculas lapidum iaceant, cue vero non tenebris noctium, dimidia parte vitae cuiusque, gaudia haec auferentibus!

It remains for us to deal with the nature of stones, or, in other words, the prime folly in our behaviour. To be considered as such even though no reference be made to gems, amber and vessels of rock-crystal and fluor-spar. For everything that we have investigated up to the present volume may be deemed to have been created for the benefit of mankind. Mountains however, were made by Nature for herself to serve as a kind of framework for holding firmly together the inner parts of the earth, and at the same time to enable her to subdue the violence of rivers, to break the force of heavy seas and so to surb her most restless elements with the hardest material of which she is made. We quarry these mountains and haul them away for a mere whim; and yet there was a time when it seemed remarkable event to have succeeded in crossing them. Our forefathers considered the scaling of the Alps by Hannibal

and later by the Cimbri to be almost unnatural. Now these selfsame Alps are quarried into marble of a thousand varieties.

Headlands are laid open to the sea, and nature is flattened. We remove the barriers created to serve as the boundaries of nations and ships are built specially for marble. And so, over the waves of the sea, Nature's wildest element, mountain ranges are transported to and forth, and even then with greater justification than we can find for climbing to the clouds in search of vessels to keep our drinks cool, and for hollowing out rocks that almost reach the heavens, so that we may drink from ice. When we hear of the prices paid for these vessels, when we see the masses of marble that are being conveyed or hauled, we should each of us reflect, and at the same time think how much more happily many people live without them. That men should do such things, or rather endure them, for no purpose or pleasure except to lie amid spotted marbles, just as of these delights were not taken from us by the darkness of night, which is half our life's span!

[T105] 36.ii.5 [77 or 78 CE]

dicat fortassis aliquis: non enim invehebantur. id quidem falso. CCCLX columnas M. Scauri aedilitate ad scaenam theatri temporari et vix mense uno futuri in usu viderunt portari silentio legum. sed publicis nimirum indulgentes voluptatibus. id ipsum cur? aut qua magis via inrepunt vitia quam publica? quo enim alio modo in privatos usus venere ebora, aurum, gemmae?aut quid omnino diis reliquimus?

Perhaps it may be said 'Of course not. No marbles were being imported.' That suggestion at least is untrue. In the aedilship of Marcus Scaurus there was the spectacle of 360 columns being taken to the stage of an improvised theatre that was intended to be used barely for a month, and the laws were silent. Of course, it was the official pleasures of the community for which some allowance was being made by our laws. But why should this, of all excuses have been made? Or what route is more commonly taken by vices in their surreptitious approach than the official one? How else have ivory, gold and precious stones come to be used in private life?

[T106] 36.iv.19 [77 or 78 CE]

in basi autem quod caelatum est PandwraV genesin appellant: dii adsunt nascenti XX numero. Victoria praecipue mirabili, periti mirantur et serpentem ac sub ipsa cuspide aeream sphingem. haec sint obiter dicta de artifice numquam satis laudato, simul ut noscatur illam magnificentiam aequalem fuisse et in parvis.

On the pedestal there is carved what is entitled in Greek the Birth of Pandora, with twenty gods assisting at the birth. Although the figure of Victory is especially remarkable, connoisseurs admire also the snake, as well as the bronze sphinx that crouches just beneath her spear. These are things which should be stated in passing with regard to an artist who has never been praised enough. At the same time, they make us realize that the grandeur of his notions was maintained even in small matters.

[T107] 36.iv.21 [77 or 78 CE]

voluit eam a Cnidiis postea mercari rex Nicomedes, totum aes alienum, quod erat ingens, civitatis dissoluturum se promittens. Omnia perpeti maluere, nec inmerito; illo enim signo Praxiteles nobilitavit, Cnidum. aedicula eius tota aperitur, ut conspici possit undique effigies deae, favente ipsa, ut creditur, facta. nec minor ex quacumque parte admiratio est. ferunt amore captum quendam, cum delituisset noctu, simulacro cohaesisse, eiusque cupiditatis esse indicem maculam.

Later King Nicomedes was anxious to buy it (the statue of Venus) form them, promising so to discharge all the state's (Cnidus) vast debts. The Cnidians, however, preferred to suffer anything but this, and rightly so; for with this statue Praxiteles made Cnidus a famous city. The shrine in which it stands is entirely open so as to allow the image of the goddess to be viewed from every side, and it is believed to have been made in this way with the blessing of the goddess herself. The statue is equally admirable from every angle. There is a story that a man once fell in love with it and hiding by night embraced it, and that a stain betrays this lustful act.

[T108-110] 36.iv.22-25 [77 or 78 CE]

sunt in Cnido et alia signa marmorea inlustrium artificum, Liber pater Bryaxidis et alter Scopae et Minerva, nec maius aliud Veneris Praxiteliae specimen quam quod inter haec sola memoratur. eiusdem est et Cupido, obiectus a Cicerone Verri ille, propter quem Thespiae visebantur, nunc in Octaviae scholis positus; eiusdem et alter nudus in Pario colonia Propontidis, par Veneri Cnidiae nobilitate et iniuria; adamavit enim Alcetas Rhodius atque in eo quoque simile amoris vestigium reliquit. Romae Praxitelis opera sunt Flora, Triptolemus, Ceres in hortis Servilianis, Boni Eventus et Bonae Fortunae simulacra in Capitolio, item Maenades et quas Thyiadas vocant et Caryatidas, et Sileni in Pollionis Asini monimentis et Apollo et Neptunus. Praxitelis filius Cephisodotus et artis heres fuit. cuius laudatum est Pergami symplegma nobile digitis corpori verius quam marmori inpressis. Romae eius opera sunt Latona in Palatii delubro, Venus in Pollionis Asini monumentis et intra Octaviae porticus in Iunonis aede Aesculapius ac Diana.

Scopae laus cum his certat. is fecit Venerem et Pothon, qui Samothrace sanctissimis caerimoniis coluntur, item Apollinem Palatinum, Vestam sedentem laudatam in Servilianis hortis duosque campteras circa eam, quorum pares in Asini monimentis sunt, ubi et canephoros eiusdem.

In Cnidus there are also other marble figures by notable artists, a Father Liber and a Minerva by Scopas; but there is no greater proof of the excellence of Praxiteles' Venus than the fact that amidst these works it alone a Cupid, with which Cicero taunted Verres, 'the famous Cupid for the sake of which men visited Thespiae', and which now stands in Octavia's Rooms. To him belongs, moreover, another Cupid, which is naked, at Parium, the colony on the Sea of Marmara, a work that matches the Venus of Cnidus in its renown, as well as in the outrageous treatment which it suffered. For Alcetas, a man from Rhodes, fell in love with it and left upon a similar mark of his passion. At Rome the works of Praxiteles are a Flora, a Triptolemus and a Ceres in the Gardens of Servilius, images of Success and Good Fortune on the Capitol, and likewise the Maenads, the so-called Thyiads and Caryatids and the Sileni in the Collection of Asinius Pollio, as well as an Apollo and a Neptune. The son of Praxiteles, Cephisodotus, inherited also his skill. His Persons Grappling at Pergamum is highly praised, being notable for the fingers, which seem genuinely to sink into living flesh rather than into dead marble. At Rome his works are the Latona in the temple of the Palatine Apollo, a Venus in the Collection of Asinius Pollio, and the Aesculapius and Diana in the temple of Juno within the Porticoes of Octavia.

These artists are rivalled in merit by Scopas. He made a Venus and a figure of Desire, which are worshipped with the most solemn rites in Samothrace. He was responsible also for the Apollo on the Palatine and the much praised Seated Vesta in the Gardens of Servilius, along with the two turning-posts on either side of her, of which there are facsimiles in the Collection of Asinius, where there is also his Girl Carrying a Sacred Basket.

[T111] 36.iv.27-28 [77 or 78 CE]

Romae quidem multitudo operum et iam obliteratio ac magis officiorum negotiorum acervi omnes a contemplatione tamen abducunt, quoniam otiosorum et in magno loci silentio talis admiratio est. qua de causa ignoratur artifex eius quoque Veneris quam Vespasianus imperator in operibus Pacis suae dicavit antiquorum dignam fama. par haesitatio est in templo Apollinis Sosiani, Niobae liberos morientes Scopas an Praxiteles fecerit; item Ianus pater, in suo templo dicatus ab Augusto ex Aegypto advectus, utrius manu sit, iam quidem et auro occultatus. similiter in curia Octaviae quaeritur de Cupidine fulmen tenente; id demum adfirmatur, Alcibiaden esse, principem forma in ea aetate.

At Rome, indeed, the great number of works of art and again their consequent effacement form our memory, and, even more, the multitude of official functions and business activities must, after all, deter anyone from serious study, since the appreciation involved needs leisure and deep silence in our surroundings. Hence we do not know the maker even of the Venus dedicated by the Emperor Vespasian in the precincts of his temple of Peace, although it deserves to rank with the old masters. Equally there is doubt as to whether the Dying Children of Niobe in the temple of Sosian Apollo was the work of Scopas or of Praxiteles. Similarly, we cannot tell which of the two carved the Father Janus which was dedicated in its rightful temple by Augustus after being brought here from Egypt; and nor a covering of gilt was hidden its secret still more. Equally, there is a controversy about the Cupid Holding a Thunderbolt in the Hall of Octavia. Only one thing is stated with conviction, namely that the figure is that of Alcibiades, the most handsome youth of that time.

[T112] 36.iv.29 [77 or 78 CE]

multa in eadem schola sine auctoribus placent: Satyri quattuor, ex quibus unus Liberum patrem palla velatum umeris praefert, alter Liberam similiter, tertius ploratum infantis

cohibet, quartus cratere alterius sitim sedat. duaeque Aurae velificantes sua veste. nec minor quaestio est in Saeptis, Olympum et Pana, Chironem cum Achille qui fecerint, praesertim cum capitali satisdatione fama iudicet dignos.

In the same salon (curia Octaviae) there are many pleasing works of which the authors are unknown, for example, the Four Satyrs, of whom one is carrying on his shoulders Father Liber dressed in a robe and another is likewise carrying Ariadne, while a third stops a child crying and a fourth gives a drink to another child out of a mixing-bowl; and the Two Breezes, who are spreading their cloaks like sails. There is just as much dispute as to the makers of the Olympus and Pan and Chiron With Achilles in the Voting Enclosure, even though their fame pronounces them to be so valuable that their keepers must answer for their safety with their lives.

[T113a] 36.iv.33- 37 [77 or 78 CE]

Pollio Asinius, ut fuit aeris acris vehementiae, sic quoque spectari monumenta sua voluit. in iis sunt Centauri Nymphas gerentes Arcesilae, Thespiades Cleomenis, Oceanus et Iuppiter Heniochi, Appiades Stephani, Hermerotes Taurisci, non caelatoris illius, sed Tralliani, Iuppiter hospitalis Papyli, Praxitelis discipuli, Zethus et Amphion ac Dirce et taurus vinculumque ex eodem lapide, a Rhodo advecta opera Apollonii et Taurisci. parentum hi certamen de se fecere, Menecraten videri professi, sed esse naturalem Artemidorum. eodem loco Liber pater Eutychidis laudatur, ad Octaviae vero porticum Apollo Philisci Rhodii in delubro suo, item Latona et Diana et Musae novem et alter Apollo nudus. eum qui citharam in eodem templo tenet Timarchidesfecit, intra Octaviae vero porticus aedem Iunonis ipsam deam Dionysius et Polycles aliam, Venerem eodem loco Philiscus, cetera signa Praxiteles. iidem Polycles et Dionysius, Timarchidis filii, lovem, qui est in proxima aede, fecerunt, Pana et Olympum luctantes eodem loco Heliodorus, quod est alterum in terris symplegma nobile, Venerem lavantem sese Daedalsas, stantem Polycharmus. ex honore apparet in magna auctoritate habitum Lysiae opus quod in Palatio super arcum divus Augustus honori Octavi patris sui dicavit in aedicula columnis adornata, id est quadriga currusque et Apollo ac Diana ex uno lapide. in hortis Servilianis reperio laudatos Calamidis Apollinem illius caelatoris, Dercylidis pyctas, Amphistrati Callisthenen historiarum scriptorem. nec deinde multo plurium fama est, quorundam claritati in operibus eximiis obstante numero artificum, quoniam nec unus occupat gloriam nec plures pariter nuncupari possunt, sicut in

Laocoonte, qui est in Titi imperatoris domo, opus omnibus et picturae et statuariae arts praeferendum. ex uno lapide eum ac liberos draconumque mirabiles nexus de consilii sententia fecere summi artifices Hagesander et Polydorus et Athenodorus Rhodii.

Asinius Pollio, being an ardent enthusiast, was accordingly anxious for his collection to attract sightseers. In it are the Centarus Carrying Nymphs by Arcesilas, the Muses of Helicon by Cleomenes, the Oceanus and Jupiter by Heniochus, the Nymphs of the Appian Water by Stephanus, the double busts of Hermes and Eros by Tauriscus (not the well-known worker in metal and ivory, but a native of Tralles), the Jupiter Patron of Strangers by Papylus, the pupil of Praxiteles, and a composition by Apollonius and Tauriscus which was brought from Rhodes, namely Zethus and Amphion, and then Dirce and the bull with its rope, all carved from the same block of stone. These two artists caused a dispute as to their parentage, declaring that their putative father was Menecrates and their real father Artemidorus. In the same galleries there is a Father Liber by Eutychides which is warmly praised, and close by the Portico of Octavia an Apollo by Philiscus of Rhodes standing in the temple of Apollo, and furthermore a Latona, a Diana, the Nine Muses, and another Apollo, which is naked. The Apollo With His Lyre in the same temple was made by Timarchides, and in the temple of Juno that stands within the Portico of Octavia the image of the goddess herself was made by Dionysius, although there is another by Polycles, while the Venus in the same place was executed by Philiscus and the other statues by Praxiteles. Polycles and Dionysius, who were the sons of Timarchides, were responsible also for the Jupiter in the adjacent temple, while in the same place the Pan and Olympus Wrestling, which is the second most famous grappling group in the world, was the work of Heliodorus, the Venus Bathing of Daedalsas, and the Venus standing of Polycharmus. It is clear from the honour accorded to it that a work much esteemed was that of Lysias which Augustus of Revered Memory dedicated in honour of his father Octavius in a niche embellished with columns upon the arch on the Palatine. This work consists of a team of four horses with a chariot and Apollo with Diana all carved from one block of marble. In the Gardens of Servilius I find that works much admired are the Apollo by the eminent engraver Calamis, the Boxers by Dercylides, and the historian Callisthenes by Amphistratus. Beyond these men, there are not a great many more that are famous. The reputation of some, distinguished though their work may be, has been obscured by the number of artists engaged with them on a single task, because no individual monopolizes the credit nor again can several of them be named on equal terms. This is the case with the Laocoon in the palace of the emperor Titus, a work

superior to any painting and any bronze. Laocoon, his children and the wonderful clasping coils of the snakes were carved from a single block in accordance with an agreed plan by those eminent craftsmen Hagesander, Polydorus and Athenodorus, all of Rhodes.

[T113b] 36.iv.38-43 [77 or 78 CE]

similiter Palatinas domos Caesarum replevere probatissimis signis Craterus cum Pythodoro, Polydeuces cum Hermolao, Pythodorus alius cum Artemone, at singularis Aphrodisius Trallianus. Agrippae Pantheum decoravit Diogenes Atheniensis; in columnis templi eius Caryatides probantur inter pauca operum, sicut in fastigio posita signa, sed propter altitudinem loci minus celebrata. inhonorus est nec in templo ullo Hercules, ad quem Poeni omnibus annis humana sacrificaverant victima, humi stans ante aditum porticus ad nationes. sitae fuere et Thespiades ad aedem Felicitatis, quarum unam amavit eques Romanus Iunius Pisciculus, ut tradit Varro, admirator et Pasitelis, qui et quinque volumina scripsit nobilium operum in toto orbe. natus hic in Graeca Italiae ora et civitate Romana donatus cum iis oppidis, Iovem fecit eboreum in Metelli aede, qua campus petitur. accidit ei, cum in navalibus, ubi ferae Africanae erant, per caveam intuens leonem caelaret, ut ex alia cavea panthera erumperet, non levi periculo diligentissimi artificis. fecisse opera complura dicitur; quae fecerit, nominatim non refertur. Arcesilaum quoque magnificat Varro, cuius se marmoream habuisse leaenam aligerosque ludentes cum ea Cupidines. quorum alii religatam tenerent, alii cornu cogerent bibere, alii calciarent soccis, omnes ex uno lapide. idem et a Coronio quattuordecim nationes, quae sunt circa Pompeium, factas auctor est. Invenio et Canachum laudatum inter statuarios fecisse marmorea. nec Sauram atque Batrachum obliterari convenit, qui fecere templa Octaviae porticibus inclusa, natione ipsi Lacones. quidam et opibus praepotentes fuisse eos putant ac sua inpensa construxisse, inscriptionem sperantes, qua negata hoc tamen alio modo usurpasse. sunt certe etiam nunc in columnarum spiris inscalptae nominum eorum argumento lacerta atque rana. in Ionis aede ex iis pictura cultusque reliquus omnis femineis argumentis constat; erat enim facta Iunoni, sed, cum inferrentur signa, permutasse geruli traduntur, et id religione custoditum, velut ipsis diis sedem ita partitis. ergo et in Iunonis aede cultus est qui Ionis esse debuit.

Sunt et in parvolis marmoreis famam consecuti Myrmecides, cuius quadrigam cum agitatore operuit alis musca, et Callicrates, cuius formicarum pedes atque alia membra pervidere non est.

Similarly, the imperial mansions on the Palatine were filled with excellent statues made by pairs of artists, Craterus and Pythodorus, Polydeuces and Hermolaus, another Pythodorus and Artemon, and individually by Aphrodisius of Tralles. The Pantheon of Agrippa was embellished by Diogenes of Athens; and among the supporting members of this temple there are Caryatids that are almost in a class of their own, and the same is true of the figures on the angles of the pediment, which are, however, not so well known because of their lofty position. A work that is without honour and stands in no temple is the Hercules before which the Carthaginians were wont to perform human sacrifices every year. This stands at ground level in front of the entrance to the Portico of the Nations. Formerly too there were statues of the Muses of Helicon by the temple of Prosperity, and a Roman knight, Junius Pisciculus, fell in love with one of them, according to Varro, who incidentally was an admirer of Pasiteles, a sculptor who was also the author of a treatise in five volumes on the World's Famous Masterpieces. He was a native of Magna Graecia and received Roman citizenship along with the communities of that region. The ivory Jupiter in the temple of Metellus at the approaches to the Campus Martius is his work. Once, he was at the docks, where there were wild beasts from Africa, and was making a relief of a lion, peering as he did so into the cage at his model, when it so happened that a leopard broke out of another cage and caused serious danger to this most conscientious of artists. He is said to have executed a number of works, but their titles are not recorded. Arcesilaus too is highly praised by Varro, who states that he once possessed a work of his, namely Winged Cupids Playing with a Lioness, of whom some were holding it with cords, some were making it drink from a horn, and some were putting slippers on its feet, all the figures having been carved from one block. Varro relates also that it was Coponius who was responsible for the fourteen figures of the Nations that stand around Pompey's theatre. I find that Canachus, who was much admired as a maker of bronzes, also executed figures in marble. Nor should we forget Sauras and Batrachus, who build the temples that are enclosed by the Porticoes of Octavia. They were mere natives of Sparta. And yet, some people actually suppose that they were very rich and erected the temples at their own expense because they hoped to be honoured by an inscription; and the story is that, although this was refused, they attained their object in another way. At any rate, on the moulded bases of the columns there are still in existence carvings of a lizard and a frog in token of their names. One of these temples is that of Jupiter, in which the subjects of the paintings and of all the other embellishments are concerned with women. For it had been intended as a temple of Juno; but, according to the tradition, the porters interchanged the cult-images when they were installing them, and this

arrangement was preserved as a matter of religious scruple, in the belief that the gods themselves had allotted their dwelling-places in this way. Similarly, therefore, the embellishments in the temple of Juno are those that were destined for the temple of Jupiter.[2] Fame has been won in the making also of marble miniatures, namely by Myrmecides, whose Four-horse Chariot and Driver were covered by the wings of a fly, and by Callicratides, whose ants have feet and other parts too small to be discerned.

[T114] 36.v.44-46 [77 or 78 CE]

V. Haec sint dicta de marmoris scalptoribus summaque claritate artificum, quo in tractatu subit mentem non fuisse tum auctoritatem maculoso marmori. fecere et e Thasio, Cycladum insularum aemulo, et e Lesbio; lividius hoc paulo. versicolores quidem maculas et in totum marmorum apparatum etiam Menander, diligentissimus luxuriae interpres, primus et raro attgit. columnis demum utebantur in templis, nec lautitiae causa - nondum enim ista intellegebantur - sed quia firmiores aliter statui non poterant. sic est inchoatum Athenis templum Iovis Olympii, ex quo Sulla Capitolinis aedibus advexerat columnas. fuit tamen inter lapidem atque marmor differentia iam et apud Homerum; dicit enim marmoreo saxo percussum, sed hactenus, regias quoque domus, cum lautissime, praeter aes, aurum, electrum, argentum ebore tantum adornans. primum, ut arbitror, versicolores istas maculas Chiorum lapicidinae ostenderunt, cum exstruerent muros, faceto in id M. Ciceronis sale- omnibus enim ostentabant ut magnificum: multo, inquit, magis mirarer , si Tiburtino lapide fecissetis. et, Hercules, non fuisset picturis honos ullus, non modo tantus, aliqua marmorum auctoritate.

V. So much for the sculptors in marble and the artists who have achieved the greatest fame. In discussing this subject, however, I am reminded that in those times no value was attached to marble of the Cyclades, sculptors worked in that of Thasos, which rivals it, and of Lesbos, which has a slightly more bluish tinge. Markings of various colours and decorations of marble in general are first mentioned by that most accurate exponent of the details of high living, Menander, and even he rarely alludes to them. Marble columns were certainly used in temples, not however, as an embellishment, since embellishments as such were not appreciated, but merely because there was no way of erecting stronger columns. Thus they are a feature of the unfinished temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, from which Sulla brought columns to be used for temples on the Capitol. However, ordinary stone and marble

were distinguished already in Homer, for he speaks of a man being struck by a piece of marble; but this is as far as he goes. He decorates even in royal palaces, however, sumptuously, only with ivory, apart from metals - bronze, gold, electrum and silver. In my opinion, the first specimens of our favourite marbles with their parti-coloured markings appeared from the quarries of Chios when the people of that island were building their walls. Hence the witty remark to them was 'I should be more amazed if you had made it of stone from Tibur'. And, heaven knows, painting would no have been valued at all, let alone so highly, had marbles enjoyed any considerable prestige.

[T115] 36.vi.47 [77 or 78 CE]

VI. Secandi in crustas nescio an Cariae fuerit inventum. antiquissima, quod equidem inveniam, Halicarnasi domus Mausoli Proconnesio marmore exculta est latericiis parietibus. is obiit olympiadis CVII anno secundo, urbis Romae CDIII.

VI. The art of cutting marble into thin slabs may possibly have been invented in Caria. The earliest instance, so far as I can discover, is that of the palace of Mausolus at Halicarnassus, the brick walls of which were decorated with marble from the island of Marmara. He died in the second year of the 107th Olympiad and in the 403rd year after the founding of Rome.

[T116] 36.xi.57 [77 or 78 CE]

ex eodem candidis intervenientibus punctis leptopsephos vocatur. quantislibet molibus caedendis sufficiunt lapidinae. statuas ex eo Claudio Caesari procurator eius in urbem ex Aegypto advexit Vitrasius Pollio, non admodum probata novitate; nemo certe postea imitatus est.

The quarries supply masses of any size to be cut away. Statues of this stone were brought from Egypt to the emperor Claudius in Rome by his official agent Vitrasius Pollio, an innovation that did not meet with much approval. No one at least has since followed his example.

[T117a] 36.xxiii.99 [77 or 78 CE]

Eodem in oppido est lapis fugitivus appelatus; Argonautae eum pro ancora usi reliquerant ibi. hunc e prytaneo- ita vocatur locus- saepe profugum vinxere plumbo. eadem in urbe iuxta portam quae Thracia vocatur turres septem acceptas voces numeroso repercussu multiplicant. nomen huic miraculo Echo est a Graecis datum.

In the same city [Cyzicus] is the so-called Runaway Stone, which the Argonauts used as an anchor and left there. This has frequently strayed from the President's House (this being the name of the place where it is kept), and so it has been fastened with lead. In this city too, close to the so-called Thracian Gate, there are seven towers that repeat with numerous reverberations any sounds that strike upon them. The Greek term for this remarkable phenomenon is 'Echo'.

[T117b] 36.xxiv.101 [77 or 78 CE]

Verum et ad urbis nostrae miracula transire conveniat DCCCque annorum dociles serutari vires et sic quoque terrarum orbem victum ostendere. quod accidisse totiens paene, quot referentur miracula, apparebit; universitate vero acervata et in quendam unum cumulum coiecta non alia magnitudo exurget quam so mundus alius quidam in uno loco narretur.

But this is indeed the moment for us to pass on to the wonders of our own city, to review the resources derived from the experiences of 800 years, and to show that here too in our buildings we have vanquished the world; and the frequency of this occurrence will be proved to mach within a little the number of marvels that we shall describe. If we imagine the whole agglomeration of our buildings massed together and placed on one great heap, we shall see such grandeur towering above us as to make us think that some other world were being described, all concentrated in one single place.

[T118] 36.xxiv.111 [77 or 78 CE]

Sed omnes eas duae domus vicerunt. bis vidimus urbem totam cingi domibus principum Gai et Neronis, huius quidem, ne quid deeddet, aurea. nimirum sic habitaverant illi qui hoc imperium fecere tantum, ad devincendas gentes triumphosque referendos ab aratro aut foco exeuntes, quorum agri quoque minorem modum optinuere quam sellaria istorum!

However, all these houses were surpassed by two. Twice have we seen the whole city girdled by imperial palaces, those of Gaius and Nero, the latter's palace, to crown all, being indeed a House of Gold. Such, doubtless, were the dwellings of those who made this empire great, who went straight from plough or hearth to conquer nations and win triumphs, whose very lands occupied a smaller space than those emperors' sitting-rooms!

[T119] 36.xxiv.115 [77 or 78 CE]

signa aerea inter columnas, ut indicavimus, fuerunt III numero; cavea ipsa cepit hominum LXXX, cum Pompeiani theatri totiens multiplicata urbe tantoque maiore populo sufficiat large XXXX sedere. relicus apparatus tantus Attalica veste, tabulis pictis, cetero choragio fuit ut, in Tusculanam villam reportatis quae superfluebant cotidiani usus deliciis, incensa villa ab iratis servis concremaretur HS CCC.

The bronze statues in the spaces between the columns numbered 3000, as I mentioned earlier. As for the auditorium, it accommodated 80,000; and yet that of Pompey's theatre amply meets all requirements with seats for 40,000 even though the city is so many times larger and the population so much more numerous than it was at that time. The rest of the equipment, with dresses of cloth of gold, scene paintings and other properties was on so lavish a scale that when the surplus knick-knacks that could be put to ordinary use were taken to Scaurus' villa at Tusculum and the villa itself set on fire and burnt down by the indignant servants, the loss was estimated at 30,000,000 sesterces.

[T120] 36.lxvi.195 [77 or 78 CE]

ferunt Tiberio principe excogitato vitri temperamento, ut flexile esset, totam officinam artificis eius abolitam ne aeris, argenti, auri metallis pretia detraherentur, eaque fama crebrior diu quam certior fuit. sed quid refert, Neronis principatu reperta vitri arte quae modicos calices duos quos appellabant petrotos HS VI venderet?

There is a story that in the reign of Tiberius there was invented a method of blending glass so as to render it flexible. The artist's workshop was completely destroyed for fear that the value of metals such as copper, silver and gold would otherwise be lowered. Such is the

story, which however, has for a long period been current through frequent repetition rather than authentic. But this is of little consequence, seeing that in Nero's principate there was discovered a technique of glass-making that resulted in two quite small cups of the kind then known as 'petroti' or 'stoneware' fetching a sum of 6000 sesterces.

[T121] 36.lxvii.196-197 [77 or 78 CE]

LXVII. In genere vitri et obsiana numerantur ad similitudinem lapidis quem in Aethiopia invenit Obsius, nigerrimi coloris, aliquando et tralucidi, crassiore visu atque in speculis parietum pro imagine umbras reddente. gemmas multi ex eo faciunt; vidimus et solidas imagines divi Augusti capaci materia huius crassitudinis, dicavitque ipse pro miraculo in templo Concordiae obsianos IIII elephantos. remisit et Tiberius Caesar Heliopolitarum caerimoniis repertam in hereditate Sei eius qui praefuerat Aegypto obsianam imaginem Menelai, ex qua apparet antiquior materiae origo, nunc vitri similitudine interpolata. Xenocrates obsianum lapidem in India et in Samnio Italiae et ad oceanum in Hispania tradit nasci.

LXVII. In our classification of glass we include also 'obsian' ware, so named from its resemblance to the stone found by Obsius in Ethiopia. This stone is very dark in colour and sometimes translucent, but has a cloudier appearance than glass, so that when it is used for mirror attached to walls it reflects shadows rather than images. Gems are frequently made of it, and we have been also the solid obsidian statues of Augustus of Revered Memory, for the substance can yield pieces bulky enough for this purpose. Augustus himself dedicated as a curiosity four elephants of obsidian in the temple of Concord, while the Emperor Tiberius for his part restored to the cult of the Sun-god at Heliopolis an obsidian statue of Menelaus which he found included in a legacy from one Seius, who had been governor of Egypt. This statue proves that the origin of the stone, which is nowadays misrepresented because of its similarity to the glass, is of an earlier date. Xenocrates records that obsidian is found in India, in Italy within the territory of the Samnites and in Spain near the shores of the Atlantic.

[T122-123] 37.i.2-4 [77 or 78 CE]

Quae fuerit origo et a quibus initiis in tantum admiratio haec exarserit, diximus quadamtenus in mentione auri anulorumque. fabulae primordium a rupe Caucasi tradunt, Promethei vinculorum interpretatione fatali, primumque saxi eius fragmentum inclusum ferro ac digito circumdatum: hoc fuisse anulum et hoc gemmam. II. His initiis coepit auctoritas in tantum amorem elata ut Polycrati Samio, insularum ac litorum tyranno, felicitatis suae, quam nimiam fatebatur etiam ipse qui felix erat, satis piamenti in unius gemmae voluntario damno videretur, si cum Fortunae volubilitate paria fecisset, planeque ab invidia eius abunde se redimi putaret, si hoc unum doluisset, adsiduo gaudio lassus. ergo provectus navigio in altum anulum mersit. at illum piscis, eximia magnitudine regi natus, escae vice raptum, ut faceret ostentum, in culina domino rursus Fortunae insidiantis manu reddidit. sardonychemeam gemmamfuisse constat, ostenduntque Romae, si credimus, in Concordiae delubro cornu aureo Augustae dono inclusam et novissimum prope locum praelatis multis optinentem.

The origin of the use of gemstones and the beginning of our present enthusiasm for them, which has blazed into so violent a passion, I have already discussed to some extent in my references to gold and to rings. According to the myths, which offer a pernicious misinterpretation of Prometheus' fetters, the wearing of rings originated on the crags of the Caucasus. It was of this rock that a fragment was for the first time enclosed in an iron bezel and placed on a finger; and this, we are told, was the first ring, and this the first gemstone. II. Hence arose the esteem in which gemstones are held; and this soared into such a passion that to Polycrates of Samos, the overlord of islands and coasts, the voluntary sacrifice of a single gemstone seems a sufficient atonement for his prosperity, which even he himself, the happy recipient, owned to be expensive. Thereby he hoped to settle his account with the fickleness of Fortune. Clearly he supposed that he would be fully indemnified against her ill-will if he, who was weary of unremitting happiness, suffered this one unhappy experience. Accordingly, he put out in a boat and threw the ring into deep water. The ring, however, was seized as bait by a huge fish, fit for a king, which restored the ring as an evil omen to its owner in his own kitchen, thanks to Fortune's treacherous intervention. The gem, it is agreed, was a sardonyx and is displayed in Rome (if we can believe that this is the original stone) in the temple of Concord, set in a golden horn. It was presented by the empress and is ranked almost last in a collection containing many gems that are valued more highly.

[T124] 37.v.11 [77 or 78 CE]

Gemmas plures primus omnium Romae habuit- quod peregrino appellant nomine dactyliothecam- privignus Sullae Scaurus, diuque nulla alia fuit, donec Pompeius Magnus eam quae Mithridatis regis fuerat inter dona in Capitolio dicaret, ut Varro aliique aetatis eius auctores confirmant, multum praelata Scauri. hoc exemplo Caesar dictator sex dactyliothecas in aede Veneris Genetricis consecravit, Marcellus Octavis genitus unam in aede Palatini Apollinis.

The first Roman to own a collection of gemstones (for which we normally use the foreign term 'dactyliotheca', or 'ring cabinet') was Sulla's stepson Scaurus. For many years there was no other until Pompey the Great dedicated in the Capitol among his other offerings a ring cabinet that had belonged to King Mithridates. This, as Varro and other authorities of the period confirm, was far inferior to that of Scaurus. Pompey's example was followed by Julius Caesar, who during his dictatorship consecrated six cabinets of gems in the temple of Venus Genetrix, and by Marcellus, Octavia's son, who dedicated one in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine.

[T125] 37. vi.12-17 [77 or 78 CE]

VI. Victoria tamen illa Pompei primum ad margaritas gemmasque mores inclinavit, sicut L. Scipionis et Cn. Manli ad caelatum argentum et vestes Attalicas et triclinia aerata, sicut L. Mummi ad Corinthia et tabulas pietas. id uti planius noscatur, verba ex ipsis Pompei triumphorum actis subiciam. ergo tertio triumpho, quem de piratis, Asia, Ponto gentibusque et regibus in VII columine operis huius indicatis M. Piscone M. Messala cos. pr. k. Octobres natali suo egit, transtulit alveum cum tesseris lusorium e gemmis duabus latum pedes tres, longum pedes quattuor - ne quis effetas res dubitet nulla gemmarum magnitudine hodie prope ad hanc amplitudinem accedente, in eo fuit luna aurea pondo XXX - lectos tricliniares <aureos> tres, vasa ex auro et gemmis abacorum novem, signa aurea tria Minervae, Maris, Apollinis, coronas ex margaritis XXXIII, montem aureum quadratum cum cervis et leonibus et pomis omnis generis circumdatavite aurea, musaeum ex margaritis, in cuius fastigio horologium. eart et imago Cn. Pompei e margaritis, illa relicino honore grata, illius probi oris venerandiqueper cunctas gentes, illa, inquam, ex margaritis, illa, severitate victa et veriore luxuriae triumpho! numquam profecto inter illos viros durasset cognomen Magni, si

prima victoria sic triumphasset! e margaritis, Magne, tam prodiga re et feminis reperta, quas gererete fas non sit, fieri tuos voltus? sic te pretiosum videri? non ergo illa tua similiorest imago quam Pyrenaei iugis inposuisti? grave profecto, foedum probrum erat, ni verius saevum urae deorum ostentum id credi oporteret clareque intellegi posset iam tum illud caput orietnis opibus sine reliquo corpore ostentatum. cetera triumphi eius quam virilia! HS MM r. p. data, legatis et quaestoribus qui oras maris defendissent HS M, militibus singulis HS sena milia. tolerabiliorem tamen causam fecit C. principis, qui super cetera muliebria soccos induebat e margaritis, aut Neronis principis, qui sceptra et personas et cubilia viatoria unionibus coonstruebat. quin immo etiam ius videmur perdidisse corripiendi gemmata potoria et varia supellectilis genera, anulos translucentes. quae enim non luxuria innocentior existimari possit?

VI. However, it was this victory of Pompey over Mithridates that made fashion veer to pearls and gemstones. The victories of Lucius Scipio and of Cnaeus Manlius had done the same for chased silver, garments of cloth of gold and dining couches inlaid with bronze; and that of Mummius for Corinthian bronzes and fine paintings. To make my point clearer, I shall append statements taken directly from official records of Pompey's triumphs. Thus, Pompey's third triumph was held on his own birthday, September 29th of the year in which Marcus Piso and Marcus Messala were consuls, to celebrate his conquest of the pirates, Asia, Pontus and all the peoples and kings mentioned in the seventh volume of this work. In this triumph, then, there was carried in the procession a gaming-board complete with a set of pieces, the board being made of two precious minerals and measuring three feet broad and four feet long. And in case anyone should doubt that our natural resources have become exhausted seeing that today no gems even approach such a size, three rested on this board a golden moon weighing 30 pounds. There were also displayed three gold dining couches; enough gold vessels inlaid with gems to fill nine display stands; three gold figures of Minerva, Mars and Apollo respectively; thirty three pearl crowns: a square mountain of gold with deer, lions and every variety of fruit on it and a golden vine entwined around it; and a grotto of pearls, on the top of which there was a sundial. Furthermore, there was Pompey's portrait rendered in pearls, that portrait so pleasing with the handsome growth of hair swept back from the forehead, the portrait of that noble head revered throughout the world- that portrait, I say, the portrait was rendered in pearls. Here it was austerity that was defeated and extravagance that more truly celebrated its triumph. Never, I think, would his surname 'the Great' have survived among the stalwarts of that age had he celebrated his first triumph

in this fashion! To think that it is of pearls, Great Pompey, those wasteful things meant only for women, of pearls, which you yourself cannot and must not wear, that your portrait is made! To think that this is how you make yourself seem valuable! Is not then the trophy that you placed upon the summit of the Pyrenees a better likeness of yourself? This, to be sure, would have been a gross and foul disgrace were it not rather to be deemed a cruel omen of Heaven's wrath. That head, so ominously manifested without its body in oriental splendour, bore a meaning which even then could not be mistaken. But as for the rest of that triumph, how worthy it was of a good man and true! 200,000,000 sesterces were given to the State, 100,000,000 to the commanders and quaestors who had guarded the coasts and 6,000 to each soldier. However, he merely made it easier for us to excuse the conduct of the Emperor Gaius when, apart from other effeminate articles of clothing, he wore slippers sewn with pearls, or that of the Emperor Nero, when he had sceptres, actors' masks and travelling couches adorned with pearls. Why, we seem to have lost even the right to criticise cups and other pieces of household equipment inlaid with gems, or again, rings with stones set in open bezels. For compared with Pompey's, there is no extravagance that can be considered to have been so harmful.

[T126] 37.vii.18-20 [77 or 78 CE]

VII. Eadem victoria primum in urbem myrrhina invexit, primusque Pomeius capides et pocula ex eo triumpho Capitolino Iovi dicavit. quae protinus ad hominum usum transiere, abacis etiam escariisque vasis expetitis; et crescit in dies eius luxuria. myrrhino LXX HS empto, capaci plane ad sextarios tres calice, potavit ... anus consularis, ob amorem adroso margine eius, ut tamen iniuria illa pretium augeret; neque est hodie myrrhini alterius praestantior indicatura. idem in reliquis generis eius quanum voraverit, licet aestimare ex multitudine, quae tanta fuit ut auferente liberis eius Nerone exposita occuparent theatrum peculiare trans Tiberim in hortis, quod a populo impleri canente se, dum Pompeiano proludit, etiam Neroni satis erat. vidi tunc adnumerari unius scyphi fracti membra, quae in dolorem, credo, saeculi, invidiamque Fortunae tamquam Alexandri Magni corpus in conditorio servari, ut ostentarentur, placebat. T. Petronius consularis moriturus invidia Neronis, ut mensam eius exheredaret, trullam myrrhinam HS CCC emptam fregit; sed Nero, ut par erat principem, vicit omnes HS X capidem unam parando. memoranda res tanti imperatorem patremque patriae bibisse!

VII. It was the same victory that brought myrrhine ware for the first time to Rome. Pompey was the first to dedicate myrrhine bowls and cups, which he set aside from the spoils of his triumphs for Jupiter of the Capitol. Such vessels immediately passed into ordinary use, and there was a demand even for display stands and tableware. Lavish expenditure on this fashion is increasing every day..., an ex-consul, drank from a myrrhine cup for which he had given 70,000 sesterces, although it held just three pints. He was so fond of it that he would gnaw its rim; and yet the damage he thus caused only enhanced its value, and there was no other piece of myrrhine ware even today that has a higher price set upon it. The amount of money squandered by this same man upon the articles of this material in his possession can be gauged from their number, which was so great, that, when Nero took them away from the man's children and displayed them, they filled the private theatre in his gardens across the Tiber, a theatre which was large enough to satisfy even Nero's desire to sing before a full house at the time when he was rehearsing for his appearance in Pompey's theatre. It was at this time that I saw the pieces of a single broken cup included in the exhibition. It was decided that these, like the body of Alexander, should be preserved in a kind of catafalque for display, presumably as a sign of the sorrows of the age and the ill-will of Fortune. When the ex-consul Titus Petronius was facing death, he broke, to spite Nero, a myrrhine dipper that had cost him 300,000 sesterces, thereby depriving the Emperor's dining-room table of this legacy. Nero, however, as was proper for an emperor outbid everyone by paying 1,000,000 sesterces for a single bowl. That one who was acclaimed as a victorious general and as Father of his Country should have paid so much in order to drink is a detail that we must formally record.

[T127] 37.x.27 [77 or 78 CE]

Magnitudo amplissima adhuc visa nobis erat quam in Capitolio Livia Augusti dicaverat, librarum circiter CL. Xenocrates idem auctor est vas amphorale visum, et aliquiex India sextariorum quattuor. nos liquido adfirmare possumus in cautibus Alpium nasci adeo inviis plerumque ut fune pendentes eam extrahant.

The largest mass of rock-crystal ever seen by us is that which was dedicated in the Capitol by Livia, the wife of Augustus: this weighs about 150 pounds. Xenocrates, just mentioned, records that he saw a vessel that could hold six gallons, and some authors mention one from India with a capacity of 4 pints. What I myself can unequivocally affirm is that among the

rocks of the Alps it generally forms in such inaccessible places that it has to be removed by men suspended from ropes.

[T128] 37.x.29 [77 or 78 CE]

alius et in his furor, HS centum quinquaginta milibus trullam unam non ante multos annos mercata matre familias nec divite. Nero amissarum rerum nuntio accepto duos calices crystallinos in suprema ira fregit inlisos. haec fuit ultio saeculum suum punientis, ne quis alius iis biberet. fragmenta sarciri nullo modo queunt. mire his ad similitudinem accessere vitrea, sed prodigii modo, ut suum pretium auxerint, crystalli non deminuerint.

Rock-crystal provides yet another instance of a crazy addiction, for not many years ago a respectable married woman, who was by no means rich, paid 150,000 sesterces for a single dipper. Nero, on receding a message that all was lost, broke two crystal cups in a final outburst of rage by dashing them to the ground. This was the vengeance of one who wished to punish his whole generation, to make it impossible for any other man to drink from these cups. Once it has been broken, rock-crystal cannot be mended by any method whatsoever. Glass-ware has now come to resemble rock-crystal in a remarkable manner, but the effect has been to flout the laws of Nature and actually to increase the value of the former without diminishing that of the latter.

[T129] 37.xi.31 [77 or 78 CE]

Occasio est vanitatis Graecorum detegendae: legentes modo aequo perpetiantur animo, cum hoc quoque intersit vitae scire, non quidquid illi prodidere mirandum. Phaëthontis fulmine icti sorores luctu mutatas in arbores populos lacrimis electrum omnibus annis fundere iuxta Eridanum amnem, quem Padum vocavimus , electrum appellatum, quoniam sol vocitatus sit Elector, plurimi poëtae dixere primique, ut arbitror, Aeschylus, Philoxenus, Euripides, Nicander, Satyrus. quod esse falsum Italiae testimonio patet.

Here is an opportunity for exposing the falsehoods of the Greeks. I only ask my readers to endure these with patience since it is important for mankind just to know that not all that the Greeks have recounted deserves to be admired. The story how, when Phaethon was struck by the thunderbolt, his sisters through their grief were transformed into poplar trees, and how

every year by the banks of the river Eridanus, which we call the Po, they shed tears of amber, known to the Greeks as 'electrum', since they call the sun 'Elector' or the 'Shining one'- this story has been told by numerous poets, the first of whom, I believe were Aeschylus, Philoxenus, Euripides, Nicander and Satyrus. Italy provides clear evidence that his story is false.

[T130] 37.xi.40-41 [77 or 78 CE]

Xenocrates non sucinum tantum in Italia, sed et thium vocari, a Scythis vero sacrium, quoniam et ibi nascatur; alios putare in Numidia ex limo gigni. super omnes est Sophocles poeta tragicus, quod equidem miror, cum tanta gravitas ei cothurni sit, praeterea vitae famaalilas principi loco genito Athenis et rebus gestis et exercitu ducto. hic ultra Indiam fieri dixit e lacrimis meleagridum avium Meleagrum deflentium. quod credidisse eum aut sperasse aliis persuaderi posse quis non miretur? quamve pueritiam tam inperitam posse reperiri, quae avium ploratus annuos credat lacrimasve tam grandes avesve, quae a Graecia, ubi Meleager periit, ploratum adierint Indos? quid ergo? non multa aeque fabulosa produnt poetae? sed hoc in ea re, quae cotidie invehatur atque abundet ac mendacium coarguat, serio quemquam dixisse summa hominum contemptio est et intoleranda mendaciorum inpunitas.

Xenocrates asserts that amber in Italy is known not only as 'sucinum', but also as 'thium'; and in Scythia as 'sacrium', for there too it is found. He states that others suppose that it is produced from mud in Numidia. But all these authors are surpassed by the tragic poet Sophocles, and this greatly surprises me seeing that his tragedy is so serious and, moreover, his personal reputation in general stands so high, thanks to his noble Athenian lineage, his public achievements and his leadership of an army. Sophocles tells us how amber is formed in the lands beyond India from the tears shed for Meleager by the birds known as Meleager's Daughters. Is it not amazing that he should have held this belief of have hoped to persuade others to accept it? Can one imagine, one wonders, a mind so childish and naive as to believe in birds that weep every year or that shed such large tears or that once migrated from Greece, where Meleager died, to the Indies to mourn for him? Well then, are there not many other equally fabulous stories told by the poets? Yes; but that anyone should seriously tell such a story regarding such a substance as this, a substance that every other day of our lives

is imported and floods the market and so confutes the liar, is a gross insult to man's intelligence and an insufferable abuse of our freedom to utter falsehoods.

[T131] 37.xii.49 [77 or 78 CE]

taxatio in deliciis tanta ut hominis quamvis parva effigies vivorum hominum vigentium - que pretia exsuperet, prorsus ut castigatio una non sit satis. in Corinthiis aes placet argento auroque mixtum, in caelatis ars et ingenia; myrrhinorum et crystallinorum diximus gratiam; uniones capite circumferuntur, gemmae digitis; in omnibus denique aliis vitiis aut ostentatio aut usus placet: in sucinis sola deliciarum conscientia.

Its (amber) rating among luxuries is so high that a human figurine, however small, is more expensive than a number of human beings, alive and in good health; and as a result it is quite impossible for a single rebuke to suffice. In the case of Corinthian bronzes, we are attracted by the appearance of the bronze, which is alloyed with gold and silver; and in the case of chased metalwork, by artistry and inventiveness. Vessels of fluor-spar and rock-crystal have beauties which we have already described. Pearls can be carried about on the head, and gems on the finger. In short, every other substance for which we have a weakness pleases us because it lends itself either to display or to practical use, whereas amber gives us only the private satisfaction of knowing that it is a luxury.

[T132] 37. xxi.81-82 [77 or 78 CE]

alii summam fulgoris Armenio colori pigmentorum aequari credunt, alii sulpuris ardentis flammae aut ignis oleo accensi. magnitudo abellanam nucem aequat. insignit etiam apud nos historia, siquidem exstat hodieque huius generis gemma, propter quam ab Antonio proscriptus est Nonius senator, filius Strumae Noni eius, quem Catullus poeta in sella curuli visum indigne tulit, avusque Servili Noviani, quem consulem vidimus. ille proscriptus fugiens hunc e fortunis omnibus anulum abstulit secum. certum est sestertio vicies tum aestimatum, sed mira Antoni feritas atque luxuria propter gemmam proscribentis, nec minus Novi contumacia proscriptionem suam amantis, cum etiam ferae abrosa parte corporis, propter quam periclitari se sciant, et relicta redimere se credantur.

For some people the vivid colours resemble in their general effect the pigment known as azurite; for others, the flames from burning sulphur or from a fire that has been kindled with olive oil. The size of the stone is that of hazel nut. Even among us history makes it famous, since there still exists even today a precious stone of this variety which caused Antony to outlaw a senator, Novius, the son of the Novius Struma who made the poet Catullus so indignant when he saw him seated in the magistrate's chair, and the grandfather of Servilius Novianus, who was consul in my time. This Novius, when outlawed, fled, taking with him this ring alone of all his many possessions. There is no doubt that at that time the value of the ring was 2,000,000 sesterces; but now amazing was Antony's savagery and extravagant caprice in outlawing a man for the sake of a gemstone, and, equally, how extraordinary was the obstinacy of Novius in clinging to his 'doom', when even wild creatures are believed to buy their safety by biting off the member which, as they know endangers their lives, and leaving it behind for their pursuers!

[T133] 37.lxxiv. 195 [77 or 78 CE]

et alias omnes gemmae mellis decoctu nitescunt, praecipue Corsici in omni alio usu acrimonia abhorrentis. quae variae sunt, et ad novitatem excidere calliditati ingeniorum contingit, utque eaedem nomen usitatum non habeant, physis appellant velut ipsius naturae admirationem in iis venditantes.

Cum finis nominum non sit - quae persequi non equidem cogito, innumera ex Graeca vanitate- indicatis nobilimus gemmis, immo vero etiam plebeis, rariorum genera digna dictu distinxisse satis erit. illud modo meminisse conveniet, increscentibus varie maculis atque verrucis linearumque interveniente multiplici ductu et colore saepius mutari nomina in eadem plerumque materia.

In general, all gems are rendered more colourful by being boiled thoroughly in honey, particularly if it is Corsican honey, which is unsuitable for any other purpose owing to its acidity. Cunning and talented artists succeed also in cutting away parts of variegated stones so as to obtain novelties;[3] and in order that these selfsame stones may not bear their usual name, they call them 'physis', or 'works of nature', and offer them for sale as natural curiosities.

But there is no end to the names given to precious stones, and I have no intention of listing them in full, innumerable as they are, thanks to the wanton imagination of the Greeks. Now

that I have mentioned the precious stones, and also some, indeed, that are common, I must be content with having given emphasis to the rarer varieties that deserve notice. One point only should be remembered, that, according to the different marks and excrescences that appear on the surface of stones, and according to the varied tracks and colours of the bands that traverse them, names are often altered when the material is commonly the same.

[T134] 37.lxxviii.204-5 [77 or 78 CE]

Rerum autem ipsarum maximum est pretium in mari nascentium margaritis; extra tellurem crystallis, intra adamanti, smaragdis, gemmis, myrrinis; e terra vero exeuntibus in cocco, lasere, in fronde nardo, Sericis vestibus, in arbore citro, in frutice cinnamo, casia, amomo, arboris aut fruticis suco in sucino, opobalsamo, murra, ture, in radicibus costo; ex iis quae spirare convenit animalibus in terra maximum dentibus elephantorum, in mari testudinum cortici; in tergore pellibus quas Seres inficiunt, et Arabiae caprarum villo quod ladanum vocavimus; ex iis, quae terrena et maris, conchyliis, purpurae. volucrum naturae praeter conos bellicos et Commagenum anserum adipem nullum adnotatur insigne. non praetereundum est auro, circa quod omnes mortales insaniunt, decumum vix esse in pretio locum, argento vero, quo aurum emitur, paene vicensimum.

Salve, parens rerum omnium Natura, teque nobis Quiritium solis celebratam esse numeris omnibus tuis fave.

However, to return to products pure and simple, the most costly product of the sea is the pearl; of the earth surface rock-crystal; of the earth's interior, diamonds, emeralds, gemstones and vessels of fluor-spar; of the earth's increase, the scarlet kermes-insectand silphium, with spikenard and silks from leaves, citrus wood from trees, cinnamon, cassia and amomum from shrubs, amber, balsam, myrrh and frankincense, which exude from trees or shrubs, and costus from roots. As for those animals which are equipped to breathe, the most costly product found on land is the elephant's tusk, and on sea the turtle's shell. Of the hides and coats of animals, the most costly are the pelts dyed in China and the Arabian she-goat's tufted beard which we call 'ladanum'. Of creatures that belong to both land and sea, the most costly products are scarlet and purple dyes made from shell-fish. Birds are credited with no outstanding contribution except warriors' plumes and the grease of the Commagene goose. We must not forget to mention that gold, for which all mankind has so mad a

passion, comes scarcely tenth in the list of valuables, while silver, with which we purchase gold, is almost as low as twentieth.

Hail, Nature, mother of all creations, and mindful that I alone of the men of Rome have praised thee in all thy manifestations, be gracious unto me.

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[1] With regard to this story: (i) there was no auction of pictures; Mummius took to Rome the most valuable and handed over the rest to Philopoemen. (ii) Attalus was not present at Corinth (where this scene occurred). When the Roman soldiers were using the pictures as dice-boards; Philopoemen offered Mummius 100 talents if he should assign Aristides' picture to Attalus' share (Paus. VII,16, 1; 8; Strabo VIII, 4. 23 = 381).

[2] The temples were built by Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus after his triumph in 146 BCE.

[3] This may refer to the practice of removing the top layer of an onyx so as to obtain a nicolo.

The texts and the translations that follow are from the Loeb CL, *Martial Epigrams,* with an English translation by Walter C. A. Ker, London and Cambridge Mass., 1919 (two volumes), and from Loeb CL, *Martial Epigrams*, trans. by D. R. Shackleton-Bailey, 1993 (three volumes). The arrangement of the epigrams follows the 1993 edition.

Epigrams

[T135] I.102 12/6/98 [86 CE]

Qui pinxit Venerem tuam, Lycori,
blanditus, puto, pictor est Minervae.

Methinks the painter who painted your Venus, Lycoris, flattered Minerva.[1]

[T136] [II.14] [86 CE]

NIL intemptatum Selius, nil linqit in ausum,
cenandum quotiens iam videt esse domi.
currit ad Europen et te, Pauline, tuosque
laudat Achilleos, sed sine fine, pedes.
si nihil Europe fecit, tunc Saepta petuntur,
si quid Phillyrides praestet et Aesonides.
hic quoque deceptus Memphitica templa frequentat,
adsidet et cathedris, maesta iuvenca, tuis.
inde petit centum pendentia tecta columnis,
illinc Pompei dona memusque duplex.
nec Fortunati spernit nec balnea Fausti
nec Grylli tenebras aeoliamque Lupi:
nam thermis iterum ternis iterumque lavatur.
omnia cum fecit, sed renuente deo,
lotus ad Europes tepidae buxeta recurrit,
si quis ibi serum carpat amicus iter.
per te perque tuam, vector lascive, puellam,
ad cenam Selium tu, rogo, taure, voca.

Nothing Selius leaves untried, nothing unadventured, as often as he perceives at last that he must dine at home. He scurries to Europa's Portico[2] and pours forth praise - and interminable praise - of you, Paulinus, and of your feet that vie with Achilles. If Europa has produced nothing, then he makes for the Saepta, to see if the son of Philyras and the son of Aeson will guarantee him anything. Baffled in this quarter, too, he haunts the temple of Isis, and takes his seat beside the chairs, sad heifer, or thy worshippers. Thence he seeks the roof poised on a hundred columns; from there Pompey's gift with its double groves. Neither of Fortunatus nor of Faustus does he spurn the bath, nor gryllus' gloom and Lupus' cave of winds; as to the three hot baths he bathes again and again. When he has done everything - the god still refusing his wishes - after his bath he runs again to the box-groves of sun-warmed Europa, in hope that there some friend may be walking late. Wanton carrier, I pray thee by thyself and by thy virgin freight, do thou, O bull, ask, Selius to dinner. (Ker, 1919).

Selius leaves nothing untried, nothing unventured, whenever he sees that he has to dine at home. He runs to Europa and praises you, Paulinus, and your feet fast as Achilles' - interminably. If Europa does nothing, he heads for the Enclosure to see whether the son of Phillyra and the son of Aeson will furnish anything. Disappointed here too, he goes and hangs around the goddess of Memphis' temple and seats himself beside your chairs, sorrowful heifer. Thence he seeks the roof supported by a hundred columns, and form there the gift of Pompey and the double wood. Nor does he scorn the baths of Fortunatus nor those of Faustus nor yet the gloom of Gryllus and Lupus' Aeolian cavern. As for the three hot baths, he uses them and again. When he has tried everything but the god refuses, he runs after his ablutions back to the box shrubbery of sunwarmed Europa, in case a friend may be taking his way there late. Wanton mount, I beg you in your own name and your girl's, o bull, *you* invite Selius to dinner. (S-B, 1993).

[T137] II. 43 [86 CE]

Κοινὰ φίλων haec sunt, haec sunt tua, Candide, koina,
quae tu magnilocus nocte dieque sonas?
te Lacedaemonio velat toga lota Galaeso
vel quam seposito de grege Parma dedit:
at me, quae passa est furias et cornua tauri,

noluerit dici quam pila prima suam.
misit Agenoras Cadmi tibi terra lacernas:
non vendes nummis coccina nostra tribus.
tu Libycos Indis suspendis dentibus orbis:
fulcitur testa fagina mensa mihi.
inmodici tibi flava tegunt chrysendeta mulli:
concolor in nostra, cammare, lance rubes.
grex tuus Iliaco poterat certare cinaedo:
at mihi succurit pro Ganymede manus.
ex opidus tantis veteri fidoque sodali
das nihil et dicis, Candide, κοινὰ φίλων?

'Friends have all in common.' Is this, is this, Candidus, that 'all in common' which you night and day mouth pompously? A toga dipt in Lacedaemonian Galaesus enwraps you, or one which Parma has supplied you out of a choice flock; as for mine, it is one which has suffered the fury and horns of a bull, one which the first straw-dummy would refuse to have called its own. The land of Cadmus has sent you Tyrian mantles; my scarlet one you could not sell for sixpence. You poise round Libyan table-tops on legs of Indian ivory; my beechen table is propped on a tile. Mullets of huge size cover your yellow gold-inlaid dishes; thou, O crab, matching its hue, dost blush upon my plate. Your train of slaves might have vied with the cup-bearer from Ilium; but my own hand is Ganymede to serve me. Out of such wealth to your old and dusty comrade do you give nothing, and then say, Candidus, 'Friends have all in common'? (Ker, 1919).

'Friends must share'. Is *this*, is *this* your sharing, Candidus, that you boom about so grandly night and day? A gown washed in Lacedaemonian Galaesus covers you, or one that Parma furnished from a special flock. As for mine, dummy number one that has suffered the horns of a raging bull wouldn't care to be called is owner. The land of Cadmus has sent you an Agenorian cloak; you won't sell my scarlet for three sesterces. You balance Libyan tabletops on Indian tusks; my beachwood board is propped up with earthenware. For you outside mullets cover yellow dishes gold-inlaid; a crab blushes on my plate, red like himself. Your waters could vie with the Ilian catamite; but my hand comes to *my* assistance in lieu of Ganymede. Out of so much wealth you give nothing to your faithful old crony and you say 'friends must share', Candidus? (S-B, 1993).

[T138] II.53 [86 CE]

VIS liber fieri? mentris, Maxime, non vis:
sed fieri si vis, hac ratione potes.
liber eris, cenae foris si, Maxime, nolis,
Veientana tuam si domat una sitim,
si ridere potes miseri chrusendeta Cinnae,
contentus nostra si potes esse toga,
si plebeia Venus gemino tibi iungitui asse,
si tua non rectus tecta subire potes.
haec tibi si vis est, si mentis tanta potestas,
liberior Partho vivere rege potes.

Do you wish to become free? You lie, Maximus; you don't wish. But if you do wish, in this way you can become so. You will be free, Maximus, if you refuse to dine abroad, if Veii's grape quells your thirst, if you can laugh at the gold-inlaid dishes of the wretched Cinna, if you can content yourself with a toga such as mine, if your Plebeian amours are handfasted at the price of two pence, if you can endure to stoop as you enter your dwelling. If this is your strength of mind, if such its the power over itself, you can live more free than a Parthian king.

[T139] III. 62 [87 CE]

CENTENIS quod emis pueros et saepae ducenis,
quod sub Numa condita vina bibis,
quod costat decies tibi non spatiosa supellex,
libra quod argenti milia quinque rapit, aurea quod fundi pretio carruca paratur, quod pluris mula est quam domus tibi:
haec animo credis magno te , Quinte parare?
falleris: haec animus, Quinte, pusillus emit.

You buy slaves for a hundred thousands, and often for two hundred thousand sesterces a piece; you drink wines laid down in king Numa's reign; no vast amount of furniture stands you in a million; a pound of silver plate runs off with five thousand; a gilt coach is acquired

at the price of a farm; you buy a mule for more than a town mansion. Do you think, Quintus, that you acquire these things because you have a great mind? You are deceived. These are what a puny mind buys, Quintus.

[T140] IV. 39 [89 CE]

ARGENTI genus omne conparasti,
et solus veteres Myronos artes,
solus Praxiteles manum Scopaeque,
solus Phidiaci toreuma caeli,
solus mentoreos habes labores.
nec desunt tibi vera Grattiana
nec quae Callaico linuntur auro
nec mensis anaglypta de paternis.
argentum tamen inter omne miror
quare non habeas, Charine, purum.

You have collected every kind of silver plate, and you alone possess Myron's antique works of art, you alone the handiwork of Praxiteles and of Scopas, you alone the chased product of Phidias' graving chisel, you alone the results of Mentor's toil. Nor do you lack genuine works of Grattius, or dishes overlaid with Gallician gold, or pieces in relief from ancestral tables. Nevertheless, I wonder why, amid all your silver plate, you, Charinus, have nothing chaste. (Ker, 1919).

You have collected every sort of silverware. No one can match your store of Myron's antique artifacts or Praxiteles' and Scopas' work or the gravings of Phidias' chisel or Mentor's labors. Neither do you lack authentic Gratiana or dishes inlaid with Galician gold or embossed pieces form ancestral boards. But amid all this silver I wonder why you have nothing pure, Charinus. (S-B, 1993).

[T141] IV. 85 [89 CE]

Nos bibimus vitro, tu murra, Pontice. Quare?
Prodat perspicuus ne duo vina calix.

We drink from glass, you from murrine, Ponticus. Why? That a transparent cup may not betray your two wines.[3]

[T142] VI. 12 [91 CE]

QUIS te Phidiaco formatam, Iulia, caelo,
vel quis Palladiae non putet artis opus?
candida non tacita respondet imagine lygdos
et placido fulget vivus in ore decor.
ludit Acidalio, sed non manus aspera, nodo,
quem rapuit collo, parve Cupido, tuo.
ut Martis revocetur amor summique Tonantis,
a te Iuno petat ceston et ipsa Venus.

Who would not think, Julia,[4] that thou wert shaped by the chisel of Phidias? or that thou wert not the work of Pallas'[5] skill? The white Lygdian[6] marble answers me with its speaking likeness, and a live beauty glows in the placid face. Her hand with no rough touch plays with the Acidalian girdle[7] which it has snatched, small Cupid, from thy neck. To win back the love of Mars and of the imperial Thunderer, from thee let Iuno ask for thy cestos, and Venus herself too. (Ker, 1919).

Julia, who would not think you moulded by Phidias' chisel or a work of Pallas' artistry? The white lygdus matches with a speaking likeness, and living beauty shines in your face. Your hand plays, but not roughly, with the Acidalian knot that it snatched form little Cupid's neck. To win back Mar's love and the supreme Thunderer's, let Juno and Venus herself ask you for the girdle. (S-B, 1993)

[T143] VI.94 [91 CE]

PONUNTUR semper chrysendeta Calpetiano
sive foris seu cum cenat in urbe domi.
sic etiam in stabulo semper, sic cenat in agro.
non habet ergo aliud? non habet immo suum.

Gold-enamelled plate is always served to Calpentianus, whether he dines away from home or when he is at home in town. In this way, too, he always dines at an inn, in this way in the country. Has he no other plate then? Nay, he possesses none- of his own![8]

[T144] VII. 13 [92 CE]

DUM Tiburtinis albescere solibus audit
antiqui dentis fusca Lycoris ebur,
venit in Herculeos colles. quid Tiburis alti
aura valet! parvo tempore nigra redit.

Hearing that, under Tibur's suns, the ivory of an old tusk grows white, dusky Lycoris came to the hills of Hercules. What power high-set Tibur's air has! In a short time she returned back![9]

[T145] VII.19 [92 CE]

FRAGMENTUM quod vile putas et inutile lignum,
haec fuit ignoti prima carina maris.
quam nec Cyneae quondam potuere ruinae
frangere nec Scythici tristior ira freti,
saecula vicerunt: sed quamvis cesserit annis,
sanctior est salva parva tabella rate.

The fragment thou regardest as cheap and useless wood, this was the first keel to stem the unknown sea. That which the clash of the Azure rocks[10] could not shatter of old, nor the wrath, more dread, of Scythian ocean, ages have subdued: yet, however much it has submitted to time, more sacred is this small plank than the vessel unscathed. (Ker, 1919).

What you take for a paltry fragment, a useless piece of lumber, was the first keel to sail the unknown sea. What once neither the Cyanean rocks could break nor the grimmer wrath of the Scythian main, the ages have vanquished. But though it has succumbed to the years, the small plank is more venerable than the ship intact. (S-B, 1993).

[T146] VIII.6 [94 CE]

ARCHETYPIS vetuli nihil est odiosus Aucti
(ficta Saguntino cymbia malo luto),
argenti furiosa sui cum stemmata narrat
garrulus et verbis mucida vina facit:
'Laomendonteae fuerant haec pocula mensae:
ferret ut haec, muros struxit Apollo lyra.
hoc cratere ferox commisit proelia Rhoetus
cum Lapithis: pugna debile cernis opus.
hi duo longaevo censentur Nestore fundi:
pollice de Pyliotrita columba nitet.
hic scyphus est in quo misceri iussit amicis
largius Aeacides vividiusque merum.
hac propihavit Bitiae pulcherrima Dido
in patera, Phrygio cum data cena viro est.'
miratus fueris cum prisca toreumata multum,
in Priami calathis Astyanacta bibes.

Than old Auctus' antiques nothing is more odious- I prefer drinking vessels moulded from Saguntine clay - when he prates of the crazy pedigrees of his silver plate, and by his chattering makes the wine vapid. 'These are cups that once belonged to Laomedon's table: to win these Apollo by his harp-playing built the walls of Troy. With this mixing bowl fierce Rhoetus joined battle with the Lapithae: you see the workmanship is tinted by the fight. These two goblets are valuable because of aged Nestor: the dove is burnished by the rubbing of the Pylian thumb. This is the tankard in which the grandson of Aeacus ordered a fuller draught and stronger wine be mixed for his friends. In this bowl most beautiful Dido pledged Bitias when her banquet was given to the phrygian hero.' When you have much admired these ancient chasings, in Priam's cups you will drink Astyanax.

[T147] VIII.34 [94 CE]

ARCHETYPUM Myos argentum te dicis habere.
quod sine te factum est hoc magis archetypum est?

You say you have a piece of silver, a genuine antique by Mys*. Is that which was made without your assistance any the more an antique?[11]

[T148] VIII. 50 [94 CE]

QUIS labor in phiala? docti Myos anne Myronos?
Mentoris haec manus est an, Polyclite, tua?
livescit nulla caligine fusca nec odit
exploratores, nubila massa, focos.
vera minus flavo radiant electra metallo
et niveum felix postula vincit ebur.
materiae not cedit opus: sic alligat orbem,
plurima cum tota lampade luna nitet.
stat caper Aeolio Thebani vellere Phrixi
cultus: ab hoc mallet vecta fuisse soror;
hunc nec Cinyphius tonsor violaverit et tu
ipse tua pasci vite, Lyaee, velis.
terga premit pecudis geminis Amor aureus alis;
Palladius tenero lotos ab ore sonat:
sic Methymnaeo gavisus Arione delphin
languida non tacitum per freta vexit onus.
imbuat egregium digno mihi nectare munus
non grege de domini sed tua, Ceste, manus;
Ceste, decus mensae, misce Setina: videtur
ipse puer nobis, ipse sitire caper.
det numerum cyathis Istanti littera Rufi:
auctor enim tanti muneris ille mihi:
si Telethusa venit promissaque gaudia portat,
servabor dominae, Rufe, triente tuo;
si dubia est, septunce trabar; si fallit amantem,
ut iugulem curas, nomen utrumque bibam.

Whose labour is in the bowl? was it of artist Mys or of Myron? Is this Mentor's hand, or, Polyclitus, thine?[12] No darkness gives it a dull leaden hue, nor is it a cloudy mass that shrinks from assaying fires. True amber is less radiant than its yellow ore, and the fine frosted silver surpasses snow-white ivory. The workmanship yields not to the material: even so the moon rounds her orb when she shines in fullness with all her light. There stands a he-goat prankt in the Aeolian fleece of Theban Phryxus;[13] by such his sister would more gladly have been borne; such a goat no Cinyphian barber[14] would deform, and thou thyself, Lyaeus, would consent to his cropping thine own vine.[15] A Love in gold, two-winged, loads the back of the beast; the pipe of Pallas sounds from his tender lips; in such wise the dolphin, blithe with the burden of Methymnaean Arion,[16] bore him, no unmelodious freight, o'er tranquil seas. Let no hand from the master's crowd of slaves, only thy hand, Cestus, first fill this peerless gift for me with fitting nectar; Cestus, the banquet's pride, mix thou the Setine: the very boy, the very goat, methinks, is athirst. Let the letters of Istantius Rufus'[17] name assign their number to our measures of wine, for he was the source to me of so proud a gift. If Telethusa come, and bring her promised joys, I will keep myself for my mistress, Rufus, by drinking your four measures; if she be doubtful, I shall while away the time by seven; if she fail her lover, then, to throttle care, I will drink both your names. (Ker, 1919).

Whose work is in the bowl? Skilled Mys's or Myron's? Is this Mentor's hand, or yours, Polyclitus? No murkiness dulls or darkens it, no cloudy mass abhors the testing fires. True electrum shines with a metal less yellow, and the fine frosted silver surpasses snowy ivory. The workmanship matches the material. So does the moon complete her orb when she shines abundant with all her lamp. There stands a goat clad in the Aeolian fleece of Theban Phrixus; his sister would have preferred this mount. No Cinyphian barber would assail him, and you yourself, Lyaeus, would wish him to feed on your vine. On the animal's back sits a golden Lore with his pair of wings and a pipe of Pallas sounding from his tender mouth. So did the dolphin carry his musical burden through the languid sea, delighting the Methymnean Arion. Let not just any one of the master's troop of slaves, let your hand, Cestus, inaugurate for me this noble gift with nectar worthy of it. Cestus, ornament of the feast, mix Setine; the boy himself, the goat himself seems to me athirst. Let the letters of Istantius Rufus' name supply a number for our measures; for this precious gift comes to me from him. If Telethusa arrives bringing promised joys, I shall keep myself for my lady with your four, Rufus. If she is doubtful, I' ll spin out the time with seven. If she cheats her lover, to kill my sorrow I' ll drink both names. (S-B, 1993).

[T149] VIII. 81 [94 CE]

NON per mystica sacra Dindymenes
nec per Niliacae bovem iuvencae,
nullos denique per deos deasque
iurat Gellia, sed per uniones.
hos amplectitur, hos perosculatur,
hos fratres vocat, hos vocat sorores,
hos antis amat acrius duobus.
his si quo careat misella casu,
victuram negat esse se nec horam.
aheu, quam bene nunc, Papiriane,
Annaei faceret manus Sereni!

Not by the mystic rites of Dindymene, nor by the bull,[18] the spouse of Nile's heifer, in a word by no gods and goddesses does Gellia swear, but by her pearls. These she hugs, these she kisses passionately, these she loves more ardently than her two sons. If by any chance the unhappy woman should lose them, she says she would not live even an hour. Ah, how usefully now, Papirianus, would the hand of Annaeus Serenus be employed![19]

Gellia does not swear by the mystic rites of Dindymene, nor by the bull of Nile's heifer, nor in fine by any gods or goddesses, but by her pearls. These she embraces, these she covers with kisses, these she calls her brothers, these she calls her sisters, these she loves more passionately than her two children. If the poor thing were by some mischance to lose them, she says she would not live an hour. Ah, Papirianus, how well the hand of Annaeus Serenus might now be employed! (S-B, 1993).

[T150] IX. 43 [95 CE]

HIC qui dura sedens porrecto saxa leone.
mitigat, ex iguo magnus in aere deus,
quaeque tulit spectat resupino sidera vultu,
cuius laeva calet robore, dextra mero,
non est fama recens nec nostri gloria caeli;

nobile Lysippi munus opusque vides.
hoc habuit numen Pellaei mensa tyranni,
qui cito perdomito victor in orbe jacet;
hunc puer ad Libycas iuraverat Hannibal aras;
iusserat hic Sullam ponere regna trucem.
offensus variae tumidis terroribus aulae
privatos gaudet nunc habitare lares,
utque fuit quondam placidi conviva Molorchi,
sic voluit docti Vindicis esse deus.

He who seated makes softer the hard stones by a stretched lion's skin, a huge god in small shape of bronze, and who, with face unturned, regards the stars he shouldered, whose left hand is aglow with strength, his right with wine - no recent work of fame is he, nor the glory of Roman chisel: Lysippus' noble gift and handiwork you see. This deity the board of Pella's tyrant displayed, he who lies in a world he swiftly subdued;[20] by him Hannibal, then a boy, swore at Libyan altars;[21] he bade fierce Sulla resign his power. Vexed by the boastful threats of fickle courts, he is glad now to dwell beneath a private roof; and, as he was of old the guest of gentle Molorchus, so has he now chosen to be the god of learned Vindex. (Ker, 1919).

He that sits on hard rocks made softer by an outspread lion skin, a great god in a small piece of bronze, and with upturned face watches the stars he bore, whose left hand is busy with a club, his right with wine: he is no recent fame nor the glory of a Roman chisel; you see the noble gift and work of Lysippus. The table of the tyrant of Pella, him who lies low in the world he so swiftly subdued, once possessed this deity, by him Hannibal took an oath a Libyan altar, he ordered fierce Sylla to resign his monarchy. Irked by the tumid terrors of different courts, he now rejoices to inhabit a private dwelling, and, as once he was the dinner guest of peaceful Molorchus, so now the god has chosen to be letters Vindex's. (S-B, 1993).

[T151] IX.44 [95 CE]

ALCIDES modo Vindicem rogabam
esset cuius opus laborque felix.
risit, nam solet hoc, levique nutu

'Graece numquid' ait 'poeta nescis?
inscripta est basis indicatque nomen.'
Λυσίππου lego, Phidiae putavi.

I asked Vindex lately whose art and happy toil fashioned Alcides. He laughed - for this is his way - and slightly nodding, said: 'Don't you, a poet know your Greek? The base has an inscription and shows the name.' I read 'of Lysippus': I thought it was of Phidias!

[T152] IX.59 [95 CE]

IN Saeptis Mamurra diu multusque vagatus,
hic ubi Roma suas aurea vexat opes,
inspexit molles pueros oculisque comedit,
non hoc quos primae prostituere casae,
sed quos arcanae servant tabulata catastae
et quos non populus nec mea turba videt.
inde satur mensas et opertos exuit orbes
expositumque alte pingue poposcit ebur,
et testudineum mensus quater hexaclinon
ingemuit citro non satis esse suo.
consuluit nares an olerent aera Corinthon,
culpavit statuas et, Polyclite, tuas,
et, turbata brevi questus crystallina vitro,
murrina signavit seposuitque decem.
expendit veteres calathos et si qua fuerunt
pocula Mentorea nobilitata manu,
et viridis picto gemmas numeravit in auro,
quidquid et a nivea grandius aure sonat.
sardonychas veros mensa quaesivit in omni
et pretium magnis fecit jaspidibus.
undecima lassus cum iam discederet hora,
asse duos calices emit et ipse tulit.

Mamurra, long and often wandering in the Saepta, here where Golden Rome flings about her wealth, inspected and devoured with his eyes dainty boys, not those the outer stalls made public, but those who are guarded by the platforms of a secret stand, and whom the people do not see, nor the crowd of such as I. Then, sated with the view, he had tables and round covered table-tops laid bare, and must needs have their high-hung glistening ivory supports brought down; and, after four measurements of a tortoise-shell couch for six, he said with a sigh that it was too small for his citrus-wood table. He took counsel of his nose whether the bronzes smelt of Corinth,[22] and condemned even your statuary, Polyclitus; and, complaining that the crystal vases were disfigured by a small piece of glass, he put his seal on ten murrine articles, and set them aside. He weighed antique tankards, and any cups made precious by Mentor's handiwork, and counted the emeralds set in chased gold, and every larger pearl that tinkles from a snow-white ear. Genuine sardonyxes he looked for on every table, and offered a price for some big jaspers. When at the eleventh hour, fagged out, he was at last departing, for a penny he bought two cups - and bore them off himself.

[T153] X.80 [98 CE]

PLORAT Eros, quotiens maculosae pocula murrae
inspicit aut pueros nobiliusve citrum,
et gemitus imo ducit de pectore quod non
tota miser coemat Saepta feratque domum.
quam multi faciunt quod Eros! sed lumine sicco
pars maior lacrimas ridet et intus habet.

Eros weeps whenever he inspects cups of spotted murrine,[23] or slaves, or a citrus-wood table finer than usual, and heaves groans from the bottom of his chest because he - wretched man- cannot buy up the whole Saepta and carry it home. How many act like Eros! But with dry eyes the greater part laugh at his tears - and have them in their hearts.

[T154] X.87 [98 CE]

OCTOBRES age sentiat Kalendas
facundi pia Roma Restituti:
linguis omnibus et favete votis;

natalem colimus, tacete lites.
absit cereus aridi clientis,
et vani triplices brevesque mappae
expectent gelidi iocos Decembris.
certent muneribus beatiores:
Agrippae tumidus negotiator
Cadmi municipes ferat lacernas;
pugnorum reus ebriaeque noctis
cenatoria mittat advocato;
infamata virum puella vicit?
veros sardonychas, sed ipsa tradat;
mirator veterum senex avorum
donet Phidiaci toreuma caeli;
venator leporem, colonus haedum,
piscator ferat aequorum rapinas.
si mittit sua puisque, quid poetam
missurum tibi, Restitute, credis?

Come, let duteous Rome recognise October's Kalends, the birthday of eloquent Restitutus: with all your tongues, and in all your prayers, utter well-omened words; we keep a birthday, be still, ye law-suits! Away with the needy client's wax taper! and let useless three-leaved tablets and curt napkins wait for the jollity of cold December. Let richer men vie in gifts: let Agrippa's pompous tradesman bring mantles, the fellow-citizens of Cadmus; let the defendant in a charge of assault and drunkenness at night send his counsel dinner-suits. Has a slandered young wife defeated her husband? Let her bestow and with her own hands, genuine sardonyxes. Let the old admirer of ancient days give chased plate of Phidias' chisel, the hunter a hare, the fanner a kid, the fisher bring the spoil of the sea. If every man send his own peculiar gift, what do you think, Restitutus, a poet will send you? (Ker, 1919).

Come, let Rome in duty notice the October Kalends or eloquent Restitutus. Honor the occasion with all your tongues and vows. We are celebrating a birthday; lawsuits, be silent. No shrivelled client's wax taper, of you please; let idle three-leaved tablets and exiguous napkins await the jollities of chill December. Let the richer sort vie with their gifts. Let Agrippa's puffed up tradesman bring cloaks, fellow townspeople of Cadmus. Let one

arraigned for fisticuffs and a drunken night send dinner suits to his advocate. Has a defamed young woman won her case against her husband? Let her hand over genuine sardonyxes and in person too. Let the aged admirer of our antique forefathers present embossed work of Phidias' chisel. Let the hunter bring a hare, the farmer a kid, the fisherman the plunder of the seas. If each one sends his special gifts, what do you think a poet will send you, Restitutus? (S-B, 1993).

[T155] XII.69 [101 CE]

SIC tamquam tabullas scyphosque, Paule,
omnes archetypos habes amicos.

Just like your pictures and cups, Paullus, all the friends you possess are 'genuine antiques'.

[T156] XIV. 3 [84-85 CE]

Pugillares Citrei
SECTA nisi in tenues essemus ligna tabellas,
essemus Libyci nobile dentis onus.

Tables of Citrus-wood
Had not our wood been cut into thin plates, we should have been the noble burden of a Libyan tusk!

[T157] XIV. 43 [84-85 CE]

Candelabrum Corinthium
NOMINA candelae nobis antiqua dederunt.
non norat parcos uncta lucerna patres.

A Corinthian Candelabrum
Candles gave my name of old; the oil-lamp had no knowledge of our thrifty sires.(1919)

Candles gave me my ancient name. The oil lamp knew not our thrifty sires. (1993)

[T158] XIV.89 [84-85 CE]

Mensa Citrea

ACCIPE felices, Atlantica munera, silvas:

aurea qui dederit dona, minora dabit.

A citrus-wood table

Receive this wood of a fruitful tree, the offering of Atlas: he who shall give you golden gifts will give you less.

[T159] XIV.90 [84-85 CE]

Mensa Acerna

NON sum crispa quidem nec silvae filia Maurae,

sed norunt lautas et mea ligna dapes.

A maple table

I am indeed not veined, nor the daughter of a Moorish forests, but even my wood knows sumptuous feasts.

[T160] XIV.91 [84-85 CE]

Dentes Eborei

GRANDIA taurorum portant qui corpora, quaeris

an Libycas possint sustinuisse trabes?

Ivory tusks

Tusks that upbear the huge bodies of bulls- do you ask whether they can uphold tables of Libyan wood?

[T161] XIV. 93 [84-85 CE]

Pocula archetypa

NON est ista recens nec nostri gloria caeli:

primus in his Mentor, dum facit illa, bibit.

Antique Cups

That is no recent work, nor pride of Roman chisel;

Mentor[24] made these cups and first drank from them.

[T162] XIV. 95 [84-85 CE]

Phiala Aurea Caelata

QUAMNIS Callaico rubeam generosa metallo,

glorior arte magis: nam Myos iste labor.

A Chased Gold Bowl

Though I am noble and ruddy with Gallician ore, I glory more in my workmanship, for of Mys[25] was the labour you see. (1919)

Although I'm noble and ruddy with Gallician metal, I glory more in my workmanship, for this is the work of Mys. (1993)

[T163] XIV.109 [84-85 CE]

Galices Gemmati

GEMMATUM Scythicis ut luceat ignibus aurum

aspice. quot digitos exuit iste calix!

Gemmed Chalices

See how the gold gleams, gemmed with the fire of scythian emeralds! How many fingers[26] has that chalices stripped?

[T164] XIV. 111 [84-85 CE]

Crystallina

Frangere dum metuis, franges crystallina: peccant

securae nimium sollicitaeque manus.

Crystal Cups

So long as you fear to break them, you will break crystal cups: hands too careless and two anxious alike offend.

[T165] XIV. 113 [84-85 CE]

Murrina

Si caldum potas, ardenti murra Falerno

convenit et melior fit sapor inde mero.

Murrine Cups

If you drink your wine warm, murrine[27] suits the burning Falernian, and better flavour comes there from to the wine. (1919)

If you drink it hot, the murrine suits the ardent Falernian and gives the wine a better flavor. (1993)

[T166] XIV.170 [84-85 CE]

Signum Victoriae Aureum

HAEC illi sine sorte datur cui nomina Rhenus

vera dedit deciens adde Falerna, puer.

A Golden Statue of Victory[28] *

She is given without a drawn lot to him to whom Rhine has given a true victor's name. Ten times pour Falernian, boy.

[T166] XIV.171 [84-85 CE]

Βρούτου παιδίον Fictile

Gloria tam parvi non est obscura sigilli:

istius pueri Brutus amator erat.

A Clay image of 'Brutus' Boy'

The renown of so small a statue[29] is not unknown. Of this boy was Brutus the lover.

[T166] XIV.172 [84-85 CE]

Sauroktonos Corinthius

Ad te reptanti, puer insidiose, lacertae

parce; cupit digitis illa perire tuis.

The Lizard-slayer in Corinthian bronze

Spare the lizard, treacherous boy, as it creeps up to you; it longs to perish by your hands.[30]

[T166] XIV.173 [84-85 CE]

Hyacinthus in Tabula Pictus

Flectit ab inviso morientia lumina disco

Oebalius, Phoebi culpa dolorque, puer.

A Picture of Hyacinthus

From the hated quoit he turns his dying eyes, the Oebalian boy, the reproach and sorrow of Phoebus.[31]

[T166] XIV.174 [84-85 CE]

Hermaphroditus Marmoreus

Masculus intravit fontis: emersit utrumque:

pars est una patris, cetera matris habet.

A Marble Hermaphroditus

Male, he entered the fount; he came forth both male and female: one part of him is his sire's, all else has he of his mother.

[T166] XIV.175 [84-85 CE]

Danae Picta

Cura a te pretium Danae, regnator Olympi,

accepit, gratis si tibi Leda dedit?

A Picture of Danae

Why of you, Ruler of Olympus, did Danae[32] receive her price, if Leda unbought was kind to you?

[T166] XIV.176 [84-85 CE]

Persona Germana

Sum figuli lusus russi persona Batavi.

quae tu derides , haec timet ora puer.

A German Mask

I am a freak of the potter, the mask of a red-haired Batavian. This face you deride a boy dreads.

[T166] XIV.177 [84-85 CE]

Hercules Corinthius

Elidit geminos infans nec respicit anguis.

iam poterat teneras hydra timere manus.

Hercules in Corinthian Bronze

The infant throttles the two serprents, nor does he glance on them. Already might the hydra fear youthful hands.

[T166] XIV.178 [84-85 CE]

Hercules Fictilis

Sum fragilis: sed tu, moneo, ne sperne sigillum:

non pudet Alciden monen habere meum.

A Hercules in Clay

Fragile am I, but do not you, I charge you, despise my small statue: it shames not Alcides to bear my name.[5]

[T166] XIV.179 [84-85 CE]

Minerva Argentea

Dic mihi, virgo ferox, cum sit tibi cassis et hasta,

quare non habeas aegida. 'Caesar habet'.

A Minerva in silver

Tell me, gallant maid, whereas thou hast thy helm and thy spear, why hast thou not thine aegis? 'Caesar has it.'

[T166] XIV.180 [84-85 CE]

Europe Picta

Mutari melius tauro, pater optime divum,

tunc poteras, Io cum tibi vacca fuit.

A Picture of Europa[33]

Better, most excellent Father of the Gods, couldst thou have been changed into a bull when Io was to thee a heifer.

[T166] XIV.181 [84-85 CE]

Leandros Marmoreus

Clamabat tumidis audax Leandros in undis

'Mergite me, fluctus, cum rediturus ero'.

A Marble Leander

Daring Leander cried amid the swelling waters: 'Drown me, ye waves, when I am turning home'.

[T166] XIV.182 [84-85 CE]

Sigillum Gibberi Fictile

Ebrius haec fecit terris, puto, monstra Prometheus:

Saturnalicio lusit et ipse luto.

A Clay Statuette of a Hunchback

'Twas a drunken Prometheus, I fancy, made for the earth this monster; he himself, too, played with Saturnalian clay.[34]

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[1] The picture was so bad that Martial sarcastically suggests that the painter must have been deliberately unkind to Venus in order to please Minerva, cf. V.40-[about old woman Lycoris - possibly a prostitute see also I.lxxii- she has a picture of Minerva who is the protector of the arts).

[2] The Saepta Julia, an enclosure in the Campus Martius, begun by Julius Caesar, and was completed by Agrippa. It contained shops, and became fashionable place of resort: (cf. ii.lix; ix.lix.).
Pliny (*HN*, 36.29) mentions it as containing a group of Chiron (Philyrides) and Achilles.

[3] Good for yourself, inferior for your guests: cf. iv.lxviii; x.lxxx.1; and Pliny, *HN*, 37.8.

[4] The epigram is about a statue of Julia, the deified niece of Domitian along with Venus and Cupid; cf. vi.iii.

[5] The goddess.

[6] Parian marble from the Cyclades.

[7] The girdle or *cestus* of Venus, which inspired love.

[8] C. is satirised for his ostentatius use of plate which is not his own, but borrowed: cf.ii.lviii.

[9] cf. iv.lxii. The sulphurous exhalations of the springs at Tibur (cf. iv.iv.2) were supposed to have the property of whitening things, especially ivory.

[10] Two rocks at the mouth of the Bosphorus, supposed to float and collide. They were, according to legend, discovered by the Argonauts.

[11] An ancient Greek artist, famous for working in silver: cf. xiv.xcv. He was contemporary with Phidias. Perhaps addressed to a silversmith who was in the habit of 'faking' his antiques. 'You may have not faked this,' says M., 'but that does not prove it genuine'.

[12] All Greek artists of past days, renowned for chasing or sculpture.

[13] The golden fleece of the ram that bore Phryxus and Helle over the sea: cf.viii.xxviii.20.

[14] cf.vii.xcv.13

[15] Juv. alludes to this: i.76.

[16] A celebrated harpist, who, to escape the crew of the vessel carrying him to Corinth with his wealth, leaped, it is said, into the sea after playing a last time on his harp: cf. Herod. i.23,24.

[17] A friend of Martial's: cf.viii.lxxiii.1

[18] Apis, the sacred Egyptian bull, representing Osiris, the husband of Isis, who was represented as a heifer: cf. ii.xiv.8.

[19] An obscure allusion. Perhaps S. was notoriously a wearer of pearls. Some commentators take him for a noted thief. But Martial would then hardly have mentioned his name.

[20] Alexander the Great

[21] H. when a boy swore undying hatred to Rome.
[22] Connoisseurs professed to detect an odour in genuine Corinthian bronze; Petronius, 50.
[23] Transparency or paleness was a defect: cf. IV.lxxxv.2.
[24] A celebrated chaser in silver of the fourth century BCE.: cf. iii.xli.1; iv.xxxix.5.
[25] cf. viii.xxxiv.1. He engraved the figures on the shield of Athena Promachus in the Acropolis at Athens.
[26] Rich men often ornamented their cups with jewels from their finger rings: cf. Juv. v.42.
[27] *Murra* was perhaps a natural earth, and may have been spar: Pliny, *HN*, 37.8. See the authorities collected in Mayor's note to Juvenal vii.133. Murrine vases have however been regarded as porcelain, and porcelain vases agreeing with Pliny's description are said to have been found. These vases were first brought to Rome by Pompey after his victory over Mithridates in BCE 63. Enormous sums were paid for them, Nero paid 300 talents for a drinking cup. For a review of the evidence regarding murrine ware, see Loewenthal and Harden, 1949; Harden, 1954; also Vickers, 1997.
[28] This and the *sigilla* described next were statuettes, which were frequently given as gifts at the Saturnalia, i.e. on the last two days, which were called Sigillaria: cf. *De Fer. Rom.*, v. 32 *(Festa sigillorum nomine dicta colunt*).
[29] cf. ii.lxxvii.4; ix.1. The statuette was made by Strongylion, a Greek sculptor of the fifth century BCE: Pliny, *HN*, 34. 19 (21).
[30] On a replica of a work of Praxiteles representing the young Apollo with an arrow watching a lizard. It was called Σαυροκτόνος: cf. Pliny, *HN*, 34. 19 (10).
[31] Apollo killed Hyacinthus by accident. From his blood spang the hyacinth inscribed with the Greek 'aiai' (alas): cf. Milton's 'Sanguine flower inscribed with woe'. The picture alluded to may be a copy of the one by Antidotus of the fourth century BCE, the original of which was transported to Rome by Augustus on the capture of Alexandria: Pliny, *HN*, 35.40 (28).
[32] Possibly a copy of Artemon's picture of Danae *mirantibus eam praedonibus:* cf. Pliny, *HN*, 35. 40 (32).
[33] The original was in the Porticus Pompei, painted by Antiphilus, the rival of Apelles: Pliny, *HN*, 35.37.
[34] The original Prometheus *(ipse)* made men out of clay (cf. x.xxxix. 4), and had a taste for making grotesque figures. Statuettes of dwarfs and monstrosities were doubtless often made, and given as presents at the Saturnalia, the taste for slaves of this type being common: cf. the Polyphemus and Scylla of vii.xxxviii.

The texts and translations that follow are from the Loeb CL, *Petronius: Satyricon*, with an English translation by Michael Heseltine, N.Y.: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1919 (revised by Warmington, 1969).

Satyrica

[T167] 29.7 [c.64-65 CE]

Super limen autem carea pendebat aurea, in qua pica varia intrantes salutaleat. Ceterum ego dum omnia stupeo, paene resupinatus crura mea fregi. Ad sinistram enim intrantibus non longe ale ostiarii cella canis ingens, catena vinctus, in pariete erat pictus superque quadrata littera scriptum 'Cave canem'. Et collegae quidem mei riserunt, ego autem collecto spiritu non destiti totum parietem persequi. Erat autem venalicium <cum> titulis pictum, et ipse Trimalchio capillatus caduceum tebenat Minervaque ducente Romam intrabat. Hinc quemadmodum ratiocinari didicisset, denique dispensator factus esset, omnia diligenter curiosus pictor cum inscriptione reddiderat. In deficiente vero iam porticu levatum mento in tribunal excelsum Mercurius rapiebat. Praesto erat Fortuna cornu abundanti copiosa et tres Parcae aurea pensa torquentes. Notavi etiam in porticu gregem cursorum cum magistro se exercentem. Praeterea grande armarium in angulo vidi, in cuius aedicula erant Lares argentei positi Venerisque signum marmoreum et pyxis aurea non pusilla, in quo barbam ipsius conditam esse dicebant...

A golden cage hung in the doorway, and a spotted magpie in it greeted visitors. I was gazing at all this, when I nearly felt backwards and broke my leg. For on the left hand as you went in, not far from the porter's office, a great dog on a chain was painted on the wall, and over him was written in large letters 'Beware of the dog'. My friends laughed at me, but I plucked up courage and went on to examine the whole wall. It had a picture of a slave-market on it, with the persons' names. Trimalchio was there with long hair, holding a Mercury staff. Minerva had him by the hand and was leading him into Rome. Then the painstaking artist had given a faithful picture of his whole career with explanations: how he had learned to keep accounts, and how at last he had been made steward. At the point where the wall-space gave out, Mercury had taken him by the chin, and was whirling him up to his high official throne. Fortune stood by with her flowing horn of plenty, and the three Fates spinning their golden threads. I also observed a company of runners practising in the gallery

under a trainer, and in a corner I saw a Large cupboard containing a tiny shrine, wherein were silver house-gods, and a marble image of Venus, and a large golden box, where they told me Trimalchio's first beard was laid up.

[T168] 31.19-21 [c. 64-65 CE]

Ceterum in promulsidari asellus erat Corinthius cum bisaccio positus, qui habebat olivas in altera parte albas, in altera nigras. Tegebant asellum duae lances, in quarum marginibus nomen Trimalchionis inscriptum erat et argenti pondus.

A donkey in Corinthian bronze stood on the side-board, with panniers holding olives, white in one side, black in the other. Two dishes hid the donkey; Trimalchio's name and their weight in silver was engraved on their edges.

[T169] 32.6-33.2 ... 5-7 [c. 64-65 CE]

Habebat etiam in minimo digito sinistrae manus anulum grandem subauratum, extremo vero articulo digiti sequentis minorem, ut mihi videbatur, totum aureum, sed plane ferreis veluti stellis ferruminatum. Et ne has tantum ostenderet divitias, dextrum nudavit lacertum armilla aurea cultum et eboreo circulo lamina splendente conexo. Ut deinde pinna argentea, dentes perfodit....Sequebatur puer cum tabula terebinthina et crystallinis tesseris, notavique rem omnium delicatissimam.

On the little finger of his left hand he had an enormous gilt ring, and on the top joint of the next finger a smaller ring which appeared to me to be entirely gold, but was really set all round with iron cut out in little stars. Not content with this display of wealth, he bared his right arm, where a golden bracelet shone, and an ivory bangle clasped with a plate of bright metal. Then he said, as he picked his teeth with a silver quill. ... A boy followed him with a table of terebinth wood and crystal pieces, and I noticed the prettiest thing possible. Instead of black and white counters they used gold and silver coins.

[T170] 34.5-10 [c. 64-65 CE]

Ceterum inter tumultum cum forte paropsis excidisset et puer iacentem sustulisset, animadvertit Trimalchio colaphisque obiurgari puerum ac proicere rursus paropsidem iussit. Insecutus est lecticarius argentumwue inter reliqua purgamenta scopis coepit everrere.

But an entrée-dish happened to fall in the rush, and a boy picked it up from the ground. Trimalchio saw him, and directed that e should be punished by a a box on the ear, and made to throw down the dish again. A chamberlain followed and proceeded to sweep out the silver with a broom among the other rubbish.

[T171] [46.24-27] [c. 64-65 CE]

Quod si resilierit, destinavi illum artificii docere, aut tonstreinum aut praeconem aut certe causisicum, quod illi auferre non possit nisi Orcus.

I mean to have him learn a trade, a barber or an auctioneer, or at least a barrister, something that he can carry to the grave with him.

[T172] 48.12-14 [c. 64-65 CE]

Et ne me putes studia fastiditum, II[1] bybliothecas habeo, unam Graecam, alteram Latinam.

And do not imagine that I despise learning. I have got two libraries, one Greek and one Latin.

[T153] 50.4-52.9 [c. 64-65 CE]

Quam cum Agamemnon propius consideraret, ait Trimalchio: 'Solus sum qui vera Corinthea habeam.' Expectabam, ut pro reliqua insolentia diceret sibi vasa Corintho afferri. Sed ille melius: 'Et forsitan' inquit 'quaeris, quare solus Corinthea vera possideam: quia scilicet aerarius, a quo emo, Corinthus vocatur. Quid est autem Corintheum, nisi quis Corinthum habet? Et ne me putetis nesapium esse, valde bene scio, unde primum Corinthea

nata sint. Cum Ilium captum est, Hannibal, homo vafer et magnus stelio, omnes statuas aeneas et aureas et argenteas in unum rogum congessit et eas incendit; factae sunt in unum aera miscellanea. Ita ex hac massa fabri sustulerunt et fecerunt catilla et paropsides et statuncula. Sic Corinthea nata sunt, ex omnibus in unum, nec hoc nec illud. Ignoscentis mihi, quod dixero: ego malo mihi vitrea, certe non olunt. Quod si non frangerentur, mallem mihi quam aurum; nunc autem vilia sunt. Fuit tamen faber qui fecit phialam vitream, quae non frangebatur. Admissus ergo Caesarem est cum suo munere, deinde fecit reporrigere Caesarem et illam in pavimentum proiecit. Caesar non pote valdius quam expavit. At ille sustulit phialam de terra; collisa erat tanquam vasum aeneum; deinde martiolum de sinu protulit et phialam otio belle correxit. Hoc facto putabat se solium Iovis tenere, utique postquam <Caesar> illi dixit: 'Numquid alius scit hanc condituram vitreorum?' vide modo. Postquam negavit, iussit illum Caesar decollari: quia enim, si scitum esset, aurum pro luto haberemus. In argento plane studiosus sum. Habeo scyphos urnales plus minus <C>: quemadmodum Cassandra occidit filios suos, et pueri mortui iacent sic ut vivere putes. Habeo capides M, quas reliquit patronorum meus[2] ubi Daedalus Niobam in equum Troianum includit. Nam Hermerotis pugnas et Petraitis in poculis habeo, omnia ponderosa; meum enim intellegere nulla pecunia vendo.'

Agamemnon began to peer at the dish rather closely, and Trimalchio said, 'I am the sole owner of genuine Corinthian plate.' I thought he would declare with his usual effrontery that he had cups imported direct from Corinth. But he went one better: "You may perhaps inquire" said he, "how I come to be alone in having genuine Corinthian stuff: the obvious reason is that the name of the dealer I buy it from is Corinthus. But what is real Corinthian, unless a man has Corinthus at his back? Do not imagine that I am an ignoramus. I know perfectly well how Corinthian plate was first brought into the world. At the fall of Ilium, Hannibal, a trickster and a great knave, collected all the sculptures, bronze, gold and silver, into a single pile and set light to them. They all melted into one amalgam of bronze. The workmen took bits out of this lump and made plates and entrée dishes and statuettes. That is how Corinthian metals was born, from all sorts lumped together, neither one kind nor the other. You will forgive me if I say that personally I prefer glass; glass at least does not smell. If it were not so breakable I should prefer it to gold; as it is, it is so cheap. But there was once a workman who made a glass cup that was unbreakable. So he was given an audience of the Emperor with his invention; he made Caesar give it back to him and then threw it on the floor. Caesar was frightened as could be. But the man picked up his cup

from the ground: it was tinted like a bronze bowl; then he took a little hammer out of his pocket and made the cup quite sound again without any trouble. After doing this he thought he had himself seated on the throne of Jupiter, especially when Caesar said to him: "Does anyone else know how to blow glass like this?" Just see what happened. He said not, and then Caesar had him beheaded. Why? Because if his invention were generally known we should treat gold like dirt. Myself I have a great passion for silver. I own about a hundred four-gallon cups engraved with Cassandra killing her sons, and the boys lying there dead - but you would think they were alive. I have a thousand jugs which [Mummius left to my patron] [which a patron bequeathed],[3] where you see Daedalus shutting Niobe into the Trojan horse.[4] And I have got the fights between Hermeros and Petraites[5] on my cups, and every cup is a heavy one; for I do not sell my connoisseurship for any money."

[T174] 73.20-24 [c. 64-65 CE]

Ergo ebrietate discussa in aliud triclinium deducti sumus, ubi Fortunata disposuerat lautitias [suas] ita ut supra lucernas ... aeneolosque piscatores notaverim et mensas totas argenteas calicesque circa fictiles inauguratos et vinum in conspectu sacco defluens.

Then, having got rid of the effects of our liquor, we were led into another dining-room, where Fortunata had laid out her treasures, so that over the lamp I saw... little bronze fishermen, and tables of solid silver, and china cups with gold settings, and wine being strained through a cloth before our eyes.

[T175] 83.1-21 [c. 64-65 CE]

In pinacothecam perveni vario genere tabularum mirabilem. Nam et Zeuxidos manus vidi nondum vetustatis iniuria victas, et Protogenis rudimenta cum ipsius naturae veritate certantia non sine quodam horrore tractavi. Iam vero Apellis quam Graeci monoknhmon appellant, etiam adoravi. Tanta enim subtilitate extremitates imaginum erant ad similtudinem praecisae, ut crederes etiam animorum esse picturam. Hinc aquila ferebat caelo sublimis Idaeum, illinc candidus Hylas repellebat improbam Naida. Damnabat Apollo noxias manus lyramque resolutam modo nato flore honorabat. Inter quos etiam pictorum amantium vultus tanquam in solitudine exclamavi: 'Ergo amor etiam deos tangit. Iuppiter in caelo suo non invenit quod diligeret, sed peccaturus in terris nemini tamen

iniuriam fecit. Hylan Nympha praedata imperasset amori suo, si venturum ad interdictum Herculem credidisset. Apollo pueri umbram revocavit in florem, [et] omnes [fabulae quoque] sine aemulo habuerunt complexus. At ego in societatem recepi hospitem Lycurgo crudeliorem.'

I came into a gallery hung with a wonderful collection of various pictures. I saw the works of Zeuxis not yet overcome by the defacement of time, and I studied with a certain terrified wonder the rough drawings of Protogenes, which rivalled the truth of Nature herself. But when I came to the work of Apelles the work the Greeks call The One-legged, I positively worshipped it. For the outlines of his figures were defined with such subtle accuracy, that you would have declared that he had painted their souls as well. In one the eagle was carrying the Shepherd of Ida to heaven, and in another fair Hylas resisted a tormenting Naiad. Apollo passed judgement on his accursed hands, and adorned his unstrung lyre with the newborn flower. I cried out as if I were in a desert, among these faces of mere painting lovers, "So even the gods feel love. Jupiter in his heavenly home could find no object for his passion, and came down on earth to sin, yet did no one any harm. The Nymph who ravished Hylas would have restrained her passion had she believed that Hercules would come to dispute her claim. Apollo recalled the ghost of a boy into a flower. All these divinities enjoyed love's embraces without a rival. But *I* have taken for my comrade a friend more cruel than Lycurgus himself."

[T176] 88.1-10 [c. 64-65 CE]

Erectus his sermonibus consulere prudentiorem coepi aetates tabularum et quaedam argumenta mihi obscura simulque causam desidiae praesentis excutere, cum pulcherrimae artes perissent, inter quas pictura ne minimum quidem sui vestigium reliquisset. Tum ille 'pecuniae' inquit 'cupiditas haec tropica instituit. Priscis enim temporibus, cum adhuc nuda virtus placeret, vigebant artes ingenuae summumque certamen inter homines erat, ne quid profuturum saeculis diu lateret.

Encouraged by his conversation, I proceeded to draw on his knowledge about the age of the pictures, and about some of the stories which puzzled me, and at the same time to discuss the decadence of the age, since the fine arts had died, and painting, for instance, had left no trace of its existence behind. "Love of money began this revolution," he replied. "In former

ages virtue was still loved for her own sake, the noble arts flourished, and there were the keenest struggles among mankind to prevent anything being long undiscovered which might benefit posterity....".

[T177] [119.1-12 and 27-32] [c. 64-65 CE]

'Orbem iam totum victor Romanus habebat,
qua mare, qua terrae, qua sidus currit utrumque.
Nec satiatus erat. Gravidis freta pulsa carinis
iam peragebantur; si quis sinus abditus ultra,
si qua foret tellus, quae fulvum mitteret aurum,
hostis erat, fatisque in tristia bella paratis
quaerebantur opes. Non vulgo nota placebant
gaudia, non usu plebeio trita voluptas.
Aes Ephyreiacum laudabat miles in unda;
quaesitus tellure nitor certaverat ostro;
hinc Numidiae accusant, illinc nova vellera Seres,
atque Arabum populus sua despoliaverat arva.
...
Ecce Afris eruta terris
citrea mensa greges servorum ostrumque renidens,
ponitur ac maculis imitatur vilius aurum
quae sensum trahat. Hoc sterile ac male nobile lignum
turba sepulta mero circum venit, omniaque orbis
praemia correptis miles vagus esurit armis.

The conquering Roman[6] now held the whole world, sea and land and the course of sun and moon. But he was not satisfied. Now the waters were stirred and troubled by his loaded ships; if there were any hidden bay beyond, or any land that promised a yield of yellow gold, that place was Rome's enemy, fate stood ready for the sorrows of war, and the quest for wealth went on. There was no happiness in familiar joys or in pleasures dulled by the common man's use. The soldier out at sea would praise the bronze of Corinth; bright colours dug from earth rivalled the purple; here the African [curses Rome], from that side

the Chinaman had plundered his marvellous silks, and the Arabian people had stripped their own fields bare.

...

Tables of citrus-wood - see! - are dug out of the soil of Africa and set up, the spots on them resembling gold which is cheaper than they, their polish reflecting hordes of slaves and purple clothes, to lure the senses.. Round this barren and low-born wood there gathers a crowd drowned in drink, and the soldier of fortune having taken up his arms hungers for all the prizes of the world.

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[1] duas *Mentel*: II *Buecheler*: tres

[2] There are various emendations of which *patronorum unus (Goes) and patronus meus (ed. Patav.)* are the simplest.

[3] Warmington in his revised edition notes (1969: 106): 'Not L. Mummius, as Buecheler suggested; he died too early, and Trimalchio is imagined as knowing nothing about him'. In Heseltine's edition the Mummius attibution was kept.

[4] Warmington, 1969: 106-7: 'Triple confusion by Trimalchio: In Greek mythology Niobe, wife of Amphion, a traditional King of Thebes, had nothing to do with the Trojan war and the wooden horse; nor had Daedalus the Athenian architect and craftsman who built or designed the labyrinth at Cnossos in Crete. He did, however, make a wooden cow for Pasiphaë (wife of King Minos for whom that labyrinth was built) who loved a fine white bull and hid inside the cow so as to be covered by it. She gave birth to the monstrous Minotaur for which the labyrinth at Cnossos was built.'

[5] Gladiators.

[6] This poem, very long as part of the present novel, but very short as an epic, is a problem. See, W. H. Stubbe, *Die Verseinlagen im Petron,* Leipzig 1933, (*Philol.,* suppl. XXV.2); and W. H. Friendrich, in *Hermes*, LXXIII, 1937, 393. Cf. Heseltine's remarks on p. xi. (Warmington 1969: 296).

Verrine Orations

The passages that follow are from the Loeb CL, *Cicero: The Verrine Orations*, with an English translation by L. H. G. Greenwood (in two volumes); I: against Caecilius - against Verres, books I and II, 1948; II: books III, IV, and V, 1953.

[T178] *Against Q. Caecilius*, I.3 [70 BCE]

Venisse tempus aiebant, non iam ut commoda sua, sed ut vitam salutemque totius provinciae defenderem: sese iam ne deos quidem in suis urbibus ad quos confugerent habere, quod eorum simulacra sanctissima C. Verres ex delubris religiosissimis sustulisset: quas res luxuries in flagitiis, crudelitas in suppliciis, avaritia in rapinis, superbia in contumeliis efficere potuisset, eas omnes sese hoc uno praetore per triennium pertulisse: rogare et orare ne illos supplices aspernarer quos me incolumi nemini supplices esse oporteret.

They have declared that now the time has come for me, not merely to forward their interests, but to stand up for the life and existence of the whole province: that now they have not even the gods left in their cities to fly to for protection, since Verres has carried off the holy images of the gods from their most sacred shrines. During the three years in which this man has been their praetor, "they have endured, they say, every outrage and torture, every spoliation and disgrace, that vice, cruelty, greed, and insolence could inflict." And they pray and beseech me not to spurn the appeal for help of men who, so long as I am alive, should have no need to appeal for help to anyone.

[T179] *Against Q. Caecilius*, v.19 [70 BCE]

Quis ergo est qui neget oportere eorum arbitratu lege agi quorum causa lex sit constituta ? Sicilia tota si una voce loqueretur, hoc diceret: "Quod auri, quod argenti, quod ornamentorum in meis urbibus, sedibus, delubris fuit, quod in una quaque re beneficio senatus populique Romani iuris habui, id mihi tu, C. Verres, eripuisti atque abstulisti; quo nomine abs te sestertium, milliens ex lege repeto." Si universa, ut dixi, provincia loqui posset, hac voce uteretur; quoniam id non poterat, harum rerum actorem quero idoneum esse arbitrata est ipsa delegit.

Then can anyone deny that those for whose benefit the law was made should be able to choose the method of procedure under it? Could all Sicily speak with a single voice, this is what she would say; "All the gold, all the silver, all the beautiful things that once were in my cities, houses, and temples: all the various privileges of which, by the favour of the Roman senate and people, I was once possessed: all these things you, Verres, have plundered and stolen from me: and on this account I sue you in accordance with the law for the sum of one million pounds." These, as I say, are the words all Sicily would utter, if she could speak with a single voice: and as she cannot, she has chosen the man whom she herself thinks the right man to conduct her case for her.

[T180] *Against Verres*, I.v.14 [70 BCE]

Idem iste praetor monumenta antiquissima, partim regum locupletissimorum, quae illi ornamento urbibus esse voluerunt, partim etiam nostrorum imperatorum, quae victores civitatibus Siculis aut dederunt aut reddiderunt, spoliavit nudavitque omnia. Neque hoc solum iu statuis ornamentisque publicis fecit, sed etiam delubra omnia sanctissimis religionibus consecrata depeculatus est; deum denique nullum Siculis, qui ei paullo magis adfabre atque antiquo artificio factus videretur, reliquit. In stupris vero et flagitiis nefarias eius libidines commemorare pudore deterreor; simul illorum calamitatem commemorando augere nolo quibus liberos coniugesque suas integras ab istius petulantia conservae non licitum est.

Famous and ancient works of art, some of them the gifts of wealthy kings, who intended them to adorn the cities where they stood, others the gifts of Roman generals, who gave or restored them to the communities of Sicily in the hour of victory - this same governor stripped and despoiled every one of them. Nor was it only the civic statues and works of art that he treated thus; he also pillaged the holiest and most venerated sanctuaries; in fact, he has not left the people of Sicily a single god whose workmanship he thought at all above the average of antiquity or artistic merit. As to his adulteries and the like vile offences, a sense of decency makes me afraid to repeat the tale of his acts of wanton wickedness: and besides, I would not wish, by repeating it, to add to the calamities of those who have not been suffered to save their children and their wives from outrage at the hands of this lecherous scoundrel.

[T181] *Against Verres, actio secunda*, II.1.28 [70 BCE]

Possum deinceps totam rem explicare, deinde ad extremum id, quod accidit, dicere: Dionem HS deciens centena millia numerasse, ut causam certissimam obtineret: praeterea greges equarum eius istum abigendos curasse, argenti, vestis stragulae quod fuerit curasse auferendum. Haec neque cum ego dicerem neque cum tu negares magni momenti nostra esset oratio. Quo tempore igitur aures iudex erigeret animumque attenderet? Cum Dio ipse prodiret, cum ceteri qui tum in Sicilia negotiis Dionis interfuissent, cum per eos ipsos dies per quos causam Dio diceret reperiretur pecunias sumpsisse mutuas, nomina sua exegisse, praedia vendidisse, cum tabulae virorum bonoruro profenentur, cum qui pecuniam Dioni dederunt dicerent se iam tum audisse eos nummos sumi ut Verri darentur, cum amici, hospites, patroni Dionis, homines honestissimi, haec eadem se audisse dicerent.

I might go on to give a full account of the whole affair, and then finally state, what actually happened, that Dio paid up ten thousand pounds to secure his unquestionable rights, and that, besides this, Verres had his stables emptied of his studs of mares, and his house stripped of all the plate and tapestry it contained. I might state these facts, and you might deny them; but our speeches would matter very little. What would be the time, then for a judge to prick up his ears and arouse his attention? Why, it would be when Dio himself came forward, and likewise all those persons who had dealings with Dio in Sicily at the time when, during the actual course of his case, it was found that he had borrowed money, called in his debts, and sold his land; it would be when the accounts of those honest gentlemen were produced in court; when those who lent Dio money testified to having heard at the time that he was borrowing it to pay over to Verres; when the excellent men who were Dio's friends, hosts and protectors, testified to having heard exactly the same thing.

[T182-183] II.1.45/46 [70 BCE]

Genus animadversionis videte: quaeretis ex quo genere hominum istum iudicetis. Ignem ex lignis viridibus atque humidis in loco angusto fieri iussit; ibi hominem ingenuum, domi nobilem, populi Romani socium atque amicum, fumo excruciatum semi-vivum reliquit. Iam quae iste signa, quas tabulas pictas ex Achaia sustulerit, non dicam hoc loco; est alius mihi locus ad hanc eius cupiditatem demonstrandam separatus. Athenis audistis ex aede Minervae grande auri pondus ablatum; dictum hoc est in Cn. Dolabellae iudicio; dictum?

etiam aestimatum. Huius consilii non modo participem C. Verrem, sed principem fuisse reperietis.

Delum venit. Ibi ex fano Apollinis religiosissimo noctu clam sustulit signa pulrherrima atque antiquissima, eaque in onerariam navem suam conicienda curavit. Postridie cum fanum spoliatum viderent ii. qui Delum incolebant, graviter ferebant; est enim tanta apud eos eius fani religio atque antiquitas ut in eo loco ipsum Apollinem natum esse arbitrentur: Verbum tamen facere non audebant, ne forte ea res ad Dolabellam ipsum pertineret. XVIII. Tum subito tempestates coortae sunt maximae, iudices, ut non modo proficisci cum cuperet Dolabella non posset, sed vix in oppido consisteret; ita magni fluctus eiciebantur. Hic navis illa praedonis istius, onusta signis religiosis, expulsa atque eiecta fluctu frangitur. In litore signa illa Apollinis reperiuntur; iussu Dolabellae reponuntur; tempestas sedatur; Dolabella Delo proficiscitur.

But note the method of punishment, and you will wonder to what species of human being we are to assign him. He ordered a fire of moist green wood to be made in a confined spot: and there this free-born man, a man of high rank in his own town, one of the allies and friends of Rome, was put through the agonies of suffocation, and left there more dead than alive. What statues and pictures he carried off from Achaia I will not state here; there is another part of my speech reserved for dealing with this side of his greedy character. You have been told that at Athens a large amount of gold was carried away from the temple of Minerva. The fact was stated at Dolabella's trial: stated? the very weight was given. In this enterprise, you will find, Verres did not simply take part: he took command.

He reached Delos. There one night he secretly carried off, from the much-revered sanctuary of Apollo, several ancient and beautiful statues, and had them put on board his own transport. Next day, when the inhabitants of Delos saw their sanctuary stripped of its treasures, they were much distressed; for, to show how ancient, and how much venerated by them, that sanctuary is, they believe it to be the birthplace of Apollo himself. However, they dared not say a word, fearing that Dolabella himself might be concerned in the outrage. XVIII. Then so tremendous a storm suddenly came on, gentlemen, that Dolabella was prevented from starting when he intended, and almost from staying in the town, it was being lashed by such huge waves. In that storm this pirate's ship, with its load of sacred statues, was driven ashore by the waves and went to pieces. The statues of Apollo were found lying on the beach: by Dolabella's order, they were put back where they came from; the storm abated, and Dolabella left Delos.

[T184-185] II.1.49-51 [70 BCE]

In Asiam vero postquam venit, quid ego adventus istius prandia, cenas, equos muneraque commemorem? Nihil cum Verre de cotidianis criminibus acturus sum. Chio per vim signa pulcherrima dico abstulisse, item Erythris et Halicarnasso. Tenedo (praetereo pecuniam quam eripuit) Tenem ipsum, qui apud Tenedios sanctissimus deus habetur, qui urbem illam dicitur condidisse, cuius ex nomine Tenedus nominatur, hunc ipsum, inquam, Tenem, pulcherrime factum, quem quondam in comitio vidistis, abstulit magno cum gemitu civitatis. Illa vero expugnatio fani antiquissimi et nobilissimi Iunonis Samiae quam lurtuosa Samiis fuit, quam acerba toti Asiae, quam clara apud omnes, quam nemini vestrum inaudita! De qua expugnatione cum legati ad C. Neronem in Asiam Samo venissent, responsum tulerunt eius modi querimonias, quae ad legatum populi Romani pertinerent, non ad praetorem sed Romam deferri oportere. Quas iste tabulas illinc, quae signa sustulit! quae cognovi egomet apud istum in aedibus nuper, cum obsignandi gratia venissem. (51) Quae signa nunc, Verres, ubi sunt? illa quaero quae apud te nuper ad omnes columnas, omnibus etiam intercolumniis, in silva denique disposita sub divo vidimus. Cur ea, quam diu alium praetorem cum iis iudicibus quos in horum locum subsortitus es de te in consilium iturum putasti, tam diu domi fuerunt: posteaquam nostris testibus nos quas horis tuis uti malle vidisti, nullum signum domi reliquisti, praeter duo quae in mediis aedibus sunt - quae ipsa Samo sublata sunt? Non putasti me tuis familiarissimis in hanc rem testimonia denuntiaturum, qui tuae domi saepe fuissent, ex quibus quaererem signa scirentne fuisse quae non essent?

Once he had reached Asia, what need to go through the list of his dinner and supper parties, the horses and other presents made to him? I am not going to attack a man like Verres for every-day offences. But I do assert that he carried off statues of great beauty from Chios, and also from Erythrae and Halicarnassus. From Tenedos - I make no reference to the money he seized - Tenes himself, the god for whom the people of Tenedos feel special reverence, who is said to have founded the city, and after whom Tenedos is named - this very Tenes himselt, I say, a beautiful work of art, which you have, on one occasion, seen in the Comitium, - this he carried off, amid the loud lamentations of the citizens. And then mark how - he stormed and sacked the ancient and glorious temple of Juno of Samos: how it plunged the Samians in grief, and distressed all Asia! how the story spread through the world, so that not one of you has not heard it! A deputation from Samos went to Asia to complain to Gaius Nero

about this outrage, and they were told that grievances of this kind, having reference to imperial assistant-governors, must be submitted not to the local governor, but at Rome. The pictures, the statues he robbed that island of! I recognized the statues myself the other day in his house, on going there to do my sealing. (51) Where are those statues now, Verres? I mean those we saw in your house the other day, standing by all the pillars, and in all the spaces between the pillars too, yes, and even set about your shrubbery in the open air. Why did they stay there in your house as long as you expected to be tried by a fresh president and by the judges you had balloted for to take these gentlemen's places, and then, later on, when you found that we on this side meant to employ the witnesses that suited us, and not the time that suited you, did you leave not one statue in your house, except the two in the middle of it - and they too were carried off from Samos? Did it never occur to you that on this point I was likely to subpoena your special friends who had continually been at your house, and make them say whether they knew of the previous existence of statues not now there?

[T186] II.1. 53-61 [70 BCE]

Aspendum vetus oppidum et nobile in Pamphylia scitis esse, plenissimum signorum optimorum. Non dicam illinc hoc signum ablatum esse et illud: hoc dico nullum te aspendi signum, Verres, reliquisse, omnia ex fanis, ex locis publicis, palam, spectantibus omnibus, plaustris evecta exportataque esse. Atque etiam illum Aspendium citharistam, de quo saepe audistis id quod est Graecis hominibus in proverbio, quem omnia intus canere dicebant, sustulit ot in intimis suis aedibus posuit, ut etiam illum ipsum suo artificio superasse videatur. Pergae fanum antiquissimum et sanctissimum Dianae scimus esse; id quoque a te nudatum ac spoliatum esse, ex ipsa Diana quod habebat auri detractum atque ablatum esse dico.

Quae, malum, est ista tanta audacia atque amentia? Quas enim sociorum atque amicorum urbes adisti legationis iure et nomine, si in eas vi cum exercitu imperioque invasisses, tamen, opinor quae signa atque ornamenta ex iis urbibus sustulisses, haec non in tuam domum neque in suburbana amicorum Romam in publicum deportasses. Quid ego de M. Marcello loquar, qui Syracusas urbem ornatissimam cepit? quid de L. Scipione, qui bellum in Asia gessit Antiochumque regem potentissimum vicit? quid de Flaminino qui regem Philippum et Macedoniam subegit? quid de L. Paulo, qui regem Persen vi ac virtute superavit? quid de L. Mummio, qui urbem pulcherrimam atque ornatissimam Corinthum, plenissimam rerum omnium, sustulit, urbesque Achaiae Boeotiaeque multas sub imperium

populi Romani dictionemque subiunxit? Quorum domus, cum honore et virtute florerent, signis et tabulis pictis erant - vacuae; at vero urbem totam templaque deorum omnesque Italiae partes illorum donis ac monumentis exornatas videmus. Vereor ne haec forte cuiquam nimis antiqua et iam obsoleta videantur; ita enim tum aequabiliter omnes erant eius modi ut haec laus eximiae virtutis et innocentiae non solum hominum verum etiam temporum illorum esse videatur. P. Servilius, vir clarissimus maximis rebus gestis, adest de te sententiam laturus: Olympum vi, copiis, consilio, virtute cepit, urbem antiquam et omnibus rebus auctam et ornatam. Recens exemplum fortissimi viri profero; nam postea Servilius imperator populi Romani Olympum urbem hostium cepit quam tu in iisdem locis legatus quaestorius oppida pacata sociorum atque amicorum diripienda ac vexanda curasti. Tu quae ex fanis religiosissimis per scelus et latrocinium abstulisti, ea nos videre nisi in tuis amicorumque tuorum tectis non possumus: P. Servilius, quae signa atque ornamenta ex urbe hostium, vi et virtute capta, belli lege atque imperatorio iure sustulit, ea populo Romano apportavit, per triumphum vexit, in tabulas publicas ad aerarium perscribenda curavit. Cognoscite ex litteris publicis hominis amplissimi diligentiam. Recita. RATIONES RELATAE P. SERVILII. Non Sollum numerum signorum sed etiam unius cuiusque magnitudinem, figuram, statum litteris definiri vides. Certe maior est virtutis victoriaeque iucunditas quam ista voluptas quae percipitur ex libidine et cupiditate. Multo diligentius habere dico Servilium praedam populi Romani, quam te tua furta notata atque perscripta.

Dices tua quoque signa et tabulas pictas ornamento urbi foroque populi Romani fuisse, Memini. vidi simul cum populo Romano forum comitiumque adornatum, ad speciem magnifico ornatu, ad sensum cogitationemque acerbo et lugubri; vidi collucere omnia furtis tuis, praeda provinciarum, spoliis sociorum atque amicorum. Quo quidem tempore, iudices, iste spem maximam reliquorum quoque peccatorum nactus est; vidit enim eos qui iudicioruro dominos se dici volebant harum cupiditatum esse servos. Socii vero nationesque exterae spem omnium tum primum abiecere rerum ac fortunarum suarum, propterea quod casu legati ex Asia atque Achaia plurimi Romae tunc fuerunt, qui deorum simulacra ex suis fanis sublata in foro venerabantur, itemque cetera signa et ornamenta cum cognoscerent, alia alio in loco lacrimantes intuebantur. Quorum omnium hunc sermonem tum esse audiebamus, nihil esse quod quisquam dubitaret de exitio sociorum atque amicorum, cum quidem viderent in foro populi Romani, quo in loco antea qui sociis iniurias fecerant accusari et condemnari solebant, ibi esse palam posita ea quae ab sociis per scelus ablata ereptaque essent.

Hic ego non arbitror illum negaturum signa se plurima, tabulas pictas innumerabiles habere; sed, ut opinor, solet haec yuae rapuit et furatus est non numquam dicere se emisse, quoniam quidem in Achaiam, Asiam, Pamphyliam sumptu publico et legationis nomine mercator signorum tabularumque pictarum missus est. XXIII. Habeo et istius et patris eius tabulas omnes, quas diligentissime legi atque digessi, patris quoad vixit, tuas quoad ais te confecisse. Nam in isto, iudices, hoc novum reperietis. Audimus aliquem tabulas numquam confecisse: quae est opinio hominum de Antonio, falsa, nam fecit diligentissime: verum sit hoc genus aliquod, minime probandum. Audimus alium non ab initio fecisse, sed ex tempore aliquo confecisse: est aliqua etiam eiusce rei ratio. Hoc vero novum et ridiculum est quod hic nobis respondit cum ab eo tabulas postularemus, usque ad M. Terentium et C. Cassium consules confecisse, postea destitisse. Alio loco hoc cuius modi sit considerabimus; nunc nihil ad me attinet, horum enim temporum in quibus nunc versor habeo tabulas et tuas et patris. Plurima signa pulrherrima, plurimae tabulas optimas deportasse te negare non potes; atque utinam neges! Unum ostende in tabulis aut tuis aut patris tui emptum esse: vicisti. Ne haec quidem duo signa pulcherrima quae nunc ad impluvium tuum stant, quae multos annos ad valvas lunonis Samiae steterunt, habes quo modo emeris; haec, inquam, duo, quae in aedibus tuis sola iam sunt, quae sectorem exspectant, relicta ac destituta a ceteris signis.

You are aware, gentlemen, that Aspendus is an old and famous town in Pamphylia, full of fine statuary. I shall not allege that from this town this or that particular statue was removed. My charge is that Verres did not leave one single statue behind; that from temples and public places alike, with the whole of Aspendus looking on, they were all openly loaded on wagons and carted away. Yes, even the famous Harper of Aspendus, about whom you have often heard the saying that is proverbial among the Greeks, of whom it was said that he made 'all his music inside' - him too Verres carried off and put right inside his own house, so as to get the reputation of having beaten the Harper himself at his own game. At Perga there is, as we know, a very ancient and much revered sanctuary of Diana: I assert that this too has been stripped and plundered by him, and that all the gold from the figure of Diana herself has been pulled off and taken away.

You villain, you knave, and you fool, what is the meaning of this? You visited these allied and friendly cities with the rights and the rank of assistant governor; but had you forcibly invaded them as a general at the head of an army, even so, any statuary or works of art that you might take away from them you were surely bound to transport, not to your own town

house or the suburban estates of your friends, but to Rome for the benefit of the nation. XXI. Need I quote the example of Marcus Marcellus, who captured Syracuse, that treasury of art? Of Lucius Scipio, who conducted the war in Asia and overthrew that mighty monarch Antiochus? Of Flamininus, who conquered King Philip and Macedonia? Of Lucius Paulus, whose energy and bravert overcame King Perseus? Of Lucius Mummius, who took the beautiful city of Corinth, full of art treasures of every kind, and brought so many cities of Achaia and Boeotia under the empire and sovranty of Rome? These were men of high rank and eminent character, but their houses were empty of statues and pictures; while we still see the whole city, and the temples of the gods, and every part of Italy, adorned with the gifts and memorials that they brought us. But there are some, I fear, to whom these instances may seem old-fashioned and already out of date; for so universal, in those days, were these fine qualities of virtue and integrity that my praise of them must be felt to extend beyond the great men themselves to the age in which they lived. Well, here among your judges its Publius Servilius, the hero of very great deeds, through whose skills and valour our troops forcibly captured the ancient city of Olympus, a place full of riches and works of art. This I quote as a modern example of how a brave man should behave; for this enemy city of Olympus has been captured by Servilius as a general in the Roman army since the time when you, Verres, as quaestor-governor in that same part of the world, had the towns of allies and friends at peace with us plundered and devastated. What you criminally and piratically stole from venerated sanctuaries we can only see in the private houses of you and your friends; the statues and objects of art, which, in accordance with the rights of war and his powers as general, Servilius removed from the enemy city that his strength and valour had captured, he brought home to his countrymen, dipslayed them in his triumphal procession, and had them entered in full in the official catalogue of the public Treasury. Let the national records inform us of the scrupulous care shown by this eminent man. Read them, please. *Statement of accounts submitted by Publius Servilius.* You see carefully stated in these records, not simply the number of the statues but the size, shape, and attitude of each one of them. How surely the satisfaction of a gallant conqueror surpasses the pleasure derived from self-indulgence and from greed! I derlare that Servilius had this captured treasure, the property of the nation, far more carefully identified and catalogued than you, Verres, ever had what you stole for yourself.

XXII.You plead that your statues and pictures, like his, have adorned the city and forum of the people of Rome. Yes: I remember standing among the people of Rome, and looking at the derorated Forum and Comitium; a decoration splendid to the eye, but painful and

melancholy to the heart and mind: I looked at the brilliant show that was made by your thefts, by the robbing of our provinces, by the spoliation of our friends and allies. Note that it was then, gentlemen, that Verres received his chief encouragment to continue his misdeeds: he saw that the men who aimed at being called the masters, of the courts were the servants of desire for such things as these. And it was then, on the other hand, and only then, that the allied and foreign temples abandoned their last hope of prosperity and happiness; for a large number of persons from Asia and Achaia, who happened at the time to be in Rome serving on deputations, beheld in our Forum the revered images of their gods that had been carried away from their own sanctuaries, and recognizing as well the other statues and works of art, some here and some there, would stand gazing at them with weeping eyes. What we then heard these people saying was always this, that the ruin of our allies and friends was certain beyond all question; for there in the Forum of Rome, in the place where once those who had wronged our allies used to be prosecuted and found quilty now stood, openly, exposed to view, the objects reft from those allies by criminals and robbers.

Now I do not suppose that Verres will at this point deny that he has numerous statues, and more pictures than he can count, in his possession. But I understand it to be his habit now and then to assert that these objects, which he has stolen by force or fraud, have really been bought. It would appear that he was sent out to Achaia and Asia and Pamphylia, at the national expense and with the title of assistant governor, in order to engage in the statue and picture trade. XXIII. Both his own accounts and his father's have come into my hands; I have read and studied them carefully; the father's up to the day of his death, his own for the period during which he claims to have kept them. For you will find this novelty in Verres' case, gentlemen. We have heard of a man's never keeping any accounts; that is what is widely believed about Antonius, though incorrertly, for he kept very careful accounts; still we may admit that this sort of thing occurs, and it is far from satisfactory. We have also heard of a man's not keeping accounts to begin with, but doing so from a certain date onwards; and that too one can to some extent understand. But what we have here is a ridiculous novelty: I demanded his accounts, and he told me that he had kept them duly up to the consulship of Marcus Terentius and Gaius Cassius but stopped keeping them after that. We will consider the significance of this elsewhere; for the moment I am not concerned with it, as I have both your own accounts, Verres, and your father's, for the period with which I am now dealing. You cannot deny that you brought away a large number of beautiful statues and a large number of fine paintings. I only wish you would deny it! Show me the record, either in your accounts or your father's, of your buying a single one of these things

and I surrender. You cannot show that you have bought even those two beautiful statues which are standing now beside the rainpool in your hall, and stood for many long years before the doors of Juno in Samos - those two, I mean, that are now left lonely in your house, waiting for the dealer, deserted and abandoned by all the others.

[T187] II.1.91 [70 BCE]

Nam Malleolus in provinciam sic copiose profectus erat ut domi prorsus nihil relinqueret; praeterea pecunias occuparat apud populos et syngraphas fecerat; argenti optimi caelati grande pondus secum tulerat (nam ille quoque sodalis istius erat in hoc morbo et cupiditate); grande pondus argenti, familiam magnam, multos artifices, multos formosos homines reliquerat. Iste quod argenti placuit invasit; quae mancipia voluit abduxit; vina ceteraque, quae in Asia facillime comparantur, quae ille reliquerat, asportavit; reliqua vendidit, pecuniam exegit.

Malleolus had gone off to his province so amply provided that he had left nothing at all at home behind him; he had, moreorer, invested money locally, and lent sums on note of hand. He had brought with him a great mass of fine silver plate, his morbid passion for which was a bond of union between himself and Verres. At his death he left this great mass of plate, and a large household of slaves, including a number of skilled workmen and a number of handsome attendants. Verres seized all the plate that took his fancy; took away all the slaves he wanted; shipped off what wine and other things easily procurable in Asia Malleolus had left; sold everything else, and got the money from the buyers.

[T188] II.2.13 [70 BCE]

V. Quae cum omnia facta sint, tamen unam solam scitote esse civitatem, Mamertinam, quae publice legatos qui istum laudarent miserit. Eius autem legationis principem, civitatis nobilissimum civem, C. Heium, iuratum dicere audistis isti navem onerariam maximam Messanae esse publice coactis operis aedificatam; idemque Mamertinorum legatus, istius laudator, non solum istum bona sua, verum etiam sacra deosque penates a maioribus traditos, ex aedibus suis eripuisse dixit. Praeclara laudatio, cum duabus in rebus legatorum una opera consumitur, in laudando atque repetendo! Atque ea ipsa civitas qua ratione isti amica sit dicetur certo loco. Reperietis enim, quae causae benivolentiae Mamertinis erga

istum sint, eas ipsas causas satis iustas esse damnationis. Alia civitas nulla, iudices, publico concilio laudat.

V. Now in spite of all this, let me inform you that only one single city, that of the Mamertines, has sent an official deputation to speak in Verres' support: and the chief man of that very deputation, Gaius Heius, the most distinguished person in that city, has stated on oath in your hearing that a large cargo ship was built for Verres at Messana by workmen officially impressed; and this same representative of the Mamertines and eulogist of Verres has charged Verres with not merely carrying off his personal property but plundering his home of the sacred vessels and household gods that were his family heirlooms. An impresive eulogy indeed, when the energies of those sent to deliver it are divided between praising the thief and denouncing his thefts! You shall, moreover, be told when the time comes of the origin of Messana's attachment to Verres: and you will then see that the grounds for her citizens' goodwill towards him are in themselves sufficient grounds for his conviction. Of the other cities, not one, gentlemen, sends him official support.

[T189] II. 2.20 [70 BCE]

Ea erat, iudices, pergrandis pecunia. Hic est Dio, iudices, nunc beneficio Q. Metelli civis Romanus factus; de quo multis viris primariis, testibus multorumque tabulis vobis priore actione satis factum est HS deciens numerata esse ut eam causam in qua ne tenuissima quidem dubitatio posset esse isto cognoscente obtineret; praeterea greges nobilissimarum equarum abactos, argenti vestisque stragulae domi quod fuerit esse direptum: ita HS deciens Q. Dionem quod hereditas ei venisset, nullam aliam ob causam, perdidisse.

This legacy, gentlemen, was a very large sum of money. Dio, you should know, has now the rank of a Roman citizen, conferred on him by Quintus Metellus; and it was he, as was made clear to you at the first hearing of this case by the personal and written evidence of a number of witnesses of high standing, by whom the sum of ten thousand pounds was paid over to secure from Verres a judgement in his favour on an issue admitting not the smallest shadow of doubt. Besides this, his herds of thoroughbred mares were taken from his fields, and his house plundered of all the silver and tapestries it contained. Thus Dio lost ten thousand pounds simply through having received a legacy.

[T190] II.2.35-36 [70 BCE]

Heraclius est, Hierons filius, Syracusanus, homo in primis domi suae nobilis, et ante hunc praetorem vel pecuniosissimus Syracusanorum, nunc, nulla alia calamitate nisi istius avaritia atque iniuria, pauperrimus. Huic hereditas ad HS facile triciens venit testamento propinqui sui Heraclii, plena domus caelati argenti optimi multaeque stragulae vestis pretiosoruroque mancipiorum, quibus in rebus istius cupiditate; et insanias quis ignorat? Erat in sermone res, magnam Heraclio pecuniam relictam; non solum Heraclium divitem, sed etiam ornatum supelectile, argento, veste, mancipiis futurum. Audit haec etiam Verres, et primo illo suo leniore artificio Heraclium aggredi conatur, ut eum roget inspicienda quae non reddat. Deinde a quibusdam Syracusanis admonetur - hi autem quidam erant affines istius, quorum iste uxores numquam alienas existimavit, Cleomenes et Aeschrio, qui quantum apud istum et quam turpi de causa potuerint es reliquis criminibus intellegetis - hi, ut dico, hominem admonent rem esse praeclaram, refertam omnibus rebus; ipsum autem Heraclium hominem esse maiorem natu, non promptissimum; eum praeter Marcellos patronum, quem suo iure adire aut appellare posset, habere neminem; esse in eo testamento quo ille heres esset scriptus ut statuas in palaestra deberet ponere. 'Faciemus ut palaestritae negent ex testamento esse positas, petant hereditatem, quod eam palaestrae commissam esse dicant....'.

Heraclius of Syracuse, the son of Hiero, is a man who holds the highest rank among his own people and in his days before Verres' praetorship was perhaps the wealthiest man in Syracuse; though his sole disaster has been to encounter this greedy tyrant, to-day he is the poorest. By the will of a kinsman of his own name, he received a legacy amounting to a clear £30,000 and including a house fully furnished with fine engraved silver plate, with an abundance of tapestries, and with valuable slaves; and which of us does not know this man's crazy passion for such things as those? It was common talk that Heraclius had had a large sum left to him; that he would be not only wealthy, but richly supplied with furniture, plate, woven fabrics and slaves. Verres too heard of this, and made his first attack on Heraclius by his wellknown but comparatively mild method of asking him for the loan of things to look at, with no intention of returning them. It was then suggested to him by certain citizens of Syracuse, Cleomenes and Aeschrio - they were connected with him through their wives, whom he always considered as quite his own; and the extent and disgraceful source of their influence with him will appear plainly in connexion with other charges - these persons, I say, pointed out to him that the property was a very noble one, richly stocked with all

manner of good things: that Heraclius himself was elderly and not very energetic; that apart from the Marcelli he had no special protector whom he could approach or call to his help; and that in the will leaving him the property there was a clause requiring him to erect certain statues in the athletic park. 'Let us make the curators of the park declare that the statues have not been erected in accordance with the will, and let them claim the estate as being forfeited to the park.'

[T191] II.2.46-47 [70 BCE]

Quae est ista praetura? Eripis hereditatem quae venerat a propinquo, venerat testamento, venerat legibus; quae bona is qui testamentum fecit huic Heraclio, aliquanto ante quam est mortuus, omnia utenda ac possidenda tradiderat; cuius hereditatis, cum ille aliquanto ante te praetorem esset mortuus, controversia fuerat nulla, mentionem fecerat nemo. XIX. Verum esto: eripe hereditatem propinquis, da palaestritis, praedare in bonis alienis nomine civitatis, everte leges, testamenta, voluntates mortuorum, iura vivorum: num etiam patriis Heraclium bonis exturbare oportuit? Qui simul ac profugit, quam impudenter, quam palam, quam acerbe, di immortales, illa bona direpta sunt! quam illa res calamitosa Heraclio, quaestuosa Verri, turpis Syracusanis, miseranda omnibus videbatur! Nam illud quidem statim curatur, ut quicquid Corinthiorum vasorum, stragulae vestis; haec nemo dubitabat quin non modo ex illa domo capta et oppressa, verum ex tota provincia, ad istum comportari necesse esset. Mancipia quae voluit abduxit, alia divisit; auctio facta est in qua cohors istius invicta dominata est. Verum illud est praeclarum. Syracusani qui praefuerant his Heraclii bonis verbo redigendis, re dispertiendis, reddebant eorum negotiorum rationem in senatu. Dicebant scyphorum paria complura, hydrias argenteas pretiosas, vestem stragulam multam, mancipia pretiosa data esse Verri. Dicebant quantum cuique eius iussu nummorum esset datum; gemebant Syracusani, sed tamen patiebantur. Repente recitatur uno nomine HS ccc. iussu praetoris data. Fit maximus clamor omnium, non modo optimi cuiusque, neque eorum quibus indignum semper visum erat bona privati populi nomine per summam iniuriam erepta; verum etiam ipsi illi auctores iniuriae et ex aliqua particula socii praedae ac rapinarum clamare coeperunt sibi ut haberet hereditatem. Tantus in curia clamor factus est ut populus concurreret.

There is a way to govern a country! You rob the man of an estate that had been left to him by a relative, left to him by will, left to him legally; a property which Heraclius, the maker of

the will, some time before his death, had conveyed complete to this Heraclius for his enjoyment and possession; an inheritance concerning which, thought the testator had died long before you came into office, no dispute whatsoever had occurred, no suggestion of such a thing had been made by anyone. XIX. But never mind that. Rob the next-of-kin of the legacy, present it to the curators of the park; pounce upon another man's property in the name of his fellow-citizens; overthrow the sanctions of law and the rights of bequest, the wishes of the dead and the just claims of the living, if you will: but must you also force Heraclius to give up all that his own father left him? No sooner had he fled than it was all carried off; and, God help us, with what shameless publicity and cruelty! What a picture! Heraclius groaning under his calamity, Verres gloating over his profits, the Syracusans blushing with shame, men's hearts everywhere filled with distress! For one thing was promptly seen to - the conveyance to Verres of all the family engraved silver plate and Corinthian brass and tapestries; and no one could doubt that such things would have to be gathered and brought to him not only from that one captured and devastated house but from the length and breadth of the province. He carried off such of the slaves as he fancied, and sold the others in lots; an auction took place, at which his unconquerable followers had everything at their mercy. One incident is truly impressive. The Syracusans who were in charge of this business of nominally selling and really giving away this property of Heraclius submitted a report upon it to their Senate. They stated that several pairs of goblets, some costly silver jugs, a large quantity of fabrics, and some valuable slaves, had been presented to Verres. They stated the sums of money paid by his orders to various persons: groans were heard from the citizens at this but no protest was made. Suddenly there was read out the single item of a payment of £3000 made by the praetor's orders. This provoked a loud and general uproar, and not only from all the honest people, or those who had all the while felt it to be horrible that a private person should with such flagrant injustice be robbed of his property in the name of the community: even the men who had actually supported the outrage and who to some small extent had shared in the looting and plundering began to call out, "Let him keep the estate for himself." The uproar in the Senate-house was so violent that a crowd of the townsfolk was attracted.

[T192] II.2.50 [70 BCE]

Numerantur illa HS ccc. Syracusanis. Ea quem ad modum ad istum postea per pseudothyrum revertantur tabulis vobis testibusque, iudices, planum faciam.

XXI. Ex hac iniquitate istius et improbitate, iudices, quod praeda ex illis bonis ad multos Syracusanos invito populo senatuque Syracusano venerat, illa scelera per Theomnastum et Aeschrionem et Dionysodorum et Cleomenem invitissima civitate illa facta sunt: primum ut urbs tota spoliaretur, qua de re alius mihi locus ad dicendum est constitutus; ut omnia signa iste per eos homines quos nominavi, omne ebur ex aedibus sacris, omnes undique tabulas pictas, deorum denique simulacra quae vellet auferret: deinde ut in curia Syracusis, quem locum illi βουλευτηριον nomine appellant, honestissimo loco et apud illos clarissimo, ubi illius ipsius M. Marcelli, qui eum Syracusanis locum, quem eripere belli ac victoriae lege posset, conservavit ac reddidi, statua ex aere facta est, ibi inauratam istius et alteram filio statuam ponerent, ut dum istius hominis memoria maneret, senatus Syracusanus sine lacrimis et gemitu in curia esse non posset.

That £3000 was refunded to the Syracusans: how it subsequently came back to Verres by a back door I will show you, gentlemen, by means of documentary and personal evidence.

XXI. This piece of wicked injustice, gentlemen - this bestowal of that plundered property on a number of Syracusan individuals against the wishes ot the Syracusan Senate and people - is well matched by the crimes committed through Theomnastus and Aeschrio, Dionysodoros and Cleomenes, crimes which Syracuse resented bitterly. To begin with, as I intend to tell you in another part of my speech - the whole city was stripped of its treasures; with the help of the persons whom I have named, he carried off from the temples in the city every statue, every ivory carving, every painting, and every sacred image on which he chose to lay his hands. And then, what happened in the Senate-house at Syracuse - the bouleuterion, as they call it there? A revered spot, full of glorious memories for them; a place where stands the bronze statue of the great Marcus Marcellus himself, the man who might, by the custom of war and conquest, have taken the place away from them, but instead of that protected and restored it. In that place they erected a gilded statue of Verres, and another in honour of his son, that, so long as their memory of the man lasted, the senators of Syracuse might be unable to sit in their Senate-house without tears and groans.

[T193] II.2.83-85 [70 BCE]

Sthenius est, hic qui nobis assidet, Thermitanus, antea multis propter summam virtutem summamque nobilitatem, nunc propter suam calamitatem atque istius insignem iniuriam, omnibus notus. Huius hospitio Verres cum esset usus, et cum apud eum non solum Thermis saepenumero fuisset sed etiam habitasset, omnia domo eius abstulit quae paulo magis animum cuiuspiam aut oculos possent commovere. Etenim Sthenius ab adulescentia paulo studiosius haec compararat, supellectilem ex aere elegantiorem, et Deliacam et Corinthiam, tabulas pictas, etiam argenti bene facti, prout Thermitani hominis facultates ferebant, satis. Quae, cum esset in Asia adulescens, studiose, ut dixi, comparabat, non tam suae delectationis causa quam ad invitationes adventusque nostrorum hominum, amicorum atque hospitum. Quae posteaquam iste omnia abstulit, alia rogando, alia poscendo, alia sumendo, ferebat Sthenius ut poterat; angebatur animi necessario quod domum eius exornatam atque instructam fere iam iste reddiderat nudam atque inanem: verum tamen dolorem suum nemini impertiebat: praetoris iniurias tacite, hospitis placide ferendas arbitrabatur. Interea iste cupiditate illa sua nota atque apud omnes pervagata, cum signa quaedam pulcherrima atque antiquissima Thermis in publico posita vidisset, adamavit; a Sthenio petere coepit ut ad ea tollenda operam suam profiteretur seque adiuvaret. Sthenius vero non solum negavit, sed etiam ostendit fieri id nullo modo posse ut signa antiquissima, monumenta P. Africani, ex oppido Thermitanorum incolumi illa civitate imperioque populi Romani tollerentur.

The gentleman who is sitting near me is Sthenius of Thermae, whose high rank and character once made his name familiar to many of us, and whose unhappy fate and notable sufferings at Verres' hands have made it now familiar to us all. Though Verres had enjoyed his hospitality, though he had not only repeatedly been to see him at Thermae but actually stayed in his house, he carried off from it every object in which anyone could feel or see any degree of unusual beauty. The truth is that Sthenius had all his life been a rather keen collector of such things - Delian and Corinthian bronze of special elegance, pictures, and even finely-wrought silver, of which he had, considering what the means of a man of Thermae would allow, a good stock. As a young man in Asia he had, as I said, been a keen collector of these things; less with a view to his own enjoyment than to enable him to invite, and be ready to receive, our own people as his friends and guests. When Verres had carried all his treasures off, having asked for some, demanded others, and helped himself to the rest, Sthenius bore his loss as well as he could. He was, of course, distressed at the almost bare and empty state to which Verres had by now reduced his well fitted and furnished home; still, he shared his

unhappiness with nobody; the outrages of a governor must, he felt, be borne in silence, and those of a guest with calmness. Verres, in the meantime, with the cupidity for which he is notorious all over the world, fell in love with certain very fine and ancient statues which he saw standing in some public part of Thermae, and began pressing Sthenius to promise him his assistance in getting hold of them. Sthenius, however, refused; and more than that, pointed out that these ancient statues, memorials of Scipio Africanus, could not by any possibility be carried away from the town of Thermae so long as Thermae and the Roman Empire remained intact.

[T194] II.2.87-88 [70 BCE]

Erant signa ex aere complura: in his eximia pulchritudine ipsa Himera, in muliebrem figuram habitumque formata, ex oppidi nomine et fluminis. Erat etiam Stesichori poetae statua, senilis, incurva, cum libro, summo, ut putant, artificio facta; qui fuit Himerae, sed et est et fuit tota Graecia summo propter ingenium honore et nomine. Haec iste ad insaniam concupiverat. Etiam, quod paene praeterii, capella quaedam est,ea quidem mire, ut etiam nos, quirudes harum rerum sumus, intellegere possumus, scite facta et venuste. Haec et alia Scipio non neglegenter abiecerat, ut homo intellegens Verres auferre posset, sed Thermitanis restituerat: non quo ipse hortos aut suburbanum aut locum omnino ubi ea poneret nullum haberet; sed quod, si domum abstulisset, non diu Scipionis appellarentur, sed eorum ad quoscumque illius morte venissent; nunc iis locis posita sunt ut mihi semper Scipionis fore videantur itaque dicantur.

XXXVI. Haec cum iste posceret agereturque ea res in senatu, Sthenius vehementissime restitit, multaque, ut in primis Siculorum :n dicendo copiosus est, commemoravit: urbem relinquere Thermitanis esse honestius quam pati tolli ex urbe monumenta maiorum, spolia hostium, beneficia clarissimi viri, indicia societatis populi Romani atque amicitiae. Commoti animi sunt omnium; repertus est nemo quin mori diceret satius esse. Itaque hoc adhuc oppidum Verres invenit prope solum in orbe terrarum unde nihil eius modi rerum de publico per vim, nihil occulte, nihil imperio, nihil gratia, nihil pretio posset auferre. Verum hasce eius cupiditates exponam alio loco; nunc ad Sthenium revertar.

There were several bronze statues; among others one of exceptional beauty, the figure of a woman wearing woman's dress, representing Himera herself, whose name is that of both town and river. There was also a statue of the poet Stesichorus, represented as an old man

leaning forward and holding a book; this is reckoned a very fine work of art; its subject lived at Himera but is and always has been honoured and renowned for his genius throughout the Greek world. Both these Verres had been seized with a frantic craving to acquire. There is also - I had nearly forgotten it - the figure of a she-goat, and this certainly is, as even we who know little of such things can tell a wonderfully clever and charming bit of work. These and other such objects Scipio had not thrown carelessly aside for a connoisseur like Verres to appropriate, but had returned them to their owners, the people of Thermae; not because he was without a garden in Rome, or an estate near it, or a place of some kind somewhere in which to put them; but because, if he took them away home, they would be called Scipio's for a short while only, and thereafter be known as the property of those who inherited them at his death: standing where they do, I feel that they will be Scipio's always; and so indeed are they described.

XXXVI. When Verres demanded these treasures, the matter was discussed in the local Senate. Sthenius there attacked the proposal violently, reminding his hearers of the facts in a long speech, delivered with the fluency for which he is distinguished among Sicilians. Better, he said, for them to abandon Thermae than to allow the removal from Thermae of those memorials of their fathers, those trophies of victory, those gifts of their illustrious benefactor, those tokens of their alliance and friendship with the Roman nation. All his hearers were deeply stirred; none but declared that death were a better fate. And this is consequently almost the only town in the world from which Verres has so far found it impossible to carry off any publicly-owned treasure of this sort either by stealth, or by force, or by the exercise of authority, or by favour, or by purchase. However, I will tell elsewhere the tale of his voracity in such matters, and will now go back to Sthenius.

[T195] [II.2.128] [70 BCE]

... sed is fieri nullo modo poterat si Herodotus quidam adesset; ei locus ille atque honos in illum annum ita deberi putabatur ut ne Climachias quidem contra diceret. Res ad istum defertur, et istius more deciditur - toreumata sane nota ac pretiosa auferuntur. ...

... however, his appointment was out of the question if a certain Herodotus appeared as candidate, a man whose claims to this position of authority for the coming years were so strongly supported that Climachias himself could not oppose to them. The matter was

reported to Verres and settled in his customary fashion - there was a transfer of some quite famous and valuable chased silver work....

[T196] [II.2.142] [70 BCE]

LVIII. Verum ubi tandem aut in quibus statuis ista tanta pecunia consumpta est? Consumetur, inquies. Scilicet exspectemus legitimum illud quinquennium; si hoc intervallo non consumpserit, tum denique nomen eius de pecuniis repetundis statuarun nomine deferemus. Reus est maximis plurimisque criminibus in iudicium vocatus, HS viciens ex hoc uno genere captum videmus: si condemnatus eris, non, opinor, id ages ut ista pecunia in quinquennio consumatur in statuis; sin absolutus eris, quis erit tam amens qui te ex tot tantisque criminibus elapsum post quinquennium statuarum nomine arcessat? Ita si neque adhuc consumpta est ista pecunia et est perspicuum non consumptum iri, licet iam intellegamus inventam esse rationem quare et iste HS viciens ex hoc uno genere conciliarit et ceperit, et ceteri, si hoc a vobis erit comprobatum, quam volent magnas hoc nomine pecunias capere possint; ut iam videamur non a pecuniis capiendis homines absterrere, sed, cum genera quaedam pecuniarum capiendarum comprobarimus, lionesta nomina turpissimis rebus imponere.

LVIII. But where, on what statues, has all that money of yours in fact been spent? It will be so spent, you will answer. We are to wait, I take it, for the five legal years of grace to elapse and if he has not so spent it meanwhile, then will come our time to prosecute him for extortion in connexion with these statues! He stands here charged now with a great number of serious offences: and we find that, under this one head, he has laid hold of twenty thousand pounds. If you are found guilty, it will not, I imagine, be your object to have this money spent on statues within the next five years; and if you are acquitted, no one will be such a fool, after your escape from all these grave charges, as to arraign you five years later for your behaviour about the statues. So, if the money has not yet been spent, and if it is also obvious that it is not going to be spent, we can now see that a method has been discovered whereby Verres, in this one department, collected and stole £20,000, and whereby all other governors, if this one's conduct receives your sanction, will be able to steal as large sums as they choose on the same pretext; so that we shall palpably not be deterring people from stealing, but, by our sanction of stealing of particular kinds, applying respectable names to villainous actions.

[T197-198] [II.2.158-159] [70 BCE]

De quo homine auditum est umquam, quod tibi accidit, ut eius in provincia statuae, in locis publicis positae, partim etiam in aedibus sacris, per vim et per universam multitudinem deicerentur? Tot homines in Asia nocentes, tot in Africa, tot in Hispania, Gallia, Sardinia, tot in ipsa Sicilia fuerunt: ecquo de homine hoc umquam audivistis? Novum est, iudices; in Siculis quidem et in omnibus Graecis monstri simile. Non crederem hoc de statuis nisi iacentes revulsasque vidissem, propterea quod apud omnes Graecos hic mos est, ut honorem hominibus habitum in monumentis eius modi nonnulla religione deorum consecrari arbitrentur. Itaque Rhodii, qui prope soli bellum illud superius cum Mithridate rege gesserint, omnesque eius copias acerrimumque impetum moenibus, litoribus classibusque suis exceperint, tamen, cum ei regi inimici praeter ceteros essent, statuam eius, quae erat apud ipsos in celeberrimo urbis loco, ne tum quidem in ipsis urbis periculis attigerunt. Ac forsitan vix convenire videretur, quem ipsum hominem cuperent evertere, eius effigiem simulacrumque servare; sed tamen videbam, apud eos cum essem, et religionem esse quandam in his rebus a maioribus traditam, et hoc disputari, cum statua se eius habuisse temporis rationem quo posita esset, cum homine eius quo gereret bellum atque hostis esset. LXVI. Videtis igitur consuetudinem religionemque Graecorum, quae monumenta hostium in bello ipso soleat defendere, eam summa in pace praetoris populi Romani statuis praesidio non fuisse.

Have we ever heard that what happened to you has happened to any other man - that his statues in his province, statues set up in public places, and some of them even in sacred edifices, were attacked and thrown down by a united multitude? Think of all the bad rulers that Asia has had, that Africa has had, that Spain and Gaul and Sardinia have had, that Sicily herself has had: yet has this court ever heard this told of any one of them? It is an unheard of act, gentlemen; and for Sicilians, for any Greeks at all, to behave thus is a sort of monstrosity. I should not believe this about the statues had I not seen them lying there, wrenched off their pedestals; for it is the way of all Greeks to fancy that, in memorials of this kind, the honour bestowed on men is hallowed with a measure of divine consecration. Thus it was that the Rhodians, who maintained the first war against King Mithridates almost single-handed, whose walls and coasts and fleets faced his whole army and the main brunt of his attack, none the less, though they hated that king as no other people did, laid no hand upon the statue of him that stood in the most frequented part of their city, not even when that

city was in actual danger. It might perhaps seem hardly fitting, when they were eager for the overthrow of the man himself, to preserve the image and likeness of him. But I found, when I was among them, that they have an inherited sense of the sanctity, as it were, of such things; and they argued thus, that with the statue they had thought of the time when it was set up; with the man, of the time when he was fighting them and was their enemy. LXVI. And now you see that the traditional reverence of the Greeks, which commonly protects the memorials of their enemies while they are actually at war with them, has yet, in a time of profound peace, been no protection to the statues of a governor representing the Roman People.

[T199] II.3.9 [70 BCE]

Quid? hoc cuiquam ferendum putas esse, nos ita vivere in pecunia tenui ut prorsus hinil acquirere velimus, ut dignitatem nostram populique Romani beneficia non copiis sed virtute tueamur, istum rebus omnibus undique erectis impune eludentem circumfluere atque abundare? huius argento dominia vestra, huius signis et tabulis forum comitiumque ornari, praesertim cum vos vestro Marte his rebus omnibus abundetis? Verrem esse qui vestras villas suis manubiis ornet? Verrem esse qui cum L. Mummio certet, ut plures hic sociorum urbes quam ille hostium spoliasse videatur, plures hic villas ornamentis fanorum quam ille fana spoliis hostium ornasse? Et is erit ob eam rem vobis carior ut ceteri libentius suo periculo vestris cupiditatibus serviant?

And then again, do you suppose that anyone can find it tolerable that while we honest men, slender as our means are, have no wish to add one penny to our wealth, but make our merit, and not our money, the means whereby we maintain our dignity and justify the favours conferred upon us by the Roman nation, this indiscriminate robber should escape all punishment and enjoy a luxurious superfluity of everything? that from him comes silver to adorn the banquets of you and your friends, and statues and pictures to adorn the forum and place of assembly, in spite of the abundance of all such things with which your own campaigns have enriched you? that Verres should be the man who equips *your* country-houses with *his* spoils? that Verres should be outgoing Lucius Mummius, that we should find him plundering more cities of our allies than Mummius plundered cities of our enemies, and decorating more country-houses with ornaments taken from temples with spoils taken from our enemies? And shall your devotion to him be stimulated by the prospect of thus

inducing other men the more readily to risk their own destruction in order to minister to your greedy passions?

[T200] II.4.1-2 [70 BCE]

I. Venio nunc ad istius, quem ad modum ipse apellat, studium, ut amici eius, morbum et insaniam, ut Siculi, latrocinium; ego quo nomine appellem nescio; rem vobis proponam, vos eam suo, non nominis, pondere penditote. Genus ipsum prius cognoscite, iudices; deinde fortasse non magno opere quaeretis quo id nomine appellandumo putetis. Nego in Sicilia tota, tam locupleti, tamo vetere provincia, tot oppidis, tot familiis tam copiosis, ullum argenteum vas, ullum Corinthium aut Deliacum fuisse, ullam gemmam aut margaritam, quicquam ex auro aut ebore factum, signum ullum aeneum, marmoreum, eburneum, nego ullam picturam neque in tabula neque in textili, quin conquisierit, inspexerit quod placitum sit abstulerit. Magnum videor dicere; attendite etiam quem ad modum dicam. Non enim verbi neque criminis augendi causa complector omnia; cum dico nihil istum eius modi rerum in tota provincia reliquisse, Latine me scitote, non accusatorie loqui. Etiam planius: nihil in aedibus cuiusquam, ne in hospitis quidem, nihil in locis communibus, ne in fanis quidem, nihil apud Siculum, nihil apud civem Romanum, denique nihil istum, quod ad oculos animuque acciderit, neque privati neque publici neque profani neque sacri tota in Sicilia reliquisse.

I. I come now to what he himself speaks of as his favourite pursuit, his friends as a foolish weakness, Sicily as highway robbery. What name I should myself give it I know not: I will put the facts of it before you, and you shall judge of it by its nature and not by its name.Let me first describe it in general terms; having heard which, you will perhaps be at no great loss to assign the proper name to it. I assert that in all Sicily the rich and ancient province of Sicily - in all its towns and in all its wealthy households - there was not one vessel of silver, not one of Corinthian or Delian bronze, no pearl or graven jewel, no object of gold or ivory, no bronze or marble or ivory statue, no painting or embroidery, that he did not seek out, examine and (if he liked it) appropriate. This may seem a bold statement; but let me ask you to note what I mean by making it. Its unqualified terms are not an oratorical exaggeration, not an attempt to magnify the guilt of the accused: when I assert that he has left no object of this description anywhere in Sicily, you are to understand that I am not using the

conventional language of a prosecutor, but speaking the literal truth. I will put it more exactly still. In no man's house, though the man were his host; in no public place, though the place where a sanctuary; in the possession of no man, Sicilian or Roman citizen; nowhere, in short, throughout Sicily, has he left behind any object, whether private or public property, whether consecrated or not consecrated, that his eyes have beheld and his heart has coveted.

[T201] II.4.4-8 [70 BCE]

Erat apud Heium sacrarium magna cum dignitate in aedibus a maiorihus traditum perantiquum, in quo signa pulcherrima quattuor summo artificio, summa nobilitate, quae non modo istum hominem ingeniosum et intellegentem, verum etiam quemvis nostrum, quos iste idiotas appellat, delectare possent. Unum Cupidinis marmoreum Praxiteli nimirum didici etiam, dum in istum inquiro, artificum nomina. Idem, opinor, artifex eiusdem modi Cupidinem fecit illum qui est Thespiis, propter quem Thespiae visuntur, nam alia visendi causa nulla est. Atque ille L. Mummius, cum Thespiadas, quae ad aedem Felicitatis sunt, ceteraque profana ex illo oppido signa tolleret, hunc marmoreum Cupidinem, quod erat consecratus, non attigit.

III. Verum ut ad illud sacrarium redeam, signum erat hoc quod dico Cupidinis e marmore; ex altera parte Hercules egregie factus ex aere. Is dicebatur esse Myronis, ut opinor et certe. Item ante hos deos erant arulae, quae cuivis religionem sacrarii significare possent. Erant aenea duo praeterea signa, non maxima, verum eximia venustate, virginali habitu atque vestitu, quae manibus sublatis sacra quaedam more Atheniensium virginum reposita in capitibus sustinebant; Canephoroe ipsae vocabantur; sed earum artificem -quem? quemnam? recte admones, Polyclitum esse dicebant. Messanam ut quisque nostrum venerat, haec visere solebat; omnibus haec ad visendum patebant cotidie; domus erat non domino magis ornamento quam civitati. C. Claudius, cuius aedilitatem magnificentissimam scimus fuisse, usus est hoc Cupidine tam diu dum forum dis immortalibus populoque Romano habuit ornatum, et, cum hospes esset Heiorum, Mamertini autem populi patronus, ut illis benignis usus est ad commodandum, sic ipse diligens fuit ad reportandum. Nuper homines nobiles eius modi, iudices - sed quid dico "nuper"? iromo vero modo ac plane paulo ante vidimus, qui forum et basilicas non spoliis provinciarum sed ornamentis amicorum, commodis hospitum, non furtis nocentium, ornarent; qui tamen signa atque ornamenta sua cuique reddebant, non ablata ex urbibus sociorum atque amicorum, quadridui causa, per simulationem aedilitatis, domum deinde atque ad suas villas auferebant. Haec omnia quae

dixi signa, iudices, ab Heio e sacrario Verres abstulit; nullum, inquam, horum reliquit neque aliud ullum tamen praeter unum pervetus ligneum, Bonam Fortunam, ut opinor; eam iste habere domi suae noluit.

IV. Pro deum hominumque fidem, quid hoc est? quae haec causa est? quae ista impudentia? Quae dico signa, ante quam abs te sublata sunt, Messanam cum imperio nemo venit quin viserit. Tot praetores, tot consules in Sicilia cum in pace tum etiam in bello fuerunt, tot homines cuiusque modi - non loquor de integris, innocentibus, religiosis - tot cupidi, tot improbi, tot audaces, quorum nemo sibi tam vehemens, tam potens, taro nobilis visus est qui ex illo sacrario quicquam poscere aut tollere aut attingere auderet: Verres quod ubique erit pulcherrimum auferet? nihil habere cuiquam praeterea licebit? tot domus locuple tissimas istius domus una capiet? Idcirco nemo superiorum attigit, ut hic tolleret? ideo C. Claudius Pulcher rettulit, ut C. Verres posset auferre? At non requirebat ille Cupido lenonis domum ac meretriciam disciplinam; facile illo sacrario patrio continebatur; Heio se a maioribus relictum esse sciebat in hereditate sacrorum, non quaerebat meretricis heredem. Sed quid ego tam vehementer invehor? verbo uno repellar. "Emi" inquit. Di immortales, praeclaram defensionem! Mercatorem in provinciam cum imperio ac securibus misimus, omnia qui signa, tabulas pictas, omne argentum, aurum, ebur, gemmas coemeret, nihil cuiquam relinqueret! Haec enim mihi ad omnia defensio patefieri videtur, emisse. Primum, si id quod vis tibi ego concedam, ut emeris, quoniam in toto hoc genere hac una defensione usurus es, quaero cuius modi tu iudicia Romae putaris esse, si tibi hoc quemquam concessurum putasti, te in praetura atque imperio tot res tam pretiosas, omnes denique res quae alicuius pretii fuerint, tota ex provincia coemisse.

There was in this house of Heius a stately chapel, an ancient inheritance from his forefathers, in which stood four statues; admirable works of the greatest beauty and artistic merit, capable of giving pleasure not only to so highly gifted an expert as Verres, but also to any of us "outsiders", as he calls us. One was a marble Cupid by Praxiteles - I learnt the artists' names, you will understand, in the course of my investigations as prosecutor. It is, I believe, the same sculptor who made the similar Cupid at Thespiae which is what people go to Thespiae to see, there being no other reason to go there. I may add that the celebrated Lucius Mummius, though he took away from that town all the unconsecrated statues, including the 'Ladies of Thespiae' now standing beside the Temple of Good Fortune, did not touch this marble Cupid, because it was consecrated.

III. But to return to the chapel of Heius, there was this marble statue of Cupid that I speak of; and opposite to it stood an admirable bronze Hercules, said to be the work of Myron, I believe - yes, it was so. And in front of these divine figures were altars unmistakable proof, surely, of the chapel's sanctity. There were two other bronze statues, not very large but remarkably attractive, in the shape and attire of maidens, who like the Athenian maidens held with their raised hands certain sacred objects resting on their heads. The statues were called the Canephoroe; but the sculptor - who was he? now who did they say he was? oh yes, thank you - Polyclitus. When visiting Messana, all our countrymen would go to see these statues; the house was open daily to visitors who wished to see them; its beauty was for the whole town to enjoy not less than for its owner. Gaius Claudius, the splendours of whose aedileship are well known, borrowed this Cupid for the time during which he had the forum decorated to the glory of the gods and the Roman nation being the guestfriend of the Heius family and the patron of the Messanians; but he was as careful to restore it afterwards as he had found them kindly willing to lend it. Such was the way of our distinguished men not long ago, gentlemen: 'not long ago', do I say? no, a very little while ago, very recently indeed, we have seen such men decorate the Forum and colonnades not with the plunder of our provinces but with the treasures of their friends, with what their hosts had lent them and not with what their guilty hands had stolen; and none the less did they return these statues and art treasures to their several owners. They did not carry them off from the cities of our friends and allies, pretending, as aediles, to be borrowing them for a four-day festival, and then transport them to their own town-mansions and country-houses. But Verres, gentlemen, carried off all the statues I have mentioned from the chapel of Heius; I assure you, he left not one of them behind, nor indeed anything else except one ancient figure of wood, which I believe represented Good Fortune - this he was not by way of having in his house.

IV. What, in the name of all that is just and holy, have we here ? Was ever such an impudent rascal accused of such a thing before? Until the statues I speak of were carried off by you, no governor ever came to Messana without going to see them. Of all those governors of Sicily, praetorian and consular, in time of peace and in time of war; of all those governors, good and bad - nay, passing over the honest, the blameless, the conscientious, I will speak only of the greedy, the immoral and the unscrupulous; of all these men, not one conceived himself so determined, so powerful, or so illustrious, as to venture to demand, to remove, to lay one finger upon, any object in that chapel. And shall Verres carry off from place after place the most beautiful things that it holds? shall no one else be suffered to keep anything? shall all those wealthy houses go to fill his single house alone? Did his predecessors leave those

things untouched in order that he might remove them bodily? did Gaius Claudius Pulcher give them back in order that Gaius Verres might take them away again? It was not that the Cupid felt any yearning for the house of this profligate or for the society of his mistresses. He was content to remain within the walls of the family chapel; he knew himself bequeathed to Heius as part of a sacred inheritance from his forefathers, and had no wish to belong to the heir of a courtesan.

And yet, why this vehement attack upon Verres? A single word will beat it off. "*I bought* the things," he tells us. God help us, what a superb defence! We have given the powers and the insignia of governor to a trader, and sent him to our province to buy up all the statues and pictures, all the gold and silver plate, all the gems and ivories, and leave nothing there for anyone! Yes, to every single charge of robbery he is evidently ready to reply that he 'bought it.' - Now in the first place, even should I gratify you by accepting the truth of your statement - this being the one and only answer you mean to give to all charges of this kind - I should like to know what conception you have formed of Roman courts of law, if you conceive that any of their members will accept your defence, when you tell them that, during your tenure of authority as governor, you bought up so many very valuable objects; nay, every object, throughout your province, that had any value at all.

[T202] II.4. 11-14 [70 BCE]

VI. Quid igitur faciendum est? num argumentis utendum in re eius modi? Quaerendum, credo, est Heius iste num aes alienum hahuerit, num auctionem fecerit; si fecit, num tanta difficultas eum rei nummariae tenuerit, tanta egestas, tanta vis presserit ut sacrarium suum spoliaret, ut deos patrios venderet. At hominem video auctionem fecisse nullam, vendidisse praeter fructus suos nihil umquam, non modo in aere alieno nullo, sed in suis nummis multis esse et semper fuisse; si haec contra ac dico essent omnia, tamen illum haec, quae tot annos in familia sacrarioque maiorum fuissent, venditurum non fuisse. "Quid, si magnitudine pecuniae persuasum est?" Veri simile non est ut ille homo tam locuples, tam honestus, religioni suae monumentisque maiorum pecuniam anteponeret. "Sunt ista ; verum tamen abducuntur homines non numquam etiam ab institutis suis magnitudine pecuniae." Videamus quanta ista pecunia fuerit quae potuerit Heium, hominem maxime locupletem, minime avarum, ab humanitate, a pietate, ab religione deducere. Ita iussisti, opinor, ipsum in tabulas referre: "Haec omnia signa Praxiteli, Myronis, Polycliti HS sex milibus quingentis Verri vendita" Sic rettulit. Recita. EX TABULIS. Iuvat me haec praeclara nomina

artificum, quae isti ad caelum ferunt, Verris aestimatione sic concidisse. Cupidinem Praxiteli HS MDC! Profecto hinc natum est "Malo emere quam rogare." VII. Dicet aliquis: "Quid? tu ista permagno aestimas?" Ego vero ad meam rationem usumque meum non aestimo; cerum tamen a vobis ita arbitror spectari oportere, quanti haec eorum iudicio qui studiosi sunt harum rerum aestimentur, quanti soleant, quanti haec ipsa si palam libereque venirent venire possent, denique ipse Verres quanti aestimet. Numquam, si denariis cccc Cupidinem illuro putasset, commisisset ut propter eum in sermonem hominum atque in tantam vituperationem veniret. Quis vestrum igitur nescit quanti haec aestimentur? In auctione signum aeneum non maximum HS XL venire non vidimus? Quid? si velim nominare homines qui aut etiam pluris emerint, nonne possum? Etenim qui modus est in his rebus cupiditatis, idem est aestimationis; difficile est finem facere pretio, nisi libidini feceris. Video igitur Heium neque voluntate neque difficultate aliqua temporis nec magnitudine pecuniae adductum esse ut haec signa venderet, teque ista simulatione emptionis vi, metu, imperio, fascibus ab homine eo quem una curo ceteris sociis non solum potestati tuae sed etiam fidei populus Romanus commisexat eripuisse atque abstulisse.

VI. Well, how shall I proceed? Are proofs, in such a case, really needed? We are to inquire, I take it, whether this man Heius was in debt; whether he had held a sale of his property; and whether, even if he had, he was in such financial straits, constrained by such pressure of poverty, as to strip his chapel and sell his family gods. Well I find that he has held no sale of his property; that he has never sold anything except the produce of his land; that, far from being in debt, he has, and always has had plenty of money to his credit; and that, even if the facts were the opposite of all this, he would yet not have sold these objects that had for so many years been in his household and his family chapel. "Oh? might not the high price have induced him to sell?" It is incredible that a man of such wealth and high standing should value money more than his sense of duty, and his ancestral heirlooms. "That may be so; none the less, offer people enough money, and they do sometimes abandon the ruling principles of their lives." Let us see, then, how large the sum was that could make a man who had so much money as Heius, and who cared for it so little, no longer behave like an honourable and conscientious gentleman: You instructed him, it appears, personally to record in his accounts the sale to Verres of these statues, the work of Praxiteles, Myron, and Polyclitus, for a total sum of sixty-five pounds: and he did so. - Read us out the entry in the accounts. *The clerk reads it*: It is amusing to hear that the high reputation of the artists whom those

Greeks extol to the skies has crashed so completely in the judgement of Verres. A Cupid by Praxiteles for £16 ! 'This surely explains the saying "Better buy than beg."'

VII. "Well," someone may say, "but do you yourself set any very high value upon such things ?" I reply that, from my own point of view, and for my own purposes, I do not. But what you, I think, have to consider is what such things are worth in the opinion of those who do care for them; what they are as a rule sold for; what these particular things could have been sold for, if they had been sold openly and freely; and finally, what Verres himself thought them worth. Would he have exposed himself to popular scandal and violent censure for the sake of the Cupid, if he had really valued it at no more than £16? Well, gentlemen, you are all aware what the value placed upon things really is. Have we not seen bronzes of quite moderate size fetch £400 at a sale? Could I not name persons who have paid as much as that for them, or even more? The fact is that the value of these things corresponds to the demand for them; you can hardly limit the price of them, unless you can limit the desires of men.

It is, then, clear to me that neither inclination, nor a temporary financial difficulty, nor the large price offered, induced Heius to sell these statues; and that you, Verres, under pretence of buying them, used your official authority to compel and intimidate him, and simply robbed and plundered a man whom, like the rest of our allies there, the nation placed not only under your orders but under your protection.

[T203] II.4.18 [70 BCE]

Ecqui pudor est, ecquae religio, Verres, ecqui metus? Habitasti apud Heium Messanae, res illum divinas apud eos deos in suo sacrario prope cotidiano facere vidisti: non movetur pecunia, denique quae ornamenti causa fuerunt non requirit; tibi habe Canephoros, deorum simulacra restitue. Quae quia dixit, quia tempore dato modeste apud vos socius amicusque populi Romani questus est, quia religioni suae non modo in dis patriis repetendis sed etiam in ipso testimonio ac iure iurando proximus fuit, hominem missum ab isto scitote esse Messanam de legatis unum illum ipsum qui navi istius aedificandae publice praefuit, qui a senatu peteret ut Heius afficeter ignominia.

Have you no sense of shame? no fear of God? no concern for your safety? You have stayed at Messana in Heius's house, you have seen him perform divine service in his own chapel before those gods almost every day: well, the loss of his money does not trouble him, nor

indeed does he so much long for the objects that were purely decorative - keep his Basket-bearers if you will, but restore to him the images of his gods. - And because he said this; because, the opportunity being offered him, this friend and ally of Rome quietly submitted his grievance to this Court; because his fear of heaven inspired not only his demand for the gods of his fathers but the very evidence that he gave as a witness upon oath: you must know that Verres has sent back to Messana one of the deputation, the very man who was officially put in charge of the building of that ship of his, to request the senate there to deprive Heius of his civic rights.

[T204] II.4.27 [70 BCE]

XII. Verum haec emisse te dicis. Quid? peripetasmata illa Attalica tota Sicilia nominata ab eodem Heio emere oblitus es? Licuit, eodem modo ut signa. Quid enim actum est ? an litteris pepercisti? Verum hominem amentem hoc fugit: minus clarum putavit fore quod de armario quam quod de sacrario esset ablatum. At quo modo abstulit? Non possum dicere planius quam ipse apud vos dixit Heius. Cum quaesissem num quid aliud de bonis eius pervenisset ad Verrem, respondit istum ad se misisse ut sibi mitteret Agrigentum peripetasmata. Quaesivi misissetne; respondit id quod necesse erat, se dicto audientem fuisse praetori, misisse. Rogavi pervenissentne Agrigentum; dixit pervenisse. Quaesivi quem ad modum revertissent; negavit adhuc revertisse. Risus populi atque admiratio omnium vestrum facta est.

XII. Well, you tell us you bought those statues from Heius. What then one of his gold-brocade tapestries, renowned throughout Sicily? Did you forget to buy them? You might have bought them - just as you bought the statues. What happened then? Did you wish to save writing-paper? - No; the fool never thought of it; he imagined that robbing a cupboard would be less noticed than robbing a chapel. And how was the robbery effected? I cannot tell you this more clearly than Heius himself has told it to you. When I asked him if any of his other possessions had passed into Verres' hands, he replied that Verres had sent him word to send the tapestries to him at Agrigentum. I asked if he had sent them; he replied, as he was bound to reply that he had obeyed the govemor's orders, and had sent them. I inquired if they reached Agrigentum; he told me that they did. I asked how they came back to him; he stated that so far they had not come back. The audience laughed; and you, gentlemen, were all startled.

[T205] II.4.29 [70 BCE]

Quid? a Phylarcho Centuripino, homine locuplete ac nobili, phaleras pulcherrime factas, quae regis Hieronis fuisse dicuntur, utrum tandem abstulisti an emisti? In Sicilia quidem cum essem, sic a Centuri pinis, sic a ceteris audiebam - non enim parum res erat clara: tam te has phaleras a Phylarcho Centuripino abstulisse dicebant quam alias item nobiles ab Aristo Panhormitano, quam tertias a Cratippo Tyndaritano. Etenim si Phylarchus vendidisset, non ei, posteaquam reus factus es, redditurum te promisisses. Quod quia vidisti plures scire, cogitasti, si ei reddidisses, te minus habiturum, rem nihilo minus testatam futuram; non reddidisti. Dixit Phylarchus pro testimonio se, quod nosset tuum istum morbum, ut amici tui appellant, cupisse te celare de phaleris; cum abs te appellatus esset, negasse habere sese; apud alium quoque eas habuisse depositas, ne qua invenirentur; tuam tantam fuisse sagacitatem ut eas per illum ipsum inspiceres ubi erant depositae; tum se deprensum negare non potuisse; ita ab se invito phaleras sublatas gratis.

And next, how did you treat the wealthy and nobly-born Phylarchus of Centuripa in the matter of the beautifully wrought bosses that are said to have belonged once to King Hiero? Did you simply take them, may I ask, or did you buy them? What I was told when I was in Sicily, both by the Centuripans and by everyone else - for the facts were widely known enough - was this: that you had simply carried off these bosses from Phylarchus of Centuripa, exactly as you had carried off another famous set from Aristus of Panhormus, and a third set from Cratippus of Tyndaris. Nor, indeed, if Phylarchus had sold them to you, would you after this prosecution was instituted, have promised to give them back to him. Knowing that many people were aware of the truth you reflected that if you did give them back you would be so much the poorer, and the facts would come out in the evidence none the less; and therefore you did not give them back. Phylarchus has stated on oath that, knowing your weakness as your friends call it he was anxious to keep you in the dark about his bosses; that when he was questioned by you he denied having them; that, further, he had put them in another man's keeping to prevent their being discovered; that you were clever enough to get a sight of them by means of the very person into whose keeping he had given them; that he was thus found out, and denial was useless; and that the bosses were in consequence taken from him, by force and without payment.

[T206] II.4.30-31 [70 BCE]

XIII. Iam ut haec omnia reperire ac perscrutari solitus sit, iudices, est operae pretium cognoscere. Cibyratae sunt fratres quidam, Tlepolemus et Hiero, quorum alterum fingere opinor e cera solitum esse, alterum esse pictorem. Hosce opinor, Cibyrae cum in suspicionem venissent suis civibus fanum expilasse Apollinis, veritos poenam iudicii ac legis domo profugisse. Quod Verrem artificii sui cupidum cognoverant tum cum iste, id quod ex testibus didicistis, Cibyram cum inanibus syngraphis venerat, domo fugientes ad eum se exsules, cum iste esset in Asia, contulerunt. Habuit eos secum illo tempore, et in legationis praedis atque furtis multum illorum opera consilioque usus est. Hi sunt illi quibus in tabulis refert sese Q. Tadius dedisse iussu istius "Graecis pictoribus" Eos iam bene cognitos et re probatos secum in Siciliam duxit. Quo posteaquam venerunt, mirandum in modum (canes venaticos diceres) ita odorabantur omnia et pervestigabant ut ubi quidque esset aliqua ratione invenirent. Aliud minando, aliud pollicendo, aliud per servos, aliud per liberos, per amicum aliud, aliud per inimicum inveniebant; quicquid illis placuerat perdendum erat. Nihil aliud optabant quorum poscebatur argentum nisi ut id Hieroni et Tlepolemo displiceret.

XIII. Now it is worth while, gentlemen, to see how the man used to track out and discover all these treasures. There are two brothers called Tlepolemus and Hiero, natives of Cibyra, one of whom, I believe, was a modeller in wax, and the other a painter. These men, I understand, were suspected by their fellow-citizens of robbing the temple of Apollo at Cibyra, and being afraid of prosecution and punishment fled into exile. At the time when, as you have been told by my witnesses, Verres arrived at Cibyra with those forged bonds, these brothers discovered his fondness for the products of their skill; and when they later fled into exile, they betook themselves to him, as he was then in Asia. He kept them with him in those days, and made much use of their help and advice in the thefts and robberies of his assistant governorship. These are the persons referred to in the accounts of Quintus Tadius as the "Greek painters" to whom he paid sums of money by Verres' orders. Having by now tested them well and learnt their worth, Verres took them with him to Sicily. When they got there they scented their prey and tracked it to its lair, like hounds, in the most remarkable fashion; there was nothing they did not somehow or other manage to discover. Now they found a thing by threats and now by promises; helped now by slaves and now by free men, now by a friend and now by an enemy: there was no hope for anything that took their fancy. The one

prayer of those whose silver plate was demanded was that it might fail to gain the approval of Hiero and Tlepolemus.

[T207] II.4.32 [70 BCE]

XIV. Verum mehercule hoc, iudices, dicam. Memini Pamphilum Lilybaetanum, amicum et hospitem meum, nobilem hominem, mihi narrare, cum iste ab sese hydriam Boethi factam praeclaro opere et grandi pondere per potestatem abstulisset, se sane tristem et conturbatum domum revertisse quod vas eius modi, quod sibi a patre et a maioribus esset relictum, quo solitus esset uti ad festos dies, ad hospitum adventus, a se esset ablatum. "Cum sederem" inquit "domi tristis, accurrit Venerius; iubet me scyphos sigillatos ad praetorem statim adferre. Permotus sum" inquit; "binos habebam; iubeo promi utrosque, ne quid plus mali nasceretur, et mecum ad praetoris domum ferri. Eo cum venio, praetor quiescebat; fratres illi Cibyratae inambulabant. Qui me ubi viderunt 'Ubi sunt, Pamphile,' inquiunt, 'scyphi?' Ostendo tristis; laudant. Incipio queri me nihil habiturum quod alicuius esset pretii si etiam scyphi essent ablati. Tum illi, ubi me conturbatum vident, 'Quid vis nobis dare ut isti abs te ne auferantur?' Ne multa, HS mille me" inquit "poposcerunt; dixi me daturum. Vocat interea praetor, poscit scyphos. "Tum illos coepisse praetori dicere putasse se, id quod audissent, alicuius pretii scyphos esse Pamphili; luteum negotium esse, non dignum quod in suo argento Verres haberet." Ait ille idem sibi videri. Ita Pamphilus scyphos optimos aufert.

XIV. Now there is a story you really must hear, gentlemen. I remember being told by my friend and host Pamphilus of Lilybaeum, a man of high standing there, how Verres used his authority to rob him of a jug made by Boethus, a massive and most beautiful piece of work, and he had gone home melancholy and distressed, of course, at being robbed of such a vessel, a legacy from his father and his forefathers that he was accustomed to use on feast-days and to do honour to his guests. "I was sitting sadly at home," he told me, "when a temple slave marched up to me and ordered me to bring my embossed cups to the governor without delay. I was much upset," he said, "I had a pair of them; I ordered them both to be got out, that nothing worse might happen, and to be brought along with me to the governor's house. When I got there, the praetor was resting; but those brothers from Cibyra were walking about, and when they saw me, they cried, "Where are the cups, Pamphilus?" I showed them, sadly enough and they admired them. I began to complain that I should have

nothing of any value left, if I were robbed of the cups also: whereupon, seeing me thus put about, "What will you pay us," they asked, "to stop those cups being taken from you?" To cut the story short," he told me, "they asked me for £10, which I promised them." Meanwhile the governor had called for us and demanded the cups. "Then", he said, "the brothers proceeded to tell the governor that from what they had heard they had supposed the cups of Pamphilus were of some value; but they were rotten stuff, not worthy of a place in Verres'collection." Verres said he thought so too; and thus Pamphilus carried his most beautiful cups safely home.

[T208] II.4.33-34 [70 BCE]

Et mehercule ego antea, tametsi hoc nescio quid nugatorium sciebam esse, ista intellegere, tamen mirari solebam istum in his ipsis rebus aliquem sensum habere, quem scirem nulla in re quicquam simile hominis habere. XV. Tum primum intellexi ad eam rem istos fratres Cibyratas fuisse, ut iste in furando manibus suis oculis illorum uteretur. At ita studiosus est huius praeclarae existimationis, ut putetur in hisce rebus intellegens esse, ut nuper - videte hominis amentiam - posteaquam est comperendinatus, cum iam pro damnato mortuoque esset, ludis circensibus mane apud L. Sisennam, virum primarium, cum essent triclinia strata argentumque expositum in aedibus, cum pro dignitate L. Sisennae domus esset plena hominum honestissimorum, accessit ad argentum, contemplari unum quidque otiose et considerare coepit. Mirari stultitiam alii, quod in ipso iudicio eius ipsius cupiditatis cuius insimularetur suspicionem augeret, alii amentiam, cui comperendinato, cum tam multi testes dixissent, quicquam illorum veniret in mentem. Pueri autem Sisennae, credo, qui audissent quae in istum testimonia essent dicta, oculos de isto nusquam deicere neque ab argento digitum discedere. Est boni iudicis parvis ex rebus coniecturam facere unius cuiusque et cupiditatis et continentiae. Qui reus, et reus lege comperendinatus, re et opinione hominum paene damnatus, temperare non potuerit maximo conventu quin L. Sisennae argentum tractaret et consideraret, hunc praetorem in provincia quisquam putabit a Siculorum argento cupiditatem aut manus abstinere potuisse?

Now though I was aware that expert knowledge of such things was a trifling matter enough, I confess that up to that time I had been by way of wondering how it was that Verres had a certain amount of understanding in just these things, when I knew that he was below the level of a human being in all respects. XV. But now, for the first time I perceived what these

brothers from Cibyra were for: Verres was to use his own hands and their eyes for his thefts. Yet he is so eager to acquire this precious reputation of being a connoisseur in such matters that only the other day - to show you what a fool the fellow is - after the adjournment of the trial when he was already as good as condemned and done for, early on one of the days of the games in the Circus, dinner being laid and the silver plate put out in the house of our honoured fellow-citizen Lucius Sisenna, who had a houseful of such distinguished guests as befitted a man of his rank, Verres went up to the silver and proceeded to a leisurely and attentive inspection of one piece after another. Some people marvelled at his folly in thus confirming, during the actual trial, the belief that he was just the greedy criminal he was accused of being; others at the lunacy of thinking about such things as that when the trial was half over and all those witnesses had given their evidence. No doubt Sisenna's servants, having heard of the evidence given against him, kept their eyes firmly fixed on him, and stayed close by the silver. Now it is the part of a competent judge to infer from trifling circumstances how far a man will indulge or restrain his passion for this thing or that. Here is a man on his trial and that trial half over, a man practically found guilty by the facts and by general opinion, and he cannot refrain from handling and inspecting Sisenna's silver before the eyes of a crowded gathering: will anyone believe that he could possibly have kept his greedy mind and hands from the Sicilians' silver, when he was the governor in command of their province?

[T209] II.4.35-36 [70 BCE]

XVI. Verum ut Lilybaeum, unde digressa est oratio, revertatur: Diocles est, Pamphili gener illius a quo hydria ablata est, Popilius cognomine. Ab hoc abaci vasa omnia, ut exposita fuerunt, abstulit. Dicat se licet emisse; etenim hic propter magnitudinem furti sunt, ut opinor, litterae factae. Iussit Timarchidem aestimare argentum, quo modo qui umquam tenuissime in donationem histrionum aestimavit.- Tametsi iam dudum ego erro qui tam multa de tuis emptionibus verba faciam, et quaeram utrum emeris necne et quo modo et quanti emeris, quod verbo transigere possum. Ede mihi scriptum quid argenti in provincia Sicilia pararis, unde quidque aut quanti emeris. Quid fit? Quamquam non debebam ego abs te has litteras poscere; me enim tabulas tuas habere et proferre oportebat. Verum negas te horum annorum aliquot confecisse. Compone hoc quod postulo de argento, de reliquo videro. "Nec scriptum habeo nec possum edere." Quid futurum igitur est? Quid existimas hosce iudices facere posse? Domus plena signorum pulcherrimorum iam ante praeturam,

multa ad villas tuas posita, multa deposita apud amicos, multa aliis data atque donata; tabulae nullum indicant emptum. Omne argentum ablatum ex Sicilia est, nihil cuiquam quod suum dici vellet relictum. Fingitur improba defensio, praetorem omne id argentum coemisse; tamen id ipsum tabulis demonstrari non potest. Si, quas tabulas profers, in his quae habes quo modo habeas scriptum non est, horum autem temporum cum te plurimas res emisse dicis tabulas omnino nullas profers, nonne te et prolatis et non prolatis tabulis condemnari necesse est?

XVI. Let us now, after this digression, go back to Lilybaeum. Pamphilus, the man who was robbed of his jug, has a son-in-law, Diocles, surnamed Popilius, whose sideboard Verres swept clean of all its vessels just as they stood there. Verres may, if he chooses, claim to have bought them; for in this case, the theft being so considerable, something was, I believe, set down in writing. He told Timarchides to reckon up the value of the silver, and to undervalue it as thoroughly - as any man ever did when making a present to an actor. - But really it is absurd of me to have spoken at such length about your purchases, and asking whether you did or did not buy this or that, and how you bought it and how much you paid for it, when a single word will settle the mattrer. Produce me a *written* statement of the silver plate you acquired in Sicily, and of the vendor and price of the several articles. Well ? Not that I ought to be asking you for such documents: I ought to have your accounts already and to be producing them. Well, you tell us that for a part of these three years you have kept no accounts. Come satisfy my request so far as the silver is concerned, and perhaps I may forgo the rest. "I have no statement written, and I can produce none." What is to be done about it, then? What do you suppose the members of this Court can do? Even before you became praetor, your town house was full of beautiful statues, many more were placed in your country-houses, many more stored in the houses of your friends, many more presented as gifts to other people; and you have no accounts to show that any of them were bought. All the silver plate in Sicily has been swept off, nothing left to any man that he would care to have called his own. The disreputable defence is concocted that our governor secured all this silver by purchase, and there are no written accounts by which even that can be proved true. If in such accounts as you do produce there is no entry to show how you come to possess what you do possess, and if for the period during which you claim to have bought most largely you produce no accounts whatsoever, is not your conviction inevitably secured alike by the accounts that you do produce and by those that you do not ?

[T210] II.4.37-39 [70 BCE]

XVII. Tu a M. Coelio, equite Romano, lectissimo adulescente, quae voluisti Lilybaei abstulisti; tu C. Cacurii, prompti hominis et experientis et in primis gratiosi, supellectilem omnem auferre non dubitasti; tu maximam et pulcherrimam mensam citream a Q. Lutatio Diodoro, qui Q. Catuli beneficio ab L. Sulla civis Romanus factus est, omnibus scientibus Lilybaei abstulisti. Non tibi obicio quod hominem dignissimum tuis moribus, Apollonium, Niconis filium, Drepanitanum, qui nunc A. Clodius vocatur, omni argento optime facto spoliasti ac depeculatus es; taceo. Non enim putat ille sibi iniuriam factam, propterea quod homini iam perdito et collum in laqueum inserenti subvenisti, cum pupillis Drepanitanis bona patria erepta cum illo partitus es; gaudeo etiam si quid ab eo abstulisti, et abs te nihil rectius factum esse dico. Ab Lysone vero Lilybaetano, primo homine, apud quem deversatus es, Apollinis signum ablatum certe non oportuit. Dices te emisse. Scio, HS mille. "Ita opinor." Scio, inquam. "Proferam litteras." Tamen id factum non oportuit. A pupillo Heio, cui C. Marcellus tutor est, a quo pecuniam grandem eripueras, scaphia cum emblematis Lilybaei utrum empta esse dicis an confiteris erepta? Sed quid ego istius in eius modi rebus mediocres iniurias colligo, quae tantum modo in furtis istius et damnis eorum a quibus auferebat versatae esse videantur? Accipite, si vultis, iudices, rem eius modi ut amentiam singularem et furorem iam, non cupiditatem eius perspicere possitis.

XVIII. Melitensis Diodorus est, qui apud vos antea testimonium dixit. Is Lilybaei multos iam annos habitat, homo et domi nobilis et apud eos quo se contulit propter virtutem splendidus et gratiosus. De hoc Verri dicitur habere eum perbona toreumata; in his pocula quaedam quae Thericlia nominantur, Mentoris manu summo artificio facta. Quod iste ubi audivit, sic cupiditate inflammatus est non solum inspiciendi verum etiam auferendi, ut Diodorum ad se vocaret ac posceret. Ille, qui illa non invitus haberet, respondit Lilybaei se non habere, Melitae apud quendam propinquum suum reliquisse. Tum iste continuo mittit homines certos Melitam, scribit ad quosdam Melitenses ut ea vasa perquirant, rogat Diodorum ut ad illum propinquum suum det litteras; nihil ei longius videbatur quam dum illud videret argentum. Diodorus, homo frugi ac diligens, qui sua servare vellet, ad propinquum suum scribit ut iis qui a Verre venissent responderet illud argentum se paucis illis diebus misisse Lilybaeum. Ipse interea recedit; abesse a domo paulisper maluit quam praesens illud optime factum argentum amittere. Quod ubi iste audivit, usque eo commotus est ut sine ulla dubitatione insanire omnibus ac furere videretur. Quia non potuerat eripere argentum ipse Diodoro, erepta sibi vasa optime facta dicebat; minitari absenti Diodoro, vociferari palam, lacrimas

interdum non tenere. Eriphylam accepimus in fabulis ea cupiditate ut, cum vidisset monil, ut opinor, ex auro et gemmis, pulchritudine eius incensa salutem viri proderet. Similis istius cupiditas, hoc etiam acrior atque insanior, quod illa cupiebat id quod viderat, huius libidines non solum oculis sed etiam auribus excitabantur.

XVII. From Marcus Coelius, an excellent young Roman knight at Lilybaeum, you carried off all you cared to take. Without scruple, you carried off all the furniture of the active, accomplished and exceptionally popular Gaius Cacurius. From Quintus Lutatius Diodorus, who through the kind offices of Quintus Catulus was made a Roman citizen by Lucius Sulla, you carried off a large and handsome table of citrus-wood, to the certain knowledge of everyone in Lilybaeum. I will not charge you with your treatment of a very proper victim of your villainy, Apollonius the son of Nico, of Drepanum now called Aulus Clodius, whom you despoiled and pillaged of all his admirable silver plate. Let that pass: for this man does not think himself wronged inasmuch as you rescued the fellow when he was already lost and the halter closing round his neck in that affair where you went shares with him in the patrimony of which he robbed his wards at Drepanum. Any theft of yours from him gives me actual pleasure; I hold that you have never done a more honest action than this. But it was certainly not a proper thing to carry off that statue of Apollo from Lyso, the leading citizen of Lilybaeum, in whose house you were a guest. You will tell me you bought it. I know you did - for ten pounds. "Yes, I think so". I know you did, I tell you. "I will produce the record." Still, it was not a proper transaction. And as for Heius, the boy whose guardian is Gaius Marcellus, and from whom you took a huge sum of money will you claim to have bought from him his chased goblets at Lilybaeum, or will you confess to having taken them? But why, in dealing with this part of the man's offences, do I thus assemble his more commonplace outrages, which would seem to amount to nothing more than theft by himself and loss for his victims? Let me now tell you of an affair that will reveal to you not merely his greed, but the insanity, the madness, that sets him apart from all other men.

XVIII. There is a man of Melita named Diodorus, whose evidence you have already heard. For many years he has been living at Lilybaeum; he comes of a good family at Melita, and his high character has brought him distinction and popularity in his adopted home. It was reported to Verres about him that he owned some really good chased silver, and in particular, some cups of the kind called Thericlia, highly finished specimens of the art of Mentor. On hearing this, Verres conceived so passionate a desire not only to examine them but to carry them off that he summoned Diodorus and asked for them. Diodorus, having no objection to

keeping them, replied that he had not them with him at Lilybaeum; that he had left them with a relative of his at Melita. Verres forthwith sent special messengers to Melita, and wrote to certain people there, telling them to search for these vessels; he also asked Diodorus to write to this relative of his. Never did time pass so slowly as while he was waiting to set eyes on that silver. Diodorus, being a good careful fellow who was anxious to keep what was his, wrote to his relative bidding him tell Verres' men, when they arrived, that within the last few days he had sent the silver off to Lilybaeum. Meanwhile he himself left the country: temporary exile seemed better than staying to witness the loss of his exquisite silver plate. When Verres heard this, he was so thoroughly upset that everyone felt sure he had taken complete leave of his senses. Because he could not himself rob Diodorus of his silver, he talked of himself as "robbed of those lovely vessels," threatened the absent Diodorus, uttered open cries of rage, and now and then even shed tears. The legend tells us that when Eriphyle saw the necklace - made, I suppose, of gold and jewels - its loveliness so excited the grasping woman that she betrayed her husband to his death. The greed of Verres was like hers; but his was of an even fiercer and wilder type, since her desire was for a thing she had seen, while his passions were aroused not only by his eyesight but by his hearing also.

The passages that follow are from the Loeb Classical Library, *Cicero: The Verrine Orations,* with an English translation by L. H. G. Greenwood, in two volumes, I: against Caecilius, against Verres, books I and II; II: against Verres, books III, IV and V (London: William Heinemann Ltd. and Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press).

[T211] II.4.41-42 [70 BCE]

Res clara Sicilia tota, propter caelati argenti cupiditatem reos fieri rerum capitalium, neque solum reos fieri, sed etiam absentes. Diodorus Romae sordidatus circum patronos atque hospites cursare, rem omnibus narrare Litterae mittuntur isti a patre vehementes, ab amicis item: videret quid ageret de Diodoro, quo progrederetur; rem claram esse et invidiosam: insanire hominem, periturum hoc uno crimine, nisi cavisset. Iste etiam tum patrem, si non in parentis, at in hominum numero putabat; ad iudicium nondum se satis instruxerat: primus annus erat provinciae; non, ut in Sthenio, iam refertus pecunia. Itaque furor eius paululum, non pudore sed metu ac timore, repressus est. Condemnare Diodorum non audet absentem, de reis eximit. Diodorus interea praetore isto prope triennium provincia domoque caruit.

Ceteri non solum Siculi, sed etiam cives Romani hoc statuerant, quoniam iste tantum cupiditate progrederetur, nihil esse quod quisquam putaret se quod isti paulo magis placeret conservare aut domi retinere posse; XX. postea vero quam intellexerunt isti virum fortem, quem summe provincia expectabat, Q. Arrium, non succedere, statuerunt nihil se tam clausum neque tam reconditum posse habere quod non istius cupiditati apertissimum promptissimumque esset.

All Sicily became aware that his covetous desire for men's figured silver plate was causing him to prosecute its owners on capital charges; and not only to prosecute them, but to do so in their absence. At Rome, Diodorus put on the garb of distress, and went round to all his supporters and former guests, telling his story everywhere. Verres' father wrote strongly to his son, and his friends also wrote, warning him to take care how he treated Diodorus, and not to proceed too far; the facts were known, and were arousing ill-feeling; he must be out of his senses; this one offence would convict him if he were not careful. Verres still looked upon his father, if not as his parent, at least as a human being; he had not yet made adequate provision for his trial; it was his first year in the province; he was not stuffed with money as he was at the time of the Sthenius affair. His insanity was consequently checked for the moment, not indeed by a sense of decency, but by fear and timidity. He was afraid to find Diodorus guilty in his absence and removed him from the list of persons committed for trial. But the result was that Diodorus had to keep away from the province where his home was for nearly the whole three years during which Verres was governor. Everyone else, Roman citizens as well as Sicilians, at once felt sure that, since the greed of Verres could lead him so far as this, nobody had any reason for hoping to save or keep in his house anything that Verres fancied at all more than usual. XX. And when they learnt that he was not to be succeeded by the gallant Quintus Arrius, for whom the province had been eagerly waiting, they felt sure that they could not possibly keep anything so securely locked up or hidden away as to put any concealment or obstacle in the way of his covetous desires.

[T212] II.4.44-49 [70 BCE]

Denique non opinor negaturum esse te homini honesto, sed non gratiosiori quam Cn. Calidius est, L. Curidio, te argentum per Potamonem amicum tuum reddidisse. Qui quidem ceterorum causam apud te difficiliorem fecit. Nam cum te compluribus confirmasses redditurum, posteaquam Curidius pro testimonio dixit te sibi reddidisse, finem reddendi

fecisti, quod intellexisti praeda te de manibus amissa testimonium tamen effugere non posse. Cn. Calidio. equiti Romano, per omnes alios praetores licuit habere argentum bene factum, licuit posse domesticis copiis, cum magistratum aut aliquem superiorem invitasset, ornare et apparare convivium. Multi domi Cn. Calidii cum potestate atque imperio fuerunt; nemo inventus est tam amens qui illud argenturo tam praeclarum ac tam nobile eriperet, nemo tam audax qui posceret, nemo tam impudens qui postularet ut venderet. Superbum est enim, iudices, et non ferendum dicere praetorem in provincia homini honesto, locupleti, splendido "Vende mihi vasa caelata." Hoc est enim dicere "Non es dignus tu qui habeas quae tam bene facta suat, meae dignitatis ista sunt." Tu dignior, Verres, quam Calidius? qui, ut non conferam vitaro neque existimationem tuam cum illius - neque enim est conferenda - hoc ipsum conferam, quo tu te superiorem fingis: quod HS CCC divisoribus ut praetor renuntiarere dedisti, trecenta accusatori ne tibi odiosus esset, ea re contemnis equestrem ordinem et despicis? ea re tibi indignum visum est quicquam quod tibi piaceret Calidium potius habere quam te? XXI. Iactat se iam dudum de Calidio, narrat omnibus emisse se. Num etiam de L. Papinio, viro primario, lorupleti honestoque equite Romano, turibulum emisti? qui pro testimonio dixit te, cum inspiciendum poposcisses, evulso emblemate remisisse; ut intellegatis in homine intellegentiam esse, non avaritiam, artificii cupidum, non argenti fuisse. Nec solum in Papinio fuit hac abstinentia; tenuit hoc institutum in turibulis omnibus quaecumque in Sicilia fuerunt. Incredibile est autem quam multa et quam praeclara fuerint. Credo tum cum Sicilia florebat opibus et copiis magna artificia fuisse in ea insula. Nam domus erat ante istum praetorem nulla paulo locupletior qua in domo haec non essent, etiamsi praeterea nihil esset argenti, patella grandis cum sigillis ac simulacris deorum, patera qua mulieres ad res divinas uterentur, turibulum. Erant autem haec omnia antiquo opere et summo artificio facta, ut hoc liceret suspicari, fuisse aliquando apud Siculos peraeque pro portione cetera, sed, quibus multa fortuna ademisset, tamen apud eos remansisse ea quae religio retinuisset. Dixi, iudices, multa fuisse fere apud omnes Siculos; ego idem confirmo nunc ne unum quidem esse. Quid hoc est? quod hoc monstrum, quod prodigium in provinciam misimus ? Nonne vobis id egisse videtur ut non unius libidinem, non suos oculos, sed omnium cupidissimorum insanias, cum Romam revertisset, expleret? Qui simul atque in oppidum quodpiam venerat, immittebantur illi continuo Cibyratici canes, qui investigabant et perscrutabantur omnia. Si quod erat grande vas et maius opus inventum, laeti afferebant; si minus eius modi quidpiam venari potuerant, illa quidem certe pro lepusculis capiebantur, patellae, paterae, turibula. Hic quos putatis fletus mulierum, quas lamentationes fieri solitas esse in hisce rebus? quae forsitan vobis parvae esse

videantur, sed magnum et acerbum dolorem commovent, mulierculis praesertim, cum eripiuntur e manibus ea quibus ad res divinas uti consuerunt, quae a suis acceperunt, quae in familia semper fuerunt.

XXII. Hic nolite expectare dum ego haec crimina agam ostiatim, ab Aeschylo Tyndaritano istum pateram abstulisse, a Thrasone item Tyndaritano patellam, a Nymphodoro Agrigentino turibulum. Cum testes ex Sicilia dabo, quem volet ille eligat quem ego interrogem de patellis, pateris, turibulis; non modo oppidum nullum, sed ne domus quidem ulla paulo locupletior expers huius iniuriae reperietur. Qui cum in convivium venisset, si quicquam caelati aspexerat, manus abstinere, iudices, non poterat. Cn. Pompeius est, Philo qui fuit, Tyndaritanus. Is cenam isti dabat apud vlllam in Tyndaritano. Fecit quod Siculi non audebant; ille, civis Romanus quod erat, impunius id se facturum putavit; apposuit patellam, in qua sigilla erant egregia. Iste continuo ut vidit, non dubitavit illud insigne penatium hospitaliumque deorum ex hospitali mensa tollere; sed tamen, quod ante de istius abstinentia dixeram, sigillis avulsis reliquum argentum sine ulla avaritia reddidit. Quid? Eupolemo Calactino, homini nobili, Lucullorum hospiti ac perfamiliari, qui nunc apud exercitum cum L. Lucullo est, non idem fecit? Cenabat apud eum; argentum ille ceterum purum apposuerat, ne purus ipse relinqueretur, duo pocula non magna, verum tamen cum emblemate. Hic tamquam festivum acroama, ne sine corollario de convivio discederet, ibidem convivis spectantibus emblemata evellenda curavit.

Neque ego nunc istius facta omnia enumerare conor neque opus est nec fieri ullo modo potest; tantum unius cuiusque de varia improbitate generis indicia apud vos et exempla profero. Neque enim ita se gessit in his rebus tamquam rationem aliquando esset redditurus, sed prorsus ita quasi aut reus numquam esset futurus aut, quo plura abstulisset, eo minore periculo in iudicium venturus esset; qui haec quae dico iam non occulte, non per amicos atque inter pretes, sed palam de loco superiore ageret pro imperio et potestate.

And lastly, you will not, I think, deny that Lucius Curidius, an excellent man indeed, but not any more highly esteemed than Calidius is, did get his silver returned to him by you through your friend Potamo. Curidius has indeed made it harder for everyone else to deal with you. For though there were still a good many to whom you had promised their property back, as soon as Curidius had given evidence to the effect that you had given his property back to him, you ceased to give back anything further, perceiving that you would lose your plunder without escaping the evidence of your victims. Gnaeus Calidius, knight, has been allowed by all other governors to possess beautiful silver plate - allowed, when entertaining high

officials or persons of rank, to equip and adorn his dining-room with the stuff in his own house. Many holders of civil and military power have been his guests; and not one of them has shown himself such a madman as to carry off those famous and beautiful pieces of plate, not one so unscrupulous as to demand them, not one so impudent as to ask him to sell them. It is indeed arrogance, gentlemen, intolerable arrogance, for a governor in his province to say to a man of character, wealth and position, "Sell me your figured silver." This is as good as saying, "You are not worthy to have such works of art; they are fit only for people in my high position" - And are you to be set higher than Calidius, Verres? I will not compare your manner of life and reputation with his - no such comparison is possible: I will compare you with him only in the matter in which you pretend to be his superior. Does, then, the fact that you paid £3,000 to bribery-agents to secure your election as praetor, and £3,000 to that prosecutor on condition that he gave you no trouble entitle you to scorn and despise the order of knights? Is that why you think it improper for Calidius rather than you to be the owner of anything that takes your fancy?

XXI. He has been boasting all the time of his behaviour to Calidius, and telling everyone that he bought the things. -What of the censer belonging to Lucius Papinius, that well-known gentleman, that wealthy and highly-respected knight? did you also buy that? He stated in the witness-box that you asked him to send it for you to look at, wrenched off the embossed work on it, and sent it back to him thus. - You will perceive, gentlemen, that our friend is an art critic, not a money-grubber; precious masterpieces appeal to him not precious metals. Nor was it only in the case of Papinius that he showed this moderation; he followed the same plan with all the censers in Sicily. And the number and beauty of these censers passes belief. I conceive that when Sicily was at the height of its wealth and prosperity there was an immense production of objects of art in the island. Before Verres became its governor, there was no person possessed of wealth even slightly above the average in whose house, even if it were otherwise bare of silver plate, you would not find a large dish embossed with representations of the gods, a bowl for the use of women in divine service, and a censer. All these were the work of ancient artists, and products of the finest craftsmanship: one might well infer that everything else in Sicily was once of corresponding excellence, and that, while misfortune had deprived them of many such treasures, they still had with them such as religious feeling bade them hold fast. I have said that of these there *were* many, that they *were* in nearly every house in Sicily; and now I tell you, gentlemen, that to-day there is not one of them. Think what this means. What monstrous abortion is this that we sent to rule our province? One might well think that it was his aim, when he reached Rome again, to satisfy

not his own single appetite, not the lust of his own eyes, but the perverted desires of all the most covetous men alive. No sooner had he arrived at a town than those "hounds" of his from Cibyra were promptly let loose to smell everything out and run it to earth. Any big vesel or other large work of art they found they brought in triumphantly; if they failed to hunt out something of that kind, at any rate they would bag such small game as I have mentioned - dishes and bowls and censers. And then we can imagine the weeping and wailing of the women, when such things were done: small things, you may think, but things that cause great and bitter distress; to the poor women above all, as the objects are snatched from their hands that they have regularly used in divine service, inherited from their kinsmen, and had in their homes always.

XXII. And now, do not expect me to make a house-to-house enumeration of all his misdeeds of this kind to charge him with taking a bowl from Aeschylus of Tyndaris, a dish from Thraso, also of Tyndaris, a censer from Nymphodorus of Agrigentum. When I call my Sicilian witnesses, let him make his choice of one among them for me to question about these dishes and bowls and censers. You will find that not only no single town, but no single house whose owner was at all well off, escaped outrage of this type. When he arrived at a dinner-party, let him catch sight of any piece of figured plate and he could not, I assure you, keep his fingers off it. There is a man of Tyndaris, Gnaeus Pompeius formerly known as Philo, who gave a dinner for him at his country-house in the Tyndaris district. He did what the Sicilians dared not do, but what, being a Roman citizen, he thought he would run comparatively little risk in doing: he put on the table a dish with embossed figures of exceptional merit. The moment that Verres saw it, without hesitation he removed from his host's table this symbol sacred to the gods of home and hospitality; though to be sure, with the moderation of which I spoke just now, having pulled off the engraved work he very generously sent back what was left of that silver dish. Again, he behaved in the same way to Eupolemus of Calacte, a man of good family who is the guest-friend and intimate of the Lucullus family, and is now serving in our army with Lucius Lucullus. He was dining at this man's house: most of the silver put on table was bare of embossed work, since Eupolemus did not wish to be stripped bare himself; but there were two cups, of no great size, but with embossed work upon them. Our friend here, as if he were an entertainer at a party anxious to secure his gratuity before he left, then and there had the embossed work torn off, with all the guests looking on.

To make a complete enumeration of Verres' deeds is neither my present purpose, nor necessary, nor at all possible; his villainy takes many forms, and I do no more than put

before you indications and specimens of each variety. In all this business indeed, he did not behave as though he would one day be called to account for it, but just as though either he would never be prosecuted at all or else, the more extensive his robberies, the less risk he would run when he appeared before his judges. For he came to do the things of which I now speak, not by stealth nor through his friends and agents, but openly and from his official seat, and by the use of his civil and military authority.

[T213] II.4.50-52 [70 BCE]

XXIII. Catinam cum renisset, oppidum locuples, honestum, copiosum, Dionysiarchum adse proagorum, hoc est summum magistratum, vocari iubet; ei palam imperat ut omne argentum quod apud quemque esset Catinae conquirendum curaret et ad se adferendum. Phylarrhum Centuripinum, primum hominem genere, virtute, pecunia, non hoc idem iuratum dicere audistis, sibi istum negotium dedisse atque imperasse ut Centuripinis, in civitate totius Siciliae multo maxima et locupletissima, omne argentum conquireret et ad se comportari iuberet? Agyrio similiter istius imperio vasa Corinthia per Apollodorum, quem testem audistis, Syracusas deportata sunt. Illa vero optima, quod, cum Haluntium venisset praetor laboriosus et diligens ipse in oppidum noluit accedere, quod erat difficili ascensu atque arduo, Archagathum Haluntinum, hominem non solum domi, sed tota Sicilia in primis nobilem, vocari iussit. Ei negotium dedit ut, quicquid Halunti esset argenti caelati aut si quid etiam Corinthiorum, id omne statim ad mare ex oppido deportaretur. Escendit in oppidum Archagathus. Homo nobilis, qui a sus amari et diligi vellet, ferebat graviter illam sibi ab isto provinciam datam, nec quid faceret habebat; pronuntiat quid sibi imperatum esset, iubet omnes proferre quod haberent. Metus erat summus; ipse enim tyrannus non discedebat longius; Archagathum et argentum in lectica cubans ad mare infra oppidum exspectabat. Quem concursum in oppido factum putatis, quem clamorem, quent porro fletum mulierum? qui videret equum Troianum introductum, urbem captaro diceret. Efferri sine thecis vasa, extorqueri alia e manibus mulierum, ecfringi multorum fores, revelli claustra. Quid enim putatis? Scuta si quando conquiruntur a privatis in bello ac tumultu, tamen homines inviti dant, etsi ad salutem communem dari sentiunt; ne quem putetis sine maximo dolore argentum caelatum domo, quod alter eriperet, protulisse. Omnia deferuntur. Cibyratae fratres vocantur; pauca improbant; quae probarant, iis crustae aut emblemata detrahebantur. Sic Haluntini excussis deliciis cum argento puro domum revertuntur.

XXIII. On arriving at the wealthy, prosperous and reputable town of Catina, he sent for Dionysiarchus, who was President - that is to say, the chief magistrate - of the town, and openly ordered him to see that all the silver plate in all the houses in Catina was looked out and brought to him. You have heard Phylarchus, by birth, wealth and character the first man in Centuripa, swear to Verres' having ordered him to undertake the task of looking out all the silver plate in Centuripa - easily the largest and richest community in all Sicily -and of ordering it to be brought together to him. In the same way, by his orders, the Corinthian bronzes of Agyrium were carried off from there to Syracuse by the agency of Apollodorus, to whose evidence you have listened. And there is something splendid about the way in which our active painstaking governor, when he reached Haluntium, refused to make the steep and troublesome ascent to the town himself; he sent for Archagathus, one of the most distinguished men not only in Haluntium but in all Sicily, and gave him instructions to have all the figured silver plate in Haluntium, and even all the Corinthian bronzes, immediately carried down from the town to the seashore. Archagathus went up to the town again. This eminent man, who valued the affection and esteem of his own people, was much distressed by the task that Verres imposed upon him. But he could not help himself; he announced the order given to him, and bade everyone produce their possessions. Great alarm was felt; for his majesty himself was still close at hand, reclining in his litter on the shore below the town, and awaiting the return uf Archagathus with the silver plate. Picture to yourselves the hurrying to and fro in the town, the cries of grief, and the wailing of the women, too; anyone looking on would have thought that the Trojan horse had been admitted, and that the city was in its enemies' hands. Here vessels, stripped of their coverings, were being brought out of doors, there they were being torn from women's resisting hands; in many houses the locks were being wrenched off and the doors burst open. And can you wonder? Even when in some war-time emergancy the houses of private persons are ransacked for shields, their owners are reluctant to give them up, though they know it is to save everyone from destruction; and you may be sure that the sharpest distress was felt by everyone who then brought forth his beautiful silver treasures for a stranger to rob him of them. Everything was taken down to the shore; the brothers of Cibyra were sent for; some few objects they rejected; where they approved the decorations were removed from the vessels to which they were riveted or soldered. And the people of Haluntium, their precious things torn from them, took their vessels, now stripped and bare, and so returned home.

[T214] II.4.54 [70 BCE]

Et ne forte hominem exitimetis hanc tantam vim emblematum sine causa coacervare voluisse, videte quanti vos, quanti existimationem populi Romani, quanti leges et iudicia, quanti testes Siculos fecerit. Posteaquam tantam multitudinem collegerat emblematum ut ne unum quidem cuiquam reliquisset, instituit officinam Syracusis in regia maximam. Palam artifices omnes, caelatores ac vascularios, convocari iubet, et ipse suos complures habebat. Eos concludit, magnam hominum multitudinem. Menses octo continuos his opus non defuit, cum vas nullum fieret nisi aureum. Tum illa, ex patellis et turibulis quae evellerat, ita scite in aureis poculis illigabat, ita apte in scaphiis aureis includebat, ut ea ad illam rem nata esse diceres; ipse tamen praetor, qui sua vigilantia pacem in Sicilia dicit fuisse, in hac offficina maiorem partem diei cum tunica sedere solebat et pallio.

Now I would not have you think that the man aimed at piling up this great mass of silver ornaments for no reason at all. Let me therefore show you how much he cared for you, or for what Rome thought of him, or for the law and the law-courts, or for the witnesses from Sicily. Having amassed this vast collection of ornaments, and left not a single one behind for anyone, he set up a workshop - and a large one - in the Palace at Syracuse. He gave public orders that all skilled workmen - engravers metal-workers, and so on - should assemble in this place, besides the considerable number that he had in his own service; and he penned the whole crowd of them in there, giving them enough work to keep them busy for eight months without a break, though every vessel they produced was made of gold. The ornamental work that he had torn from dishes and censers he now proceeded to attach so ingeniously to the outside of the golden cups, and so cleverly to the inside of golden basins, that anyone would have supposed them designed for the purpose; while our governor himself, who tells us that it was his own watchful attention that kept Sicily at peace, used to sit in his workshop for most of the day, wearing a grey tunic and a Greek mantle.

[T215] II.4.58 [70 BCE]

Cum Valention, eius interpreti, epistula Agrigento allata esset, casu signum iste animum advertit in cretula. Placuit ei; quaesivit unde esset epistula; respondit Agrigento. Iste litteras ad quos solebat mist, ut in anulus ad se primo quoque tempore afferetur. Ita litteris istius patri familias, L. Titio, civi Romano, anulus de digito detractus est.

Illa vero eius cupiditas incredibilis est. Nam ut in singula conclavia, quae iste in modo Romae sed in omnibus villis habet, tricenos lectos optime stratos cum ceteris ornamentis convivii quaereret, nimium multa comparare videretur. Nulla domus in Sicilia locuples fuit ubi iste non textrinum instituerit.

A letter from Agrigentum was delivered to his agent Valentius, and he happened to notice the impression of the seal. He liked it, asked where the letter came from, and was told that it came from Agrigentum. He wrote to the usual people, ordering the ring to be brought to him at the earliest possible moment; and as the result of his letter, Lucius Titius, a Roman citizen and the head of a family, had that ring dragged off his finger.

There is another thing for which he had an incredible passion; and one would have thought he had got himself a mighty liberal supply of it, even if, for each of his dining-rooms, not only in Rome but in his country-houses too, he had aimed at completely furnishing thirty couches with coverings and all accessories for the use of his guests. There was not one wealthy house in Sicily where he did not set up a weaving establishment.

[216] II.4.62-65 [70 BCE]

Hic Verres hereditatem sibi venisse arbitratus est, quod in eius regnum ac manus venerat is quem iste et audierat multa secum praeclara habere et suspicabatur. Mittit homini munera satis large haec ad usum domesticum: olei, vini quod visum est, etiam triciti quod satis esset, de suis decumis. Deinde ipsum regem ad cenam vocavit. Exornat ample magnificeque triclinium; exponit ea quibus abundabat, plurima et pulcherrima vasa argentea - nam haec aurea nondum fecerat; omnibus curat rebus instructum et paratum ut sit convivium. Quid multa? rex ita discessit ut et istum copiose ornatum et se honorifice acceptum arbitraretur. Vocat ad cenam deinde ipse praetorem; exponit suas copias omnes, multum argentum, non pauca etiam pocula ex auro, quae, ut mos est regius et maxime in Syria, gemmis erant distincta clarissimis. Erat etiam vas vinarium, ex una gemma pergrandi trulla excavata, manubrio aureo, de qua, credo, satis idoneum, satis gravem testem, Q. Minucium dicere audistis. Iste unum quodque vas in manus sumere, laudare, mirari. Rex gaudere praetori populi Romani satis iucundum et gratum illud esse convivium. Posteaquam inde discessum est, cogitare nihil iste aliud, quod ipsa res declaravit, nisi quero ad modum regem ex provincia spoliatum expilatumque dimitteret. Mittit rogatum vasa ea quae pulcherrima apud eum viderat; ait se suis caelatoribus velle ostendere. Rex, qui illum non

nosset, sine ulla suspicione libentissime dedit. Mittit etiam trullam gemmeam rogatum; velle se eam diligentius considerare. Ea quoque ei mittitur.

XXVIII. Nunc reliquum, iudices, attendite, de quo et vos audistis, et populus Romanus non nunc primum audiet, et in exteris nationibus usque ad ultimas terras pervagatum est. Candelabrum e gemmis clarissimis opere mirabili perfectum reges ii quos dico Romam cum attulissent, ut in Capitolio ponerent, quod nondum perfectum templum offenderant, neque ponere potuerunt neque vulgo ostendere ac proferre voluerunt, ut et magnificentius videretur cum suo tempore in cella Iovis Optimi Maximi poneretur, et clarius cum pulchritudo eius recens ad oculos hominum atque integra perveniret; statuerunt id secum in Syriam reportare, ut, cum audissent simulacrum Iovis Optimi Maximi dedicatum, legatos mitterent qui cum ceteris rebus illud quoque eximium ac pulcherrimum donum in Capitolium afferrent. Pervenit res ad istius aures nescio quo modo; nam rex id celatum voluerat, non quo quicquam metueret aut suspicaretur, sed ut ne multi illud ante praeciperent oculis quam populus Romanus. Iste petit a rege, et eum pluribus verbis rogat, ut id ad se mittat; cupere se dicit inspicere neque se aliis videndi potestatem esse facturum. Antiochus, qui animo et puerili esset et regio, nihil de istius improbitate suspicatus est; imperat suis ut id in praetorium involutum quam occultissime deferrent. Quo posteaquam attulerunt involucrisque reiectis constituerunt, clamare iste coepit dignam rem esse regno Syriae, dignam regio munere, dignam Capitolio. Etenim erat eo splendore qui ex clarissimis et pulcherrimis gemmis esse debebat, ea varietate operum ut ars certare videretur cum copia, ea magnitudine ut intellegi posset non ad hominum apparatum sed ad amplissimi templi ornatum esse factum. Cum satis iam perspexisse videretur, tollere incipiunt, ut referrent. Iste ait velle illud etiam atque etiam considerare; nequaquam se esse satiatum; uibet illos discedere et candelabrum relinquere. Sic illi tum inanes ad Antiochum revertuntur.

It made Verres feel as if a legacy had come to him, when he saw come into his dominions, and under his power, a man who, as he had been told and was ready to believe, had with him many valuable treasures. He sent the prince quite generous supplies for his ordinary household needs - as much oil and wine as he thought proper, and also, from his own tithe-corn, as much wheat as was likely to be needed. Then he invited the prince himself to dinner. He had the dining-room arrayed with lavish splendour, setting out the numerous lovely silver vessels of which he had so ample a stock - he had not yet made the golden ones I spoke of; and he took care that nothing should be lacking to the richness and completeness of the entertainment. The prince of course went home thinking of Verres as a wealthy man

who had entertained him nobly. Then he himself asked the governor to dinner, and had all his treasures put on table, including a great deal of silver plate, and also a number of golden cups, which, as is common with kings and especially those of Syria, were adorned with splendid jewels. There was also a wine-vessel, a ladle hollowed out of a single enormous precious stone, with a handle of gold: about this you have heard the evidence of Quintus Minucius - nor can we, I conceive, desire a better or more impressive witness. Verres took the various vessels up one by one, praising and admiring them; and the prince was delighted that his party was proving acceptable and agreeable to the great Roman governor. After the party broke up, Verres one thought, as the sequel showed, was how to dismiss the prince from his province stripped and plundered. He sent to ask for the loan of the most beautiful vessels he had seen at his house, saying that he wished to show them to his own artificers. The prince, not knowing Verres, suspected nothing, and readily handed them over. Verres also sent to ask for the ladle carved out of precious stone, saying that he would like to examine it more carefully; and this too was sent to him.

XXVIII. And now, gentleman, note carefully the end of this story. You have yourself heard the facts; the Roman nation will not hear them now for the first time: the tale of them has gone abroad to foreign nations, even to the uttermost parts of the earth. There is a lamp-stand, fashioned of the most precious stones, a wonderful piece of workmanship, which these princes of whom I speak brought to Rome, intending to dedicate it in the Capitol. Finding the temple building not yet completed, they could not dedicate their gift; so they were unwilling to expose it to public view, feeling that its dedication in the sanctuary of Almighty and most Gracious Jupiter would be more impressive if performed at the proper time, and that its beauty would be more striking if it were presented to men's eyes with its novelty unimpaired. They therefore resolved to take it back with them to Syria, with the purpose, as soon as they heard that the image of Jupiter had been consecrated, of sending an embassy to convey to the Capitol this most choice and lovely offering, together with others. These facts somehow or other came to the knowledge of Verres: the prince had wished them to be kept secret, not because he had any fear or suspicion but in order that few eyes might behold the gift before those of the people of Rome. Verres asked the prince, implored him at great length, to send it to him, saying that he was eager to examine it and would allow no one else to see it. The youthful prince naturally had no suspicion of his evil intentions and bade his people convey it to the governor's house concealed in its wrappings as completely as possible. They did so, pulled off the wrappings and set it up; whereupon Verres broke into loud exclamations: it was worthy of the Syrian kingdom - of the royal munificence - of the

Capitol. And indeed it could not but be a splendid object, thus fashioned of the most brilliant and beautiful stones; so intricate was its workmanship that its artistic quality seemed to vie with the richness of its material; and it was so large that it was easy to see it had been not to furnish any human dwelling but to adorn the most magnificent temple. When they thought enough time had been allowed for its inspection, they began to lift it up in order to take it back again. Verres said that he wished to look at it again and again, that he had by no means had his fill of it; he told the men to go away and leave it behind. Accordingly, they returned to Antiochus empty-handed.

[T217] II.4.71 [70 BCE]

XXXII. Vobis autem, iudices, quid hoc indignius aut quid minus ferendum videri potest? Verresne habebit domi suae candelabrum Iovis e gemmis auroque pedectum? cuius fulgore collucere atque illustrari Iovis Optimi Maximi templum oportebat, id apud istum in eius modi conviviis constituetur quae domesticis stupris flagitiisque flagrabunt? in istius lenonis turpissimi domo simul cum ceteris Chelidonis hereditariis ornamentis Capitolii ornamenta ponentur? Quid huic sacri umquam fore aut quid religiosi fuisse putatis, qui nunc tanto scelere se obstrictum esse non sentiat, qui in iudicium veniat ubi ne precari quidem Iovem Optimum Maximum atque ab eo auxilium petere more omnium possit? a quo etiam di immortales sua repetunt in eo iudicio quod hominibus ad suas res repetendas est constitutum. Miramur Athenis Minervam, Deli Apollinem, Iunonem Sami, Pergae Dianam, multos praeterea ab isto deos tota Asia Graeciaque violatos, qui a Capitolio manus abstinere non potuerit? Quod privati homines de suis pecuniis ornant ornaturique sunt, id C. Verres ab regibus ornari non passus est. Itaque hoc nefario scelere concepto nihil postea tota in Sicilia neque sacri neque religiosi duxit esse; ita sese in ea provincia per triennium gessit ut ab isto non solum hominibus verum etiam dis immortalibus bellum indictum putaretur.

XXXII. But I would ask all the members of this Court if they can conceive any action more outrageous and more intolerable than this one. Shall Verres include in his furniture this lamp-stand, wrought in gold and precious stones that belongs to Jupiter himself? Its resplendent brightness should have illuminated Almighty Jupiter's temple: shall it stand in Verres' private house, amid the orgies already alight with the flames of his debaucheries and wickedness? In the home of that foul profligate shall the adornments of the Capitol be set

among all those others that came to him from Chelidon? Is there anything, do you suppose, that will ever seem hallowed, or has ever seemed sacred in the past to a man who, having committed so awful a crime, has at this moment no sense of guilt, who dares to face trial for a deed that leaves him no room even to entreat the mercy of Almighty Jupiter, to ask the help of him that all men are wont to ask? a man from whom the gods themselves claim restitution before this Court that was instituted to hear the claims of men. Do we wonder at the sins committed against Minerva at Athens, Apollo at Delos, Juno at Samos, Diana at Perga, and many another divine being in Asia and in Greece, by a man who could not keep his hands from violating the Capitol? Private persons are giving, and will give their wealth to adorn that place: its adornment by royal princes has been prevented by Gaius Verres. Once he had planned so fearful a crime as this, of course he felt nothing holy or sacred in all Sicily from that time onward: for three years his conduct in the province made men feel that he had declared war not only on the human race but on the gods in heaven.

[T218] II.4.72-73 [70 BCE]

XXXIII. Segesta est oppidum pervetus in Sicilia, iudices, quod ab Aenea fugiente a Troia atque in haec loca veniente conditum esse demonstrant. Itaque Segestani non solum perpetua societate atque amicitia, verum etiam cognatione se cum populo Romano coniunctos esse arbitrantur. Hoc quondam oppidum, cum illa civitas cum Poenis suo nomine ac sua sponte bellaret, a Carthaginiensibus vi captum atque deletum est, omniaque quae ornamento urbi esse possent Carthaginem sunt ex illo loco deportata. Fuit apud Segestanos ex aere Dianae simulacrum, cum summa atque antiquissima praeditum religione, tum singulari opere artificioque perfectum. Hoc translatum Carthaginem locum tantum hominesque mutarat, religionem quidem pristinam conservabat; nam propter eximiam pulchritudinem etiam hostibus digna quam sanctissime colerent videbatur. Aliquot saeculis post P. Scipio bello Punico tertio Carthaginem cepit; qua in victoria - videte hominis virtutem et diligentiam, ut et domesticis praeclarissimae virtutis exemplis gaudeatis et eo maiore odio dignam istius incredibilem audaciam iudicetis - convocatis Siculis omnibus, quod diutissime saepissimeque Siciliam vexatam a Carthaginiensibus esse cognorat, iubet omnia conquiri: pollicetur sibi magnae curae fore ut omnia civitatibus quae cuiusque fuissent restituerentur. Tum illa quae quondam erant Himera sublata, de quibus antea dici. Thermitanis sunt reddita; tum alia Gelensibus, alia Agrigentinis, in quibus etiam ille nobilis taurus, quem crudelissimus omnium tyrannorum Phalaris habuisse dicitur, quo vivos

supplicii causa demittere homines et subicere flammam solebat. Quem taurum cum Scipio redderet Agrigentinis, dixisse dicitur aequum esse illos cogitare utrum esset Agrigentinis utilius, suisne servire anne populo Romano obtemperare, cum idem monumentum et domesticae crudelitatis et nostrae mansuetudinis haberent.

XXXIII. There is, gentlemen, a very ancient town in Sicily named Segesta; it is alleged to have been founded by Aeneas, when he fled from Troy and arrived in our part of the world; and the Segestans in consequence regard themselves as bound to Rome not only by permanent alliance and friendship but also by ties of blood. Long ago when Segesta was independently at war with Carthage on its own account, the town was assaulted, captured and destroyed by the Carthaginians and everything in it that might add to the beauty of the city of Carthage was carried away thither. There was in the town a bronze image of Diana, regarded from very ancient times as highly sacred, and moreover, a work of art of extremely fine workmanship. Its removal to Carthage was no more than a change of home and worshippers; the reverence formerly felt for it remained, for its exceptional beauty made even an enemy people feel it worthy of the most devout adoration. In the third Punic War, some centuries later, Publius Scipio captured Carthage. In the hour of victory - I would have you observe his scrupulous uprightness, that you may rejoice in the noble patterns of upright conduct that our countrymen afford to us, and may hold Verres' incredible lack of scruple the more detestable on that account - knowing that Sicily had repeatedly and for long periods been ravaged by the Carthaginians, he called all the Sicilians together, and ordered a general search to be made, promising to do his utmost for the restoration to the several communities of all that was once theirs. Then it was that the treasures formerly removed from Himera were, as I have already related, given back to the people of Thermae; others to Gela; others to Agrigentum including the famous bull said to have belonged to Phalaris, the most cruel of all tyrants, in which he tortured men by thrusting them into it alive and lighting a fire underneath it. When restoring this bull to the people of Agrigentum, Scipio said to have recommended them to ask themselves whether it were better to be the slaves of their own countrymen or the subjects of Rome, now that they possessed this memorial both of their country-men's cruelty and of Roman kindness.

[T219] II.4.85 [70 BCE]

Quod cum illis qui aderant indignum, qui audiebant incredibile videretur, non est ab isto primo illo adventu perseveratum. Discedens mandat proagoro Sopatro, cuius verba audistis, ut demoliatur; cum recusaret, vehementer minatur, et statim ex illo oppido proficiscitur. Refert rem ille ad senatum vehementer undique reclamatur. Ne multa, iterum iste ad illos aliquanto post venit, quaerit continuo de signo. Respondetur ei senatum non permittere; poenam capitis constitutam, si iniussu senatus quisquam attigisset: simul religio commemoratur. Tum iste : "Quam mihi religionem narras, quam poenam, quem senatum? vivum te non relinquam; moriere virgis nisi mihi signum traditur." Sopater iterum flens ad senatum rem defert, istius cupiditatem minasque demonstrat. Senatus Sopatro responsum nullum dat, sed commotus perturbatusque discedit. Ille praetoris arcessitus nuntio rem demonstrat, negat ullo modo fieri posse.

Those who heard the order given were so deeply shocked, and those who were told of it found it so incredible, that he did not, on this first visit, persist in his attempt. As he was departing, he instructed their president Sopater, whose statement you have heard, to take the statue down, uttered savage threats when Sopater refused, and left the town immediately afterwards. Sopater reported the matter to his senate; his words were received on every side with shouts of indignation. Well, some time later Verres came back again, and at once asked about the statue. He was told that the senate had refused permission, and that it had been declared a capital offence to touch the statue without orders from the senate; and they spoke, also, of the veneration felt for it: "What is all this nonsense?" cried Verres; "veneration - capital offence - senate's permission? I'll have the life out of you; you will be flogged to death, unless the statue is handed over to me." Sopater, with tears in his eyes reported the matter once more to his senate, and described the man's cupidity and threatening words. No answer was returned: the assembly broke up in panic-stricken confusion. Summoned by a message from the governor, Sopater explained the position and said the thing was quite impossible.

[T220] II.4.88 [70 BCE]

XLI. Unum hoc crimen videtur esse et a me pro uno ponitur, de Mercurio Tyndaritano; plura sunt, sed ea quo pacto distinguere ac separare possim nescio. Est pecuniarum captarum, quod signum ah sociis pecuniae magnae sustulit; est peculatus, quod publirum

populi Romani signum de praeda hostium captum, positum imperatoris nostri nomine, non dubitavit auferre; est maiestatis, quod imperii nostri, gloriae, rerum gestarum monumenta evertere atque asportare ausus est; est sceleris, quod religiones maximas violavit; est crudelitatis, quod in innocentem hominem, in socium vestrum atque amicum, novum et singulare supplicii genus excogitavit.

XLI. This matter of the Mercury of Tyndaris may appear to be a single charge, and as such do I put it forward; but it is in fact a group of charges, and I do not know how I can distinguish them or treat them separately. I may charge him with extorting money, for he has robbed our allies of a statue worth much money; with public embezzlement, for he has not scrupled to carry off a statue that belonged to the Roman nation, a part of the plunder taken from Rome's enemies, and was erected by the authority of a Roman general: with treason, for he has dared to pull down and remove from the country a memorial of our country's power and fame and triumphs; with impiety, for he has profaned the holiest of religious sanctions; with cruelty, for he has devised a new and peculiarly horrible form of torture for an innocent man who is a friend and ally of Rome.

[T221] II.4.93-94 [70 BCE]

XLIII. Quid? Agrigento nonne eiusdem P. Scipionis monumentum, signum Apollinis pulcherrimum, cuius in femore litteris minutis argenteis nomen Myronis erat inscriptum, ex Aesculapii religiosissimo fano sustulisti? Quod quidem, iudices, cum iste clam fecisset, cum ad suum scelus illud furtumque nefarium quosdam homines improbos duces atque adiutores adhibuisset, vehementer commota civitas est. Uno enim tempore Agrigentini beneficium Africani, religionem domesticam, ornamentum urbis, indicium victoriae, testimonium societatis requirebant. Itaque ab iis qui principes in ea civitate erant praecipitur et negotium datur quaestoribus et aedilibus ut noctu vigilias agerent ad aedes sacras. Etenim iste Agrigenti (credo propter multitudinem illorum hominem atque virtutem, et quod cives Romani, viri fortes atque honesti, permulti in illo oppido coniunctissimo animo cum ipsis Agrigentinis vivunt ac negotiantur) non audebat palam poscere aut tollere quae placebant. Herculis templum est apud Agrigentinos non longe a foro, sane sanctum apud illos et religiosum. Ibi est es aere simulacrum ipsius Herculis, quo non facile dixerim quicquam me vidisse pulchrius - tametsi non tam multum in istis rebus intellego quam multa vidi - usque eo, iudices, ut rictum eius ac mentum paulo sit attritius, quod in precibus et gratulationibus

non solum id venerari verum etiam osculari solent. Ad hoc templum, cum esset iste Agrigenti, duce Timarchide repente nocte intempesta servorum armatorum fit concursus atque impetus. Clamor a vigilibus fanique custodibus tollitur; qui primo cum obsistere ac defendere conarentur, male mulcati clavis ac fastibus repelluntur. Postea convulsis repagulis effractisque valvis demoliri signum ac vectibus labefactare conantur. Interea es clamore fama tota urbe percrebruit expugnari deos patrios, non hostium adventu necopinato neque repentino praedonum impetu, sed ex domo atque ex cohorte praetoria manum fugitivorum instructam armataque venisse.

XLIII. I charge you next with the robbery, from the much-venerated temple of Aesculapius at Agrigentum, of another memorial of Scipio, a beautiful statue of Apollo, on whose thigh was inscribed the name Myron in small silver letters. This, gentlemen, he did by stealth, after securing a number of villains to direct and assist him in this impious and abominable theft. The community was grievously distressed: they felt the loss of so many things at once - Scipio's benefaction, their own religious peace of mind, their city's art treasure, the record of our victory, the evidence for their alliance with Rome. Their chief civic authorities in consequence charged their treasurers and police-officers with the duty of maintaining a watch by night over their sacred edifices. The fact is that at Agrigentum - no doubt because the people of the town are numerous and stout-hearted, and also because a large number of excellent and respected Roman citizens live and carry on business in the town, maintaining the most friendly relations with the townfolk themselves - Verres did not dare to demand or remove openly the objects that took his fancy. Now that far from the market-place of Agrigentum there is a temple of Hercules which they regard with much awe and reverence. In this temple there is a bronze image of Hercules himself: I do not know that I have ever seen a lovelier work of art - not that my understanding of such things is equal to the number of them I have seen; but it is so lovely, gentlemen, that its mouth and chin are quite noticeably rubbed from the way in which people, when praying or offering thanks, not only do reverence to it but actually kiss it. A body of armed slaves, led by Timarchides, suddenly descended upon this temple late one night when Verres was staying in the town. The watchmen and temple guards raised the alarm, and at first did their best to resist and repel the attack, but were savagely knocked about with clubs and cudgels, and in the end beaten off. Then the bolts were wrenched off and the doors broken open, and they tried to loosen the statue and lever it off its pedestal with crowbars. Meanwhile the shouts of alarm had informed the whole town that an assault was being made on their ancestral gods: no

unforeseen invasion by an enemy or surprise attack by pirates - a company of armed and equipped gaol-birds taken from the governor's staff had come there from the governor's house.

[T222] II.4.96-99 [70 BCE]

XLIV. Hanc virtutem Agrigentinorum imitati sunt Assorini postea, viri fortes et fideles, sed nequaquam ex tam ampla neque tam ex nobili civitate. Chrysas est amnis qui per Assorinum agros fluit; is apud illos habetur deus et religione maxima colitur. Fanum eius est in agro, propter ipsam viam qua Assoro itur Hennam. In eo Chrysae simulacrum est praeclare factum e marmore. Id est poscere Assorinos propter singularem eius fani religionem non ausus est; Tleptolemo dat et Hieroni negotium. Illi noctu facta manu armataque veniunt, fores aedis effrugunt. Aeditumi custodesque mature sentiunt; signum quod erat notum vicinitati bueina datur; homines ex agris concurrunt; eicitur fugaturque Tleptolemus; neque quicquam ex fano Chrysae praeter unum perparvulum signum ex aere desideratum est.

Matris Magnae fanum apud Enguinos est. (Iam enim mihi non modo breviter de uno quocque dicendum, sed etiam praetereunda videntur esse permulta, ut ad maiora istius et illustriora in hoc genere furta et scelera veniamus.) In hoc fano loricas galeasque aeneas, caelatas opere Corinthio, hydriasque grandes simili in genere atque eadem arte perfectas idem ille Scipio, vir omnibus rebus praecellentissimus, posuerat et suum nomen inscripserat. Quid iam de isto plura dicam aut querar? Omnia illa, iudices, abstulit, nihil in religiosissimo fano praeter vestigia violatae religionis nomenque P. Scipionis reliquit; hostium spolia, monumenta imperatorum, decora atque ornamenta fanorum posthac his praeclaris nominibus amissis in instrumento atque in supellectile C. Verris nominabuntur. Tu videlicet solus vasis Corinthiis delectaris, tu illius aeris temperationem, tu operum liniamenta sollertissime perspicis; haec Scipio ille non intellegebat, homm doctissimus atque humanissimus, tu sine ulla bona arte, sine humanitate, sine ingenio, sine litteris, intellegis et iudicas! Vide ne ille non solum temperantia sed etiam intellegentia te atque istos qui se elegantes dici volunt vicerit. Nam quia quam pulchra essent intellegebat, idcirco existimabat ea non ad hominum luxuriem, sed ad ornatum fanorum atque oppidorum esse facta, ut posteris monumenta religiosa esse videantur.

XLV. Audite etiam singularem eius, iudices, cupiditatem, audaciam, amentiam, in iis praesertim sacris polluendis quae non modo manibus attingi sed ne cogitatione quidem violari fas fuit. Sacrarium Cereri est apud Catinenses eadem religione qua Romae, qua in

ceteris locis, qua prope in toto orbe terrarum. In eo sacrario intimo signum fuit Cereris perantiquum, quod viri non modo cuius modi esset sed ne esse quidem sciebant; aditus enim in id sacrarium non est viris; sacra per mulieres ac virgines confici solent. Hoc signum noctu clam istius servi ex illo religiosissimo atque antiquissimo loco sustulerunt. Postridie sacerdotes Cereris atque illius fani antistitae maiores natu, probatae ac nobiles mulieres, rem ad magistratus suos deferunt. Omnibus cerbum, indignum, luctuosum denique videbatur.

XLIV. The plucky behaviour of these Agrigentines was subsequently copied by the people of Assorus; stout trustworthy folk, though they belong to a much smaller and obscurer community. Through their land flows the river Chrysas, regarded by them as a god and worshipped with much reverence. His temple, which is in the open country close to the road from Assorus to Henna, contains a statue of him, a beautiful work in marble. Owing to the exceptional sanctity of the temple, Verres dared not demand this statue of the people of Assorus, but put the matter into the hands of Tleptolemus and Hiero, who collected and armed a band of men, went one night to the temple, and broke open the doors. The keepers and guards of the temple had timely warning of their coming; a signal well known to the neighbourhood was sounded on a cow-horn; a crowd gathered from the surrounding farms, and Tlepolemus was ejected and put to flight, with the result that nothing was found missing from the temple of Chrysas, except one small statue of bronze.

Near Engyion there is a sanctuary of the Great Mother. (I must now deal with these several cases briefly, and indeed pass over a great many of them altogether, so that we may get on to the more important and notorious of such of the man's acts of theft and sacrilege as we are now considering.) In this sanctuary there were breastplates and helmets of Corinthian chased bronze, and some large waterpots, of the same type and wrought in the same beautiful style, which the great Scipio of whom we have been speaking, that model of all human excellence, placed there, with an inscription containing his own name. I will make no long tale of the sad fate of these treasures. Verres carried them all off, gentlemen; he left nothing behind in that holy sanctuary save the traces of this sacrilegious outrage and the name of Scipio. Those spoils taken from our foes, those memorials of our great commander, those ornaments that adorned that holy place, shall no longer be described thus nobly, but only as items in the household furniture of Gaius Verres. - It would appear that you are the one person to whom Corinthian bronzes can appeal, and who has an expert's appreciation of the fine temper of the metal and the craftsmanship of the design: that an educated and cultivated man like

Scipio had no understanding of such things, whereas an utter savage like yourself, uncivilized and stupid and illiterate, can understand and appreciate them. Ask yourself if Scipio was not superior, in understanding as well as in temper, to you and to those friends of yours who aspire to be considered men of taste. He did understand how beatiful those things were, and for that very reason regarded them as meant not for the luxurious enjoyment of individuals, but for the adornment of temples and cities, and to be hallowed memorials in the sight of future generations.

XLV. Let me now tell you. gentlemen, of an outstanding instance of the man's insane and unscrupulous greed, whereby he chose to defile those holy things which it is a sin not merely to lay one's hands upon but even to desecrate in thought. At Catina there is a shrine of Ceres that is reverenced no less than such shrines at Rome, in other lands, almost throughout the world. In its innermost chamber was a very ancient statue of Ceres, the appearance and indeed the existence of which was unknown to men, since men are not allowed to enter the shrine, and the sacred rites are regularly performed by women and girls. This statue was stolen one night from this ancient and hallowed place by Verres' slaves. Next day the theft was reported to the local magistrates by the priestesses of Ceres and the elderly women of high birth and character who were in charge of this sanctuary; the news was received by all with grief, indignation, and mourning.

[T223] II.4.101 [70 BCE]

Quid enim postulas, Verres? quid speras, quid exspectas, quem tibi aut deum aut hominem auxilio futurum putas? Eone tu servos ad spoliandum fanum immittere ausus es quo liberos adire ne ornandi quidem causa fas erat? iisne rebus manus afferre non dubitasti a quibus etiam oculos cohibere te religionum iura cogebant? Tametsi ne oculis quidem captus in hanc fraudem tam sceleratam ac tam nefariam decidisti; nam id concupisti quod numquam videras, id, inquam, adamasti quod antea non aspexeras; auribus tu tantam cupiditatem concepisti, ut eam non metus, non religio, non deorum vis, non hominum existimatio contineret.

- Why, what would you have, Verres? what do you hope or look for? on what help can you count from god or man? You dared to send slaves to rob of its treasures a sanctuary that it is sin for free men to enter even to add to its treasures? you shrank not from laying your hands upon those holy things from which the laws of religion bade you even avert your eyes?

Though indeed it was not even the lust of the eye that made you plunge into this foul and impious crime: you desired a thing you had never seen - yes, you conceived a passion for what your eyes had not yet beheld; it was your ears that begot in you a greed so fierce that neither fear nor scruple, neither the power of the gods nor the censure of men could stay its course.

[T224] II.4.103 [70 BCE]

Insula est Melita, iudices, satis lato a Sicilia mari periculosoque diiuncta; in qua est eodem nomine oppidum, quo iste numquam accessit, quod tamen isti textrinum per triennium ad muliebrem restem conficiendam fuit. Ab eo oppido non longe in promunturio fanum est Iunonis antiquum, quod tanta religione semper fuit ut non modo illis Punicis bellis quae in his fere locis navali copia gesta atque versata sunt, sed etiam hac praedonum multitudine semper inviolatum sancturoque fuerit. Quin etiam hoc memoriae proditum est, classe quondam Masinissae regis ad eum locum appulsa praefecturo regium dentes eburneos incredibili magnitudine e fano sustulisse et eos in Africam portasse Masinissaeque donasse. Regero primo delectatum esse munere; post, ubi audisset unde essent, statim certos homines in quinqueremi misisse qui eos dentes reponerent. Itaque in iis scriptum litteris Punicis fuit regem Masinissam imprudentem accepisse, re cognita reportandos reponendosque curasse. Erat praeterea magna vis eboris, multa ornamenta, in quibus eburneae Victoriae antiquo opere ac summa arte perfectae.

The island of Melita, gentlemen, is separated from Sicily by a rather wide and dangerous stretch of sea. In it there is a town, also called Melita, which Verres never visited, but which none the less he turned for three years into a factory for the weaving of women's dresses. On a headland not far from the town stands an ancient temple of Juno, which has ever been held in such reverence that its sanctity has not once been violated not only in the old days of the Punic Wars, the naval operations of which took place in and around this region, but even by the pirate hordes of our own days. Nay, there is also the story of how King Masinissa's fleet once put in there, and the king's admiral carried off from the shrine certain ivory tusks of astonishing size, conveyed them to Africa, and presented them to Masinissa. At first, the king was delighted with the gift; but presently, when he was told where they came from, he dispatched a chosen body of men in a large warship to restore the tusks to their place; and upon the tusks was engraved an inscription in Punic characters, recording how king

Masinissa had received them unwittingly, and on learning the truth had caused them to be brought back and put in their place again. Besides these tusks there was a great quantity of other ivory, and many objects of art, including some ivory figures of Victory, of ancient and exquisite workmanship.

[T225] II.4.109 [70 BCE]

Non obtundam diutius; etenim iam dudum vereor ne oratio mea aliena ab iudiciorum ratione et a cotidiana dicendi consuetudine esse videatur. Hoc dico, hanc ipsam Cererem antiquissimam, religiosissimam, principem omnium sacrorum quae apud omnes gentes nationesque fiunt, a C. Verre ec suis templis ac sedibus esse sublatam. Qui accessistis Hennam vidistis simulacrum Cereris e marmore, et in altero templo Liberae. Sunt ea perampla atque praeclara, sed non ita antiqua. Es aere fuit quoddam modica amplitudine ac singulari opere cum facibus perantiquurn, omnium illorum quae sunt in eo fano multo antiquissimum. Id sustulit; ac tamen eo contentus non fuit.

I will weary you no further with this description; for some time I have had an uneasy feeling that you may think it unsuited to a court of law and to the style in which advocates are accustomed to plead. My charge is this: That this very Ceres, the most ancient and sacred of all, the fountain-head of all the cults of the goddess among all nations and peoples, was stolen by Gaius Verres from her own temple and her own home. Those of you who have visited Henna have seen the marble image of Ceres, and that of Libera in the other shrine. These are works of great size and notable beauty, but not so very old. But there was a bronze one, of moderate size and unique workmanship, in which the torches were shown; this was very old - far the oldest, indeed, of all the treasures in this sanctuary. This Verres stole - and was not satisfied even with taking this.

[T226] II.4.121-124 [70 BCE]

Inhac partitione ornatus non plus victoria Marcelli populo Romano appetivit quam humanitas Syracusanis reservavit. Romam quae apportata sunt, ad aedem Honoris et Virtutis itemque aliis in locis videmus. Nihil in aedibus, nihil in hortis posuit, nihil in suburbano; putavit, si urbis ornamenta domum suam non contulisset, domum suam ornamento urbi futuram. Syracusis autem permulta, atque egregia reliquit; deum vero

nullum violavit, nullum attigit. Conferte Verrem, non ut hominem cum homine compareti,. ne qua tali viro mortuo fiat, iniuria, sed ut pacem cum bello, leges cum vi, forum et iuris dictionem cum ferro et armis, adventum et comitatum cum exercitu et victoria conferatis.

LV. Aedis Minervae est in Insula, de qua ante dixi; quam Marcellus non attigit, quam plenam atque ornatam reliquit: quae ab isto sic spoliata atque direpta est non ut ab hoste aliquo, qui tamen in bello religionem et consuetudinis iura retineret, sed ut a barbaris praedonibus vexata esse videatur. Pugna erat equestris Agathocli regis in tabulis picta; iis autem tabulis interiores templi parietes vestiebantur. Nihil erat ea pictura nobilius, nihil Syracusis quod magis visendum putaretur. Has tabulas M. Marcellus, cum omnia victoria illa sua profana fecisset, tamen religione impeditus non attigit; iste, cum illa iam propter diuturnam pacem fidelitatemque populi Syracusani sacra religiosaque accepisset, omnis eas tabulas abstulit, parietes, quorum ornatus tot saecula manserant, tot bella effugerant, nudos ac deformatos reliquit. Et Marcellus qui, si Syracusas cepisset, duo templa se Romae dedicaturum voverat, is id quod erat aedificaturus iis rebus ornare quas ceperat noluit; Verres, qui non Honori neque Virtuti, quem ad modum ille, sed Veneri et Cupidini vota deberet, is Minervae templum spoliare conatus est. Ille deos deorum spoliis ornari noluit, hic ornamenta Minervae virginis in meretriciam domum transtulit. Viginti et septem praeterea tabulas pulcherrime pictas ex eadem aede sustulit, in quibus erant imagines Siciliae regum ac tyrannorum, quae non solum pictorum artificio delectabant, sed etiam commemoratione hominum et cognitione formarum. Ac videte quanto taetrior hic tyrannus Syracusanis fuerit quam quisquam superiorum, quia, cum illi tamen ornarint templa deorum immortalium, hic etiam illorum monumenta atque ornamenta sustulit.

LVI. Iam vero quid ego de valvis illius templi commemorem? Vereor ne haec qui non viderunt omnia me nimis augere atque ornare arbitrentur; quod tamen nemo suspicari debet, tam esse me cupidum ut tot viros primarios velim, praesertim ex iudicum numero, qui Syracusis fuerint, qui haec viderint, esse temeritati et mendacio meo conscios. Confirmare hoc liquido, iudices, possum, valvas magnificentiores, ex auro atque ebore perfectiores, nullas umquam ullo in templo fuisse. Incredibile dictu est quam multi Graeci de harum valrarum pulchritudine scriptum reliquerint. Nimium forsitan haec illi mirentur atque efferant; esto; verum tamen honestius est rei publicae nostrae, iudices, ea quae illis pulchra esse videantur imperatorem nostrum in bello reliquisse quam praetorem in pace abstulisse. Ex ebore diligentissime perfecta argumenta erant in valvis: ea detrahenda curavit omnia. Gorgonis os pulcherrimum cinctum anguibus revellit atque abstulit, et tamen indicavit se non solum artificio sed etiam pretio quaestuque duci; nam bullas aureas omnes ex iis valvis,

quae erant multae et graves, non dubitavit auferre; quarum iste non opere delectabatur sed pondere. Itaque eius modi valvas reliquit ut quae olim ad ornandum templum erant maxime nunc tantum ad claudendum factae esse videantur.

The result of his division of its treasures was that his humanity preserved at least as much for Syracuse as his conquest secured for Rome. All that was brought to Rome is to be seen near the temple of Honour and Virtue or elsewhere. He set up nothing in his mansion, in his garden, in his country-house near Rome; he felt that if he refrained from putting the city's adornments into his own home, his home would thereby become one of the city's adornments. And he left Syracuse a great number of very beautiful things, not profaning or so much as touching a single one of its gods. Compare him with Verres. I do not mean that you are to wrong our great hero's memory comparing the two men personally: but note the difference between peace-time and war-time, the reign of law and the reign of force, the civil procedure of the courts and the sword drawn in battle, the visits of a governor with his suite and the victory of a general with his army.

LV. On the Island stands the temple of Minerva that I have already mentioned. This temple, which Marcellus did not touch, which he left full of precious things has been so thoroughly stripped and plundered by Verres that it looks as if it had been ravaged not by an enemy in war-time, who would after all have kept some respect for religion and for established custom, but by a set of piratiral savages. The inner walls of the temple were covered with a set of pictures representing a cavalry engagement of king Agathocles; these paintings were especially famous, and nothing at Syracuse was considered better worth going to see. Marcellus, though his victory entitled him to treat everything as unconsecrated, was stayed by religious scruples from laying hands on these paintings: Verres, though he found them transformed into sacred and holy things by the long continuance of peace and the loyalty of the Syracusan people, carried off every one of them, and left bare and unsightly the walls whose decorations had lasted for so many centuries and escaped from so many wars. Marcellus, the man who had vowed to dedicate two temples at Rome if he captured Syracuse, shrank from adorning the building he was to erect with the treasures he had already captured: Verres, whose vows were due, not like those of Marcellus to Honour and Virtue, but to Venus and Cupid, none the less proceeded to despoil this temple of Minerva. Marcellus would not have one god robbed even to enrich another: Verres transferred the treasures of the pure virgin Minerva to a house presided over by harlots. He removed from the same temple twenty-seven other beautiful pictures, including portraits of the kings and

tyrants of Sicily, the attractiveness of which lay not merely in their artistic merit, but also in the instructive record they provided of these men's personal appearance. Observe how much more hateful a tyrant of Syracuse this man was than any of his predecessors: they did after all, adorn the temples of the gods, while this one removed even the memorials and adornments that they had given.

LVI. And now I come to speak of the doors of this temple. Those who never saw them may, I fear, suspect me of unduly colouring and exaggerating all my facts: yet no one ought to suppose that my eagerness should make me willing that all those distinguished persons - especially such as are members of this Court - who have been at Syracuse, and have seen these doors, should be able to detect me in making reckless and untruthful statements. I can assert with a clear conscience, gentlemen, that more splendid doors, doors more exquisitely wrought in ivory and gold, have never existed in any temple at all. You can hardly believe how many Greek writers have left us descriptions of the beauty of these doors. Perhaps they admire and extol such things unduly; well, granted that they do, still, it is more creditable to our country that what they think beautiful should have been left in their keeping by the commander of our army in war-time than that it should be taken from them by our governor in time of peace. Upon those doors were various scenes carved in ivory with the utmost care and perfection: Verres had all these removed. He wrenched off, and took away, a lovely Gorgon's face encircled with serpents. With all this he showed that it was not only the artistic quality of these objects but their cash value that attracted him; for there were a number of massive golden knobs on these doors, all of which he carried off without hesitation; and it was not the workmanship but the weight of these that appealed to him. And thus he left those doors in such a state that, instead of serving as before chiefly to adorn the temple, they now seemed to have been made only to shut it up.

[T227] II.4.128-129 [70 BCE]

Quid? ex aede Liberi simulacrum. Aristaei non tuo imperio palam ablatum est? Quid? ex aede Iovis religiosissimum simulacrum Iovis Imperatoris, quem Urion nominant, pulcherrime factum nonne abstulisti? Quid? ex aede Liberae parinum caput illud pulcherrimum quod visere solebamus num dubitasti tollere? Atque ille Paean sarrificiis anniversariis simul cum Aesculapio apud illos colebatur; Aristaeus, qui inventor olei esse dicitur, una cum Libero patre apud illos eodem erat in templo consecratus. LVIII. Iovem autem Imperatorem quanto honore in suo templo fuisse arbitramini? Conicere potestis, si

recordari volueritis quanta religione fuerit eadem specie ac forma signum illud quod ex Macedonia captum in Capitolio posuerat T. Flamininus. Etenim tria ferebantur in orbe terrarum signa Iovis Imperatoris uno in genere pulcherrime facta: unum illud Macedonicum quod in Capitolio vidimus, alterum in Ponti ore et angusiis, tertium quod Syracusis ante Verrem praetorem fuit. Illud Flamininus ita ex aede sua sustulit ut in Capitolio, hoc est in terrestri domicilio Iovis poneret.

Was not an image of Aristaeus, moreover, openly removed by your orders from the temple of Liber? And did you not carry away from the temple of Jupiter the beautiful and deeply reverenced image of Jupiter Imperator, called Urios by the Greeks? And did you hesitate to remove from the temple of Libera that lovely head of Aristaeus which we used to go there to see? Yet the Paean was worshipped by the Syracusans with annual sacrifices, together with Aesculapius; and the Aristaeus - he is said to have discovered the olive - they had dedicated along with Liber his father, and in the same temple. LVIII. As for the Jupiter Imperator, consider how profoundly it must have been honoured in the god's own temple: you may judge of this if you will remember what intense reverence was felt for the statue, of similar shape and design, that was captured in Macedonia and placed in the Capitol by Titus Flamininus. It used to be said that there were three splendid statues of Jupiter Imperator, all of this one type, to be found in the world; the first this one from Macedonia which we now see in the Capitol, the second by the narrow strait that opens into the Black Sea, and the third this one that was at Syracuse in the days before Verres was governor. The first one Flamininus took away from its temple; but only to place it in the Capitol, Jupiter's earthly dwelling -place.

[T228] II.4.132-133 [70 BCE]

Itaque, iudices, ii qui hospites ad ea quae visenda sunt solent ducere et unum quidque ostendere, quos illi mystagogos vocant, conversam iam habent demonstrationem suam. Nam ut ante demonstrabant quid ubique esset, item nunc quid undique ablatum sit ostendunt.

Quid tum? mediocrine tandem dolore eos affectos esse arbitramini? Non ita est, iudices; primum quod omnes religione moventur, et deos patrios quos a maioribus acceperunt colendos sibi diligenter et retinendos esse arbitrantur; deinde hic ornatus, haec opera atque artificia, signa, tabulae pictae, Graecos homines nimio opere delectant. Itaque ex illorum querimoniis intellegere possumus haec illis acerbissima videri quae forsitan nobis levia et

contemnenda esse videantur. Mihi credite, iudices - tametsi vosmet ipsos haec eadem audire certo scio - cum multas acceperint per hosce annos socii atque exterae nationes calamitates et iniurias, nullas Graeci homines gravius ferunt ac tulerunt quam huiusce modi spoliationes fanorum atque oppidorum. Licet iste dicat emisse se, sicuti solet dicere, credite hoc mihi, iudices: nulla umquam civitas tota Asia et Graecia signum ullum, tabulam pictam ullam, ullum denique ornamentum urbis sua voluntate cuiquam vendidit; nisi forte existimatis, posteaquam iudicia severa Romae fieri desierunt, Graecos homines haec venditare coepisse quae tum non modo non venditabant, cum iudicia fiebant, verum etiam coemebant; aut nisi arbitramini L. Crasso, Q. Scaevolae, C. Claudio, potentissimis hominibus, quorum aedilitates ornatissimas vidimus, commercium istarum rerum cum Graecis hominibus non fuisse, iis qui post iudiciorum dissolutionem aediles facti sunt fuisse.

The result of all this, gentlemen, is that the persons known as "mystagogues", who act as guides to visitors and show them the various things worth seeing, have had to reverse the form of their explanations. Formerly, they showed you everywhere what things were; now, they explain everywhere what has been taken away.

Well, now, gentlemen, do you suppose that all this has caused comparatively slight distress? Far from it. In the first place they are all religious people and believe it their duty to worship diligently, and to hold in safe keeping, the ancestral gods they inherited from their forefathers. And further, this decorative stuff, these artistic productions, statues and pictures and so on, afford all Greek persons only too much pleasure: so that when we hear their tale of distress we can see why they feel acutely miserable at what we perhaps feel to be negligible trifles. Believe me, gentlemen - though I am quite sure that you have yourselves heard what I am telling you -: in spite of all the disasters that in recent years have befallen both our allies and foreign peoples, and all the wrongs that they have suffered, nothing is causing, or has caused, more distress to the Greek part of them than such plunderings of temples and towns as I now speak of. Verres may say, as he usually does say, that he bought everything; but believe me, gentlemen, when I tell you that no community anywhere in Asia or in Greece has of its own free will sold any statue, or any picture, or any civic work of art whatever to anyone on any occasion. You will hardly suppose that since the law-courts of Rome ceased to administer strict justice these Greeks have begun to offer for sale the objects that - when courts of justice did exist - they not only would not offer for sale but would buy in great numbers: nor will you suppose that whereas no opportunities of buying such things from Greek owners were offered to persons so powerful as Lucius Crassus and Quintus

Scaevola and Gaius Claudius, whose aedileships were marked by shows as brilliant as any that we have seen, such opportunities have been offered to those who have become aediles since our law-courts went to pieces.

[T229] II.4.135 [70 BCE]

Quid arbitramini Reginos, qui iam cives Romani sunt, merere velle ut ab iis marmorea Venus illa auferatur? quid Tarentinos ut Europam in tauro amittant, ut Satyrum qui apud illos in aede Vestae est, ut cetera? quid Thespienses ut Cupidinis signum propter quod unum visuntur Thespiae, quid Cnidios ut Venerem marmoream, quid ut pictam Coos, quid Ephesios ut Alexandrum, quid Cyzicenos ut Aiacem aut Medeam, quid Rhodios ut Ialysum, quid Athenienses ut ex marmore Iacchum aut Paralum pictum aut ex aere Myronis buculam? Longum est et non necessarium commemorare quae apud quosque visenda sint tota Asia et Graecia; verum illud est quam ob rem haec commemorem, quod existimare hoc vos volo, mirum quendam dolorem accipere eos ex quorum urbibus haec auferantur.

What sum of money do you imagine the people of Regium, now Roman citizens, would demand before parting with their famous marble Venus? or the Tarentines, before losing their Europa on the Bull, the Satyr in their temple of Vesta, and their other treasures? or the Thespians for the statue of Cupid that is their town's only attraction for visitors? or the people of Cnidus for their marble Venus, or those of Cos for their painted one? or the Ephesians for their Alexander, or the Cyzicenes for their Ajax or their Medea, or the Rhodians for their Ialysus? or the Athenians for their marble Iacchus, their picture of Paralus, or their bronze heifer by Myron? It would be tedious, and needless, to mention all the noteworthy sights to be found in the several towns of Greece and Asia: my purpose in mentioning these few is to convince you that an extraordinary degree of pain has been caused to those whose towns have been robbed of such treasures.

[T230] II.5.126-127 [70 BCE]

XLVIII. Quo confugient socii? quem implorabunt? qua spe denique ut vivere velint tenebuntur, si vos eos deseretis? Ad senatumne venient? Quid? ut de Verre supplicium sumat? Non est usitatum, non senatorium. Ad populum Romanum confugient? Facilis est populi causa; legem enim se sociorum causa iussisse et ei vos legi custodes ac vindices

praeposuisse dicet. Hic locus igitur est unus quo perfugiant, hic portus, haec arx, haec ara sociorum; quo quidem nunc non ita confugiunt ut antea in suis repetundis rebus solebant. Non argentum, non aurum, non vestem, non mancipia repetunt, non ornamenta quae ex urbibus fanisque erepta sunt; metuunt homines imperiti ne iam haec populus Romanus concedat et ita fieri velit. Patimur enim multos iam annos et silemus, cum videamus ad paucos homines omnes omnium nationum pecunias pervenisse. Quod eo magis ferre animo aequo et concedere videmur quia nemo istorum dissimulat, nemo laborat ut obscura sua cupiditas esse videatur. In urbe nostra pulcherrima atque ornatissima quod signum, quae tabula picta est quae non ab hostibus victis capta atque deportata sit? at istorum villae sociorum fidelissimorum plurimis et pulcherrimis spoliis ornatae refertaeque sunt. Ubi pecunias exterarum nationum esse arbitramini, quae nunc omnes egent, cum Athenas, Pergamum, Cyzicum, Miletum, Chium, Samum, totam denique Asiam, Achaiam, Graeciam, Siciliam tam in paucis villis inclusas esse videatis? Sed haec, ut dico,omnia iam socii vestri relinquunt et neglegunt, iudices. Ne publice a populo Romano spoliarentur officiis ace fide providerunt; paucorum cupiditati tum, obsistere non poterant, tamen sufficere aliquo modo poterant; nunc vero iam adempta est non modo resistendi rerum etiam suppeditandi facultas. Itaque res suas neglegunt; pecunias, quo nomine iudicium hoc appellatur, non repetunt, relinquunt; hoc iam ornatu ad vos confugiunt. Aspicite, aspicite, iudices, squalorem sordesque sociorum!

XLVIII. Where shall our allies seek refuge, whose help shall they entreat, nay, what hope will possess them that can make life seem worth living, if you, gentlemen, fail them? Shall they approach the Senate? To what end? that it may have Verres punished? That is not customary; that is not the Senate's function. Shall they appeal to the assembled nation? It will have good reason to say them no; it will tell them that it has passed a certain law for its allies' good, and has appointed you to take charge of that law and to see that it is not broken. Here, therefore, is the one place to which they may turn for refuge; here is our allies' harbour, here their citadel, and here their sanctuary. And the refuge they now seek here is not such as they have been wont to seek when they sued for the restitution of their stolen property. They do not now claim back their gold, their silver, their tapestries, their slaves, no, nor the works of art of which their cities and shrines have been robbed. The poor ignorant folk are afraid that the Roman nation has come to permit such doings, and is content to see them occur. Year after year, indeed, we have allowed them to occur; we have seen all the wealth of all the world become the property of a mere handful of men; and our

readiness to tolerate and permit this is the more apparent because none of those persons conceals his cupidity, none is concerned to throw any doubt upon the fact of it. Among all the treasures that so richly adorn this beautiful city of ours, is there one statue, one picture, that has not been captured and brought hither from the enemies we have defeated in war? whereas the country-houses of the men to whom I refer are furnished to overflowing with the countless beautiful things of which they have robbed our most loyal allies. What do you suppose has become of the wealth of the foreign nations who are now so poor, when you see Athens, Pergamum, Cyzicus, Miletus, Chios, Samos - nay, all Asia and Achaea, all Greece and Sicily, concentrated in these few country-houses? Yet I repeat, gentlemen, that to-day your allies are not attempting, and not caring to recover any of these treasures. By their loyalty and good service they guarded themselves against being deprived of them by public decree of the Roman nation. The time came when they could not resist the greed of this man or that, but in one way or another they were able to gratify it. To-day they have lost the power not only of resisting but even of supplying the demands made of them. And therefore they are not concerned for their property; they forbear to claim that restitution of money which this Court, as its name shows, was instituted to secure. They come, with their appeal to you, dressed as you see them dressed. Look, gentlemen, look on the unkempt and dishevelled condition of these loyal friends of ours!

Brutus

The translation and the text which follows are both from the Loeb Classical Library, *Cicero, Brutus,* with and English translation by G. L. Hendrickson and *Orator*, with an English translation by H. M. Hubbell, London, 1952.

[T231] xviii.70 [46 BCE]

Quis enim eorum qui haec minora animadvertum non intellegit Canachi signa rigidiora esse quam ut imitentur veritatem; Calamidis dura illa quidem, sed tamen molliora quam Canachi; nondum Myronis satis ad veritatem adducta, iam tamen quae non dubites pulchra dicere; pulchriora etiam Polycliti et iam plane perfecta, ut mihi quidem videri solent? Similis in pictura ratio est; in qua Zeuxim et Polygnotum et Timanthem et eorum, qui non sunt usi plus quam quattuor coloribus, formas et liniamenta laudamus; at in Aetione Nicomacho Protogene Apelle iam perfecta sunt omnia.

What critic who devotes his attention to the lesser arts does not recognise that the statues of Canachus are too rigid to reproduce the truth of nature? The statues of Calamis again are still hard, and yet more lifelike than those of Canachus. Even Myron has not yet fully attained naturalness, though one would not hesitate to call his works beautiful. Still more beautiful are the statues of Polyclitus, and indeed in my estimation quite perfect. The same development may be seen in painting. In Zeuxis, Polygnotus, Timanthes, and others, who used only four colours, we praise their outline and drawing; but in Aetion, Nicomachus, Protogenes, Apelles, everything has been brought to perfection.

[T232] xix.75 [46 BCE]

Recte, inquam, Brute, intellegis. Atque utinam exstarent illa carmina, quae multis saeculis ante suam aetatem in epulis esse cantitata a singulis convivis de clarorum virorum laudibus in Originibus scriptum reliquit Cato! Tamen illius, quem in vatibus et Faunis annumerat Ennius, bellum Punicum quasi Myronis opus delectat.

That was my thought, Brutus, as you say; and would there were still extant those songs, of which Cato in his *Origines* has recorded, that long before his time the several guests at banquets used to sing in turn the praise of famous men! For all that Ennius counts Naevius among primitive bards and fauns, his *Bellum Punicum*, like a work of Myron, still yields pleasure.

[T233] [lxiv. 228] [46 BCE]

Inferioris autem aetatis erat proximus L. Sisenna, doctus vir et studiis optimis deditus, bene Latine loquens, gnarus rei publicae, non sine facetiis, sed neque laboris multi nec satis versatus in causis; interiectusque inter duas aetates Hortensi et Sulpici nec maiorem consequi poterat et minori necesse erat cedere. Huius omnis facultas ex historia ipsius perspici potest, quae cum facile omnis vincat superiores, tum indicat tamen quantum adsit a summo quamque genus hoc scriptionis nondum sit satis Latinis litteris illustratum. Nam Q. Hortensi admodum adulescentis ingenium ut Phidiae signum simul aspectum et probatum est.

Of the younger generation his nearest rival was Lucius Sisenna, a man of scholarly training and devoted to liberal studies, a user of pure Latin, versed in affairs of state, not without wit; but he had no great industry nor adequate experience at the bar. Falling between the eras of Hortensius and Sulpicius, he did not succeed in overtaking the elder, and was obliged to yield before the younger. His ability can best be seen from his history, which while surpassing all its predecessors, yet reveals how far from perfection this type of writing is with us, and how inadequately as yet it has been cultivated in Latin letters. As for the genius of the young Quintus Hortensius, like a statue of Phidias, it required only to be seen to be approved.

[T234] [lxxiv. 257] [46 BCE]

...sed Atheniensium quoque plus interfuit firma tecta in domiciliis habere quam Minervae signum ex ebore pulcherrimum; tamen ego me Phidiam esse mallem quam vel optimum fabrum tignarium. Qua re non quantum quisque prosit, sed quanti quisque sit ponderandum est; praesertim cum pauci pingere egregie possint aut fingere, operarii autem aut baiuli deesse non possint.

...but it was likewise more important for the people of Athens to have tight roofs over their heads than to possess the famous ivory statue of Minerva; yet I should have preferred to be a Phidias than to be a master-roofer. Thus in weighing a man's significance it is not how useful he is that should enter in, but what is his real worth. There are few competent painters or sculptors, but there is no danger of a shortage of porters and labourers.

[T235] [lxxv. 261] [46 BCE]

Caesar autem rationem adhibens consuetudine vitiosam et corruptam pura et incorrupta consuetudine emendat. Itaque cum ad hanc elegantiam verborum Latinorum- quae, etiam si orator non sis et sis ingenuus civis Romanus, tamen necessaria est- adiungit illa oratoria ornamenta dicendi, tum videtur tamquam tabulas bene pictas collocare in bono lumine.

Caesar however by invoking rational theory strives to correct distorted and corrupt usage by restoring usage pure and uncorrupted. Thus by joining to this careful selection of Latin words - a selection incumbent on every true offspring of roman blood whether orator or not -

the characteristic embellishments of oratorical style, he produces an effect as of placing a well-painted picture in a good light.

[T236] [xciii. 320] [46 BCE]

...Primus et secundus annus et tertius tantum quasi de picturae veteris colore detraxerat, quantum non quivis unus ex populo, sed existimator doctus et intellegens posset cognoscere....

One year, a second, and even a third, lived [Hortensius] in this fashion, took away something (like the slow fading of the colours in an old picture), not so much as an ordinary observer, but only a trained and intelligent critic, would perceive.

Orator

[T237] ii. 5 [46 BCE]

Nec vero Aristotelem in philosophia deterruit a scribendo amplitudo Platonis, nec ipse Aristoteles admirabili quadam scientia et copia ceterorum studia restinxit. Nec solum ab optimis studiis excellentes viri deterriti non sunt, sed ne opifices quidem se ab artibus suis removerunt, qui aut Ialysi quem Rhodi vidimus non potuerunt aut Coae Veneris pulchritudinem imitari, nec simulacro Iovis Olympii aut doryphori statua deterriti reliqui minus experti sunt quid efficere aut quo progredi possent. Quorum tanta multitudo fuit, tanta in suo cuiusque genere laus, ut cum summa miraremur, inferiora tamen probaremus.

And in philosophy, I am sure, the magnificence of Plato did not deter Aristotle from writing, nor did Aristotle with all his marvelous breadth of knowledge put an end to the studies of others. Moreover, not only were outstanding men not dettered from undertaking liberal pursuits, but even craftsmen did not give up their arts because they were unable to equal the beauty of the picture of Ialysus which we saw at Rhodes, or of the Coan Venus; nor did the statue of Jupiter at Olympia or the Doryphorus deter the other sculptors from trying to see what they could accomplish or what progress they could make. There were so many of them and such was the merit of each in his own class, that while we admire the best we can nevertheless approve the less excellent.

[T238-239] xxi.69-xxii.74 [46 BCE]

XXI. Erit igitur eloquens - hunc enim auctore Antonio quaerimus - is qui in foro causisque civilibus ita dicet, ut probet, ut delectet, ut flectat. Probare necessitatis est, delectare suavitatis, flectere victoriae; nam id unum ex omnibus ad obtinendas causas potest plurimum. Sed quot officia oratoris tot sunt genera dicendi: subtile in probando, modicum delectando, vehemens in flectendo; in quo uno vis omnis oratoris est. Magni igitur iudici, summae etiam facultatis esse debebit moderator ille et quasi temperator huius tripertitae varietatis. Nam et indicabit quid cuique opus sit et poterit quocumque modo postulabit causa dicere. Sed est eloquentiae sicut reliquarum rerum fundamentum sapientia. Ut enim in vita sic in oratione nihil est difficilius quam quid deceat videre. Πρέπον appellant hocGraeci, nos dicamus sane decorum. De quo praeclare et multa praecipiuntur et res est cognitione dignissima. Huius ignoratione non modo in vita sed saepissime et in poematis et in oratione peccatur. Est autem quid deceat oratori videndum non in sententiis solum sed etiam in verbis. Non enim omnis fortuna non omnis honos non omnis auctoritas non omnis aetas nec vero locus aut tempus aut auditor omms eodem aut verborum genere tractandus est aut sententiarum, semperque in omni parte orationis ut vitae quid deceat est considerandum; quod et in re de qua agitur positum est et in personis et eorum qui dicunt et eorum qui audiunt. Itaque hunc locum longe et late patentem philosophi solent in officus tractare - non cum de recto ipso disputant, nam id quidem unum est - grammatici in poetis eloquentes in omni et genere et parte causarum. Quam enim indecorum est de stillicidiis, cum apud unum iudicem dicas, amplissimis verbis et locis uti communibus, de maiestate populi Romani summisse et subtiliter. XXII. Hi genere toto, at persona alii peccant aut sua aut iudicum aut etiam adversariorum nec re solum sed saepe verbo. Etsi sine re nulla vis verbi est tamen eadem res saepe aut probatur aut reicitur alio, atque alio elata verbo. In omnibusque rebus videndum est quatenus. Etsi enim suus cuique modus est, tamen magis offendit nimium quam parum. In quo Apelles pictores quoque eos peccare dicebat qui non sentirent quid esset satis. Magnus est locus hic, Brute quod te non fugit, et magnum volumen aliud desiderat; sed ad id quod agitur illud satis. Cum hoc decere - quod semper usurpamus in omnibus dictis et factis, minimis et maximis - cum hoc, inquam, decere dica mus, illud non decere, et id usquequaque quantum sit appareat, in alioque ponatur aliudque totum sit, utrum decere an oportere dicas - oportere enim perfectionem declarat offici quo et semper utendum est et omnibus, decere quasi aptum esse consentaneumque tempori et personae; quod cum in factis saepissime tum in dictis valet, in voltu denique et gestu et incessu contraque item dedecere - quod si poeta fugit ut maximum vitium, qui pecat etiam, cum

probam orationem affingit improbo stultove sapientis; si denique pictor ille vidit, cum immolanda Iphigenia tristis Calchas esset, tristior Ulixes, maereret Menelaus, obvolvendum caput Agamemnonis esse, quoniam summum illum luctum penicillo non posset imitari; si denique histrio quid deceat quaerit: quid faciendum oratori putemus? Sed cum hoc tantum sit, quid in causis earumque quasi membris faciat orator viderit: illud quidem perspicuum est, non modo partis orationis sed etiam causas totas alias alia forma dicendi esse tractandas.

The man of eloquence whom we seek, following the suggestion of Antonius, will be one who is able to speak in court or in deliberative bodies so as to prove, to please and to sway or persuade. To prove is the first necessity, to please is charm, to sway is victory; for it is the one thing of all that avails most in winning verdicts. For these three functions of the orator there are three styles, the plain style for proof, the middle style for pleasure, the vigorous style for persuasion; and in this last is summed up the entire virtue of the orator. Now the man who controls and combines these three varied styles needs rare judgement and great endowment; for he will decide what is needed at any point, and will be able to speak in any way which the case requires. For after all the foundation of eloquence, as of everything else, is wisdom. In an oration, as in life, nothing is harder than to determine what is appropriate. The Greeks call it πρὲπον; let us call it decorum or "propriety". Much brilliant work has been done in laying down roles about this; the subject is in fact worth mastering. From ignorance of this mistakes are made not only in life but very frequently in writing, both in poetry and in prose. Moreover the orator must have an eye to propriety not only in thought but in language. For the same style and the same thoughts must not be used in portraying every condition in life, or every rank, position or age, and in fact a similar distinction must be made in respect of place, time and audience. The universal rule, in oratory as in life, is to consider propriety. This depends on the subject under discussion, and on the character of both the speaker and the audience. The philosophers are accustomed to consider this extensive subject under the head of duties - not when they discuss absolute perfection, for that is one and unchanging; the literary critics consider it in connexion with poetry; orators in dealing with every kind of speech, and in every part thereof. How inappropriate it would be to employ general topics and the grand style when discussing caces of stillicide before a single referee, or to use mean and meagre language when referring to the majesty of the Roman people. This would be wrong in every respect; but others err in regard to character - either their own or that of the jury, or of their opponents; and not merely in the statement of

facts, but often in the use of words. Although a word has no force apart from the thing, yet the same thing is often either approved or rejected according as it is expressed in one way or another. Moreover, in all cases the question must be, "How far?" For although the limits of propriety differ for each subject, yet in general too much is more offensive than too little. Apelles said that those painters also make this error, who do not know when they have done enough. This is an important topic, Brutus, as you well know, and requires another large volume; but for our present discussion the following will be enough: since we say "This is appropriate"- a word we use in connexion with everything we do or say, great or small, - since, I repeat, we say "This is appropriate" and "That is not appropriate," and it appears how important propriety is everywhere (and that it depends upon something else and is wholly another question whether you should say "appropriate" or "right"; - for by "right" we indicate the perfect line of duty which every one must follow everywhere, but "propriety" is what is fitting and agreeable to an occasion or person; it is important often in actions as well as in words, in the expression of the face, in gesture and in gait, and impropriety has the opposite effect); the poet avoids impropriety as the greatest fault which he can commit; he errs also if he puts the speech of a good man in the mouth of a villain, or that of a wise man in the mouth of a fool; so also the painter in portraying the sacrifice of Iphigenia, after representing Calchas as sad, Ulysses as still more so, Menelaus as in grief, felt that Agamemnon's head must be veiled, because the supreme sorrow could not be portrayed by his brush; even the actor seeks for propriety; what then, think you, should the orator do? Since this is so important, let the orator consider what to do in the speech and its different divisions: it is certainly obvious that totally different styles must be used, not only in the different parts of the speech, but also that whole speeches must be now in one style, now in another.

[T240] xxxi.110 [46 BCE]

Demosthenes quidem cuius nuper inter imagines tuas ac tuorum, [Brute], quod eum credo amares, cum ad te in Tusculanum venissem, imaginem ex aere vidi, nil Lysiae subtilitate cedit, nil argutiis et acumine Hyperidi, nil levitate Aeschini et splendore verborum.

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.

[T241] l. 169 [46 BCE]

Quid, si antiquissima illa pictura paucorum colorum magis quam haec iam perfecta delectet, illa nobis sit credo repetenda, haec scilicet repudianda? Nominibus veterum gloriantur. Habet autem ut in aetatibus auctoritatem senectus sic in exemplis antiquitas, quae quidem apud me ipsum valet plurimum. Nec ego id quod deest antiquitati flagito potius quam laudo quod est; praesertim cum ea maiora iudicem quae sunt quam illa quae desunt.

Suppose they [some people] prefer archaic painting which used only a few colours to the perfection of modern art; must we, then go back to the ancients and reject the moderns? They pride themselves on the names of their ancient models. Antiquity does not carry authority on the precedents it furnishes, as old age does in respect of years; and this authority has great weight with me. I do not demand from antiquity what it has not; rather I praise what it has, particularly because I judge their excellence of greater concern then their deficiency.

[T242] lxx. 232 [46 BCE]

Adde tertium: 'neque vero ornamenta ista villarum quibus L. Paulum et L. Mummium, qui rebus his urbem Italiamque omnem referserunt, ab aliquo video perfacile Deliaco aut Syro potuisse superari'- fac ita: 'potuisse superari ab aliquo Syro aut Deliaco.'

Add a third example: *'neque vero ornamenta ista villarum quibus L. Paulum et L. Mummium, qui rebus his urbem Italiamque omnem referserunt, ab aliquo video perfacile Deliaco aut Syro potuisse superari'* [Nor those ornaments of your villas, in which Lucius Paulus and Lucius Mummius, who filled Rome and all Italy with these treasures, could easily have been surpassed by any slaver from Delos or Syria.]: Write it as follows: *'potuisse superari ab aliquo Syro aut Deliaco.'*

Epistulae Ad familiares

The passages and translations that follow are from the Loeb CL, *Cicero: The Letters to his Friends,* with and English translation by W. Glyn Williams, in four volumes; vol. I, 1952, vol. II, 1953, vol. III 1972, vol. IV. 1979.

[T243] VII.xxiii [46 BCE] [1]

Tantum quod ex Arpinati veneram, cum mihi a te litterae redditae sunt; ab eodemque accepi Aviani litteras, in quibus hoc inerat liberalissimum, nomina se facturum, cum venisset, qua ego vellem die. Fac, quaeso, qui ego sum, esse te. Estne aut tui pudoris, aut nostri primum rogare de die, deinde plus annua postulare? Sed essent, mi Galle, omnia facilia, si et ea mercatus esses, quae ego desiderabam, et ad eam summam, quam volueram. Ac tamen ista ipsa, quae te emisse scribis, non solum rata mihi erunt, sed etiam grata; plane enim intellego, te non modo studio, sed etiam amore usum, quae te delectarint, hominem, ut ego semper iudicavi, in omni iudicio elegantissimum, quae me digna putaris, coemisse. Sed velim maneat Damasippus in sententia. Prorsus enim ex istis emptionibus nullam desidero. Tu autem ignarus instituti mei, quanti ego genus omnino signorum omnium non aestimo, tanti ista quattuor aut quinque sumpsisti. Bacchas istas cum Musis Metelli comparas. Quid simile? primum ipsas ego Musas numquam tanti putassem, atque id fecissem Musis omnibus approbantibus. Sed tamen erat aptum bibliothecae studiisque nostris congruens. Bacchis vero ubi est apud me locus? At pulchellae sunt. Novi optime, et saepe vidi. Nominatim tibi signa mihi nota mandassem, si probassem. Ea enim signa ego emere soleo, quae ad similitudinem gymnasiorum exornent mihi in palaestra locum. Martis vero signum quo mihi pacis auctori? Gaudeo nullum Saturni signum fuisse. Haec enim duo signa putarem mihi aes alienum attulisse. Mercuri mallem aliquod fuisset; felicius, puto, cum Avianio transigere possemus. Quod tibi destinaras τραπεζοφορον, si te delectat, habebis; sin autem sententiam mutasti, ego habebo scilicet. Ista quidem summa ne ego multo libentius emerim deversorium Tarracinae, ne semper hospiti molestus sim. Omnino liberta mei video esse culpam, cui plane res certas mandaram; itemque Iuni, quem puto tibi notum esse, Aviani familiarem. Exhedria quaedam milti nova sunt instituta in porticula Tusculani. Ea volebam tabellis ornare. Etenim, si quid generis istiusmodi me delectat, pictura delectat. Sed tamen, si ista mihi sunt habenda, certiorem velim me facias, ubi sint, quando arcessantur, quo genere vecturae. Si enim Damasippus in sententia non manebit, aliquem pseudodamasippum vel cum iactura reperiemus.

To M. Fadius[2] Gallus

I had only just arrived from Arpinum when a letter from you was delivered to me; and by the same hand I received one from Avianius,[3] containing this very handsome offer, that when he came he would enter my debt to him on whatever day I pleased. Pray put yourself in my place. Is it consistent with either your sense of honour or mine, first to haggle about the day, and then to ask for more than a year's credit? But everything would have been easy, my dear Gallus, had you bought only what I wanted, and that only up to the price I had in my mind. But for all that, the actual purchases mentioned in your letter I shall ratify, aud they will gratify me too; for I quite understand that you showed not only your anxiety to please, but your affection also, in buying up, because you considered them worthy of me, things which gave pleasure to yourself, who, as I have always thought, show most refined taste wherever critical skill is needed.

Still I should like Damasippus to stick to his intention; for out of all your purchases there is absolutely not one that I should really prize. You however, in ignorance of my regular practice, took over your four or five statues at a price beyond what I set on the whole collection of statues in the world. You compare your Bacchantes with Metellus's[4] Muses. Where is the analogy? In the first place, I should never have thought those Muses themselves worth all that money, and all the Muses would have agreed. Still it would have been suitable for a library, and would harmonize with my literary pursuits. But as for Bacchantes, where is there room for them at my house? Ah but, you will say, they are beautiful little figures. I know them perfectly well, and have often seen them. Had I fancied them, I should have specifically commissioned you to buy statues that were known to me. For I often buy the sort of figures that would adorn a place in my palaestra, and make it look like the gymnasia. But a statue of Mars! What do I, the advocate of peace want with that? I am glad there was not one of Saturn for I should suspect these two statues of having brought debt upon me. I should rather there had been some sort of a statue of Mercury.[5] I might have had better luck perhaps in my transaction with Avianius.

As for the table-support you had intended for yourself, if you like it, you must keep it; if however you have changed your mind, you may be sure that I shall keep it. For the sum you have expended, I declare I would much rather have bought a lodging house at Tarracina,[6] so as not to be an everlasting burden upon my host. On the whole I take it that the fault lies with my freedman, whom I had definitely commissioned to make certain purchases, and also with Junius, whom I think you know, Avianius's friend.

I have built some new reading-rooms in a little colonnade at my Tusculan villa, and I should like to decorate them with pictures; as a matter of fact, if anything of that sort gives me any pleasure at all, it is painting.

Anyhow, if I am to take over your purchases, I wish you would notify me where they are, when they are to be sent for, and in what kind of conveyance; for if Damasippus has not the courage of his opinions, I have got to find some *soi-disant* Damasippus, even if I lose by it. (Williams - Loeb).

The translation of the letter to Gallus that follows is from D.R. Schackleton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters to his Friends*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978.

To M. Fabius Gallus

But everything would be straightforward, my dear Gallus, if you had bought what I needed and within the price had wished to pay. Not but what I stand by these purchases you say you have made, indeed I am grateful. I fully understand that you acted out of good-will, affection indeed, in buying the pieces which pleased you (I have always regarded you as a very fine judge in any matter of taste), and which you considered worthy of me. But I hope Damassipus doesn't change his mind, for frankly, I don't need any of these purchases of yours. Not being acquainted with my regular practice you have taken these four or five pieces at a price I should consider excessive for all the statuary in creation. You compare these Bacchantes with Metellus' Muses. Where's the likeness? To begin with, I should never had reckoned the Muses themselves worth such a sum - and all Nine would have approved my judgement! Still that would have made a suitable acquisition of a library, and one appropriate to my interests. But where am I going to put Bacchantes? Pretty little things, you may say. I know them well, I have seen them often. I should have given you a specific commission about statues which I know, if I had cared for them. My habit is to buy pieces which I can use to decorate a place in my palaestra, in imitation of lecture-halls *(gymnasiorum)*. But a statue of Mars! What can I, as an advocate of peace, do with that?

For the sum you have spent I should really have much preferred to buy a lodge at Tarracina, so as not to be continually imposing on hospitality. To be sure, I realise that my freedman is to blame (I had given him quite definite commissions), and Junius too - I think you know him, Avianus' friend. I am making some new alcoves in the little gallery of my house at

Tusculum, and I wanted some pictures for their decoration - indeed, if anything in this way appeals to me, it is painting.

Ad Atticum

The translation and the text of the letters to Atticus follows the edition of D.R. Schackleton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus*, vol. 1, Cambridge, 1965. The Loeb edition of the same letters dates from 1920 (translation by E. O. Winstedt), and are translated in 'the traditionary order in which they are usually printed' (1920: v). In other words in a not strictly chronological order. We follow the one by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, and the Loeb edition order is in brackets.

[T244] I.(7). (I.5) [November 68 BCE]

Epiroticam emptionem gaudeo tibi placere. quae tibi mandavi et quae tu intelleges convenire nostro Tusculano velim, ut scribis, cures, quod sine molestia tua facere poteris. nam nos ex omnibus molestiis et laboribus uno illo in loco conquiescimus.

I am glad you are pleased with your purchase in Epirus. Yes, do please look after my commissions and anything else that may strike you as suitable to my place in Tusculum, so far as you can without putting yourself into too much trouble. It is the only place where I rest from troubles and toils.

[T245] 2.(2). (I.6) [November 68 BCE]

Haec habebam fere quae te scire vellem. tu velim, si qua ornamenta γυμνασιώδη reperire poteris quae loci sint eius quem tu non ignoras, ne praetermittas. nos Tusculano ita delectamur ut nobismet ipsis tum denique cum illo venimus placeamus. quid agas omnibus de rebus et quid acturus sis fac nos quam diligentissime certiores.

That is about all I have to tell you. If you succeed in finding any objets d' art suitable for a lecture hall (γυμνασιώδη),[7] which would do for you know where, I hope you won't let them slip. I am delighted with my place at Tusculum, so much so that I feel content with myself

when, and only when, I get there. Let me know in full detail about everything you are doing and intending to do.

[T246] 3. (I.7). [February 67 BCE.]

Apud matrem recte est eaque nobis curae est. L. Cincio HS xxcd constitui me curaturum Id. Febr. tu velim ea quae nobis emisse <te> et parasse scribis des operam ut quam primum habeamus. et velim cogites, id quod mihi pollicitus es, quem ad modum bibliothecam nobis conficere possis. omnem spem delectationis nostrae, quam cum in otium venerimus habere volumus, in tua humanitate positam habemus.

All is in order at your mother's and I am not forgetting her. I have arranged to pay L. Cincius HS 20,400 on the Ides of February. I should be grateful if you would see that I get the articles which you say you have bought and have ready for me as soon as possible. And please give some thought to how you are to procure a library for me as you have promised. All my hopes of enjoying myself as I want to do when I get some leisure depend upon your kindness.

[T247] 4.(2). (I.8) [February 67 BCE]

L. Cincio HS CCCI)) CCI)) CCCC pro signis Megaricis, ut tu ad me scripseras, curavi. Hermae tui Pentelici cum capitibus aËneis, de quibus ad me scriptisti, iam nunc me admodum delectant. qua re velim et eos et signa et cetera quae tibi eius loci et nostri studi et tuae elegantiae esse videbuntur quam plurima quam primumque mittas, et maxime quae tibi gymnasi xystique videbuntur esse. nam in eo genere sic studio efferimur, ut abs te adiuvandi, ab aliis prope reprehendendi simus. si Lentuli navis non erit, quo tibi placebit imponito.

I have paid L. Cincius the HS 20,400 for the Megarian statues in accordance to your earlier letter. I am already quite enchanted with your Pentelic herms with the bronze heads, about which you write to me, so please send them and the statues and any other things you think would do credit to the place in question and to my enthusiasm and to your good taste, as many and as soon as possible, especially any you think suitable to a lecture hall *(gymnasi xystique)* and collonade. I am so carried away by my enthusiasm for this sort of thing that

it's your duty to help me - and other people's perhaps to scold me. If a ship of Lentulus' is not available, put them aboard any you think fit.

[T248] 5.(2). (I.9) [March or April 67 BCE]

Signa Megarica et Hermas de quibus ad me scripsisti vehementer exspecto. quicquid eiusdem generis habebis dignum Academia tibi quod videbitur, ne dubitaris mittere et arcae nostrae confidito. genus hoc est voluptatis meae. quae γυμνασιώδη maxime sunt, ea quaero. Lentulus navis suas pollicetur. peto abs te ut haec cures diligenter.

I am eagerly expecting the Megarian statues and the herms you wrote to me about. Anything you may have of the same sort which you think suitable for the Academy, don't hesitate to send it and trust my purse. This is how my fancy takes me. Things that are specially suitable for a lecture hall (γυμνασιώδη) are what I want. Lentulus promises his ships. Please attend to this carefully.

[T249] 6.(3-4). (I.10) [c. May 67 BCE]

Signa nostra et Hermeraclas, ut scribis, cum commodissime poteris, velim imponas, et si quid aliud oikeion eius loci quem non ignoras reperies, et maxime quae tibi palaestrae gymnasique videbuntur esse. etenim ibi sedens haec ad te scribebam, ut me locus ipse adnoneret. praeterea typos tibi mando quos in tectorio atrioli possim includere et putealia sigillata duo. bibliothecam tuam cave cuiquam despondeas, quamvis acrem amatorem inveneris; nam ego omnis meas vindemiolas eo reservo, ut illud subsidium senectuti parem.

Yes. I should be grateful if you could ship when you most conveniently can my statues and Heracles herms and anything else you may discover that would be convenable you know where, especially things you think suitable to a palaestra and lecture hall *(gymnasique).* In fact I am sitting there now as I write, so that the place itself is a reminder. Further please get me some bas-reliefs which I can lay in the stucco of the small entrance hall and two figured puteals. Mind you don't engage your library to anyone, no matter how ardent a wooer you may find. I am putting all my little gleanings aside to pay for this stand-by for my old age.

[T250] 7.(3). (I.11) [August 67 BCE]

Tu velim quae nostrae Academiae parasti quam primum mittas. mire quam illius loci non modo usus sed etiam cogitatio delectat. libros vero tuos cave cuiquam tradas; nobis eas, quem ad modum scribis, conserva. summum me eorum studium tenet, sicut odium iam ceterarum rerum; quas tu incredibile est quam brevi tempore quanto deteriores offensurus sis quam reliquisti.

Please send the things you have got for my Academy as soon as possible. The very thought of the place, let alone the actual use of it, gives me enormous pleasure. Mind you don't hand over your books to anybody. Keep them for me, as you say you will. I am consumed with enthusiasm for them, as with disgust for all things else. It's unbelievable in so short a time how much worse you will find them than you left them.

[T251] 8.(2). (I.3) [End of 67 BCE]

Nos hic te ad mensem Ianuariam exspectamus ex quodam rumore an ex litteris tuis ad alios missis; nam ad me de eo nihil scripsisti.
Signa quae nobis curasti, ea sunt ad Caietam exposita. nos ea non vidimus; neque enim exeundi Roma potestas nobis fuit. misimus qui pro vectura solveret. te multum amamus quod ea abs te diligenter parvoque curata sunt.

The statues you acquired for me have been disembarked at Caieta. I have not seen them, not having had an opportunity of leaving Rome. I have sent a man to pay the freight. I am most grateful to you for taking so much trouble and getting them cheaply.

[T252] 9.(3). (I.4) [First half 66 BCE]

Quod ad me de Hermathena scribis per mihi gratum est. est ornamentum Academiae proprium meae, quod et Hermes commune est omnium et Minerva singulare est insigne eius gymnasi. qua re velim, ut scribis, ceteris quoque rebus quam plurimis eum locum ornes. quae mihi antea signa misisti, ea nondum vidi; in Formiano sunt, quo ego nunc proficisci cogitabam. illa omnia in Tusculanum deportabo..Caietam, si quando abundare coepero, ornado. libros tuos conserva et noli desperare eos <me> meos facere posse. quod si adsequor, supero Crassum divitiis atque omnium vicos et prata contemno.

I am very grateful for what you say about the Hermathena. It's an appropriate ornament for my Academy, since Hermes is the common emblem of all such places and Minerva special to that one. So please beautify it with other pieces, as you promise, as many as possible. I have not yet seen the statues you sent me earlier. They are in my house at Formiae, which I am now preparing to visit. I shall take them all up to Tuskulum, and decorate Caieta if and when I begin to have a surplus. Hold on to your books and don't despair of my being able to make them mine. If I manage that, I am richer than Crassus and can afford to despise any man's manors and meadows.

[T253] 10.(5). (I.1) [Shortly before 17 July 65 BCE]

Hermathena tua valde me delectat et posita ita belle est ut totum gymnasium eius ἀνάθημα videatur. multum te amamus.

I am quite delighted with your Hermathena. It's so judiciously placed that the whole hall (gymnasium) is like an offering (ἀνάθημα) at its feet. Many thanks.

[T254] (I.16) [June 61 BCE]

Velim ad me scribas, cuius modi sit Ἀμαλθεῖον tuum, quo ornatu, qua τοποθεσια, et, quae poemata quasque historias de Ἀμάλθεια habes, ad me mittas. Lubet mihi facere in Arpinati. Ego tibi aliquid de meis scriptis mittam. Nihil erat absoluti.

Please write me a description of your Amaltheum, its adornement and situation; and send me any poems and tales you have about Amalthea. I should like to make one too in my place at Arpinum. I will send you some of my writings; but there is nothing finished.

[T255] (IV.10) [Cumae, Apr. 22, 55 BCE]

Sic litteris sustentor et recreor maloque in illa tua sedecula, qua habes sub imagine Aristotelis, sedere quam in istorum sell curuli tecumque apud te ambulare quam cum eo, quocum video esse ambulandum.

And I would rather be in that niche of yours under Aristotle's statue than in their curule chair, and take a walk with you at home than have the company which I see will be with me on my path.

[T256] (XV.27) [Arpinum, July 3, 44 BCE]

Librum tibi celeriter mittam "de gloria". Excudam aliquid Ηρακλειδειον, quod lateat in thesauris tuis. De Planco memini. Attica iure queritur. Quod me de Bacchi, de statuarum coronis certiorem fecisti, valde gratum; nec quicquam posthac non modo tantum, sed ne tantulum quidem praeterieris.

I will send you my book *On Glory* soon. I will hammer out something in the style of Heracleides to be stored up in your treasure-house. I remember about Plancus. Attica has a good reason for grumbling. I am much obliged to you for telling me about the garlands for Bacchus and the statues. Please don't omit any detail of the same importance, or even the smallest importance in the future.

Tusculan Disputations

The text and the translation that follows are from Loeb CL, *Cicero, Tusculan Disputations,* with an English translation by J. E. King, London, 1945.

[T257] I.ii.4 [45 BCE]

An censemus, si Fabio nobilissimo homini laudi datum esset quod pingeret, non multos etiam apud nos futuros Polyclitos et Parrhasios fuisse? Honos alit artes omnesque incenduntur ad studia gloria iacentque ea semper, quae apud quosque improbantur. Summam eruditionem Graeci sitam censebant in nervorum vocumque cantibus: igitur et Epaminondas princeps meo iudicio Graeciae fidibus praeclare cecinisse dicitur Themistoclesque aliquot ante annis, cum in epulis recusaret lyram, est habitus indoctior. Ergo in Graecia musici floruerunt discebantque id omnes nec qui nesciebat satis excultus doctrina putabatur.

Or do we suppose that if Fabius Pictor, a man of noble family, had managed to win fame for his painting, we too should not have had managed many a Polyclitus and Parrhasius? Public

esteem is the nurse of the arts, and all men are fired to application by fame, whilst those pursuits which meet with general disapproval, always lie neglected. The Greeks held that the proof of the highest education was found in instrumental and vocal music: thus it is that Epaminondas, to my mind the leading man in Greek history, was, we are told, an accomplished singer to the accompaniment of the harp, whilst Themistocles, to go back many years previously, was held to show a lack of culture in refusing to play the lyre at banquets. Musicians accordingly flourished in Greece; everyone would learn music, and the man who was unacquainted with the art was not regarded as completely educated.

[T258] II. xiv. 32 [45 BCE]

Ecquid nescis igitur, si quid de Corinthiis tuis amiseris, posse habere te reliquam supellectilem salvam, virtutem autem si unam amiseris, etsi amitti non potest virtus, sed si unam confessus fueris te non habere, nullam esse te habiturum?

Are you then unaware that, if you lose one of your Corinthian vases, you can possess the rest of your goods in safety, but that if you lose a single virtue (and yet virtue cannot be lost)- still if you once admit there is a virtue you do not possess, do you not know that you will possess none at all?

[T259] IV. xiv.32 [45 BCE]

Inter acutos autem et inter hebetes interest, quod ingeniosi, ut aes Corinthium in aeruginem, sic illi in morbum et incidunt tardius et recreantur ocius, hebetes non item.

There is, however, this diference between quick-witted and dull-witted men, that gifted men resemble Corinthian bronze which is slow to be attacked by rust, and similarly they are both slower to be attacked by disease and quicker in recovery, while with the dull-witted it is not so.

[T260] V. xxxv. 101-102 [45 BCE]

Quid aliud, inquit Aristoteles, in bovis, non in regis sepulchro inscriberes? Haec habere se mortuum dicit, quae ne vivus quidem diutius habebat quam fruebatur. Cur igitur divitiae

desiderentur, aut ubi paupertas beatos esse non sinit? Signis, credo, tabulis studes: si quis est qui his delectetur, nonnemelius tenues homines fruuntur quam illi, qui iis abundant? Est enim earum rerum omnium in nostra urbe summa in publico copia; quae qui cum privatim habent, nec tam multa et raro vident, cum in sua rura venerunt; quos tamen pungit aliquid, cum illa unde habeant recordantur. Dies deficiat, si velim paupertatis causam defendere; aperta enim res est et cotidie nos ipsa natura admonet quam paucis, quam parvis rebus egeat, quam villibus.

'What else,' says Aristotle, 'could one inscribe on the grave of an ox, not on that of a king?' He says that in death he possesses the things which even in life he possessed only for the moment of enjoyment. Why then should the need of riches be felt, or in what does poverty refuse to allow of happiness? Statues, I suppose; pictures are your hobby. If there is anyone to find delight in them, cannot men of narrow means enjoy them better than those who have plenty? For there is abundant provision of all such things in our city in public places. And those who own them as private property do not see so many, and only on rare occasions when they visit the country seats; and there all the same they feel a prick of conscience when they remember how they got them. Time would fail me should I wish to maintain the cause of poverty; for the matter is evident and nature herself teaches us daily how few, how small her needs are, how cheaply satisfied.

De Natura Deorum

The texts and translations that follow are from the Loeb CL, *Cicero: De Natura Deorum-Academica*, with an English translation by H. Rackham, 1951.

[T261] III.xvii.43 [45 BCE]

Quando enim me in hunc locum deduxit oratio, docebo meliora me didicisse de colendis dis inmortalibus iure pontificio et more maiorum capedunculis iis quas Numa nobis reliquit, de quibus in illa aureola oratiuncula dicit Laelius, quam rationiobus Stoicorum.

'For as my discourse has led me to this topic, I will show that I have learnt more about the proper way of worshipping the gods, according to pontifical law and the customs of our ancestors, from the poor little pots bequeathed to us by Numa, which Laelius discusses in that dear little golden speech of his, than from the theories of the Stoics.'

[T262] III.xxxiv.83-84 [45 BCE]

(I don't include the Latin text, because this paragraph can not be used as an example for collecting; Harpalus did not collect the items he was taking from the temples, he was taking them in order to sell them; so, although the point that there was a market for those objects is important, it is not a testimony towards collecting).

Indeed Diogenes the Cynic used to say that Harpalus, a brigand of the day who passed as fortunate, was a standing witness against the gods, because he lived and prospered as he did for so long. Dionysius, whom I mentioned before, having plundered the temple of Proserpine at Locri, was sailing back to Syracuse, and as he ran before a very favourable wind, remarked with a smile, 'See you, my friends, what a good crossing the immortal gods bestow on men guilty of sacrilege?' He was a clever fellow, and grasped the truth so well and clearly that he remained in the same belief continuously; for touching with his fleet the coast of Peloponnese and arriving at the temple of Olympian Zeus, he stripped him of his gold mantle, an adornment consisting of a great weight of metal, bestowed upon the god by the tyrant Gelo out of the spoils of the Carthaginians, and actually made a jest about it, saying that a golden mantle was oppressive in summer and cold in winter, and he threw on the god a woollen cloak, saying it was for every season of the year. He also gave orders for the removal of the golden beard of Aesculapius at Epidaurus, saying it was not fitting for the son to wear a beard when his father appeared in all his temples beardless. He even ordered the silver tables to be carried off from all he shrines, saying that as they bore the inscription 'the property of the good gods' he desired to profit by their goodness. Also he used to have no scruples in removing the little gold images of Victory and the gold cups and crowns carried in the outstretched hands of statues, and he used to say that he did not take them but accepted them, for it was folly to pray to certain being for benefits and then when they proffered them as a gift to refuse to receive them. It is also related that he produced in the market-place the spoils of the temples which I have mentioned and sold them by auction, and after he had got the money issued a proclamation that anybody who possessed any article taken from a holy place must restore that article before a fixed date to the shrine to which it belonged; thus to impiety towards the gods he added injustice towards men.

[T263] [I.ix.21] [45 BCE]

IX. ab utroque autem sciscitor cur mundi aedificatores repente exstiterint, innumerabilia saecla dormierint; non enim, si mundus nullus erat, saecla non erant (saecla nunc dico non ea quae dierum noctiumque numero annuis cursibus conficiuntur, nam fateor ea sine mundi conversione effici non potuisse; sed fuit quaedam ab infinito tempore aeternitas, quam nulla circumscriptio temporum metiebatur, spatio tamen qualis ea fuerit intelllegi potest, quod ne in cogitationem quidem cadit ut fuerit tempus aliquod nullum cum tempus esset) - isto igiur tam inmenso spatio quaero, Balbe cur Pronoea vestra cessaverit.

IX. Moreover I would put to both of you the question, why did these deities suddendly awake into activity as world-builders after countless ages of slumber? for though the world did not exist, it does not follow that ages did not exist - meaning by ages, not periods made up by a number of days and nights in annual courses, for ages in this sense I admit could not have been produced without the circular motion of the firmament; but from the infinite past there has existed an eternity not measured by limited divisions of time, but of a nature intelligible in terms of extension; since it is inconceivable that there was ever a time when time did not exist. Well then, Balbus, what I ask is, why did your Providence remain idle all through that extent of time of which you speak?

[T264] [II.xxxvii.95] [45 BCE]

'Si essent' inquit 'qui sub terra semper habitavissent bonis et inlustribus domiciliis quae essent ornata signis atque picturis instructaque rebus iis omnibus quibus abundant ii qui beati putantur, nec tamen exissent umquam supra terram, accepissent autem fama et auditione esse quoddam numen et vim deorum, deinde aliquo tempore patefactis terrae faucibus ex illis abditis sedibus evadere in haec loca quae nos incolimus atque exire potuissent: cum repente terram et maria caelumque vidissent, nubium magnitudinem ventorumque vim cognovissent aspexissentque solem eiusque cum magnitudinem pulchritudinemque tum etiam efficientiam cognovissent, quod is diem efficeret toto caelo luce diffusa, cum autem terras nox opacasset, tum caelum totum cernerent astris distinctum et ornatum lunaeque luminum varietatem tum crescentis tum senescentis eorumque omnium ortus et occasus atque in omni aeternitate ratos inmutabilosque cursus - quae cum viderent, profecto et esse deos et haec tanta opera deorum esse arbitrarentur.

So Aristotle [lost dialogue *De Philosophia*] says brilliantly: 'If there were beings who had always lived beneath the earth, in comfortable, well-lit dwellings, decorated with statues and pictures and furnished with all the luxuries enjoyed by persons thought to be supremely happy, and who they had never come forth above the ground had learnt by report and by hearsay of the existence of certain deities or divine powers; and then if at some time the jaws of the earth were opened and they were able to escape from their hidden abode and to come forth into the regions which we inhabit; when they suddenly had sight of the earth and the seas and the sky, and came to know of the vast clouds and mighty winds, and beheld the sun, and realised not only its size and beauty but also its potency in causing the day by shedding light over all the sky, and, after night had darkened the earth, they then saw the whole sky spangled and adorned with stars, and the changing phases of the moon's light, now waxing and now waning, and the risings and settings of all these heavenly bodies and their courses fixed and changeless throughout all eternity, - when they saw these things, surely they would think that the gods exist and that these mighty marvels are their handiwork.'

[T265] II.lx.150-151 [45 BCE]

"Quam vero aptas quamque multarum artium ministras manus natura homini dedit. Digitorum enim contraction facilis facilisque porrectio propter molles commissuras et artus nullo in motu laborat. Itaque ad pingendum, <ad> fingendum, ad scalpentum, ad nervorum eliciendos sonos ac tibiarum apta manus est admotione digitorum. Atque haec oblectationis, ill necessitatis, cultus dico agrorum extructionesque tectorum, tegumenta corporum vel texta vel suta omnemque fabricam aeris et ferri; ex quo intellegitur ad inventa animo, percepta sensibus adhibitis opificum manibus omnia nos consecutos, ut tecti ut vestiti ut salvi esse possemus, urbes muros domicilia delubra haberemus. Iam vero operibus hominum, id est manibus, cibi etiam varietas invenitur et copia. Nam et agri multa efferunt manu quaesita quae vel statim consumantur vel mandentur condita vetustati, et praeterea vescimur bestiis et terrenis et aquatilibus et volantibus partim capiendo partim alendo. Efficimus etiam domitu nostro quadripedum vectiones, quorum celeritas atque vis nobis ipsis adfert vim et celeritatem; nos onera quibusdam bestiis nos juga inponimus, nos elephantorum acutissumis sensibus nos sagacitate canum ad utilitatem nostram abutimur, nos e terrae cavernis ferrum eligimus rem ad colendos agros necessariam, nos aeris argenti auri venas penitus abditas invenimus et ad usum aptas et ad ornatum decoras. Arborum autem consectione omnique materia et culta et silvestri partim ad calficiendum corpus igni

adhibito et ad mitigandum cibum utimur, partim ad aedificandum ut tectis saepti frigora caloresque pellamus;

LX. "Then what clever servants for a great variety of arts are the hands which nature has bestowed on man! The flexibility of the joints enables the fingers to close and open with equal ease, and to perform every motion without difficulty. Thus by the manipulation of the fingers the hand is enabled to paint, to model, to carve, and to draw forth the notes of the lyre and of the flute. And beside these arts of recreation there are those of utility, I mean agriculture and building, the weaving and stitching of garments, and the various modes of working bronze and iron; hence we realise that it was by applying the hand of the artificer to the discoveries of thought and observations of the sense that all our conveniences were attained, and we were enabled to have shelter, clothing and protection, and possessed cities, fortifications, houses and temples. Moreover men's industry, that is to say the work of their hands, procures us also our food in variety and abundance. It is the hand that gathers the diverse products of the fields, whether to be consumed immediately or to be stored in repositories for the days to come; and our diet also includes flesh, fish and fowl, obtained partly by the chase and partly by breeding. We also tame the four-footed animals to carry us on their backs, their swiftness and strength bestowing strength and swiftness upon ourselves. We cause certain beasts to bear our burdens or to carry a yoke, we divert to our service the marvelously acute sense of elephants and the keen scent of hounds; we collect from the caves of the earth the iron which we need for tiling the land, we discover the deeply hidden veins of copper, silver and gold which serve both for use and for adornment; we cut up a multitude of trees both wild and cultivated for timber which we employ partly by setting fire to warm our bodies and cook our food, partly for building so as to shelter ourselves with houses and banish heat and cold.

Academica

[T266] I.iii.9 [45 BCE]

...nam nos in nostra urbe peregrinantis errantisque tamquam hospites tui libri quasi domum reduxerunt, ut possemus aliquando qui et ubi essemus agnoscere. Tu aetatem patriae, tu discriptiones temporum, tu sacrorum iura, tu sacerdotum, tu domesticam, tu bellicam disciplinam, tu sedem regionum, locorum, tu omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum nomina, genera, officia, causas aperuisti, plurimumque idem poetis nostris omninoque

Latinis et litteris luminis et verbis attulisti, atque ipse varium et elegans omni fere numero poema fecisti, philosophiamque multis locis incohasti, ad impellendum satis, ad edocendum parum.

'..for we were wandering and straying about like visitors in our own city, and your books led us, so to speak, right home, and enabled us at last to realize who and where we were. You have revealed the age of our native city, the chronology of its history, the laws of its religion and its priesthood, its civil and its military institutions, the topography of its districts and its sites, the terminology, classification and moral and rational basis of all our religious and secular institutions, and you have likewise shed a flood of light upon our poets and generally on Latin literature and the Latin language, and you have yourself composed graceful poetry of various styles in almost every metre, and have sketched an outline of philosophy in many departments that is enough to stimulate the student though not enough to complete his instruction.'

[T267] [II.viii.26] [45 BCE]

Argumenti conclusio, quae est Graece αποδειξις, ita definitur: 'ratio quae ex raebus perceptis ad id quod non percipiebatur adducit.'

Therefore this is the definition of logical proof, in Greek apodeixis: 'a process of reasoning that leads from things perceived to something not previously perceived'.

De Oratore

The texts and translations are from the Loeb CL, *Cicero: De Oratore*, with an English translation by E. W. Sutton, completed with an introduction by H. Rackham, 1948.

[T268] I.18 [55-54 BCE]

Tenenda praeterea est omnis antiquitas, exemplorumque vis; neque legum, aut iuris civilis scientia neglegenda est. Nam quid ego de actione ipsa plura dicam? quae motu corporis, quae gestu, quae vultu, quae vocis conformatione ac varietate moderanda est; quae sola per se ipsa quanta sit, histrionum levis ars et scena declarat; in qua cum omnes in oris, et vocis, et motus moderatione elaborent, quis ignorat, quam pauci sint, fuerintque, quos animo

aequo spectare possimus? Quid dicam de thesauro rerum omnium, memoria? quae nisi custos inventis cogitatisque rebus et verbis adhibeatur, intellegimus, omnia, etiam si praeclarissima fuerint in oratore, peritura.

Further the complete history of the past and a store of precedents must be retained in the memory, nor may a knowledge of statute law and our national law in general be omitted. And why should I go on to describe the speaker's delivery? That needs to be controlled by bodily carriage gesture, play of features and changing intonation of voice; and how important that is wholly by itself, the actor's trivial art and the stage proclaim; for there, although all are labouring to regulate the expression, the voice, and the movements of the body, everyone knows how few actors there are, or ever have been, whom we could bear to watch! What need to speak of that universal treasure-house the memory? Unless this faculty be placed in charge of the ideas and phrases which have been thought out and well weighed, even though as conceived by the orator they were of the highest excellence, we know that they will all be wasted.

[T269] I.161-162 [55-54 BCE]

Immo id mehercule, inquit, ipsum attendo. Tantus enim cursus verborum fuit, et sic evolavit oratio, ut eius vim atque incitationem aspexerim, vestigia ingressumque vix viderim; et tanquam in aliquam locupletem ac refertam domum venerim, non explicata veste, neque proposito argento, neque tabulis et signis propalam collocatis, sed his omnibus multis magnificisque rebus constructis ac reconditis: sic modo in oratione Crassi divitias atque ornamenta eius ingenii per quaedam involucra atque integumenta perspexi; sed ea cum contemplari cuperem, vix aspiciendi potestas fuit. Ita neque hoc possum dicere, me omnino ignorare, quid possideat, neque planc nosse, ac vidisse.

Quin tu igitur facis idem, inquit Scaevola, quod faceres, si in aliquam domum, plenam ornamentorum, villamve venisses? Si ea seposita, ut dicis, essent, tu valde spectandi cupidus esses: non dubitares rogare dominum, ut proferri iuberet, praesertim si esses familiaris. Similiter nunc petes a Crasso, ut eam copiam ornamentorum suorum, quam constructam uno in loco, quasi per transennam praetereuntes strictim aspeximus, in lucem proferat, et suo quidque in loco collocet?

"In truth," replied the other, "that is just what I am considering. For so great was the speed of his words, and so swiftly winged his discourse that, while realizing its rushing energy, I could hardly follow the traces of its advance; and just as though I had entered some richly stored mansion, wherein the draperies were not unrolled, nor the plate set forth, nor the pictures and statuary displayed to view but all these many and splendid things were piled together and hidden away: even so just now, during this discourse of Crassus, I discerned the wealth and magnificence of his talent as through some wrappings and coverings, but though I was longing to scrutinize them, I had hardly the chance of a peep. And so I cannot say either that I know nothing at all of the extent of his possessions, or that I know and have seen them clearly."

"Why not do then," said Scaevola, "as you would do, if you had come to some mansion or country-house that was full of objects of art? If these were laid aside, as you describe, and you had a strong desire to behold them, you would not hesitate to ask the master of the house to order them to be brought out, especially if you were his familiar friend. So too now will you beg Crassus to bring out into the daylight that abundance of his treasures, of which, piled together in one place, we in passing have caught just a glimpse, as through a lattice, and also to set up every piece in its proper position?"

[T270] I.193 [55-54 BCE]

Accedit vero, quo facilius percipi cognoscique ius civile possit (quod minime plerique arbitrantur), mira quaedam in cognoscendo suavitas et delectatio. Nam, sive quem haec Aeliana studia delectant; plurima est, et in omni iure civili, et in pontificum libris, et in Duodecim Tabulis, antiquitatis effigies, quod et verborum prisca vetustas cognoscitur, et actionum genera quaedam maiorum consuetudinem vitamque declarant: sive quis civilem scientiam contempletur, quam Scaevola non putat oratoris esse propriam, sed cuiusdam ex alio genere prudentiae; totam hanc, descriptis omnibus civitatis utilitatibus ac partibus, Duodecim Tabulis contineri videbit; sive quem ista praepotens et gloriosa philosophia delectat, dicam audacius, hosce habebit fontes omnium disputationum suarum, qui iure civili et legibus continentur.

Another help in facilitating the learning and understanding of the common law (though most people hardly credit this), is the peculiarly wonderful charm and delight of that study. For if these pursuits associated with Aelius attract a man, he has throughout the common law, and

in the priestly books and the Twelve Tables, a complete picture of the olden time, since a primitive antiquity of language can be studied there, and certain forms of pleading reveal the manners and the way of life of our forerunners; if he is studying political science, which Scaevola does not regard as the business of an orator, but of someone belonging to a different department of learning, he will find the whole of this subject dependent upon the Twelve Tables, wherein are described all the interests and the entire organization of the State; if he is a lover of your most mighty and arrogant philosophy - I shall speak rather boldly -, he will have here the sources of all his discussions, since these sources derive from common law and statutes.

[T271] I.201 [55-54 BCE]

XLVI. Iam vero illa non longam orationem desiderant, quam ob reo existimem publica quoque iura, quae sunt propria civitatis atque imperii, tum monumenta rerum gestarum, et vetustatis exempla, oratori nota esse debere. Nam ut in rerum privatarum causis atque iudiciis depromenda saepe oratio est ex iure civili, et idcirco, ut ante diximus, oratori iuris civilis scientia necessaria est: sic in causis publicis iudiciorum, concionum, Senatus, omnis haec et antiquitatis memoria, et publici iuris auctoritas, et regendae reipublicae ration ac scientia, tanquam aliqua materies, eis oratoribus, qui versantur in republica, subiecta esse debent.

XLVI. "Moreover no long discussion is needed to explain why I think that the orator must also be acquainted with public law, which is exclusively concerned with the State and the Empire, and also the records of past events and the precedents of antiquity. For as, in cases and proceedings relating to private interests, his language must often be borrowed from common law, so that, as we have said already, a knowledge of common law is indispensable to the orator; just so, in public causes, alike in the law-courts, in popular assemblies and in the Senate, all this story of old times, the precedents of public law, and the method and science of State administration should be material, as it were, at the disposal of those orators who occupy themselves with politics.

[T272] II.52-58 [55-54 BCE]

Erat enim historia nihil aliud nisi annalium confectio, cuius rei, memoriaeque publicae retinendae causa, ab initio rerum Romanarum usque ad P. Mucium pontificem maximum, res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat litteris pontifex maximus, referebatque in album, et proponebat tabulam domi, potestas ut esset populo cognoscendi, hique etiam nunc Annales Maximi nominantur. Hanc similitudinem scribendi multi secuti sunt, qui sine ullis ornamentis monumenta solum temporum, hominum, locorum gestarumque rerum reliquerunt. Itaque qualis apud Graecos Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Acusilas fuit, aliique permulti, talis noster Cato, et Pictor, et Piso, qui neque tenent, quibus rebus ornetur oratio - modo enim huc ista sunt importata, - et, dum intellegatur, quid dicant, unam dicendi laudem putant esse brevitatem. Paulum se erexit, et addidit historiae maiorem sonum vocis vir optimus, Crassi familiaris, Antipater: ceteri non exornatores rerum, sed tantummodo narratores fuerunt.

*XIII. Est, inquit Catulus, ut dicis. Sed iste ipse Coelius neque distinxit historiam varietate locoruro, neque verborum collocatione et tractu orationis leni et aequabili perpolivit illud opus; sed ut homo neque doctus, neque maxime aptus ad dicendum, sicut *tuit, dolavit: vicit tamen, ut dicis, superiores.*

Minime mirum, inquit Antonius, si ista res adhuc nostra lingua illustrata non est. Nemo enim studet eloquentiae nostrorum hominum, nisi ut in causis atque in foro eluceat; apud Graecos autem eloquentissimi homines, remoti a causis forensibus, cum ad ceteras res illustres, tum ad scribendam historiam maxime se applicaverunt. Namque et Herodotum illum, qui princeps genus hoc ornavit, in causis nihil omnino versatum esse accepimus: atqui tanta est eloquentia, ut me quidem, quantum ego Graece scripta intellegere possum, magnopere delectet. Et post illum Thucydides omnes dicendi artificio, mea sententia, facile vicit: qui ita creber est rerum frequentia, ut verborum prope numerum sententiarum numero consequatur, ita porro verbis est aptus et pressus, ut nescias, utrum res oratione, an verba sententiis illustrentur. Atqui ne hunc quidem, quanquam est in republica versatus, ex numero accepimus eorum, qui causas dictitarunt: et hos ipsos libros tum scripsisse dicitur, cum a republica remotus, atque, id quod optimo cuique Athenis accidere solitum est, in exsilium pulsus esset. Hunc consecutus est Syracusius Philistus, qui, cum Dionysii tyranni familiarissimus esset, otium suum consumpsit in historia scribenda, maximeque Thucy didem est, sicut mihi videtur, imitatus. Postea vero, rhetorum ex clarissima quasi officina, duo praestantes ingenio, Theopompus et Ephorus, ab Isocrate magistro impulsi, se ad historiam contulerunt; causas omnino nunquam attigerunt.

XIV. Denique etiam a philosophia profectus princeps Xenophon, Socraticus ille, post ab Aristotele Callisthenes, comes Alexandri, scripsit historiam, et is quidem rhetorico paene more; ille autem superior leniore quodam sono est usus, et qui illum impetum oratoris non habeat, vehemens fortasse minus sed aliquanto tamen est, ut mihi quidem videtur, dulcior. Minimus natu horum omnium Timaeus, quantum autem iudicare possum, longe eruditissimus, et rerum copia et sententiarum varietate abundantissimus, et ipsa compositione verborum non impolitus magnam eloquentiam ad scribendum attulit, sed nullum usum forensem.

"For history began as a mere compilation of annals, on which account, and in order to preserve the general traditions, from the earliest period of the City down to the pontificate of Publius Mucius, each High Priest used to commit to writing all the events of his year of office, and record them on a white surface, and post up the tablet at his house, that all men might have liberty to acquaint themselves therewith, and to this day those records are known as the Pontifical Chronicles. A similar style of writing has been adopted by many who, without any rhetorical ornament, have left behind them bare records of dates, personalities, places and events. In this sense Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Acusilas, and very many others among the Greeks, correspond to our own Cato, Pictor and Piso, who do not understand the adornment of composition - since it is only of late that decoration of that sort has been brought into this country - and, so long as their narrative is understood, regard conciseness as the historian's single merit. Antipater, an admirable man and a close friend of Crassus, raised his crest a little higher, and imparted to history a richer tone: the rest did not embellish their facts, but were chroniclers and nothing more."

XIII. "It is as you say," rejoined Catulus. "But even your friend Coelius did not set off his narrative with any diversity of reflections, or give finish to his famous work by his marshalling of words and a smooth and unvarying flow of style, but he roughhewed it as best he could, like a man who was no scholar and had no special turn for rhetoric; nevertheless, as you observe, he excelled his forerunners." "No wonder," returned Antonius, "if this subject has never yet been brilliantly treated in our language. For not one of our own folk seeks after eloquence, save with an eye to its display at the Bar and in public speaking, whereas in Greece the most eloquent were strangers to forensic advocacy, and applied themselves chiefly to reputable studies in general, and particularly to writing history. Indeed even of renowned Herodotus, who first imparted distinction to such work, we have heard that he was in no way concerned with lawsuits, and yet his eloquence is of such quality as to

afford intense pleasure, to myself at any rate, so far as I can comprehend what is written in Greek. After his day Thucydides, in my judgement, easily surpassed all others in dexterity of composition: so abounding is he in fullness of material that in the number of his ideas he well-nigh equals the number of his words, and furthermore he is so exact and clear in expression that you cannot tell whether it be the narrative that gains illumination from the style, or the diction from the thought. Yet even of him, though a man of public affairs, we are not told that he was numbered among forensic speakers; and it is related that when writing the volumes in question, he was far away from civic life, having in fact been driven into exile, as generally happened at Athens to anyone of excellence. He was succeeded by Philistus of Syracuse, who, living in the closest intimacy with the tyrant Dionysius, spent his leisure in writing history and, to my thinking, was above all else an imitator of Thucydides. Afterwards, howerer, from what I may call that most famous factory of rhetoricians, there issued a pair of outstanding talent in Theopompus and Ephorus, who betook themselves to history at the instance of their teacher Isocrates: lawsuits they never handled at all."

XIV. "And at length historians appeared who had begun as philosophers, first Xenophon, that notable follower of Socrates, afterwards Callisthenes, Aristotle's disciple and Alexander's familiar friend; the latter approaching the rhetorical in method while his predecessor adopted a gentler kind of tone lacking the characteristic vigour of oratory and possibly less animated but, in my view at any rate, somewhat more pleasing. Timaeus, the latest-born of all these, but as well as I can judge by far the best informed, the most amply endowed in wealth of material and range of thought, and a man whose every style had some polish, brought to authorship abounding eloquence but no experience of public speaking."

[T273] II.62-64 [55-54 BCE]

XV. Videtisne, quantum munus sit oratoris historia? Haud scio, an flumine orationis et varietate maximum. Neque tamen eam reperio usquam separatim instructam rhetorum praeceptis: sita sunt enim ante oculos. Nam quis nescit, primam esse historiae legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat? Deinde ne quid veri non audeat? Ne qua suspicio gratiae sit in scribendo? Ne qua simultatis? Haec scilicet fundamenta nota sunt omnibus; ipsa autem exaedificatio posita est in rebus et verbis. Rerum ratio ordinem temporum desiderat, regionum descriptionem; vult etiam, quoniam in rebus magnis memoriaque dignis consilia primum, deinde acta, postea eventus expectentur, et de consiliis significari quid scriptor probet, et in rebus gestis declarari, non solum quid actum aut dictum sit, sed etiam

quomodo; et cum de eventu dicatur, ut causae explicentur omnes, vel casus, vel sapientiae, vel temeritatis, hominumque ipsorum non solum res gestae, sed etiam, qui fama ac nomine excellant, de cuiusque vita atque natura. Verborum autem ratio et genus orationis fusum atque tractum, et cum lenitate quadam aequabili profluens, sine hac iudiciali asperitate, et sine sententiarum forensium aculeis persequendum est. Harum tot tantarumque rerum videtisne ulla esse praecepta, quae in artibus rhetorum reperiantur?
In eodem silentio multa alia oratorum officia iacuerunt, cohortationes, consolationes, praecepta, admonita: quae tractanda sunt omnia disertissime; sed locum suum in his artibus, quae traditae sunt, habent nullum.

XV. "Do you see how great a responsibility the orator has in historical writing? I rather think that for fluency and diversity of diction it comes first. Yet nowhere do I find this art supplied with any independent directions from the rhetoricians; indeed its rules lie open to the view. For who does not know history's first law to be that an author must not dare to tell anything but the truth? And its second that he must make bold to tell the whole truth? That there must be no suggestion of partiality anywhere in his writings? Nor of malice? This groundwork of course if familiar to every one; the completed structure however rests upon the story and the diction. The nature of the subjet needs chronological arrangment and geographical representation: and since, in reading of important affairs worth recording, the plans of campaign, the executive actions and the results are successively looked for, it calls also, as regards such plans, for some intimation of what the writer approves, and, in the narrative of achievement, not only for a statement of what was done or said, but also of the manner of doing or saying it; and, in the estimate of consequences, for an exposition of all contributory causes, whether originating in accident, discretion or foolhardiness; and, as for the individual actors, besides an account of their exploits, it demands particulars of the lives and characters of such as are outstanding in renown and dignity. Then again the kind of language and type of style to be followed are the easy and the flowing, which run their course with unvarying current and a certain placidity, avoiding alike the rough speech we use in Court and the advocate's stinging epigrams. Upon all these numerous and important points, do you observe that any directions are to be found in the rhetorician's systems?
"In a like silence have languished many other duties of the orator, those of encouraging, conforting, teaching and warning, all worthy of most eloquent treatment, yet having no place of their own in those systems hitherto propounded.

[T274] II.226 [55-54 BCE]

An iuri civili? est paternum. Sed dicet te, cum aedes venderes, ne in rutis quidem et caecis solium tibi paternum recepisse. An rei militari? Qui nunquam castra videris! An eloquentiae? quae nulla est in te, et, quicquid est vocis ac linguae, omne in istum turpissimum calumniae quaestum contulisti! Tu lucem aspicere audes? tu hos intueri? tu in foro, tu in urbe, tu in civium esse conspectu? Tu illam mortuam, tu imagines ipsas non perhorrescis? quibus non modo imitandis, sed ne collocandis quidem tibi locum ullum reliquisti.'

Are you cultivating the common law, your father's field? Why, Junia will report that, on selling-up your home, you did even reserve his arm-chair for yourself, along with the quarried minerals and felled timber![8] Are you following a military career? You, who will never set eyes on a camp! Are you a devotee of eloquence? There is no spark about you, and any power you had of intonation or language you applied to making money by the foulest perversion of justice! Dare you behold the light of day? Or look upon this assembly? Or show yourself in Court, or within the City, or before the eyes of your fellow-citizens? Do not you tremble exceedingly at the spectacle of that dead lady? and for those same busts, you who have left yourself no room even for setting them up, much less for emulating their originals?'

[T275] III.98 [55-54 BCE]

Difficile enim dictu est quaenam causa sit cur ea quae maxime sensus nostros impellunt voluptate et specie prima acerrime comovent, ab eis celerrime fastidio quodam et satietate abalienemur. Quanto colorum pulchritudine et varietate floridiora sunt in picturis novis pleraque quam in veteribus! quae tamen, etiamsi primo aspectu nos ceperunt, diutius non delectant, cum eidem nos in antiquis tabulis illo ipso horrido obsoletoque teneamur. Quanto moliores sunt et delicatiores in cantu flexiones et falsae voculae quam certae et severae! quibus tamen non modo austeri sed si saepius fiunt multitudo ipsa reclamat.

"For it is hard to say why exactly it is that the things which most strongly gratify our senses and excite them most vigorously at their forst appearance, are the ones from which we are most speedily estranged by a feeling of disgust and satiety. How much more brilliant, as a

rule, in beauty and variety of colouring are the contents of new pictures than those of old ones! and nevertheless the new ones, though they captivated us at first sight, later on fail to give us pleasure - although it is also true that in the case of old pictures the actual roughness and old-fashioned style are an attraction. In singing, how much more delightful and charming are trills and flourishes than notes firmly held! and yet the former meet with protest not only from persons of severe taste but, if used too often, even from the general public.

[T276] III.195 [55-54 BCE]

Illud autem ne quis admiretur, quonam modo haec vulgus imperitorm in audiendo notet, cum in omni genere, tum in hoc ipso magna quaedam est vis incredibilisque naturae. Omnes enim tacito quodam sense sine ulla arte aut ratione quae sint in artibus ac rationibus recta ac prava diiudicant; idque cum faciunt in picturis et in signis et in aliis operibus ad quorum intellegentiam a natura minus habent instrumenti, tum multo ostendunt magis in verborum numerorum vocumque iudicio, quod ea sunt in communibus infixa sensibus neque earum rerum quemquam funditus natura voluit esse expertem.

"But do not let anybody wonder how these things can possibly make any impression on the unlearned crowd when it forms the audience, because in this particular department as in every other nature has a vast and indeed incredible power. For everybody is able to discriminate between what is right and what wrong in matters of art and proportion by a sort of subconscious instinct, without having any theory of art or proportion of their own; and while they can do this in the case of pictures and statues and other works to understand which nature has given them less equipment, at the same time they display this much more in judging the rhythms and pronunciations of words, because these are rooted deep in the general sensibility, and nature has decreed that nobody shall be entirely devoid of these?

Paradoxa Stoicorum

The texts and translations that follow are from the Loeb CL, *Cicero. De Oratore-Book three together with De Fato, Paradoxa Stoicorum, De Partitione Oratoria,* with an English translation by H. Rackham, 1942.

[T277] Paragraph **13** [46 BCE]

Veniant igitur isti irrisores huius orationis ac sententiae, et iam vel ipsi iudicent utrum se eorum alicuius qui marmoreis tectis ebore et auro fulgentibus qui signis qui tabulis qui caelato auro et argento qui Corinthiis operibus abundant, an C. Fabricii qui nihil eorum habuit nihil habere voluit, similes esse malint.

This being so, let your scoffers at this pleading and this verdict come and give judgement now, whether they would even themselves prefer to resemble one of the people rich to superfluity in houses of marble that shine with ivory and gold, in statues and pictures and chased gold and silver plate and Corinthian works of art, or Gaius Fabricius who possessed and who wished to possess none of them.

[T278] Paragraphs **36-38** [46 BCE]

Atque ut in magna familia servorum sunt alii lautiores ut sibi videntur servi sed tamen servi, atrienses ac topiarii, pari stultitia sunt quos quos tabulae quos caelatum argentum quos Corinthia opera quos aedificia magnifica nimio opere delectant. Et 'sumus', inquiunt, 'civitatis principes'. Vos vero ne conservorum quidem vestrorum principes estis; sed ut in familia qui tractant ista, qui tergunt qui ungunt qui verrunt qui spargunt, non honestissimum locum servitutis tenent, sic in civitate qui se istarum rerum cupiditatibus dediderunt ipsius servitutis locum paene infimum obtinent. 'Magna,' inquis, 'bella gessi, magnis imperiis et provinciis praefui.' Gere igitur animum laude dignum. Aetionis tabula te stupidum detinet aut signum aliquod Polycleti. Mitto unde sustuleris et quomodo habeas: intuentem te admirantem calmores tollentem cum video, servum te esse ineptiarum omnium iudico. 'Nonne igitur sunt ista vestive?' Sint, nam nos quoque oculos eruditos habemus; sed obsecro te, ita venusta habeantur ista non ut vincula virorum sint sed ut oblectamenta puerorum. Quid enim censes? si L. Mummius aliquem istorum videret matellionem Corinthium cupidissime tranctantem, cum ipse totam Corinthum contempsisset, utrum illum civem excellentem an atriensem diligentem puteret? Revivescat M.' Curius aut eorum aliquis quorum in villa ac domo nihil splendidum nihil ornatum fuit praeter ipsos, et videat aliquem summis populi beneficiis usum barbatulos mullos expectantem de piscina et pertractantem et muraenarum copia gloriantem: nonne hunc hominem ita servum iudicet ut ne in familia quidem dignum maiore aliquo negotio putet?

And as in a great family other slaves are (as they fancy themselves) of a higher class, but all the same they are slaves, - the major-domo, the landscape-gardener, - equally foolish are the people who take excessive delight in statues and pictures and chased silver and Corinthian works of art and magnificent buildings. And they say, "It is we who are the chief people in the state." On the contrary, you are not actually even the chief among your fellow-slaves; but as in the household those who handle articles of that sort or dust or oil or sweep or sprinkle them do not hold the most honourable rank of slavery, so in the state those who had given themselves up to coveting that sort of thing occupy almost the lowest place in the slave-order itself. You say, "I have carried on great wars and governed great dominions and provinces." If so, carry a spirit deserving of praise. You stand gaping spell-bound before a picture of Aetion or a statue of Polyclitus. I pass over the question where you got it from and how you come to have it, but when I see you gazing and marvelling and uttering cries of admiration, I judge you to be the slave of every foolishness. "Then are not those kinds of things delightful?" Granted that they are, for we also have trained eyes; but I beg you, do let the charm that those things are deemed to possess make them serve not as fetters for men but as amusements for children. For what do you suppose? if Lucius Mummius saw one of your people handling with eager, covetous looks a little Corinthian pot, whereas he himself had despised the whole of Corinth, would he have thought him a distinguished citizen, or an industrious major-domo? Let Manius Curius return to life, or one of those whose country house and town mansion contained no splendour or decoration except their own personalities, and let him see a man who has enjoyed the highest benefits that the nation bestows catching mullets with their little beards out of his fish-pond and feeling them all over, and priding himself on his large supply of lampreys: would he not put this person down as a slave whom he would not even deem capable of any specially important function in his establishment?

[T279] Paragraph **49** [46 BCE]

O di immortales! non intellegunt homines quam quam magnum vectigal sit parrsimonia! venio enim iam advertising sumptuosos, relinquo istum quaestuosum. Capit ille ex suis praediis sescenta sestertia, ego centena ex meis: illi aurata tecta in villis et sola marmorea facienti et signa tabulas supellectilem vestem infinite concupiscenti non modo advertising sumptum ille est fructus sed etiam ad fenus exiguus; ex meo tenui vectigali detractis sumptibus cupiditatis aliquid etiam redundabit.

Great heavens, cannot people realise how large an income is thrift! for I now come to the spenders of money and leave your profiteer who makes it. Yonder landlord's rent brings him in 600 sestertia, mine 100; but as he adorns his country houses with gilt ceilings and marble floors and has an unlimited covetousness for statues, pictures, furniture and clothes, that return is scanty not only for his expenditure but even for the interest on his debts; whereas my narrow income will actually show a certain balance left over after the expenses of my tastes have been deducted.

De Legibus

The texts and translations that follow are from the Loeb CL, translated by Clinton Walker Keyes, 1943.

[T280] II.xvi.41 [c. 51 BCE]

Sacrilego poena est, neque ei soli, qui sacrum abstulerit, sed etiam ei, qui sacro commendatum; quod et nunc multis fit in fanis, et Alexander in Cilicia deposuisse apud Solensis in delubro pecuniam dicitur et Aheniensis Clisthenes Iunoni Samiae, civis egregius, cum rebus timeret suis, filiarum dotis credidisse.

There is a penalty for sacrilege, and this word is to be applied to the theft not merely of *what is sacred, but also of anything entrusted to what is sacred.* The custom of making such deposits still exists at many temples, and it is said that Alexander deposited a sum of money in a temple at Soli in Cilicia, and that Clisthenes, an eminent citizen of Athens, entrusted the dowry of his daughters to Juno of Samos, since he was fearful of his own fortunes.

[T281] II.xviii.45 [c. 51 BCE]

Agri autem ne consecrentur, Platoni prorsus adsentior, qui, si modo, interpretari potuero, his fere verbis utitur: 'Terra igitur, ut focus domiciliorum, sacra deorum omnium est; quocirca ne quis iterum idem consecrato. aurum autem et ergentum in urbibus et privatim et in fanis invidiosa res est. tum ebur ex inani corpore extractum haud satis castum donum deo. iam aes atque ferrum duelli instrumenta, non fani. ligneum autem, quod quisque voluerit, uno e ligno dicato itemque lapideum in delumbris communibus, textile ne operosius

quam mulieris opus menstruum. color autem albus praecipue decorus deo est cum in cetero, tum maxime in textili; tincta vero absint nisi a bellicis insignibus. divinissima autem dona aves et formae ab uno pictore uno absolutae die; itemque cetera huius exempli dona sunto.' haec illi placent; sed ego cetera non tam restricte praefinio vel hominum vitiis vel subsidiis temporum victus; terrae cultum segniorem suspicor fore, si ad eam utendam ferroque subigentam superstitionis aliquid accesserit.

In my prohibition of the consecration of land I am in complete agreement with Plato, who expresses his opinion in about the following words, if I can translate the passage: "The earth, therefore, like the hearth in a dwelling, is sacred to all the gods; wherefore no one should consecrate it a second time. Gold and silver in cities, whether in private possession or in temples, are things which cause covetousness. Ivory also, which is taken from an animal's dead body, is not sufficiently pure to given to a god. Bronze and iron are suitable for war, not for a temple. Any wooden objects, however, if made out of a single piece of wood, or anything of stone, one may dedicate at public shrines and woven work, too, provided its production has not been more than a month's task for a woman. White is the colour most suitable for a god, especially in woven work; no dyes should be used except for military standards. But the gifts best suited to the gods are birds, and pictures produced by a single painter in a single day; other gifts should be of this same character.' These are his provisions: as for mine, in other respects I have not laid down such strict rules as his, out of consideration for the faults of men and the resources of human life in our time; but regarding the land, I am afraid its cultivation will decline if any superstitions should grow up about its use or subjection to the plough.

[T282] III.xiii.30-xiv.32 [c. 51 BCE]

Ceteris specimen esto. quod si tenemus, tenemus omnia. ut enim cupiditatibus principum et vitiis infici solet tota civitas, sic emendari et corrigi continentia. vir magnus et nobis omnibus amicus, L. Lucullus, ferebatur, quasi commodissime respondisset, cum esset obiecta magnificentia villae Tusculanae, duo se habere vicinos, superiorem equitem Romanum, inferiorem libertinum; quorum cum essent magnificae villae, concedi sibi oportere, quod iis, qui inferioris ordinis essent, liceret. non vides, Luculle, a te id ipsum natum, ut illi cuperent? quibus id, si tu non faceres, non liceret. quis enim ferret istos, cum videret eorum villas signis et tabulis refertas, partim publicis, partim etiam sacris et

religiosis? quis non frangeret, eorum libidiness, nisi illi ipsi, qui eas frangere deberent, cupiditatis eiusdem tenerentur? XIV. nec enim tantum mali est precare principes, quamquam est magnum hoc per se ipsum malum, quantum illud, quod permulti imitatores principum existunt. nam licet videre, si velis replicare memoriam temporum, qualescumque summi civitatis viri fuerint, talem civitatem fuisse; quaecumque mutatio morum in principibus extiterit, eandem in populo secutam. idque haud paulo est verius, quam quod Platoni nostro placet, qui musicorum cantibus ait mutatis mutari civitatum status. ego autem nobilium vita victumque mutato mores mutari civitatum puto. quo perniciosius de re publica merentur vitiosi principes, quod non solum vitia concipiunt ipsis, sed ea infundunt in civitatem, neque solum obsunt, quod ipsi corrumpuntur, sed etiam quod corrumpunt, plusque exemplo quam peccato nocent. atque haec lex dilitata in ordinem cinctum coangustari etiam potest; pauci enim atque admodum pauci honore et gloria amplificati vel corrumpere mores civitatis vel corrigere possunt.

It shall be a model for the rest of the citizens. If we secure this, we shall have secured everything. For just as the whole state is habitually corrupted by the evil desires and the vices of its prominent men, so it is improved and reformed by self-restraint on their part. The reply made by our common friend, the eminent Lucius Lucullus, to a criticism of the luxury of his villa at Tusculum was considered a very neat one. He said that he had two neighbours, a Roman knight living above him, and a freedman below; as their villas also were most luxurious, he thought that he ought to have the same privilege as members of a lower order. But Lucullus, do you not see that even their desire for luxury is your own fault? If you had not indulged in it, it would not have been permissible for them to do so. For who could have endured seeing these men's villas crowded with statues and paintings which were partly public property and partly sacred objects belonging to the gods? Who could not put an end to their inordinate desires, of those very men whose duty it was to put an end to them were not guilty of the same passions? XIV. For it is not so mischievous that men of high position do evil - though that is bad enough in itself - as it is that these men have so many imitators. For, if you will turn your thought back to our early history, you will see that the character of our most prominent men has been reproduced in the whole State; whatever change took place in the lives of the prominent men has also taken place in the whole people. And we can be much more confident of the soundness of this theory that of that of our beloved Plato's. For he thought that the characteristics of a nation could be changed by changing the character of its music. But I believe that a transformation takes place in a

nations' character when the habits and mode of living of its aristocracy are changed. For that reason men of the upper class who do wrong are especially dangerous to the State, because they not only indulge in vicious practices themselves, but also infect the whole commonwealth with their vices; and not only because they are corrupt, but also because they corrupt others, and so more harm by their bad examples than by their sins. But this law, which applies to the whole senatorial order, could be made even narrower in its application. For a few men - very few, in fact - on account of their high official position and great reputation, have the power either to corrupt the morals of the nation or to reform them.

De Finibus

The texts and translations that follow are from the Loeb CL, *Cicero, De Finibus,* with an English translation by H. Rackham, 1951.

[T283] II.xxxiii.107 [45 BCE]

'Illud autem ipsum qui obtineri potest, quod dicitis omnes animi et voluptates et dolores ad corporis voluptates ac dolores pertinere? Nihilne te delectat umquam (video quicum loquar), te igitur, Torquate, ipsum per se nihili delectat? Omitto dignitatem, honestatem speciem ipsam virtutum, de quibus ante dictum est; haec leviora ponam: poema, orationem cum aut scribis aut legis, cum omnium factorum, cum regionum conquiris historiam, signum, tabula, locus amoenus, ludi, venatio, villa Luculli (nam si tuam dicerem, latebram haberes; ad corpus diceres pertinere)- sed ea quae dixi ad corpusne refers? an est aliquid quod te sua sponte delectet? Aut pertinacissimus fueris si perstiteris ad corpus ea quae dixi referre, aut deserueris totam Epicuri voluptatem si negaveris.

'Again how can you possibly defend the dictum of your school, that all mental pleasures and pains alike are based on pleasures and pains of the body? Do you, Torquatus (for I bethink me who it is I am addressing) - do you personally never experience delight in something for its own sake? I pass over moral worth and goodness, and the intrinsic beauty of the virtues, of which we spoke before. I will suggest less serious matters, reading or writing a poem or a speech, the study of history or geography, statues, pictures, scenery, the games and wild beast shows, Lucullus's country house (I won't mention your own, for that would give you a loophole of escape; you would say that it is a source of bodily enjoyment); but take the

things I have mentioned, - do you connect them with bodily sensation? Is there nothing which of itself affords you delight? Persist in tracing back the pleasures I have instanced to the body - and you show yourself impervious to argument; recant - and you abandon Epicurus's conception of pleasure altogether.

[T284] [II.viii.23-24] [45 BCE]

... Nemo nostrum istius generis asotos iucunde putat vivere. Mundos, elegantes, optimis cocis, pistoribus, piscatu, aucupio, venatione, his omnibus exquisitis, vitantes cruditatem, quibus 'vivum defusum e pleno sit, hirsizon (ut ait Lucilius) cui nihil dum sit vis et sacculus abstulerit,' adhibentes ludos et quae sequuntur, illa quibus detractis clamat Epicurus se nescire quid sit bonum; adsint etiam formosi pueri qui ministrent; respondeat his vestis, argentum, Corinthium, locus ipse, aedificium; - hos ergo asotos bene quidem vivere aut beate numquam dixerim. Ex quo efficitur not ut voluptas ne sit voluptas, sed ut voluptas non sit summum bonum.

None of us supposes that profligates of that description live pleasantly. No, but men of taste and refinement, with first-rate chefs and confectioners, fish, birds, game and the like of the choicest; careful of their digestion; with

Wine in flask
Decanted from a new-broach'd cask,...

as Lucilius has it,

Wine of tang bereft,
All harshness in the strainer left;

with the accompaniment of dramatic performances and their usual sequel, the pleasures apart from which Epicurus, as he loudly proclaims, does not know what Good is; give them also beautiful boys to wait upon them, with drapery, silver, Corinthian bronzes, and the scene of the feast, the banqueting-room, all in keeping; take profligates of this sort; that these live well or enjoy happiness I will never allow. The conclusion is, not that pleasure is not pleasure but that pleasure is not the Chief Good.

[T285] [II.xxxiv.115] [45 BCE]

Sed lustremus animo non has maximas artes quibus qui carebant inertes a mioribus nominabantur, sed quaero num existimes, non dico Homerum, Archilochum, Pindarum, sed Phidian, Polyclitum, Zeuxim ad voluptatem artes suas direxisse. Ergo opifex plus sibi proponet ad formarum quam civis excellens ad factorum pulchritudinem? Quae autem est alia causa erroris tanti, tam longe lateque diffusi, nisi quod is qui voluptatem summum bonum esse decernit non cum ea parte animi in qua inest ratio atque consilium, sed cum cupiditate, id est cum animi levissima parte deliberat? Quaero enim de te, si sunt di, ut vos etiam putatis, qui possint esse beati cum voluptates corpore percipere non possint, aut sine eo genere voluptatis beati sunt, cur similem animi usum in sapiente esse nolitis.

But let us pass in review not these "arts" of first importance, a lack of which with our ancestors gave the man the name of "inert" or good-for-nothing, but I ask you whether you believe that, I do no say Homer, Archilochus or Pindar, but Phidias, Polyclitus and Zeuxis regarded the purpose of their art as pleasure. Then shall a craftsman have a higher ideal of external than a distinguished citizen of moral beauty? But what else is the cause of an error so profound and so very widely diffused, than the fact that he who decides that pleasure is the Chief Good judges the question not with the rational and deliberative part of his mind, but with its lowest part, the faculty of desire? For I ask you, if gods exist, as your school too believes, how can they be happy, seeing that they cannot enjoy bodily pleasures? or, if they are happy without that kind of pleasure, why do you deny that the Wise Man is capable of a like purely mental activity?

[T286] [III.ii.8] [45 BCE]

"Heri," inquam, "ludis commissis ex urbe profectus veni ad vesperum. Causa autem fuit huc veniendi ut quosdam hic libros promerem. Et quidem, Cato, hanc totam copiam iam Lucullo nostro notam esse oportebit; nam his libris eum malo quam reliquo ornatu villa delectari.

"Yes," I answered, "the games began yesterday, so I came out of town, and arrived late in the afternoon. My reason for coming here was to get some books from the library. By the way, Cato, it will soon be time for our friend Lucullus to make acquaintance with this fine collection;

[T287] [III.vi.20-22] [45 BCE]

VI. "Progrediamur igitur, quoniam," inquit, ab his principiis naturae discessimus, quibus congruere debent quac sequuntur. Sequitur autem haec prima divisio: Aestimabile esse dicunt (sic enim, ut opinor, appellemus) id quod aut ipsum secundum naturam sit aut tale quid efficiat, ut selectione dignum propterea sit quod aliquod Pondus habeat dignum aestimatione, quam illi ἀξίαν vocant, contraque inaestimabile quod sit superiori contrarium. Initiis igitur ita constitutis ut ea quae secundum naturam sunt ipsa propter se sumenda sint contrariaque item reicienda, primum est officium (id enim appello καθῆκον) ut se conservet in naturae statu, deinceps ut ea teneat quae secundum naturam sint pellatque contraria; qua inventa selectione et item reictione, sequitur deinceps cum officio selection, deinde ea perpetua, tum ad extremum constans consentaneaque naturae, in qua primum inesse incipit et intellegi quid sit quod vere bonum possit dici. Prima est enim conciliatio hominis ad ea quae sunt secundum naturam; simul autem cepit intellegentiam vel notionem potius, quam appealant εννοιαν illi, viditque rerum agendarum ordinem et ut ita dicam concordiam, multo eam pluris aestimavit quam omnia illa quae prima dilexerat, atque ita cognitione et ratione collegit ut statueret in eo collocatum summum illud hominis per se laudandum et expetendum bonum; quod cum positum sit in eo quod ὁμολογίαν Stoici, nos appellemus convenietiam, si placet, - cum igitur in eo sit id bonum quo omnia referenda sunt, honeste facta ipsumque honestum, quod solum in bonis ducitur, quamquam post oritur, tamen id solum vi sua et dignitate expetendum est, eorum autem quae sunt prima naturae propter se nihil est expectendum. Cum vero illa quae officia esse dixi profiscantur ab initiis naturae, necesse est ea ad haec referri, ut recte dici possit omnia officia eo referri ut adipiscanmur principia naturae, nec tamen ut hoc sit bonorum ultimum, propterea quod non inest in primis naturae conciliationibus honesta actio; consequens est enim et post oritur, ut dixi. Est tamen ea secundum naturam multoque nos ad expetendam magis hortatur quam superiora omnia. Sed ex hoc primum error tolendus est, ne quis sequi existimet ut duo sint ultima bonorum. Ut enim si cui propositum sit collineare hastam aliquo aut sagittam, sicut nos ultimum in bonis dicimus, sic illi facere omnia quae possit ut collineet: huic in euismodi similitudine omnia sint facienda ut collineet, et tamen, ut omnia faciat quo propositum assequatur, sit hoc quasi ultimum quale nos summum in vita bonum dicimus, illud autem ut feriat, quasi seligendum, non expetendum.

VI. "To proceed then", he continued, "for we have been digressing from the primary impulses of nature; and with these the later stages must be in harmony. The next step is the following fundamental classification: That which is in itself in accordance with nature, or which produces something else that is so, and which therefore is deserving of choice as possessing a certain amount of positive value - *axia* as the Stoics call it - this they pronounce to be "valuable" (for so I suppose we may translate it); and on the other hand that which is the contrary of the former they term "valueless". The initial principle being thus established that things in accordance with nature are "things to be taken" for their own sake, and their opposites similarly "things to be rejected," the first appropriate act" (for so I render the Greek *kathekon*) is to preserve oneself in one's natural constitution; the next is to retain those things which are in accordance with nature and to repel those that are the contrary; then when this principle of choice and also of rejection has been discovered, there follows next in order choice conditioned by "appropriate action"; then, such choice become a fixed habit; and finally, choice fully rationalised and in harmony with nature. It is at this final stage that the Good properly so called first emerges and comes to be understood in its true nature. Man's first attraction is towards the things in accordance with nature; but as soon as he has understanding, or rather become capable of "conception" - in Stoic phraseology *ennoia* - and has discerned the order and so to speak harmony that governs conduct, he thereupon esteems this harmony far more lightly than all the things for which he originally felt an affection, and by exercise of intelligence and reason infers the conclusion that herein resides the Chief Good of man, the thing that is praiseworthy and desirable for its own sake; and that inasmuch as this consists in what the Stoics term *homologia* and we with your approval may call "conformity" - inasmuch I say as in this resides that Good which is the End to which all else is a means, Moral conduct and Moral Worth itself, which alone is counted as a good, although of subsequent development, is nevertheless the sole thing that is for its own efficacy and value desirable, whereas none of the primary objects of nature is desirable for its own sake. But since those actions which I have termed 'appropriate acts' are based on the primary natural objects, it follows that the former are means to the latter. Hence it may correctly be said that all "appropriate acts" are means to the end of attaining the primary needs of nature. Yet it must no be inferred that their attainment is the ultimate Good, inasmuch as moral action is not one of the primary natural attractions, but is an outgrowth of these, a later development, as I have said. At the same time moral action is in accordance with nature, and stimulates our desire far more strongly than all the objects that attracted us earlier. But at this point a caution is necessary at the outset. It will be an error

to infer that this view implies two Ultimate Goods. For those if a man were to make it his purpose to take a true aim with a spear or arrow at some mark, his ultimate end, corresponding to the ultimate good as we pronounce it, would be to do all he could to aim straight: the man in this illustration would have to do everything to aim straight, and yet, although he did everything to attain his purpose, his "Ultimate End", so to speak, would be what corresponded to what we call the Chief Good in the conduct of life, whereas the actual biting of the mark would be in our phrase "to be chosen" but not "to be desired".

Philippics

The passages that follow are from the Loeb CL, *Cicero, Philippics,* translated by W. C. A. Ker, 1951.

[T288] II.xxix.73 [44-43 BCE]

Itaque excussis tuis vocibus et ad te ad praedes tuos milites misit, cum repente a te praeclara illa tabula prolata est. Qui risus hominum, tantam esse tabulam, tam varias, tam multas possessiones, ex quibus praeter partem Miseni nihil erat, quod, qui auctionaretur, posset suum dicere! Auctionis vero misearbilis adspectus; vestis Pompei non multa, eaque maculosa, eiusdem quaedam argentea vasa conlisa, sordidata mancipia, ut doleremus quicquam esse ex illis reliquiis, quod videre possemus. Hanc tamen auctionem heredes L. Rubri decreto Caesaris prohibuerunt.

So, having shaken off your expostulations, he[9] sent soldiers, both to you and to your sureties, and then all of a sudden that wonderful catalogue of yours was produced. How men laughed that there should be such a long catalogue, such various articles, so many possessions out of which, except a share in the land at Misenum,[10] there was nothing the man who was putting them up for auction could call his own! And the auction itself was a miserable sight:[11] Pompeius' wardrobe, a scanty one, and that stained; some dinted silver vases of his, some shabby slaves, so that we grieved that anything remained of his for us to see. Yet this was the auction of heirs of Lucius Rubrius[12] stopped by Caesar's decree.

[T289] II.xlii.109 [44-43 BCE]

At iste, qui senatu non egeret, neque desideravit quemquam et potius discessu nostro laetatus est statimque illa mirabilia facinora effecit. Qui chirographa Caesaris, easque praeclaras, ut rempublicam concutere, posset, evertit. Numerum annorum provinciis prorogavit, idemque cum actorum Caesaris defensor esse deberet, et in publicis et in privatis rebus acta Caesaris rescidit. In publicis nihil est lege gravius, in privatis firmissimum est testamentum. Leges alias sine promulgatione sustulit, alias ut tolleret, promulgavit. Testamentum irritur fecit, quod etiam infirmis civibus semper obtentum est. Signa, tabulas, quas populo Caesar una cum hortis legavit, eas hic partim in hortos Pompei deportavit, partim in villam Scipionis.

But he [Antonius], having no need of a Senate, missed no man's presence: he rather rejoiced at our departure, and at once carried out those astonishing crimes. Though he had defended Caesar's signatures for his own profit, yet he upset Caesar's laws, even when they were excellent, that he might be able to shake the State. He extended the tenure of provinces; and at the same time, though he was bound to be defender of Caesar's acts, he rescinded Caesar's acts both in public and in private matters. In public matters nothing is more important than a law; in private the most unchangeable thing is a will. Some laws of Caesar's he abolished by laws never advertised; in order to abolish others he advertised[13] new laws. He nullified a will, a thing that has always been held valid even in the case of the lowest citizens. Statues, pictures, which Caesar bequeathed to the people together with his gardens, he carried off, partly to the gardens of Pompeius, partly to the villa of Scipio.

De Officiis

The Latin text is from the Loeb CL, *Cicero, De Officiis*, 1947. The translation is by Griffih, M. T. and Atkins, E. M., *Cicero, On Duties (De Officiis)*, Cambridge Texts on Political Thought, 1991, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[T290] III.15 [44 BCE]

Cum autem aliquid actum est, in quo media officia compareant, id cumulate videtur esse perfectum, propterea quod volgus quid absit a perfecto, non fere intellegit; quatenus autem intellegit, nihil putat praetermissum; quod idem in poematis, in picturis usu venit in aliisque

compluribus, ut delectentur imperiti laudentque ea, quae laudanda non sint, ob eam, credo, causam, quod insit in iis aliquid probi, quod capiat ignaros, qui quidem, quid in una quaque re vitii sit, nequeant iudicare; itaque, cum sunt docti a peritis, desistunt facile sententia.

However, when some action is performed where middle duties are in evidence, it is seen as being abundantly "complete". That is because ordinary people cannot really understand how it falls short of being complete. In so far as they do understand it, they think that nothing has been over looked. The same thing tends to happen with poems, pictures and many other things, by which inexperienced people are delighted, praising them when they ought not to be praised; the reason, as I believe, is that there is some worth in them that attracts the ignorant, but they are unable to judge what faults each may have. Therefore, when they are taught by experienced people, they readily abandon their view.

De Inventione

The texts and translations that follow are from the Loeb CL, *Cicero, De Inventione. De Optime Genere Oratorum. Topica,* translated by H. M. Hubbell, 1949.

[T291] II.1.1 [c. 84 BCE]

Crotoniatae quondam, cum florerent omnibus copiis et in Italia cum primis beati numerarentur, templum Iunonis, quod religiosissime colebant, egregiis picturis locupletare voluerunt. Itaque Heracleotem Zeuxim , qui tum longe ceteris excellere pictoribus existimabatur, magno pretio conductum adhibuerunt. Is et ceteras complures tabulas pinxit, quarum nonnulla pars usque ad nostram memoriam propter fani religionem remansit, et, ut, excellentem muliebris formae pulchritudinem muta in se imago contineret, Helenae pingere simulacrum velle dixit; quod Crotoniatae, qui eum muliebri in corpore pingendo plurimum aliis praestate saepe accepissent, libenter audierunt. Putaverunt enim, si, quo in genere plurimum posset, in eo magno opere elaborasset, egregium sibi opus illo in fano relicturum.

The citizens of Croton, once upon a time, when they had abundant wealth and were numbered among the most prosperous in Italy, desired to enrich with distinguished paintings the temple of Juno, which they held in the deepest veneration. They, therefore, paid a large fee to Zeuxis of Heraclea who was considered at that time to excel all other artists, and secured his services for their project. He painted many panels, some of which have been

preserved to the present by the sanctity of the shrine; he also said that he wished to paint a picture of Helen so that the portrait though silent and lifeless might embody the surpassing beauty of womanhood. This delighted the Crotonians, who had often heard that he surpassed all others on the portrayal of women. For they thought that if he exerted himself in the genre in which he was supreme, he would leave an outstanding work of art in that temple.

Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino

The text and translation that follow are from the Loeb CL, *Cicero, the Speeches (Pro Publio Quinctio - Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino - Pro Quinto Roscio Comoedo - De Lege Agraria I, II, II.),* translated by John Henry Freese, London and Cambridge Mass. 1945.

[T292] XLVI.133 [80 BCE]

Alter tibi descendit de Palatio et aedibus suis; habet animi causa rus amoenum et suburbanum, plura praeterea praedia neque tamen ullum nisi praeclarum et propinquum; domus referta vasis Corinthiis et Deliacis, in quibus est authepsa illa, quam tatno pretio nuoer mercatus est, ut, qui praetereuntes praeconem enuntiare audiebant, fundum venire arbitrarentur. Quid praeterea caelati argenti, quid stragulae vestis, quid pictarum tabularum, quid signorum, quid marmoris apud illum putatis esse? Tantum scilicet, quantum e multis spendidisque familiis in turba et rapinis coacervari una in domo potuit. Familiam vero quantam et quam variis cum artificiis habeat, quid ego dicam?

Here you have the other (Chrysogonus) coming down from his fine house on the Palatine: he has for his enjoyment a pleasant suburban country-seat, besides a number of farms all of them excellent and near the city; a house crammed with Delian and Corinthian vessels, among them that self-cooker,[14] which he recently bought at so high a price that passers-by, hearing the auctioneer crying out the bids,[15] thought that an estate was being sold. What quantities besides of embossed silver, of coverlets, pictures, statues, marble can you imagine he possesses? As much, of course, as could be heaped up in a single house, taken from many illustrious families during tomes of disturbance and rapine. But what am I to say about his vast household of slaves and the variety of their technical skill?

[1] The date of the letter is unknown and has been an issue of dispute: in Loeb CL edition the same letter is dated in 61 BCE, whereas Shackleton-Bailey dates it in December 46 BCE.
[2] Usually, but wrongly, called Fadius; he was a friend of Cicero's, author, Epicurean and connoisseur.
[3] He is the sculptor C. Avianius Evander; c.f. Letter XIII.2; for Cicero's relationship with the sculptor see, F. Marx, 'Der Bildhauer C. Avianius Evander und Ciceros Briefe' in *Festschrift für O. Benndorf*, Vienna, 1898, 37-48.
[4] Probably Metellus Scipio.
[5] In astrology, Saturn and Mars bring bad luck, whereas Mercury brings gain.
[6] Cicero had recently visited his Campanian villas and will have stayed at Tarracina en route; perhaps Gallus was his host.
[7] S-B translates the word 'γυμνασιῴδη' as 'lecture hall', although it seems better to translate is as 'appropriate for a gymnasium'.
[8] In Roman law minerals already quarried and timber already felled were deemed to be excepted from the sale of a farm, unless expressly included.
[9] 'He' is Caesar, and Cicero at this point accuses Antonius of being the reason for the start of a civil war.
[10] Which was hared with Antonius's creditors.
[11] Antonius had dissipated all the rest of Pompeius' property.
[12] Who had made A. his heir to the exclusion of his nephew. The natural heirs appera to have objected to the sale.
[13] On three market-days as required by law.
[14] Greek αὐθεψής : a utensil for boiling, resembling a tea-urn.
[15] Others read *enumerate*, to count out, pay.

APPENDIX B

DESCRIPTION OF TREASURIES BY PAUSANIAS AND STRABO.

Pausanias, VI, Elis, II, xix, 1-10.

I. There is a terrace made of conglomerate stone in the Altis to the north of Heraeum, and at the back of it extends Mount Cronius. On this terrace are the treasuries, just as at Delphi some of the Greeks have made treasuries for Apollo. 2. At Olympia there is a treasury called the treasury of the Sicyonians, an offering of Myron, tyrant of Sicyon. Myron built it after he had gained a victory in the chariot-race in the thirty-third Olympiad. In the treasury he made two chambers, one in the Doric, the other in the Ionic style. I saw that they were made of bronze, but whether the bronze is Tartessian bronze, as the Eleans say, I do not know. 3. They say that Tartessus is a river in the land of the Iberians, which empties itself into the sea by two mouths, and that there is a city of the same name situated between the mouths of the river. The river, which is the greatest in Iberia, and is moreover tidal, received in later times the name of Baetis. But some think that Carpia, a city of the Iberians, was anciently called Tartessus. On the lesser of the chambers at Olympia there are inscriptions, mentioning that the weight of the bronze is five hundred talents, and that the treasury was dedicated by Myron and the people of Sicyon. In this treasury are kept three quoits, which are employed in the pentathlum. There is also a bronze-plated shield, curiously painted on its inner side, and along with the shield there are a helmet and greaves. An inscription on the arms states that they are a first-fruit offering presented to Zeus by the Myanians. Different conjectures have been made as to who these Myanians were. I recollected that Thucydides in his history mentions various cities of the Locrians who border on Phocis, and amongst others the city of the Myanians. In my opinion, then, the Myanians referred to on the shield are the same as the Myonians in Locris. The inscription on the shield runs a little awry, which is to be explained by the antiquity of the votive offering. Here are also deposited other notable things: the sword of Pelops with a golden hilt; the horn of Amalthea made of ivory, and offering of that Miltiades, son of Cimon, who was the first of his family to reign in the Thracian Chersonese. In the horn is an inscription in old Attic letters:

- I was dedicated as an offering to Olympian Zeus by the men of the Chersonese
After they had taken the stronghold of Aratus: their leader was Miltiades.

There is also a boxwood image of Apollo with the head gilt: the inscription says that tit was dedicated by the Locrians who dwell near Cape Zephyrium, and that it was made by Patrocles of Crotona, son of Catillus.

4. Next to the treasury of the Sicyonians is the treasury of the Carthaginians, a work of Pothaeus, Antiphilus, and Megacles. In it are dedicated a colossal image of Zeus and three

linen corselets. It is an offering of Gelo and the Syracusans for a victory over the Phoenicians either by sea of land.

5. The third and fourth of the treasuries are offerings of the Epidamnians.... It contains a representation of Atlas upholding the firmament, and another of Hercules and the apple-tree of the Hesperides, with the serpent coiled about the tree. These also are of cedar-wood, and are works of Theocles, son of Hegylus: the inscription on the firmament states that he made them with the help of his son. The Hesperides were by the Eleans, but were still to be seen in my time at the Heraeum. The treasury was made for the Epidamnians by Pyrrhus and his sons Lacrates and Hermon.

6. The Sybarites also built a treasury next to that of the Byzantines. Those who have made a study of Italy and its cities say that the city of Lupiae, situated between Brundusium and Hydrus, is the ancient Sybaris with a changed name. The roadstead is artificial, a work of the Emperor Hadrian.

7. Beside the treasury of the Sybarites is a treasury of the Libyans of Cyrene: it contains statues of Roman emperors. Selinus, in Sicily, was destroyed by the Carthaginians in war, but before this calamity befell them the people of Selinus dedicated a treasury to Zeus at Olympia. It contains an image of Dionysus, whereof the face, feet, and hands are made of ivory.

8. In the treasury of the Metapontines, which adjoins that of the Selinuntians, there is a figure of Endymion, also of ivory, except the drapery. I do not know what was the occasion of the destruction of Metapontum, but in my time nothing was left of it save the theatre and the circuit wall.

9. The people of Megara, near Attica, built a treasury, and dedicated offerings in it, consisting of small cedar-wood figures inlaid with gold, and representing Hercules' fight with Achelous. Here are represented Zeus, Dejanira, Achelous, and Hercules, and Ares who is helping Achelous. Also there was formerly an image of Athena, because she was an ally of Hercules; but this image now stands beside the Hesperides in the Heraeum. In the gable of the treasury is wrought in relief the war of the giants and the gods, and above the gable is a shield with an inscription stating that the treasury was dedicated by the Megarians from the spoils of the Corinthians. I believe that this victory was won by the Megarians when Phorbas was archon for life at Athens; for in those days the annual archonships were not yet instituted at Athens, and the Eleans had not yet begun to record the Olympiads. The Argives are said to have helped the Megarians against the Corinthians. The treasury in Olympia was made by the Megarians years after the battle, but they must have had the votive offerings

from of old, since they were made by the Lacedaemonian Dontas, a pupil of Dipoenus and Scyllis.

10. The last of the treasuries is beside the stadium: the inscription states that the treasury and the images in it were dedicated by the people of Gela. However, there are images in it no longer.

Pausanias, X, Phocis, XI.1-2, 4.

1. Near the offering of the Tarentines is a treasury of the Sicyonians; but neither in this nor in any other of the treasuries are there treasuries to be seen. The Cnidians brought images to Delphi, to wit, an image of Triopas, founder of Cnidus, standing beside a horse, an image of Latona, and images of Apollo and Artemis shooting arrows at Tityus, who is represented wounded in various places. These images stand beside the treasury of the Sicyonians.

2. The Siphians also made a treasury for the following reason: - there were gold mines in the island of Siphnus, and the god bade them bring a tithe of the profits to Delphi; so they built the treasury and brought the tithe. But when out of avarice they ceased to bring the tribute, the sea flooded and buried and mines.

...

4. The treasury of the Thebans was built with the spoils of war, and so was the treasury of the Athenians. The Theban treasury was built with the spoils of the battle of Leuctra, the Athenian treasury with the spoils taken from the army which landed at Marathon under the command of Datis. But I do no know whether the Cnidians built their treasury to commemorate a victory or to display their wealth. The Cleonaeans, like the Athenians, suffered from the pestilence, and, in obedience to an oracle from Delphi, sacrificed a he-goat to the rising sun. So, finding that the plague was stayed, they sent a bronze he-goat to Apollo. The Potideans in Thrace and the Syracusans have also treasuries: the latter was built from the spoils taken in the great overthrow of the Athenians; the former was erected out of reverence for the god.

Pausanias, X, Phocis, XIII.3-4

The Dorians of Corinth also built a treasury, and the gold from Lydia used to be kept there. The image of Hercules is an offering of the Thebans, sent by them at the time when they waged the Sacred War, as it is called, with the Phocians. There are also bronze images

dedicated by the Phocians when they had routed the Thessalian cavalry in the second encounter. The Phliasians brought to Delphi a bronze Zeus, and along with it an image of Aegina. 4. There is a bronze Apollo, an offering from Mantinea in Arcadia: it stands not far from the treasury of the Corinthians.

(The above translations are from *Pausanias - Description of Greece*, trans. with a commentary by J. G. Frazer, in 6 volumes; - Vol. I, London: MacMillan and Co. Ltd., 1898.).

Strabo, 9.3.7-8

... Now although at the outset only the people who lived near by had a share in these things and in the oracle, later the people living at a distance also came and consulted the oracle and sent gifts and built treasure-houses, as, for instance, Croesus, and his father Alyattes, and some of the Italiotes, and the Sicilians.

8. But wealth inspires envy, and is therefore difficult to guard, even if it is sacred. At present, certainly, the temple at Delphi is very poor, at least so far as money is concerned; but as for the votive offerings, although some of them have been carried off, most of them still remain. In earlier times the temple was very wealthy, as Homer states: 'nor yet all the things which the stone threshold of the archer Phoebus Apollo enclosed in rocky Pytho.' [Iliad 9.404] The treasure-houses clearly indicate its wealth, and also the plundering done by the Phocians, which kindled the Phoecian War, or Sacred War, as it is called. Now this plundering took place in the time of Philip, the son of Amyntas, although writers have a notion of another and earlier plundering, in ancient times, in which the wealth mentioned by Homer was carried out of the temple. For they add, not so much as a trace of it was saved down to those later times in which Onomarchus and his army, and Phayllus [both Phocian generals. for an account of their robberies see Diod. Sic. 16.31-61.] and his army, robbed the temple; but the wealth then carried away was more recent than that mentioned by Homer; for there were deposited in treasure-houses offerings dedicated from spoils of war, preserving inscriptions in which were included the names of those who dedicated them; for instance, Gyges, Croesus, the Sybarites, and the Spinetae who lived near the Adriatic, and so with the rest. And it would not be reasonable to suppose that the treasures of older times were mixed up with these, as indeed is clearly indicated by other places that were ransacked by these men. Some, however, taking 'aphetor' [the Greek word translated 'archer' in the

above citation from Homer] to mean 'treasure-house', and 'threshold of the aphetor' to mean 'underground repository of the treasure-house', say that wealth was buried in the temple, and that Onomarchus and his army attempted to dig it up by night, but since great earthquakes took place they fled outside the temple and stopped their digging, and that their experience inspired all others with fear of making similar attempt.

(This translation is from Loeb CL, *The Geography of Strabo*, with an English translation by Horace Leonard Jones, in 8 volumes, vol. IV, London and Cambridge Mass., 1954.).

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