

The *Pasquino* Group and Sperlonga: Menelaos and Patroklos or Aeneas and Lausus (*Aen.* 10.791–832)?*

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It is not unusual to look at a sculptural problem and discover that Bruni has already been through it, laid out its main issues, and offered a solution. So it is with this paper, since most of the essential criticism of the literature on the *Pasquino* or “Menelaos-Patroklos” group—as well as a proposed date for the group, which I accept—has appeared in Bruni’s recent writings, *Hellenistic Art in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore 1988) and *Hellenistic Sculpture I* (Madison 1990). What I hope to add to her account is a new identification of the group—with implications for its date—and a new treatment of its copies, especially the example from Sperlonga. It is from Bruni that I first learned about the *Pasquino* group and about Sperlonga. It pleases me to return to these problems on this occasion and I hope that my conclusions will please her as well.

The reconstructed *Pasquino* group (Fig. 26.1) is over-life-sized and the type is known from at least fourteen replicas, all fragmentary, produced in the Roman period.¹ These facts allow us to infer that the original statue was a well-known monument in antiquity, and that it was probably located in a public place. Yet we have nothing to tell us when it was made, where it stood, or who it depicted. The general theme of the group seems clear: a warrior supports the body of a fallen comrade, apparently to shield him from the enemy. It is a subject common in ancient poetry—especially the *Iliad* and other epics—and the motif, which has come to be known as the “helper-group,” has a long history in the visual arts. Attempts have been made to date the group by comparing it with other examples of the motif in minor arts and sculpture in the round. The dates which have been proposed range, however, from the third to the first centuries B.C., so these attempts cannot be considered successful.² The problem is that there are too many such monuments with which the *Pasquino* group can be compared: an Attic grave relief (Fig. 26.2), dated by inscription to 394 B.C., shows that the motif of the “helper-group” was already established by the early fourth century and a late Augustan or Julio-Claudian relief in Mantua (Fig. 26.3) shows that variants of the motif continued to be produced into the Roman peri-

od.³ Particular weight has been given in discussions of date to examples of the motif in the round, like the Ludovisi Gaul group, traditionally associated with an Attalid victory monument of the late third century B.C.⁴ The date of the Gaul group, however, is no longer considered secure, and a motif like the “helper-group” can be translated into three-dimensional form and back again at any point in time—as a modern cartoon based on the *Pasquino* group clearly shows (Fig.

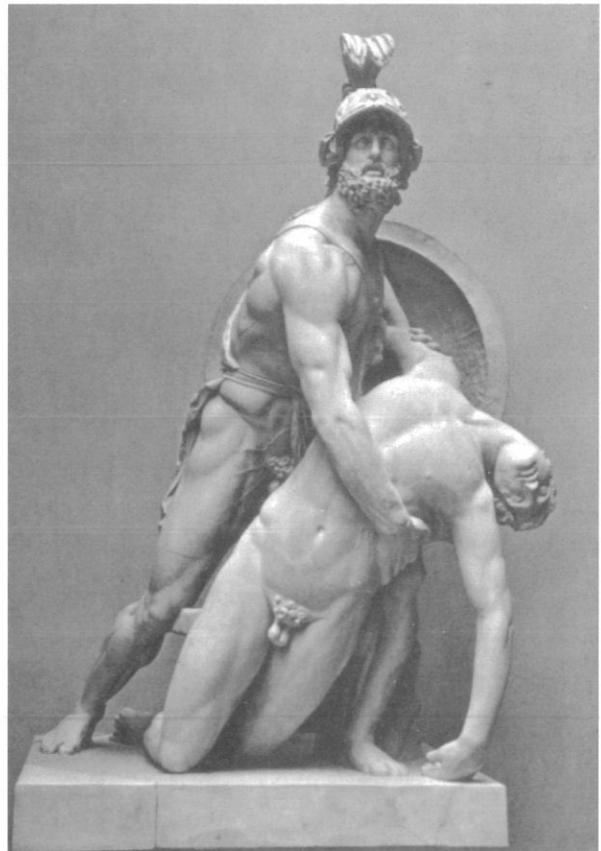


Figure 26.1 Plaster reconstruction of the *Pasquino* group by B. Schweitzer (After Schweitzer pl. 1).



Figure 26.2 Athens, National Museum 2744. Attic Grave Relief. 394 B.C. (DAI Athens 6196).

26.4): the poses of the two protagonists are slightly different but specific features like the arms and the positions of the heads make the dependency clear. We can assume that the development of the “helper” motif was similar in antiquity. The schema moved from artist to artist, with small changes to adapt it to a new medium or composition and each new example became a potential model for another.⁵ Given this unbounded potential for dissemination and change, it is almost impossible to decide which examples of the motif are “cousins” of the *Pasquino* group and which are in fact “parents” or “children,” capable of providing a firm *terminus post quem* or *ante quem* for the group. To my knowledge, the earliest secure reproduction of the *Pasquino* group is on a gem dating from the second half of the first century B.C. (Fig. 26.5).⁶

A more productive line of inquiry may be the identification of the two *Pasquino* warriors, since their characterization is quite specific: the standing warrior is mature; his dress is distinctive; his nude companion is beardless and as slim as a boy. Who these warriors are has been debated for centuries, but two favorites have emerged from among the suggestions made: Menelaos with the body of Patroklos, and Ajax with the body of Achilles.⁷ Since 1936, most scholars have followed Bernard Schweitzer in identifying the older warrior as Menelaos, who is described by Homer (*Il.* 17.1–6) as standing “astride the body (of Patroklos), protective as a heifer who has dropped her first-born calf.”⁸ This description does seem to characterize the *action* of the *Pasquino* group, but Homer’s *descriptions* of the two heroes do not fit the *Pasquino* warriors, and



Figure 26.3 Mantua, Palazzo Ducale. Early imperial relief (Alinari 18805).

the narrative of *Iliad* 17 develops in a different manner than this passage implies—as other scholars have observed.⁹ It took a concerted effort by a number of Greek heroes to keep the body of Patroklos from being dragged away by the Trojans. Menelaos and Meriones—two heroes and not one—were deployed by Ajax (17.715–21) to remove the body while other heroes held the enemy at bay. This multiplicity of heroes and interventions is alluded to in earlier representations of the scene in Greek vase painting and probably in a series of late Hellenistic or early imperial glasspastes that show two warriors lifting the body of a third warrior onto a chariot (Fig. 26.6).¹⁰

Recognizing the inconsistencies between the *Pasquino* group and Homer's account of the death of Patroklos, other scholars have proposed that the warriors are Ajax and Achilles, identifications suggested by fragment 2 of the *Little Iliad: Ajax lifted and carried from battle the hero Pelides* (Achilles).¹¹ These identifications, however, raise problems similar to the last: Achilles received his fatal wound in the heel—not in the trunk as is the case with the *Pasquino* youth; Achilles, like Patroklos, was characterized by Homer as a mature warrior; and Ajax Telamonios was known in antiquity for his truly immense size and for his towering shield.¹² Thus, there are significant differences between the *Pasquino* warriors and Homer's characterization of his four heroes which modern scholarship has tried unsuccessfully to dismiss.

The iconography of the group and particularly that of the older warrior suggests the two are not Homeric heroes, but Aeneas and Lausus, son of Mezentius, shown together at the moment of



Figure 26.4 Twentieth-century cartoon, *Superman and Madame Xanadu* (After the International Herald Tribune, 29 June 1984, 7).



Figure 26.5 Würzburg, Martin von Wagner-Museums inv. 6257. Glasspaste, first century B.C. (Courtesy Martin von Wagner-Museums).

Lausus' death in *Aeneid* 10.814–32. The most important piece of evidence for the warrior's identity is the distinctive relief decoration on his helmet. It is preserved in a total of five replicas and is probably, therefore, a feature of the original statue.¹³ It has been used, in any event, to argue for the warrior's identity. The decoration consists of three separate devices, each doubled for symmetry (Figs. 26.7–10): Hercules fighting a centaur on either side of the calotte, two reclining felines on the ear pieces, and two strange, composite birds with the body of an eagle and a snake's tail on the visor.¹⁴ Schweitzer associated these images with Menelaos' travels after the Trojan war. The centauromachy symbolized the Greek heartland and the felines and exotic bird the hero's sojourns in Libya and Ethiopia, as described in *Odyssey* 4.81–85.¹⁵ R. Wünsche identifies them with key events in the life of Ajax: the centauromachy with Hercules' prayer to Zeus that his friend Telamon might have a mighty son; the eagle with Zeus' granting of this prayer; and the panther-felines (whose hide is worn by maenads) with the madness which led Ajax to suicide.¹⁶ Nevertheless, these three devices have better parallels within the *Aeneid*, especially Books 8–12, the portion of the epic to which the *Pasquino* group belongs. Each refers to one of Aeneas' protectors—Hercules, Cybele, or Jupiter—and reminds the viewer of the piety and divine favor for which the Roman hero was famous.

Hercules, shown in combat with two centaurs on the helmet (Figs. 26.7–10), serves as a foil for Aeneas throughout the epic, and especially in *Aeneid* 8 when



Figure 26.6 Munich, Staatlichen Münzsammlung A. 885. Glasspaste, first century B.C.–first century A.C. (Courtesy Staatlichen Münzsammlung München).

Aeneas visits Rome. Aeneas toils, as does Hercules, by the will of “unjust Juno” (cf., 1.4 and 8.291–92).¹⁷ The list of Italian heroes given in Book 7 reminds the reader of some of Hercules' most famous adversaries—especially the cloud-born centaurs (7.674–77), who appear again, identified more specifically as Pholus and Hylaeus, in the hymn sung upon Aeneas' arrival in Rome (8.293–94).¹⁸ This hymn, which invokes Hercules as *invictus* or “the unconquered one,” is almost certainly the inspiration for the centauromachy reliefs, although their iconography is eclectic and differs from earlier representations of the theme in Greek vase painting. Pholus, a centaur, opened a jug of wine for Hercules, but other centaurs rushed in to steal the wine and Hercules killed them. In Greek vase painting, representations of the *melée* typically contain more than one centaur and a large wine vessel to identify the cause of the disagreement.¹⁹ Here, the wine vessel is missing or de-emphasized within the composition and the poses of the two adversaries are similar to those of Hercules and another centaur—variously identified as Eurytion, Dexamenes, or Nessos—who tried to steal Hercules' bride Deianeira.²⁰

In spite of this, the centaurs on the helmet can be identified as Pholus and Hylaeus by the fact that there are two of them and no bride. It is not obvious that there are two centaurs because the centauromachy has been adapted to the decorative requirements of the helmet—two scenes, symmetrically arranged, with Hercules appearing in each to make the subject matter clear. A similar “doubling of the main character” appears in imperial representations of the wolf and twins as helmet devices for Roma and Mars. The wolf appears on either side of the helmet,

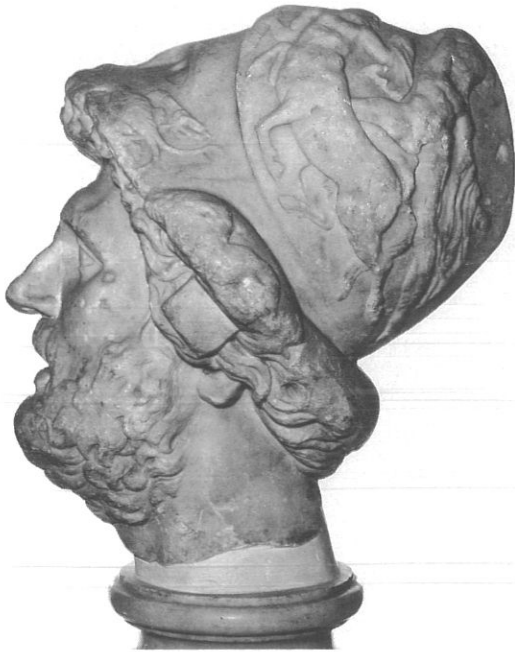


Figure 26.7 Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe 143405 MN. Head of older Pasquino warrior, from left (Courtesy Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw).

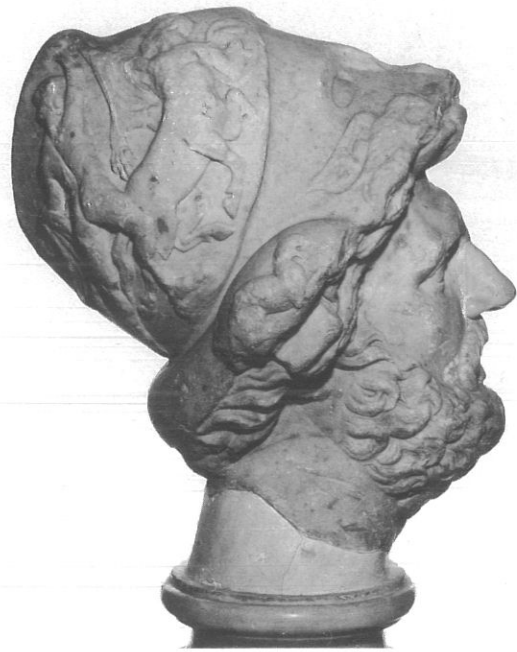


Figure 26.8 Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe 143405 MN. Head of older Pasquino warrior, from right (Courtesy Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw).

each time with a single twin.²¹ The duplication of the wolf is more obvious than the duplication of Hercules, but the *Pasquino*-artist has distinguished the two scenes on this helmet by varying the poses of the two adversaries: one composition (Figs. 26.8, 10)

shows Hercules pushing the centaur to the ground; the other (Figs. 26.7, 9) shows him grappling with the centaur, who reaches back with one arm as he tries to flee. The pains that the artist has taken make it clear that the two are not the same centaur.²²

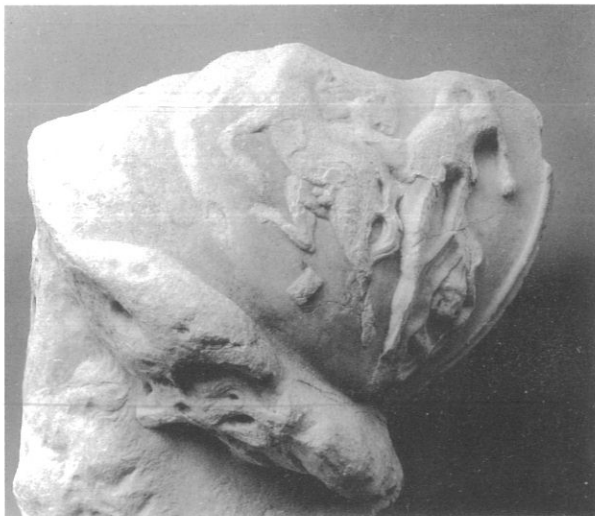


Figure 26.9 Sperlonga, Museo Nazionale. Head of older Pasquino Warrior, from left (DAI Rome 65.1942).



Figure 26.10 Sperlonga, Museo Nazionale. Head of older Pasquino warrior, from right (DAI Rome 65.1938).



Figure 26.11 Copenhagen, National Museum dnf 10/20. Hoby cup with Priam and Achilles. Probably Julio-Claudian (Courtesy The National Museum, Copenhagen).

The centauromachy signals Hercules' protection of Aeneas as well as the similarities between the two heroes. This is indicated by the religious context of the Vergilian passage—a hymn—and by the fact that Hercules was widely known in Roman popular cult as *alexikakos*, or “the averter of evil.”²³ The other helmet-devices can be associated with other dieties. The two

felines (Figs. 26.7–8) are probably the Phrygian lions of the Magna Mater, which decorated the beak of Aeneas' ship (*Aen.* 10.157–58) as he returned to the Trojan camp with his Arcadian and Etruscan allies. Schweitzer identified them as leopards because they lack manes and have small heads. Similar lions (Fig. 26.12), however, with manes engraved in the archaic manner, were produced in Asia Minor until the Classical period, and the golden lions dedicated by Croesus at Delphi (Hdt. 1.50) are believed to have been of the same general type.²⁴ Cybele was a devoted protectress of Aeneas in the *Aeneid*: she provided timber from Mt. Ida to build his ships (9.80–89) and she interceded to save the ships from the Italians (9.80–95), turning them into nymphs and instructing them to take word to Aeneas that his camp was under attack (10.220–49).²⁵ Aeneas refers to the lions in his prayer to Cybele in 10.253, a literary context similar to that of the centauromachy. The artist may thus have chosen this Asian lion-type because it seemed appropriate for Cybele, or perhaps simply for its old-fashioned appearance.²⁶

The exotic birds (Figs. 26.7–8) have been the most puzzling of the three helmet-devices, perhaps because a description of such a bird appears only in *Aeneid* 12. This must be the *dira*, sent by Jupiter to warn Juturna that she can no longer shield Turnus

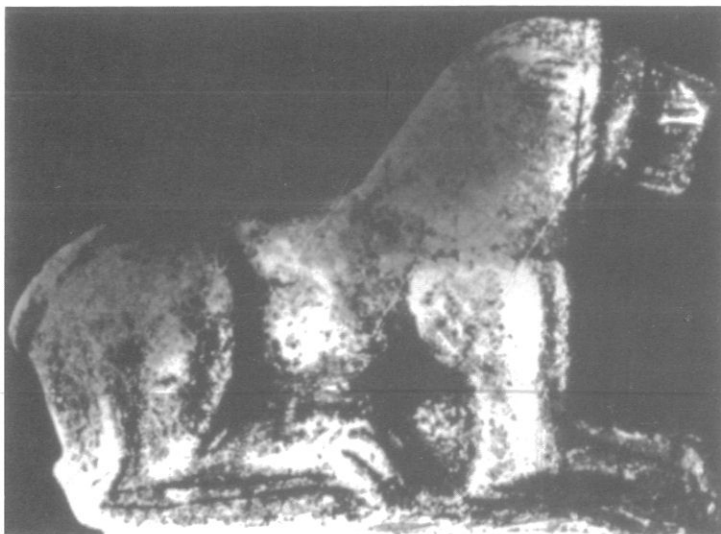


Figure 26.12 Izmir, Archaeological Museum 511. Archaic lion, from Pergamon (After H. Gabelmann, *Studien zum frühgriechischen Löwenbild* [Berlin 1965] pl. 20 no. 1).

from Aeneas and death. I know of no visual parallels for the *dira* and Vergil's description of it (12.847–48) *...paribusque revinxit / serpentum spiris ventosasque addidit alas...* is itself variously translated.²⁷ Nevertheless, the poem clearly refers to a creature who acts at Jupiter's behest and combines the coils of a snake with the wings of a bird—a description which the sculptor has been at pains to emulate with this snaky-tailed eagle.²⁸ Thus, each of the three symbols—the centauromachy, the lions, and the “bird”—has a concrete link with Aeneas. Appearing on his helmet, they symbolize both his piety and the divine assistance he received in bringing his family and followers to Italy.²⁹

Other aspects of the hero's appearance support his identification as Aeneas. Vergil's poem does not provide us with a clear physical description of the hero, but he is characterized by both Homer and Vergil as one of Troy's bravest defenders, with a wife and prepubescent son.³⁰ This suggests a man who is similar to the bearded *Pasquino* warrior in age, a suggestion supported by other, more-securely-identified representations of Aeneas, although these show him in Roman sacrificial costume, as on the *Ara Pacis*, or in a Roman military cuirass.³¹ A modern audience might expect Aeneas to be nude, like a Greek hero, or for his costume to be more “Asian,” since Vergil, at some points, emphasizes the “easterness” of Trojan dress.³² Nevertheless, the warrior's costume is a carefully constructed “Trojan” costume. His helmet, which has been inaccurately restored in some replicas as Corinthian, is actually a variation of the Phrygian helmet, or *tiara*, with a soft, peaked calotte, and a Corinthian visor. Its real shape is preserved in three unrestored copies in Warsaw (Figs. 26.7–8), Boston, and Sperlonga (Figs. 26.9–10).³³ Although the shape of the so-called Phrygian helmet was widespread by the fourth century B.C., this is an important historicizing detail.³⁴ Phrygian accoutrements were associated with the Trojans by Vergil and his contemporaries, who use the name Phrygian interchangeably with that of Teucric and Dardan to refer to the Trojan people. Similar headdresses are worn by Priam (Fig. 26.11), Ascanius, and perhaps by Aeneas himself in imperial minor arts.³⁵

The warrior's drape is also an Asian feature, although less obviously so than the helmet. It has its closest parallels in the short *chitoniskos* worn by Amazons (Fig. 26.13)—another indigenous group who allied with the Trojans against the Greeks.³⁶ The *chitoniskos* is an odd choice. Vergil's Trojans, especially Chloereus, wear a complete “Phrygian” costume of tunic, trousers, and Phrygian cap (*Aen.* 11.768–77).³⁷ By Vergil's day, however, Phrygian dress had become associated with the defeated Parthians and other barbarians, so eastern dress may not have been appropriate for Aeneas in the visual arts.³⁸ The *chitoniskos* is a more subtle signifier of ethnicity, and it had the further advantage of display-

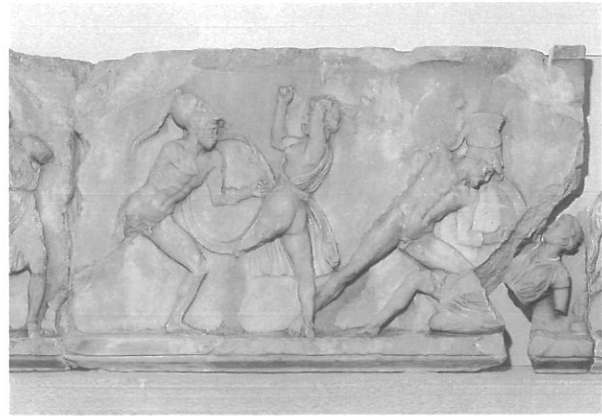


Figure 26.13 London, British Museum. Mausoleum of Halikarnassus, Amazon Frieze slab 1014 (Courtesy The British Museum, London).

ing the Roman hero's physique without showing him naked—as Pliny (*NH* 34.18) says Roman heroes were depicted and in contrast with the Greek practice of showing their heroes nude.³⁹ Although artificial, therefore, the warrior's dress is in fact “Trojan” and not Greek or even generically heroic.

The identification of the *Pasquino* group as Aeneas and Lausus is also suggested by the age difference between the two warriors. Their physical relationship—the way the older man supports the younger man and the way the younger man grips his arm—has led scholars to assume that the two are comrades in arms and they have looked for mythological figures who fit that rubric. The difference in the two warriors' ages has received very little attention *per se*. Nevertheless, the artist's characterization of the two as mature warrior and youth is an essential element of the composition and an element better suited to Vergil's battle-narrative than it is to Homer's. Lausus, like other poignant figures from the *Aeneid*, is quintessentially young. He is not much different in age from Pallas (10.434) who is also going to war for the first time and he is unexcelled in beauty among the Italian allies, except by Turnus (7.649–650). Lausus is not the only beautiful young man to die in the *Aeneid*. He is preceded in death by Polites, Euryalus, and Pallas, and followed by Turnus. The *Pasquino* youth is clearly distinguished from these four, however, by the presence of Aeneas at his death, and by Virgil's description of the scene. To quote the entire passage (10.814–832):

Now in the Dardan captain anger boiled up higher.
The Parcae wound the thread of Lausus to the end:
Aeneas drove his tough sword through the young
man's body up to the hilt—for it pierced the half-
shield, light defense for one so menacing—and the
shirt his mother had woven him, [with its] soft

cloth of gold, so [that] blood filled up the folds of it. His life now left his body for the air and went in sorrow to the shades. But seeing the look on the young man's face in death, a face so pale as to be awesome, then Anchises' son groaned in profound pity. He held out his hand as filial piety [for Mezentius], mirrored here, wrung his own heart, and said: "O poor young soldier, how will Aeneas reward your splendid fight? How honor you, in keeping with your nature? Keep the arms you loved to use, for I return you to your forebears, ash and shades, if this concerns you now. Unlucky boy, one consolation for sad death is this: you die by the sword-thrust of great Aeneas." Then giving Lausus' troops a sharp rebuke for hanging back, he lifted from the ground the dead man as he lay, his well-combed hair soaking with blood.

(trans. R. Fitzgerald, p. 324)

The statuary group departs from Vergil's description of the scene in two important respects: Vergil's Lausus wore a shirt and was apparently lifted from a prone position. The *Pasquino* youth is nude; he appears to have been on his knees and supported by Aeneas before collapsing against him.⁴⁰ These are small changes, however, and serve to make the statuary group more dramatic. Lausus' nudity underscores his vulnerability—a point emphasized by Vergil in stressing the lightness of his arms. The dramatically counterposed torsions of the two warriors communicate their heroism and the pathos of Lausus' death.⁴¹

Other aspects of the rendering—the boy's vulnerability and the droop of his head, which is reproduced even in gems (Fig. 26.5)—may be derived from Vergil's description of Euryalus and Pallas, and from the poet's adaptation of Catullus' flower simile. Thus the *Pasquino* youth, like Euryalus (9.433–37),

...in death went reeling down, and blood streamed on his handsome length, his neck collapsing let his head fall on his shoulder—as a bright flower cut by a passing plow will droop and wither slowly, or a poppy bow its head upon its tired stalk when overcome by a passing rain.

(trans. R. Fitzgerald, p. 275).

Similarly the *Pasquino* youth, like Pallas (11.68–71), is

...most like a flower a girl's fingers plucked, soft-petaled violet or hyacinth with languid head, as yet not discomposed or faded, though its mother earth no longer nourishes it and makes it stand in bloom.

(trans. R. Fitzgerald, p. 333).

It is inconceivable that the ancient reader of the *Aeneid* would not have known these similes. They provide one of the most famous instances of literary cross-reference in antiquity, both within the *Aeneid*

and outside it to Catullus and Homer.⁴² Whether the same reader would have recognized a reference to the simile in the *Pasquino* youth is less certain. Nevertheless, the image of the drooping head is repeated by the author of the *Ciris* (449), a later Latin poem which emulates Vergilian style. This suggests that an educated Roman might well have been expected to recognize the image, even when transferred to the visual arts.⁴³ The use of reference brings the sculpture closer to the ethos of the *Aeneid*, and this may have been one of the artist's goals.⁴⁴

The artist's desire to create multiple associations in the monument can also be seen in the moment selected from the epic. Lausus is not the best-known figure in the *Aeneid*.⁴⁵ Modern readers would probably have expected the artist to choose Pallas or Turnus. But Lausus is a more subtle choice than these, because he serves as a foil for both—for Pallas, who receives no pity from Turnus, and Turnus, whose death is the culmination of the epic. The presence of the *dira* on the *Pasquino* warrior's helmet cannot help but remind us of how this conflict will end. These associations serve to advance the characterization of Aeneas because it is this scene, coming at the high point of Aeneas' *aristeia*, that demonstrates his humanity. Turnus' very different treatment of Pallas, described only a few lines earlier (10.490–500), seems to emphasize, by contrast, the rarity of that quality in the world of heroic myth.⁴⁶ At the same time, however, the image alludes, in an emblematic way, to many of the broader themes of the poem and especially those developed in Books 8–12: the pathos of young lives snuffed out by war, of parents who are forced to witness the deaths of children, and the reciprocal obligations which successive generations—personified by Vergil as fathers and sons—owe to each other.⁴⁷ If this father and this son—who have no actual relationship to each other—are commemorated in the same monument, it is because they each represent the *ideal*—a father who sacrificed his desires for his son, and a son who sacrificed his life for his father, whether that father deserved it or not (cf., *Aen.* 7.653–54).⁴⁸

The artist's choice of episode is important in art historical terms because Lausus appears only rarely in Latin literature before the *Aeneid* and does not appear elsewhere, to my knowledge, in ancient art.⁴⁹ This allows the *Pasquino* group to be dated quite precisely in the period between the death of Vergil in 19 B.C., and the appearance of the first known replica of the *Pasquino* group, in the late Augustan or Julio-Claudian villa at Sperlonga.⁵⁰ The original statuary group, therefore, is almost certainly an Augustan monument which like the Ara Pacis and the sculpture of the Forum Augustum, draws upon the *Aeneid* to celebrate the new regime.⁵¹ Unlike those monuments, however, it seems to confront the memory of the civil war head-on, leaving us to wonder when, and where in Rome, such a sculpture might have been

dedicated and displayed.⁵² That particular question is beyond the scope of this investigation and, indeed, may never be answered. Nevertheless, we get some sense of the character and impact of the original statue by looking at the find-spots of its copies. The earliest copy is from Sperlonga; the others are from the Flavian, Hadrianic, or Antonine periods and seem to have been displayed in contexts which link them with the idea of Rome or of the imperial house.⁵³

COPIES FOUND IN ROME

At least five replicas, including examples from both the Flavian and Antonine periods, were found in Rome and four of these were discovered in the Campus Martius. The Palazzo Braschi replica, which can be dated in the Flavian period on the basis of carving technique, was almost certainly found in the Piazza Navona, the ancient stadium of Domitian. A second Flavian copy, now in Warsaw (Figs. 26.7–8), may also have come from that area.⁵⁴ These replicas are likely to have been part of Domitian's rebuilding of the Campus Martius after the fire of A.D. 80—a campaign that culminated in his celebration of the *ludi Capitolini* in A.D. 86 (Censorinus, *D.N.* 18.15; Suet. *Dom.* 4).⁵⁵ In celebrating the *Capitolini*, Domitian seems to have sought a mixture of Greek and Roman traditions. Censorinus (18.12–18.15) relates the games to both the Olympic games and the *lustrum*, and the games included competitions in both Greek and Latin poetry and oratory. There were, however, references to Roman tradition in the costumes worn by Domitian and other officials and a similar reference may have been sought in the statuary chosen for the site where the games were held.⁵⁶ The *Pasquino* group appears on Flavian gems and other representations of Aeneas appear in contemporary minor arts, so both the *Pasquino* group and the story of Aeneas seem to have enjoyed broad popularity in this period.⁵⁷

The Hadrianic and Antonine replicas from Rome were probably also official in origin, inspired by Hadrian's celebration of the *natalis urbis* (the founding of Rome) in A.D. 121, or by Antoninus Pius' amplification of that celebration in A.D. 147.⁵⁸ The importance of these festivities—and of an Augustan precedent for the festivities—is indicated by the coinage and by contemporary decorative arts: Hadrian emphasized his identity as the “re-founder” of Rome with coin types of the *lupa romana* and the sow of Lavinium.⁵⁹ The moneyers of Antoninus Pius continued these themes, but added to them a series of large medallions with scenes from the *Aeneid*.⁶⁰ Echoes of these and other themes from Roman mythology appear in sculpture made for private consumption and there are specific references to the *Pasquino* group on contemporary gems and in small-scale copies or statuettes.⁶¹

The official role of the full-scale *Pasquino* replicas produced in this period is suggested by their find-spots. The two Florentine replicas were uncovered in places associated with the Julian family and a third, now in Leningrad, was discovered in the area of the Piazza Montecitorio, the site of the *ustrinum* and column of Antoninus Pius.⁶² The first of the two “Julian” replicas, the example now in the Loggia dei Lanzi, was discovered at the entrance to what was probably the gardens of Caesar, at the modern Porta Portese. The Palazzo Pitti replica was found in the mausoleum of Augustus.⁶³ It is not certain that the Pitti replica was associated with the mausoleum in antiquity. The tomb was used as a lime-kiln in the Middle Ages, so the copy could have been brought there from another location.⁶⁴ There is nothing to prove, however, that the statue was brought from elsewhere, and the coincidence of the two find-spots suggests that these replicas were commissioned by Antonine officials to commemorate the Julian contribution to the Trojan legend.⁶⁵ The Leningrad replica, if correctly associated with the tomb of Antoninus Pius, makes an obvious reference to his cognomen, *Pius*.

Four second-century replicas were found in official or semi-official contexts outside Rome: two at Hadrian's villa in Tivoli; a third at a villa of Herodes Atticus (A.D. 100–176) in southern Greece, and a fourth in the “Baths of Hadrian” at Aphrodisias.⁶⁶ Only two are from controlled excavations and they are not yet published, but enough information exists to compare all of the replicas in terms of program.

TIVOLI (HADRIAN'S VILLA)

The original locations of the copies from Hadrian's villa, now in the Vatican, are unknown. They were uncovered in eighteenth-century excavations in the *Pantanello*, a part of the villa now believed to have served as a late antique storage area, where statuary was placed for safe-keeping or for removal to another location.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, one of the copies differs from other extant examples of the type in that the young man's fatal wound appears on his back (Fig. 26.14) instead of his chest. From this it has been inferred that the two replicas were displayed together as mirror-reversed pendants, an arrangement which can be documented elsewhere at Tivoli and in other Roman settings.⁶⁸

The decision to reverse one of the copies is striking because the emotional and narrative content of the *Pasquino* group is communicated almost entirely by its front and three-quarter views. From the back, one would have seen (perhaps) the younger man's wounds but primarily the older warrior's shield. This shield is not preserved in any of the extant copies but it appears in representations of the group on gems (Fig. 26.5), in a statuette recently on the New York art



Figure 26.14 *Mss. Lanciani 138, fol. 56r. Fragments of Pasquino copy from Tivoli (After P. Baldassarri, RivIstArch 11 [1988] fig. 171).*

market, and there are indications that a bronze shield was originally attached to a copy in Aquileia. The shield would have provided an important unifying element to the two figures, linking the divergent axes of their heads and intensifying the pathos of their facial expressions.⁶⁹ The emphasis given to the shield in the Tivoli copy is, however, understandable only if the shield was of intrinsic interest. This would certainly have been the case if it reproduced the shield described in *Aeneid* 8.626–731—Vergil’s famous symbol of *Roma aeterna* and of empire without bounds (cf., *Aen.* 1.278–79).⁷⁰ If my identification of the *Pasquino* group is correct then the mirror-reversed Tivoli copies were intended to remind the viewer of the achievement of empire, symbolized by the shield, and of the sacrifices it required. These are themes appropriate both to Vergil and to an imperial villa of the early second century A.D.⁷¹

APHRODISIAS AND LOUKOU

The replica from Aphrodisias had a different sculptural pendant: Achilles supporting the dead or dying Penthesilea, whom he killed before realizing that she was to have been the love of his life.⁷² The two statuary groups faced each other across the pool of what may have been the frigidarium—but in any case one of the largest rooms in the baths.⁷³ The choice of a Roman hero and subject matter to decorate a Greek bath may have had overtones of empire as it did at Tivoli. The baths were dedicated to Hadrian and Aphrodite and the two groups can be easily read in terms of that dedication. The magnanimity of Aeneas and the filial piety of Lausus are appropriate symbols for Hadrian. The Achilles-Penthesilea story makes clear reference to the power of Aphrodite, who is the mother of Aeneas and the patron goddess of the city.⁷⁴

There are, however, broader ideological parallels for these pendants in contemporary Greek culture—in Plutarch’s *Lives*, which paired biographies of famous Greeks and Romans according to individual principles of similarity, in the epideictic rhetoric of the Second Sophistic, and in the coin emissions of Antoninus Pius, which were accompanied by a series of parallel emissions with Greek myths from eastern mints.⁷⁵ In the Baths of Hadrian, Achilles, the principal hero of the Greeks, is juxtaposed with Aeneas, the principal hero of the Romans, each with a mythological adversary. This theme of adversarial groups may have extended into other areas of the baths, since a series of colossal heads which suggest such pairings—Perseus and Medusa, the Minotaur (presumably originally with Theseus), and Hercules (perhaps also with a mythological foe)—was found in the adjacent court.⁷⁶ Similar groups of mythological adversaries are known from two eastern baths of the Trajanic period, suggesting that the pairing of heroic combats or contests was older and more widespread in this part of the empire.⁷⁷ This particular combination of *Pasquino* and Achilles-Penthesilea may be characteristic, however, of the Hadrianic and Antonine periods, since it appears again at the Antonine villa of Herodes Atticus at Loukou (Arcadia).⁷⁸ Atticus’ villa awaits publication, but it seems likely that there, as at Aphrodisias, the *Pasquino* group was used to illustrate the cultural continuity between Greece and Rome and not Roman history for its own sake.⁷⁹

SPERLONGA

The earliest of the extant *Pasquino* replicas and the one which has received the most attention is that of Sperlonga. The Sperlonga villa, located on the coast of Campania between Terracina and Gaeta, was probably owned by the imperial family. The emperor Tiberius is known from Suetonius (*Tib.* 39) and Tacitus (*Ann.* 4.59) to have owned a villa near Terracina *ad speluncas*, i.e. with a distinctive grotto. In A.D. 26, Tiberius was almost killed by a rock fall in the grotto while entertaining guests at dinner. The similarity of the names *speluncas* and Sperlonga, the location of the villa near Terracina, and its construction history, have led most scholars to accept the villa as the one owned by Tiberius.⁸⁰ If identified correctly, it was an official retreat, easily accessible from Rome, either by sea or from the Via Appia, and frequented by the emperors and their friends.⁸¹

Discovered in 1957 during road construction, the Sperlonga grotto and its sculptures are still the subject of active study and discussion. Some things, however, are now clear: construction materials and building technique indicate that the grotto was turned into a setting for dining and sculpture in the late first century B.C. or the early first century A.C.⁸²

The major sculptures from the site are also of this period.⁸³ The sculptural decoration was probably intended to stimulate conversation while dining or relaxing. During the empire, the recitation or acting out of passages from literature was popular dinner-time entertainment and this custom seems to have inspired comparable, if less elaborate decorative environments elsewhere.⁸⁴ The grotto received further embellishment in the later Julio-Claudian or Flavian periods and it continued to be used, apparently, into late antiquity. The famous Faustinus-epigram, which attempts to emulate the sculptural program in verse, is probably an addition of the third century A.C. or later.⁸⁵

The central theme of the cave's decorative program is assumed to be the Odysseus-cycle because at least three of the four major statuary groups found in the cave illustrate some event from that hero's career. These include, in counter-clockwise order as the groups have been reconstructed in the cave (Figs. 26.15–16):⁸⁶ 1) at right front, the theft of the Palladion by Odysseus and Diomedes; 2) in a smaller grotto at right rear, the blinding of Polyphemus by Odysseus and three Greek companions (*Od.* 9.371–82); 3) in the center of the basin, the attack of Scylla (*Od.* 12.245–50), probably in combination with the breakup of Odysseus' ship in the storm sent by Zeus (*Od.* 12.403–25);⁸⁷ and 4) at left front, the *Pasquino* group, which is identified by Andreae as Odysseus with the body of Achilles. Andreae accepts Schweitzer's identification of the original *Pasquino* group as Menelaos and Patroklos.⁸⁸ He argues, however, that the Sperlonga copy was adapted to the Odyssean theme of the cave and to the particular account of Odysseus' career given by Ovid in *Metamorphoses* 13.282–85—that Odysseus rescued the body of Achilles instead of Ajax. The Sperlonga copy preserves only the head (Figs. 26.9–10) and arm of the older warrior and the young man's legs (Fig. 26.17), so Andreae's most important argument for this identification is the presumed Odyssean focus of the decorative program. Nevertheless, the fragments do display one feature not paralleled among the other copies of the *Pasquino* type (cf., Fig. 26.14)—a contorted left foot which Andreae takes as evidence for Achilles' fatal wound. According to him, the position of the foot is intended to suggest that the tendon has been cut by a Trojan arrow.⁸⁹

Andreae's argument has not been universally accepted.⁹⁰ The Sperlonga warrior's helmet has the same relief decoration as the other copies, a bit of additional labor that is difficult to understand if the devices identified the wearer of the helmet as a specific hero. If the copyist wanted to change the hero's identity, it would have been better to omit them altogether. The position of the young man's foot is peculiar, but it is not striking enough to indicate a new identity for the group—especially if the group was to

be seen primarily from a distance.⁹¹ There is no wound in the heel, no blood indicated in relief, as in other ancient representations of the dead and wounded, and there is no hole to suggest that an arrow was added in bronze or another material. Such additions were common in antiquity and in this case they would have been essential—if the identity of the group relied entirely on this feature.⁹²

The awkwardness of the foot's position is reinforced by its abnormal size. It is 6–7 cm longer than the corresponding foot in other replicas. Andreae once suggested, by way of explaining the unusual scale of this foot, that the Sperlonga replica was itself increased in size by a head in relation to both the original statue and the other copies.⁹³ This is disproved, however, by further comparison. The length given for the lower right leg of the Sperlonga youth is identical to that of the *Pasquino* youth from Tivoli (Mus. Vat. inv. 778, here Fig. 26.14)—0.57 m—and the height of the older warrior's face is virtually the same as that of the second copy from the same site (Mus. Vat. inv. 694)—0.224 m at Sperlonga and 0.24 m at Tivoli. The Sperlonga replica was, thus, identical in overall size to both of these other replicas and it is only his left foot which is larger—0.365 m at Sperlonga and 0.265 m at Tivoli (Mus. Vat. inv. 778, without the toes).⁹⁴ There is no iconographical reason for the artist to have made this foot bigger. It is only an emphasis on the heel that is required by Andreae's theory and this could have been accomplished more effectively in other ways, as I have suggested. The size and clumsiness of this foot are not, therefore, iconographical devices but a copyist's error, the result of a mismeasurement and/or a hasty cut.⁹⁵

Technical imperfection of this sort may seem unlikely in an imperial setting, but the famous *fanciulla d'Anzio*, from a villa thought to be that of Nero, displays a comparable infelicity. The statue is composed of two blocks of marble, badly pieced.⁹⁶ In the front the blocks are fitted smoothly so the joint is hidden; in back there is a gap (Fig. 26.18)—due either to a mismeasurement or to the use of a defective piece of marble.⁹⁷ The gap did not pose a problem at Antium because the statue was to be displayed in a niche—where it was in fact found. The gap would not be visible.⁹⁸ The display of the Sperlonga group was comparable to that of the *fanciulla*. It stood on a masonry spur surrounded on three sides by water (cf., Fig. 26.15), so the distorted foot would not have been seen either—at least at close range.⁹⁹ Thus, apart from traditional assumptions about the character of the sculptural program at Sperlonga, there is nothing to suggest that the replica found there is to be identified as Odysseus and Achilles. The artist's use of the helmet devices associated with other examples of the statuary type suggests, on the contrary, that it is Aeneas and Lausus, as in the other copies.

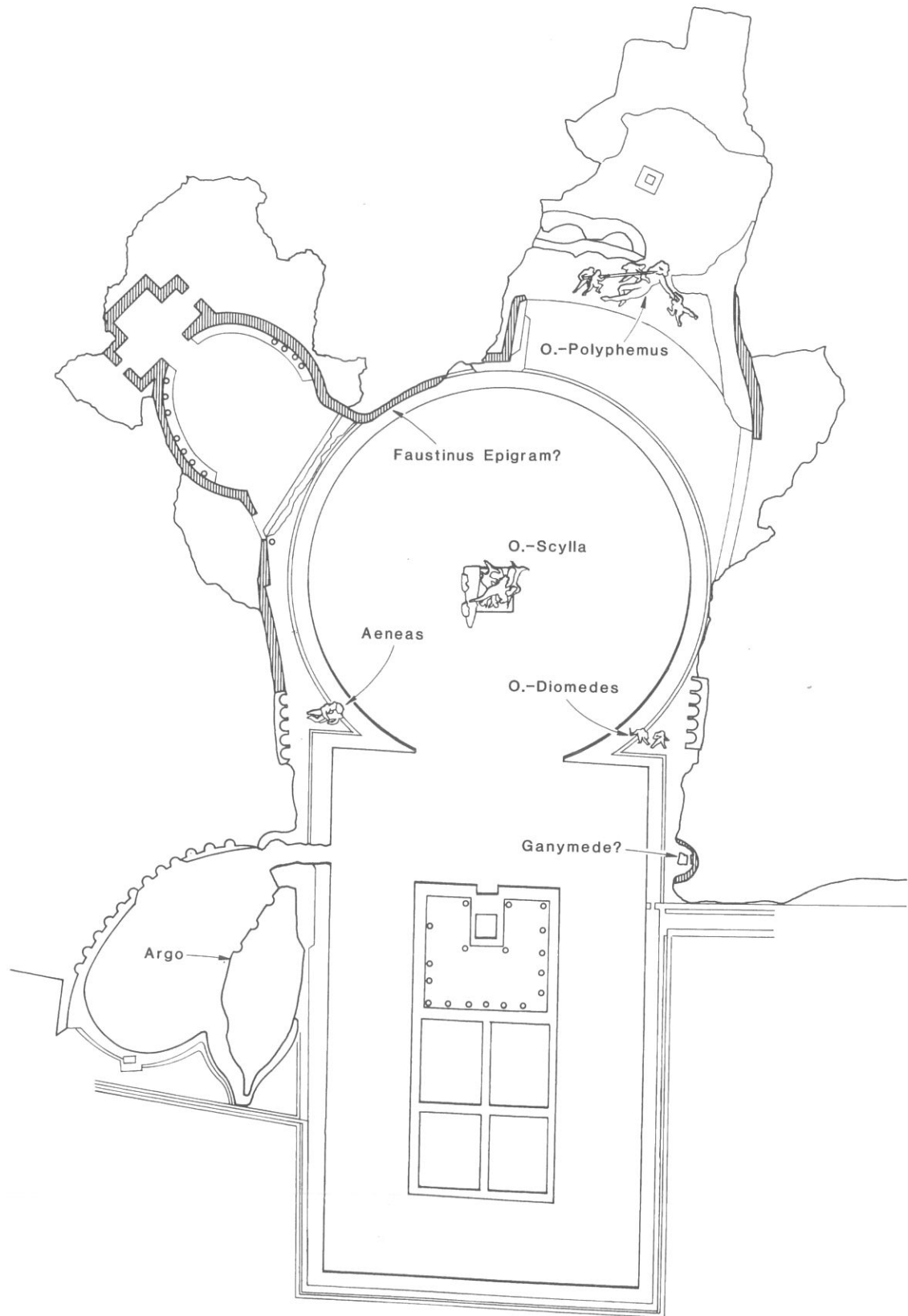


Figure 26.15 Sperlonga, General plan of grotto (Adapted from Andrae-Conticello, *AntPl* 14, text fig. 7).

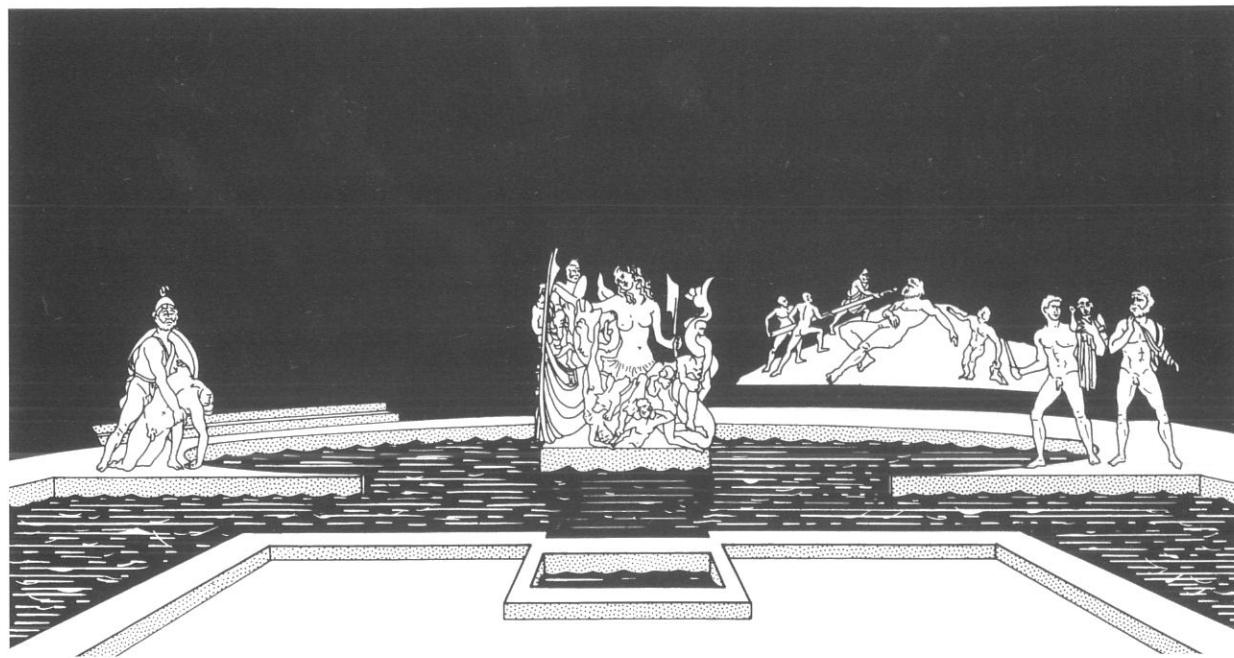


Figure 26.16 Sperlonga, Reconstruction of major sculptural Groups in grotto (Adapted from Andreae-Coticello, *AntPl* 14, text fig. 12).

A great deal has been learned about the sculptural program at Sperlonga since 1957, but the idea that the focus of the program is Odysseus has rarely been questioned.¹⁰⁰ It is now clear, for example, that the series of sculptural tableaux did not provide an illustration of Homer's *Odyssey*, as scholars initially believed. Neither the theft of the Palladion nor the rescue of the body of Achilles—assuming that Andreae's identification of the *Pasquino* copy is correct—was described in that epic.¹⁰¹ Nor is there a clear narrative order to the ensemble. The two groups at the front of the cave have to do with events at Troy, the two groups in the back of the cave with Odysseus' homecoming. This much has been recognized, but there is still no agreement as to why these episodes from Odysseus' career were selected or the principle of their arrangement. According to Andreae, they were chosen to illustrate the virtues of Odysseus as a hero and perhaps a stoic hero, an identity ascribed to him by Seneca (*Dial.* 2.2.1) and other imperial authors. According to him, there is also a preference in this choice for Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: the scenes in the front of the cave are based directly on that poem; they show Odysseus' courage and pursuit of glory on the plains of Troy. The scenes in the back of the cave are derived ultimately from Homer, although Ovid alludes to them as well; they recall Odysseus' cleverness and endurance on the journey home.¹⁰² According to Neudecker, who cautiously follows Andreae, these scenes would have been arranged like the narrative on a Roman sarcophagus, with two small side groups framing the main one(s).

The viewer was expected to pull the scenes apart intellectually and put them mentally in narrative order.¹⁰³

Andreae's reconstruction of the program has not been universally accepted and his own ideas have continued to develop in response to new observations about the cave. The use of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* to decorate a Julio-Claudian villa has seemed unlikely to some, given the fact that Ovid was exiled by Augustus in A.D. 8.¹⁰⁴ Others have questioned Andreae's interpretation of the events depicted in the front of the cave as illustrating the virtues of a stoic hero, since in the most common version of the Palladion story, Odysseus attempts to kill Diomedes and to return alone with the Palladion, usurping for himself the honor of Troy's fall.¹⁰⁵ At Sperlonga, only fragments of the Palladion group—the head and limbs of Diomedes and the torso of Odysseus—are preserved. Nevertheless, the group clearly showed Diomedes moving right, holding the Trojan statue on his left arm, and glancing back towards Odysseus as he catches the flash of light on his weapon. Odysseus, for his part, moves furtively, a sword- or more probably a dagger-sheath in his left hand and his right hand raised (Figs. 26.19–20). He seems to stop suddenly, startled, as Diomedes turns; the glimmer of light has thwarted his attempt to surprise him and saved Diomedes' life.¹⁰⁶

The treachery of Odysseus is often cited or described in ancient literature, so the Palladion group is by no means unique in its depiction of him. Nevertheless, as Stewart has observed, it seems to go



Figure 26.17 *Sperlonga, Museo Nazionale. Legs of Pasquino youth (DAI Rome 65.1925).*

out of its way to place Odysseus in a negative light.¹⁰⁷ Attempts to explain this apparent incongruity in a program which purports to honor Odysseus have to this point focused on the personality of the emperor Tiberius, who is usually identified as the patron of the grotto.¹⁰⁸ Stewart has suggested that, by showing both the positive and negative sides of Odysseus' character, Tiberius was pointing to the similarities which Odysseus' career provided with his own character and history—his love of dissimulation, his loneliness, and his years of exile or absence from Rome.¹⁰⁹ Andreae has developed Stewart's idea of an identification between Tiberius and Odysseus further in recent writings, but again suggests a more positive reading of the two groups at the mouth of the cave. According to him, the Palladion group did not show Odysseus'



Figure 26.18 *Rome, Museo Nazionale inv. 50170. Fanciulla d'Anzio (DAI Rome 69.7535).*

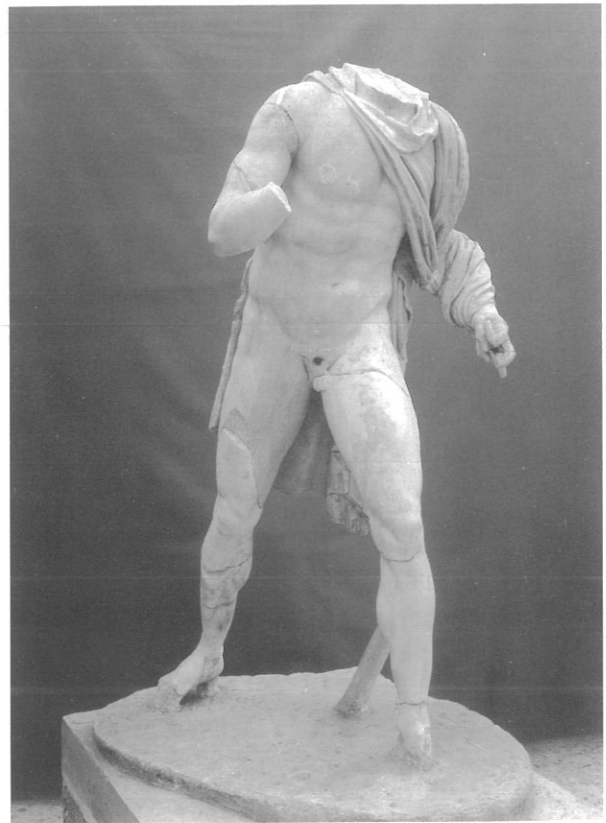


Figure 26.19 *Sperlonga, Museo Nazionale. Odysseus from Palladion-episode (DAI Rome 69.1945).*

attempt to kill Diomedes but the two heroes' reaction to a sudden movement of the statuette, a movement which revealed that it was the true Palladion and not

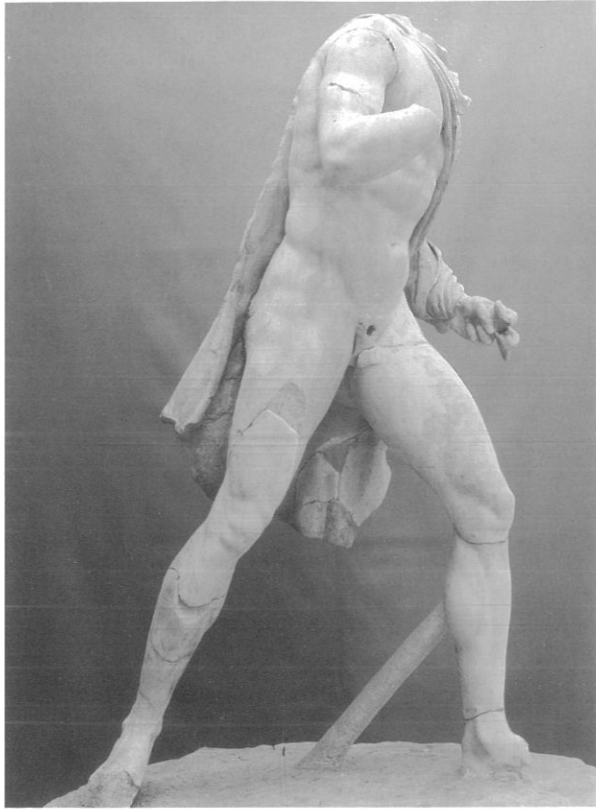


Figure 26.20 Sperlonga, Museo Nazionale. *Odysseus from Palladion-episode* (DAI Rome 69.1944).

a copy.¹¹⁰ In his view, the scenes at the front of the cave are similar in that they emphasize the objects which were key to Troy's fall—the arms of Achilles and the Palladion. They do not show the *treachery* of Odysseus, but his *cooperation* with Ajax and Diomedes to ensure that these objects are in Greek hands.¹¹¹ For Andreae, any incongruencies which appear in this program would seem to be the result of Tiberius' desire to splice the deeds of Odysseus—his favorite hero—with sculptural themes more appropriate to an emperor who had been adopted into the Julian family.¹¹² These included: a statue of Trojan Ganymede (Fig. 26.21), a relief representation of Venus Genetrix (Fig. 26.22), and a portrait herm of a youth in Phrygian cap, whom Andreae identifies as Julius-Ascanius.¹¹³ Andreae argues that, by linking the Odyssean monuments of the grotto with the ancestors of the Julian house, Tiberius called attention to the parallel voyages of Aeneas and Odysseus to Latium.¹¹⁴

Andreae's argument breaks important new ground in that he attempts to move beyond the four major statuary groups to which Sperlonga scholars have limited their discussion, and to make sense of some of the smaller sculptures from the cave which are less easily integrated into an Odyssean program.



Figure 26.21 Sperlonga, Museo Nazionale. *Ganymede* (DAI Rome 65.1946).

For him, however, the primary determinants of the program are still Tiberius' admiration for Odysseus and for Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.¹¹⁵ My identification of the *Pasquino* group as Vergil's Aeneas and Lausus suggests another way of interpreting the cave program and one that draws upon the Faustinus-epigram, an important piece of evidence which has been underutilized in the attempt to reconstruct the sources and meaning of the decoration.¹¹⁶ This epigram is composed of ten Latin hexameters inscribed on a white marble plaque, 0.50 m x 0.56 m. The hexameters were written by Faustinus Felix, of uncertain



Figure 26.22 Sperlonga, Museo Nazionale. Mosaic Inscription (DAI Rome 65.56).

identity and date, and the plaque was apparently set into the rear wall of the cave between the two smaller grottos. The left side of the inscription is almost intact. The right is fragmentary and missing the lower corner. This has led to some disagreement over the restoration and translation of lines 7–10, but the other lines and the general significance of the last lines are clear; the epigram describes the cave and its decoration in terms which are distinctly Vergilian:¹¹⁷

If Mantua could give back her divine Poet and
Seer,
astonished at the immense work here, he would
yield (his authority) to the cave,
and (to) the treachery of the Ithacan, the flames
and the “blinding”
of the Half-Beast—made heavy by both sleep
and wine,
5 (to) the caverns and the restless waters, the
Cyclopean rocks,
the savagery of Scylla and the ship’s-helm broken
in the surging waters.¹¹⁸
He himself would admit that no poem (of his
had created such vivid images as the artist),
(whose work) only Nature has surpassed.
10 Faustinus Felix to his Lords...¹¹⁹

(trans. A. Weis)

Not only does the poem begin with an allusion to Vergil, there is at least one quote or adaptation of

Vergil’s poetry in six of its ten lines. These appropriations have been described by others; I merely summarize their observations here:¹²⁰

Mantua si posset divinum redder[e] vate[m]
Immensum miratus opus hic ceder[et] antro
Adq[ue] dolos Ithaci fl(a)mmas et lumen ademtum
Semiferi somno pariter vinoque gravati
5 *Speluncas vivosq[ue] lacu[s] Cyclopea saxa*
Saevitiam Scyllae fract[am]q[ue] in g[u]rgite
pupp[im]
Ipse fateretur nullo sic ca[r]mine ---
Vivas ut artificis express[---]
Quam sola exsuperat natur[a ---]
10 Faustinus Felix dominis ho[---]

Line 1: *Mantua reddere vatem*, cf., G. 3.491 (*reddere vates*).

Line 3: *Dolos Ithaci*, cf., *Culex* 326 (*dolis Ithaci*); *lumen adem(p)tum*, cf., *Aen.* 3.657–58 (*pastorem Polyphemum.../monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum*).

Line 4: *Semiferi*, cf., *Aen.* 8.267 (*semiferus*); *somno pariter vinoque gravati*, cf., *Aen.* 3.630 (*expletus dapibus vinoque sepultus*), 2.265 (*somno vinoque sepultam*), and 6.520 (*somnoque gravatum*).

Line 5: *Speluncas vivosque lacus*, cf., G. 2.469 (*speluncae vivique lacus*); *cyclopea saxa*, cf. *Aen.* 1.201 (*vos et Cyclopea saxa*).

Line 6: *Saevitiam Scyllae*, cf., *Aen.* 1.201 (*Scyllaeam rabiem*); and *fractamque in gurgite puppim*, cf., *Ecl.* 1.118 (*rari nantes in gurgite vasto*); *Aen.* 5.209 (*fractos... legunt in gurgite remos*).

Lines 5–6: Cf., *Aen.* 1.200–202 (*vos et Scyllaeam rabiem penitusque sonantis/accestis scopulos, vos et Cyclopea saxa/experti*).¹²¹

Line 7: *Ipse fateretur*, cf. *Ecl.* 3.24 (*Ipse fatebatur*).

The emphasis placed on Vergil in this epigram suggests clearly that he, not Ovid or Homer, is the literary model for the cave decoration. This Vergilian connection is supported by the fact that each of the three Odyssean scenes presented in the cave appears with subtle emphasis in the *Aeneid*. Each is described by Aeneas as he tells his story to Dido and each description is attributed by him to another speaker—the theft of the Palladion to Greek Sinon in 2.162–84; the blinding of Polyphemus to Greek Achaemenides in 3.618–38; and the monster Scylla to Trojan Helenus in 3.423–28. The speeches of Sinon and Achaemenides are closely related in language and imagery, as other scholars have observed.¹²²

A comparable relationship can be reconstructed as well between these scenes and the group on the right side of the cave-entrance—this time with Diomedes as narrator. In *Aen.* 11.255–93, Diomedes refuses the Italian invitation to join the war against Aeneas, giving as his reasons the wandering and mis-

adventures of the Greeks after Troy (11.255–63) and the courage, military prowess, and piety of Aeneas (11.289–92). His communication recalls the earlier speeches of Sinon and Achaemenides, referring again to the meeting between Odysseus and the Cyclops (11.263), to the anger of Athena (11.259–60), described by Sinon in relation to the desecration of the Palladion (2.169–71), and to the misadventures of the Greeks as divine punishment for their violation of Troy (11.255–59, cf., Sinon in 2.163–68). In selecting these particular episodes from the Odyssean cycle, therefore, the designer of the cave program echoes relationships that exist independently in Vergil.¹²³

It is surprising, given the apparently close relationships among the epigram, the *Aeneid*, and the cave, that Faustinus makes no direct reference to Aeneas—but this may have been too obvious for Roman elites. Faustinus doesn't refer to Vergil by name and the identity of the *Pasquino* group was almost certainly apparent to its Roman audience: it is the most widely copied group in the cave, as Conticello has observed.¹²⁴ The fact that the *Pasquino* group is the only major group in the cave that is not named by Faustinus may actually have been intended to call attention to it, in the same way that a “delayed naming” served in epic to call the readers' attention to a particular hero, e.g., Odysseus in *Odyssey* 1.1–21, the ill-fated Marcellus in *Aeneid* 6.860–84, and Aeneas himself in the proem of the epic (1.1–92).¹²⁵ Or it may be that the emphasis placed by Faustinus on the three Odyssean episodes was intended to bear an inverse relationship to their role in the epic. In the *Aeneid*, the death of Lausus is a powerful moment, narrated directly and without mediation by Vergil; the three Odyssean adventures are described by him third-hand and are by comparison much less substantial.¹²⁶ These explanations for Faustinus' failure to name Aeneas may seem esoteric, but, as Trimalchio (Petron. *Sat.* 39.3) said in another setting—one had to know one's philology at dinner (*oportet etiam inter cenandum philologiam nosse*). Roman decorative environments, like Roman literary environments, were intended primarily for an audience that was well-read.¹²⁷

Be all of this as it may, the real problem posed by the Faustinus epigram and by my identification of the *Pasquino* group as Aeneas and Lausus is the way the sculptural decoration at Sperlonga functioned as a program. The sculpture does not illustrate the dominant narrative of the *Aeneid* any more than it illustrates that of the *Odyssey*, and three of the four major groups from the cave do show the deeds of Odysseus. In my view, however, the designer of the cave's program has drawn upon the *Aeneid*, together with its Odyssean references, to contrast these two heroes—Aeneas and Odysseus—in a program that is both narrative and emblematic of the differences in Greek and Roman character. The anchor-points of this program are the two pendants at the mouth of the cave:

Aeneas, mourning the death of his enemy, and Odysseus plotting the death of his friend. It is surely to the Palladion episode that the *dolos Ithaci* of the Faustinus-epigram refers, and not the confrontation with Polyphemus as most scholars have assumed.¹²⁸ The emblematic message implied by these two pendants is paralleled in *Aeneid* 2.40–198, where a similar presentation of Greek and Roman character appears in the meeting of Laocoon and Sinon. Here Sinon, an obvious stand-in for Odysseus, uses the “Pelasgian art” of rhetoric to gain admittance to the city and to betray the Trojans' trust.¹²⁹ Laocoon does not much resemble Aeneas, but we hear the story of Greek treachery through Aeneas' retelling, so his disbelief, even in the memory of Sinon's treachery (2.65–66; 2.105–106; 2.152–53; 2.195–98), is also on display.¹³⁰

These two pendants have a narrative relationship as well. The theft of the Palladion seals the fate of Troy and puts into motion the events which will force Aeneas to search for a new home. The death of Lausus marks the collapse of the Italian coalition, paving the way for a new Trojan kingdom on Italian soil. There is, thus, a temporal movement in the cave decoration from right to left. The sculpture cited by Andreae in his recent publication was probably part of this narrative. The statue of Ganymede (Fig. 26.21), son of either Trojan Laomedon or Tros, was found in front of the cave and has been suggested by Neudecker to have stood in a niche on the right side.¹³¹ The iconography of the statue—not nude but wearing eastern dress—is unusual and was probably intended to remind the viewer of Vergil's description of Ganymede in *Aeneid* 5.252–57. There he is presented as a royal boy, running with javelin in pursuit of deer, when he is snatched away by the eagle. Ganymede does not have a major role in the *Aeneid*, but he is cited in the proem (1.28) as one of the reasons for Juno's anger against the Trojans and this may explain his presence at Sperlonga.¹³² A statue of a bound maiden, often identified as Andromeda but probably correctly identified by Leppert as Hesione, daughter of Laomedon, was also found on this side of the cave entrance. The prehistory of the war may, thus, have been recounted in some degree of mythological detail.¹³³

This entire group of monuments was balanced on the left side of the cave by a ship, carved in natural rock and identified by a mosaic inscription (Fig. 26.22) as *navis/Argo/.ph.* In *Eclogue* 4.26–36, Vergil tells the child that as soon as he can read of the glories of heroes and the deeds of his father and as soon as he himself is able to recognize *virtus*, a new *ordo saec(u)lorum* will begin to be felt. But because there will be traces of ancient crimes, “another Tiphys will arise and another Argo to carry chosen heroes; there will be another war and mighty Achilles will again be sent to Troy.” The image of the new Achilles is repeated in the Sibyl's prophecy to Aeneas in *Aeneid* 6.89, as most visitors to the cave would have known.



Figure 26.23 Sperlonga, Museo Nazionale. Venus Genetrix (DAI Rome 65.1992).

When viewed in terms of *Eclogue* 4, therefore, this Argo—perhaps originally with a statue of Tiphys—makes a meaningful neighbor for a group of Aeneas and Lausus, symbolizing the Italian wars, on the left side of the cave.¹³⁴ The relief plaque with Venus Genetrix (Fig. 26.23) was found in this part of the cave as well and near the spot where the *Pasquino* group is thought originally to have stood. It must have signified the goddess' protection of her son in the midst of these dangers.¹³⁵ And there was, finally, a group of three piglets found somewhere in the cave, which may have belonged to a group representing the sow of Lavinium (cf., *Aen.* 3.390–93).¹³⁶ There is strong supporting evidence, therefore, for a narrative program at Sperlonga which related the destruction of Troy on the right side of the cave to the foundation of a new Italian kingdom on the left.¹³⁷

It is possible that some of the sculptural monuments flanking the cave entrance are later than the statuary groups inside. The Ganymede was once considered Flavian, although Andreae, following Schneider, now dates it in the Augustan period. The mosaic inscription on the ship's prow—and perhaps the ship itself—are said by Sear to be Neronian-Flavian. The Hesione is said by Neudecker to be Hadrianic.¹³⁸ There has been no detailed study of the non-

Odyssean sculpture from the cave and no study of the history of the cave as an archaeological site to clarify the development of the program over time.¹³⁹ If, however, these sculptures are later, they were intended to enhance an existing narrative by inscribing it within a broader historical and perhaps even a cosmic frame—like the central figures of the Roman and Parthian on the relief cuirass of the Prima Porta Augustus.¹⁴⁰ The narrative character of the original program can be seen by comparing the two groups at the mouth of the cave with the immense Scylla and Polyphemus groups, which like them, were part of the original ensemble.

Similarities of size, virtuosity of design, and subject matter give the Scylla and Polyphemus groups particular weight within the Sperlonga program. Both scenes are described by Homer (Books 9–12) and Vergil (Books 1–3) within the context of the hero's tale of his wandering, so the two scenes create an obvious point of comparison between the two epics and their protagonists.¹⁴¹ The narrative function of these two groups/episodes is clearest for the *Odyssey*. The confrontation with Polyphemus marks the beginning of Odysseus' misfortunes in 9.252–536. The encounter with Scylla, followed by the storm in Book 12 brings him to a new phase of his journey. The two scenes thus bracket the progress of his wanderings as he relates them in *Odyssey* 9–12. The same thing is true in an artificial way for Aeneas. Unlike Odysseus, he does not experience these monsters directly, but he follows Odysseus' sailing route precisely and in *Aeneid* 1.200–203, after the storm which blew his ships to Africa, he tries to put heart into his discouraged Trojans by reminding them of Polyphemus and Scylla—two terrible dangers which have already been overcome. Vergil uses the two monsters to create a symbolic distance, filled with impediments for Aeneas, between the Old Troy and the New. In the cave they again symbolize the terrors of the voyage but here, on a more practical level, they also serve to complete the physical progression of the narrative from right to left.

These two groups may also have had an emblematic significance, like those at the front of the cave, because the outcomes of the two voyages were very different. Odysseus' account of his voyage is one of mutiny and his own lack of self-discipline. His companions tried to warn him away from the Cyclops but he would not listen (*Od.* 9.224–29 and 9.491–501). He begged his men to sail past the island of the Sun, but they would not listen (*Od.* 12.271–96). The result of these and other failures to concentrate on the return home is a steadily dwindling number of ships and crew from the beginning of Book 9 to the destruction of Odysseus' last ship in Book 12: six rowing benches were empty in every ship when his fleet pulled away from the island of the Kikones (9.60–61); at least four men were eaten by the

Cyclops (9.289–93 and 9.344); all but one of his ships were destroyed by the Lastrygonians (10.130–32); another six men were carried away by Scylla (12.245–46); and the last ship was lost with all remaining hands in the storm (12.411–17). Homer paints a sympathetic picture of Odysseus' attempts to save his men from these misfortunes (cf. 1.5–9) but the final truth is inescapable: the Greek captain came home without his crew.¹⁴²

Despite equal impediments, Aeneas' experience was different: he put into Polyphemus' island just long enough to rescue Achaemenides, whom Odysseus had left behind (*Aen.* 3.666–67); he followed Helenus' sailing instructions (3.420–32) and avoided Scylla (3.684–85) altogether; and the storm which threatened his ships in 1.81–123, ultimately left his fleet intact. Vergil in fact uses this storm as an opportunity to display the leadership of Aeneas, both literally on the shores of Africa and figuratively, through the "statesman simile" (1.148–53), as others have observed.¹⁴³ Thus, for the reader who knows both epics, there is an implied comparison of these two heroes as leaders which goes beyond the similarities in narrative structure and detail.¹⁴⁴ The organization of the cave program is, thus, Vergilian in its content and

structure, in its use of Homer as a literary model and foil, and in its use of Odysseus to define the character of Aeneas as a distinctively Roman hero.¹⁴⁵

In conclusion, the iconography of the *Pasquino* group suggests that its two heroes are Aeneas and Lausus from Vergil's *Aeneid*, an identification supported by the find-spots and contexts of the individual copies. This is also true of the replica from Sperlonga, although the scholarship on that complex to date might have suggested otherwise.¹⁴⁶ This identification of the group provides a firm date for a sculptural monument which has floated chronologically from the third to the first century B.C.; it provides us with a glimpse of a monument which is probably to be included among the official products of the Augustan age, along with the Ara Pacis and the sculptural groups of Aeneas and Romulus from the Augustan forum; and it provides us with new insights into the use of copies for programmatic purposes in the imperial period. There is much to be done before the Augustan context of the original *Pasquino* monument—or the art historical context of the Sperlonga sculptures—are understood, but this identification gives us a place to start.

Hoc optimae Magistrae dedicatum.

NOTES

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The following abbreviations are used:

- AGD E. Brandt et al. eds., *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen*, 4 vols. (Munich and Wiesbaden 1970–1975).
- Andreae, *Odysseus* B. Andreae, *Odysseus. Archäologie des europäischen Menschenbildes* (Frankfurt 1982).
- Andreae, *Praetorium Speluncae. Tiberius und Ovid in Sperlonga* (*AbhMainz* 12, 1994).

- Andreae-Conticello, B. Andreae-B. Conticello, *Skylia und Charybdis* (*AbhMainz* 14, 1987).
- AntP* 14 B. Conticello and B. Andreae, *Die Skulpturen von Sperlonga* (*AntP* 14, 1974).
- Beaujeu J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'empire I: La politique religieuse des Antonins* (Paris 1955).
- Courtney E. Courtney, *Musa Lapidaria* (Atlanta 1995) 270–73, no. 49.
- Dulière C. Dulière, *Lupa romana*, 2 vols. (Brussels 1979).
- EncVirg* *Enciclopedia virgiliana*, 4 vols. (Rome 1984–1988).
- Evans J. D. Evans, *The Art of Persuasion. Political Propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus* (Ann Arbor 1995).
- Gagé J. Gagé, "Le 'templum urbis' et les origines de l' idée de 'Renovatio,'" in *Mélanges Franz Cumont* (*AnnPhil-Hist orientales et slaves* 4, 1936) 151–87.
- Galinsky, *ASR* K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome* (Princeton 1969).
- Galinsky, *AugCult* K. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture* (Princeton, N.J. 1996).
- Galinsky, *Herakles* K. Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme* (Totowa, N.J. 1972).
- Hampe R. Hampe, *Sperlonga und Vergil* (Mainz 1972).
- Hausmann U. Hausmann, "Aias mit dem Leichnam Achills. Zur Deutung

- des Originals der Pasquino-Gruppe," *AM* 99 (1984) 291–300.
- Himmelmann, "Laokoon"
Kell N. Himmelmann, "Laokoon," *AntK* 34 (1991) 97–115.
K. Kell, *Formuntersuchungen zu spät- und nachhellenistischen Gruppen* (Saarbrücken 1988) 79–92.
- Künzl E. Künzl, *Frühhellenistische Gruppen* (Cologne 1968).
- Manderscheid H. Manderscheid, *Die Skulpturen- ausstattung der kaiserzeitlichen Thermenanlagen* (Berlin 1981).
- Neudecker R. Neudecker, *Die Skulpturen- ausstattung römischer Villen in Italien* (Mainz 1988).
- Raeder J. Raeder, *Die statuarische Ausstattung der villa Hadriana bei Tivoli* (Frankfurt 1983).
- Ridgway, *HS I* B.S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I* (Madison 1990).
- Riemann H. Riemann, "Sperlongaprobleme," in F. Krinzinger, B. Otto, and E. Walde-Psenner eds., *Forschungen und Funde. Festschrift Bernard Neusch* (Innsbruck 1980) 371–83.
- Schweitzer B. Schweitzer, *Das Original der sogenannten Pasquino-Gruppe* (*AbhLeip* 43.4, 1936).
- Stewart A.F. Stewart, "To Entertain an Emperor: Sperlonga, Laokoon, and Tiberius at the Dinner-Table," *JRS* 67 (1977) 76–90.
- Strack P.L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart 1931–1937).
- Wünsche R. Wünsche, "Pasquino," *MüJb* 42 (1991) 7–38.
- Zanker, *Images* P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor 1988).
- Zweierlein-Diehl E. Zweierlein-Diehl, *Glaßpasten im Martin v. Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg I* (Munich 1986).

¹ The name *Pasquino* is traditionally used to refer both to the statuary type in general and to the particular copy located since 1501 at the Palazzo Braschi in Rome. To avoid confusion I will here use the name *Pasquino* only to refer to the *statuary type* and refer to the replica at the Palazzo Braschi as the Palazzo Braschi copy or replica.

Lists of individual copies of the *Pasquino* group, with bibliography, are given by Andreae, *AntP* 14, 87–90, and Schweitzer 1–4. Schweitzer's list is still useful, both for the information it contains and because it includes some monuments rejected by Andreae which may be relevant (see Ridgway, *HS I* 278–79, on the Petworth Head). One additional copy can be added to these lists: a miniature replica recently on the art market (*infra* n. 69).

It is important to realize, as Ridgway (*HS I* 276) has noted, that none of the extant replicas of the *Pasquino* group is well preserved and that Schweitzer's plaster reconstruction (my Fig. 26.1), which is routinely used to

illustrate the group, is a "composite" based on many individual fragments. Andreae's chart summarizing the remains of the individual replicas illustrates this fact particularly well (*AntP* 14, 90). On the reconstruction of the group, see Wünsche 12–18, 33.

² A. Nitsche, "Zur Datierung des Originals der Pasquinogruppe," *AA* 1981, 76–85, attempts to establish a *terminus ante quem* of ca. 150 B.C. for the group on the basis of two Italic gems (his figs. 2–3) but neither of the gems provides an exact copy of the *Pasquino* group; he has spliced details from each to create a perfect copy of the type (his fig. 4). For further discussion of Nitsche's thesis, see Zweierlein-Diehl 160, no. 354, and Ridgway, *HS I* 281. Schweitzer (67) and Wünsche (34) see echoes of the group on these or other monuments of the second century B.C., but these are, again, variants on a common motif. They do not provide, *per se*, evidence for the history and influence of the *pasquino* group.

³ Attic grave relief: A. Brückner, "Kerameikos-Studien," *AM* 35 (1910) 219–34 (pl. 11), esp. 220–23 for the date of the relief and 230–34 on the use of such motifs in public and private art of the period. Even earlier examples of the "helper-groups" have been attributed to the Classical period: Schweitzer 89–90 and Ridgway, *HS I* 281. Mantua relief: D.E. Strong, *Roman Imperial Sculpture* (London 1961) pl. 41 (late Augustan); this relief was first compared with the *Pasquino* group by Künzl 154–55. For the imperial development of the motif on gems, see Kell 90.

⁴ The *Pasquino* has been compared with the Ludovisi Gaul on the basis of its motif and its pyramidal composition (Schweitzer 85–87)—which is assumed to have been a preference of third-century B.C. sculptors (on which see however, Ridgway, *HS I* 275). Nevertheless, other scholars (Künzl 149–50; Kell 81) have emphasized the differences between the two groups and the date and historical context of the Ludovisi Gaul have been questioned by Ridgway on other grounds ("The Gauls in Sculpture," *ArchNews* 11 [1982] 98; *HS I* 299–304). The Gaul group is not a monument which can provide a secure date for the *Pasquino*.

⁵ Monumentality is not a secure argument for chronological precedence within an iconographical tradition. Motifs which can be shown to have appeared first in minor arts and later in sculpture in the round include the crouching Aphrodite and the drunken Dionysos supported by a satyr: R. Lullies, *Die kauernde Aphrodite* (Munich 1954) 54–62; D. Willers, "Typus und Motiv: Aus der hellenistischen Entwicklungsgeschichte einer Zweifigurengruppe," *AntK* 29 (1986) 137–50, esp. 149. The likelihood of an origin for the "helper" motif in the two-dimensional arts has been proposed already by Ridgway, *HS I* 281.

⁶ Gem: Zweierlein-Diehl 160, no. 354, pl. 64. Some scholars have in fact suggested a later Hellenistic or an imperial date for the *Pasquino* group on the basis of style: ca. 150-late second century B.C.: Künzl 148–55, esp. 152; C. Kunze, "Dall'originale greco all copia romana," in E. Pozzi ed., *Il Toro Farnese* (Naples 1991) 32–33. First century B.C.: H. Kähler, *Der große Fries von Pergamon* (Berlin 1948) 170, n. 20; H. Walter, "Zur späthellenistischen Plastik," *AM* 76 (1961) 153; E. Berger, "Der neue Amazonenkopf im Basler Antikenmuseum"

um—ein Beitrag zur hellenistischen Achill-Penthesilea-gruppe," in M. Rohde-Liegle, H.A. Cahn, and H.C. Ackermann eds., *Gestalt und Geschichte. Festschrift K. Scheffold zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag* (Bern 1967) 75; J. Fink, "Ein Kopf für Viele," *RM* 71 (1964) 155; Himmelmann, "Laokoon" 103, 109; Kell 90; and Ridgway, *HS* I 281 (late Hellenistic, perhaps imperial). "Post-Hellenistic": F. Hiller, "Wieder einmal Laokoon," *RM* 86 (1979) 271–95, esp. 282–84.

⁷ For the problem and related bibliography, see Ridgway, *HS* I 275–83; Wünsche 18–35; Andreae in *AntP* 14, 87–95; and Schweitzer 51–52. Identifications other than Menelaos-Patroklos and Ajax-Achilles—all antiquarian—are discussed by Wünsche 12, and F. Haskell and N. Penney, *Taste and the Antique* (New Haven 1981) 291–96, no. 72.

⁸ So Schweitzer 57, 59. Schweitzer's arguments have been accepted by W. Fuchs, in *Helbig*⁴ I 127, no. 170; J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge 1986) 118; R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture* (London 1991) 104–105 (who proposes additional arguments for the identification), and Andreae, *Praetorium Speluncae* 31.

⁹ Patroklos is described by Homer (*Il.* 11.786–87) as older than Achilles and one of the foremost of the Achaeans; Menelaos, while brawny, is never counted among the primary heroes. For the problems with this identification, see also the discussions by Wünsche 18–21; Ridgway, *HS* I 277; and Schweitzer 52–53.

¹⁰ Glasspastes: Munich, Staatl. Münzslg. inv. A. 885: *AGD* I.2 (1970) 124–25, no. 1345 (probably first century B.C.–first century A.C.; for the date, see op.cit. 81), with further examples, and Wünsche 21, fig. 21. Wünsche 20–21 provides a detailed discussion of the earlier representations of Menelaos and Patroklos.

¹¹ For early proposals of this identification, with bibliography, see Schweitzer 51–52. It has been re-proposed by Hausmann 291–300, followed by N. Himmelmann ("Laokoon" 102, and reviews of B. Andreae, *Praetorium Speluncae*, in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Jan. 18, 1995 and Jan. 25, 1995); Ridgway, *HS* I 278; and Wünsche 22–33. (I am grateful to H.-P. Stahl for bringing Himmelmann's reviews to my attention.)

¹² For other problems with this identification, see Schweitzer 52–53 and Ridgway, *HS* I 277–78. There have been attempts to explain the inconsistencies. Hausmann 295 explains the "Zartheit" of the *Pasquino* youth as a Hellenistic tendency to sentimentalize the dead and to explore different states of dying. Wünsche (25) argues that the Hellenistic artist/viewer demanded the logic of a fatal wound in the primary view of the sculpture. Both call attention to earlier representations of Achilles which show him with an arrow in the chest as well as the heel. Be this as it may, the artist's characterization of the older warrior is also problematic, since Homer distinguishes Ajax Telamonios from the other Achaeans by his size and towering shield: cf., *Il.* 7.288–89 and *LIMC* I (1981) 312–14 passim, s.v. Aias I (O. Touchefeu). Size was not used consistently in art to identify Ajax (Touchefeu, *ibid.* 333–34), but when greater size was not possible or desirable, inscriptions were added to make his identity clear. Wünsche (28–31) suggests that the warrior was identified as Ajax by his helmet decoration, but the same decoration has been used to argue for other identifications.

¹³ Sperlonga (*AntP* 14, pl. 35, here Figs. 26.9–10), Palazzo Pitti (*ibid.*, figs. 46–47), Vatican (*ibid.*, figs. 44–45), Warsaw (*ibid.*, pls. 52–55, here Figs. 26.7–8), and Boston (K.E. Dohan, in G.F. Pinney and B.S. Ridgway eds., *Aspects of Ancient Greece* [Allentown, PA. 1979] 174–75, no. 85); see also Ridgway's discussion of the helmet decoration, *HS* I 279–80.

¹⁴ These three devices are not reproduced uniformly across the five replicas, as noted by Ridgway (*HS* I 278–280), Andreae (*AntP* 14, 92), and Wünsche (28–29). Nevertheless, the differences are probably not due to the date of the copy (*pace* Andreae), as much as to the *model* used by the sculptor, either a drawing, a cast, or a verbal description. These differences in detail are thus interesting from the standpoint of transmission, but what is more important for this discussion is the *consistency in their subject matter*. This consistency must reflect the importance of the devices for the identification of the hero and group.

¹⁵ Since Ethiopia produced the *ophiouros* (Hesychius O.1975: M. Schmidt, *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon* III [Amsterdam 1965] 246) and the phoenix bird, Schweitzer argued (107–109) the area may have produced other exotic birds as well.

¹⁶ Wünsche 30–31.

¹⁷ For the parallels between Aeneas and Hercules, see Galinsky, *Herakles* 131–49 with bibliography; *idem*, *AJP* 87 (1966) 18–51; and *idem*, *AJP* 109 (1988) 323. Galinsky's bibliography has been brought up-to-date by B. Heiden, "Laudes Herculeae: Suppressed Savagery in the Hymn to Hercules, Verg. A. 8.285–305," *AJP* 108 (1987) 661–62.

¹⁸ The celebration of Hercules' destruction of Cacus, which is the occasion for the hymn, looks ahead to some of Aeneas' own adversaries (Galinsky, *Herakles* 144–45).

¹⁹ For the iconography of the myth, see F. Brommer, *Herakles* II: *Die unkanonischen Taten des Helden* (Darmstadt 1984) 48–53, 54–59, with pl. 19 (a Attic black-figured kanne in Mainz) and *LIMC* III (1986) 359–61 s.v. Deianeira II (R. Vollkommer).

²⁰ According to G. Lugli, "Osservazioni sul gruppo di Menelao e Patroclo volgarmente detto il Pasquino," *BdA* 9 (1929) 208, one of the centaurs on the helmet defends himself with an amphora, but the available photographs are not clear enough for me to verify this detail. For Hercules and the bride-stealer, see e.g., Brommer (*supra* n. 19) 54, pl. 16b (Apulian red-figured bell krater, Lecce).

²¹ Paris, Louvre, Borghese coll. inv. 1209 and Louvre Ma 547: Dulière I 234–35 and II nos. 28–29, figs. 197–98. To avoid such duplication, another second-century artist put the wolf at the apex of the helmet with one twin in high relief on either side: Dulière I 235–36, II nos. 10, 30, figs. 194, 196.

²² According to Lugli (*supra* n. 20) 208 the two centaurs are also distinguished by the weapons they use to defend themselves—an amphora and a small sword.

²³ For the cult character of Hercules, see Galinsky, *Herakles* 126–27.

²⁴ Cf. H. Gabelmann, *Studien zum frühgriechischen Löwenbild* (Berlin 1965) pl. 20. 1–3, nos. 100–101: Gabelmann's "Ionian type" which is characterized by a relaxed pose. For the gold lions dedicated to Delphic

Apollo by Croesus, see Gabelmann 83. The longevity of the type is stressed by C. Ratté, "Five Lydian Felines," *AJA* 93 (1989) 379–81.

²⁵ For the role of Cybele in the Aeneid, see F. Bömer, "Kybele in Rom," *RM* 71 (1964) 138–43; *EncVirg* I (1984) 770–74, s.v. Cibebe (G. Bonamente); and T.P. Wiseman, "Cybele, Virgil and Augustus," in T. Woodman and D. West eds., *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus* (Cambridge 1984) 117–28, esp. 120–23.

²⁶ On the significance of the archaic style in Augustan art, see P. Zanker, "Klassizismus und Archaismus. Zur Formensprache der neuen Kultur," in *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik* (Exhibition Antikenmuseum Berlin, 7 June–14 August 1988, Mainz 1988) 626–28.

²⁷ Most modern scholars seem to follow Servius (*Aen.* 12.863) who considers Vergil's model for the *dira* to be an owl: e.g., W. Hübner, *Dirae im römischen Epos: Über das Verhältnis von Vogeldämonen und Prodigien* (Hildesheim and New York 1970) 23–34; idem, "Die Dirae im zwölften Buch der Aeneis: eine Klarstellung," *Eranos* 92 (1994) 24; R.D. Williams, *The Aeneid of Vergil. Books 7–12* (Glasgow 1973) 499; and M. Bettini, "Turno e la rondine nera," *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* 30 (1988) 10. T.E. Page, *The Aeneid of Vergil. Books 7–12* (London 1964) 468, glosses with "ill-omened bird."

²⁸ Wünsche 29 questions the interpretation of the bird on the *Pasquino* helmet as an "exotic bird," suggesting that it is simply an eagle with a snake in its talons or, in the case of the Warsaw copy (Figs. 26.7–8), an eagle with stylized tail-feathers. His view cannot be excluded, given the size of the images and their variations (see discussion supra n. 14). Nevertheless, images of eagles holding snakes or wreaths appear on Roman parade helmets and are clearly dissimilar: cf. J. Garbsch, *Römische Paraderüstung* (Munich 1978) pl. 5.2. Vergil's description of the *dira* does provide, in my opinion, a possible source for an image that has been identified by others as a "mixed creature."

²⁹ In using the helmet as a "billboard," the artist alludes to the broader traditions of epic: cf., e.g., M.F. Williams' discussion of the chimaera as a helmet device for Turnus in the Aeneid: "Turnus, the Chimaera, and Aetes: a Note on *Aeneid* 7.785–88," *Vergilius* 39 (1993) 31–36, with additional bibliography. The use of armor decoration to spell out an iconographic program was also popular in Augustan art. In addition to the Prima porta Augustus, see K. Hartswick, "The Ares Borghese Reconsidered," *RA* 1990, 227–72 (on Gaius Caesar as Ares), and further discussion by Ridgway, *HS I* 280, with n. 6, who provides additional bibliography.

³⁰ As M. Griffith, "What does Aeneas look like?" *CP* 80 (1985) 309–319 has noted, Vergil avoids characterizing Aeneas in concrete physical terms, constructing instead a hazy and even contradictory physical picture of the hero which allows his character traits to dominate the description. Earlier literature had not provided a distinctive picture of Aeneas either, so representations of the hero in the visual arts varied and Vergil's audience had no preconception as to how he should appear (Griffith 317).

³¹ Ara Pacis: *LIMC* I (1981) 391, no. 165 s.v. Aineias (F. Canciani). Aeneas appears (fleeing with Anchises and Julius from Troy) in a military cuirass on a gladiatorial helmet from Pompeii (ibid. 389, no. 127) and on

the Sebasteion reliefs from Aphrodisias: K. Galinsky, "Venus, Polysemy, and the Ara Pacis Augustae," *AJA* 96 (1992) 462, fig. 6. For the bearded versus the unbearded Aeneas, see Evans 57.

³² For references, see Griffith (supra n. 30) 315.

³³ Schweitzer 17–24. On the reconstruction of the *Pasquino* warrior's helmet (without a crest) after two unrestored examples in Boston and Sperlonga, see also Dohan (supra n. 13) 175, n. 7 and Ridgway, *HS I* 278–80, pls. 138a–c. As noted by Ridgway (280), the *Pasquino* warrior's helmet was designed to be worn tilted back—as a head-cover and costume—and not as an actual helmet.

³⁴ On the development of the "Phrygian" helmet as a type, see P. Dintsis, *Hellenistische Helme I* (Rome 1986) 23–56 (Der tiaraartige Helme) esp. 47–54. According to Dintsis (56), the tiara-like helmet type was worn primarily by infantry in representations of the fourth century B.C. while officers wore other types of helmets, a distinction that might suggest a later date for the heroic *Pasquino* warrior. I am grateful to Stella Miller-Collett for her observations on the helmet.

³⁵ Homer seems to distinguish Trojans from Phrygians in the *Iliad* (3.184–85; 3.400–401), but for Vergil (passim) and Propertius (2.1.42: *Caesaris in Phrygiis condere nomen avos*) they are the same. For Priam in Phrygian costume, see the Hoby cup (Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. inv. dnf 10/20): V.H. Poulsen, "Die Silberbecher von Hoby," *AntP* 8 (1968) 71 pl. 47a (although the hairstyles of figures on the cup seem to me more Julio-Claudian than Augustan); for Ascanius/Julius: Zanker, *Images* 202; and for a personification, associated perhaps with the Troad as the land sacred to Roman origins: G. Sena Chiesa, *Gemme di Luni* (Rome 1978) 68, no. 32, and A. Alföldi, *Die trojanischen Urahnen der Römer* (Basel 1957) 3–8. Aeneas wears what may be a Phrygian helmet on the Cività Castellana base (Galinsky, *ASR* 22–23, fig. 16) and in a line drawing of the Tabula Iliaca in the Capitoline Museum (idem, fig. 29), although I have not been able to verify this detail in photographs of the original monuments. Other subtleties of dress have been noted as indications of Aeneas' Asian origins in Augustan art: Evans 54 calls attention to the fringed boots worn by Aeneas in the Forum of Augustus as symbolic of his kingship.

³⁶ The similarity of the warrior's drape to that of the Amazons' has been observed independently by Ridgway, *HS I* 278. It is worth noting that, by the imperial period, Roman Virtus was also personified as an Amazon: Raeder 309, with n. 590 and M. Sturgeon, "The Corinth Amazon: Formation of a Roman Classical Sculpture," *AJA* 99 (1995) 504–505.

³⁷ For Trojan dress, see Griffith (supra n. 30) 315. Aeneas himself may wear Phrygian dress on a Republican cista from Praeneste (Berlin-Charlottenburg, Staatliche Museen inv. misc. 6238): Galinsky, *ASR* 34, fig. 34; Evans 35, n. 4. Others identify the figure as a triumphant general or a figure from Latin comedy: G. Bordenache Battaglia, *Le ciste prenestine I* (Rome 1979) 56–61, no. 7, esp. 58–60.

³⁸ One can see the stereotype clearly in the Parthian depicted on the cuirass of the Prima porta Augustus (Zanker, *Images* 191, fig. 148b). For a general discussion of the eastern barbarian type and its cultural context,

see R.M. Schneider, *Bunte Barbaren* (Worms 1986) 19–20, 161–62; idem, “Orientalische Tischdiener als römische Tischfüsse,” *AA* (1992) 299–300, 302–303 and Zanker, *Images* 187. This conclusion is re-enforced by discussions of Chloereus’ costume in the *Aeneid* (G.S. West, “Chloereus and Camilla,” *Vergilius* 31 [1985] 25–28; N. Horsfall, “Aeneas the Colonist,” *Vergilius* 35 [1989] 23); those of other Trojans (Wiseman [supra n. 25] 117–120); and Zanker’s discussion of Aeneas’ costume in the Forum of Augustus (*Images* 202).

³⁹ Aeneas does appear nude, with Anchises and the Palladion, on two late republican coins (Galinsky, *ASR* 5, fig. 2a; Evans 37–39, 41–42, 53–54) and Pliny’s actual comparison is between Roman military heroes, who wear a cuirass, and Greek heroes who are shown nude. Nevertheless, since Aeneas is typically shown in Roman art wearing a cuirass (Galinsky, *ASR* 3–35, esp. 30–35 and B.O. Aicher, “The Sorrento Base and the Figure of Mars,” *ArchNews* 15 [1990] 11–16), the chiton may be an attempt to historicize the figure. On the lack of concept of period costume in antiquity, see J.P. Small, “The Tarquins and Servius Tullius at Banquet,” *MEFRA* 103 (1991) 247–64.

⁴⁰ The pose has been interpreted differently by others: according to Schweitzer (50–51), the older warrior rests the younger man for a moment on his thigh before lifting him to his shoulder to carry him out of battle. Similarly, Wünsche 18 and Andreae, *Praetorium Speluncae* 28–30, esp. 111, who, like Schweitzer, think the older hero is about to pick the young man up and carry him away. I see no indication of this in the statue. It seems more likely that the older hero will let the younger man sink to the ground, just as Aeneas leaves the body of Lausus to his companions in *Aen.* 10.830–32.

⁴¹ On the relationship between composition and content in the *Pasquino* group, see Kell 87.

⁴² Cf., Hom. *Il.* 8.305–308 and Catullus 11. The relationship between these passages has been discussed at length by W.R. Johnson, *Darkness Visible* (Berkeley 1976) 59–61 and K.W. Gransden, *Virgil’s Iliad* (Cambridge 1984) 114–19.

⁴³ On the *Ciris*: V.B. Gorman, “Vergilian Models for the Characterization of Scylla in the *Ciris*,” *Vergilius* 41 (1995) 46–47. The composition of the statuary group may have been similarly intended to refer the viewer to other literary images from the epic tradition—like the image of Menelaos and Patroklos in *Il.* 17.1–6 with which the statue is often compared. The death of Patroklos provided a literary model for that of Pallas in the *Aeneid* and a composition that was reminiscent of Homer might be expected to have this additional association for the erudite Roman viewer. On the importance of reference in Augustan literature, see, N. Horsfall, “Virgil, Parthenius and the Art of Mythological Reference,” *Vergilius* 37 (1991) 31–36; J. Griffin, *Latin Poets and Roman Life* (London 1985) 193–97, and Galinsky, *AugCult* 229–30.

⁴⁴ The conceptual (as opposed to a purely stylistic) nature of reference in Augustan art is emphasized by Zanker (supra n. 26) 633–35 and a similar, if looser, use of allusion to expand the meaning of specific images has been noted for figures on the Ara Pacis: B. Rose, “Princes’ and Barbarians on the Ara Pacis,” *AJA* 94

(1990) 465–67 (Gaius Caesar/Julus on the Aeneas panel), and K. Galinsky (supra n. 31) esp. 468–75 (Venus/Ceres/Terra Mater). It is not clear to what extent this use of reference was already a feature of Hellenistic art. *Phantasia*, or the incorporation of the viewer’s imagination to enlarge upon the meaning of an image, was certainly a feature of Hellenistic art, but the artists’ awareness and use of *phantasia* became more developed in the imperial period: A. Weis, *The Hanging Marsyas and its Copies. Roman Innovations in a Hellenistic Tradition* (Rome 1992) 98–103. This very studied use of reference may also be a later development.

⁴⁵ As a character within the *Aeneid*, Lausus is usually discussed in relation to Mezentius: cf., *EncVirg* III (1987) 147, s.v. Lauso (A. La Penna), and *EncVirg* III 514, s.v. Mezenzio (A. La Penna).

⁴⁶ For similar interpretations of this episode, see K. Galinsky, “Vergil’s Romanitas and his Adaptation of Greek Heroes,” *ANRW* II.31.2 (Berlin and New York 1981) 993 and G.S. West (supra n. 38) 25. Some scholars see ambiguity in Aeneas’ treatment of Lausus (e.g. M.J. Putnam, “Pius Aeneas and the Metamorphoses of Lausus,” *Arethusa* 14 [1981] 139–56, esp. 140–44, and P. Burke, “The Role of Mezentius in the *Aeneid*,” *CJ* 69 [1974] 207–208). *Vergil’s* commentary on Aeneas’ actions may be more complex than I have made it here (cf., C.J. Mackie, *The Characterisation of Aeneas* [Edinburgh 1988] 172–76), but I find no ambiguity in the artist’s treatment of the theme.

⁴⁷ On the significance of age differences in the *Aeneid*, see G. Elftmann, “Aeneas in his Prime: Distinctions in Age and the Loneliness of Adulthood in Vergil’s *Aeneid*,” *Arethusa* 12 (1979) 175–202; and extensively, M. O. Lee, *Fathers and Sons in Virgil’s Aeneid* (Albany 1979) esp. 1–7. M. Petrini, *The Child and the Hero: Coming of Age in Catullus and Vergil* (Ann Arbor 1995) has not been available to me. On the emblematic quality of the scene, see also Johnson (supra n. 42) 73.

⁴⁸ For Aeneas as a new kind of hero or as a reluctant one, see G.S. West (supra n. 38) 25 and Galinsky, *Herakles* 137. On Lausus as an ideal, see Elftmann (supra n. 47) 179, 181 and bibliography cited in n. 8. What the sculptor wished to express with this statuary group seems to me to be best expressed by A. Maréchal, “Sur la mort de Lausus (Virgile, *Aen.* X 811–32),” in *Mélanges de philologie, de littérature et d’histoire ancienne offerts à Alfred Ernout* (Paris 1940) 251–57, and esp. 253: “A l’héroïque sacrifice de l’enfant répond la générosité du chef troyen. Ainsi les deux héros sont dignes l’un de l’autre, tous deux sont également grands, l’un par sa bravoure, l’autre par sa magnanimité, et les sympathies se partagent également entre eux.”

⁴⁹ For references and discussion, see Roscher II.2 (1894–97) 1917, s.v. Lausus (H.W. Stoll) and esp. K. Latte (*RE* XII.1 [1924] 1041, s.v. Lausus [1]), who emphasizes the meagerness of the literary tradition from which Vergil created Lausus. There is no entry for Lausus in *LIMC*.

The *dira*, which appears on the older *Pasquino* warrior’s helmet, may also be a Vergilian adaptation of tradition. I know of no other representation of this creature in the visual arts. Neither *LIMC* nor Roscher include an entry for it. C.J. Mackie’s precedents for the *dira* (“Vergil’s *Dirae*, South Italy and Etruria,” *Phoenix*

46 [1992] 352–61) have human form, suggesting that Vergil's *dira*, as a physical type, may be his own invention. This is supported by Galinsky's suggestion (*AJP* 109 [1988] 345 and n. 65) that Vergil's *dira* is derived from *deum ira*.

⁵⁰ 26 A.C., the date given by Suetonius (*Tib.* 39) and Tacitus (*Ann.* 4.59) for a rockfall that almost killed the emperor Tiberius in a cave at an imperial villa *ad speluncas*, is generally accepted as a *terminus ante quem* for the Sperlonga sculpture. An Augustan date has recently been suggested for the Rhodian artists whose names are inscribed on the base of the Scylla statue at Sperlonga: E.E. Rice, "Prosopographika Rhodiaka," *BSA* 81 (1986) 133–250, esp. 249; it is rejected by Himmelmann, "Laokoon" 101, n. 27.

⁵¹ For Aeneas in Augustan art, see *LIMC* I (1981) 391–92, 396, s.v. Aineias (F. Canciani) and Zanker, *Images* 193–210. It is not clear how many of these images can be linked directly with the *Aeneid*, nor how closely one should try to identify a representation of Aeneas as Vergilian (Galinsky, *AugCult* 210–12); B. Conticello, *Riflessi virgiliani nell' arte figurativa romana* (Gaeta 1981) has not been available to me. Thematically, however, the group does resemble other images of Aeneas from the Augustan period in its emphasis on *pietas*, defined here as respect for a noble adversary, and elsewhere as concern for family (the statue of Aeneas-Anchises-Julus in the Augustan Forum) or for the Trojan Lares/Penates (Aeneas on the Ara Pacis). For Vergil's own, very complex characterization of the *pietas* of Aeneas, see Galinsky, *ASR* 3–61.

Some may find an Augustan date for the style of the *Pasquino* group unlikely: its pathos and complex torsional composition seem difficult to reconcile with the style of the Ara Pacis and the Primaporta Augustus, the two monuments which still exemplify for us Augustan taste. Recent scholarship, however, has stressed the stylistic complexity of Augustan literature and art (Galinsky, *AugCult* 342–63, esp. 346–50) and there is a clear parallel for the *Pasquino* group in the Hellenistic style of the Aeneas-Anchises-Julus and the Romulus groups from the Forum of Augustus (Zanker, *Images* 202, fig. 156; *LIMC* I [1981] 390, no. 146 s.v. Aineias [F. Canciani], with bibliography). It should be noted, moreover, that the majority of scholars who have examined the problem of the *Pasquino's* date from the standpoint of Hellenistic sculpture have placed it in the first century B.C.—in the late republic, or in the Augustan periods (cf., supra n. 6). Bringing the study of Hellenistic and Roman sculpture together would no doubt do much to enhance our understanding of each.

⁵² Modern scholarship suggests that the program of the temple of Apollo Palatinus, dedicated in 28 B.C., dealt extensively with the memory of the civil war: see P. Zanker, "Der Apollontempel auf dem Palatin. Ausstattung und politische Sinnbezüge nach der Schlacht von Actium," in *Città e architettura nella Roma imperiale* (*Anal-Rom* Suppl. 10, Rome 1983) 30–32; B. Kellum, "Sculptural Programs and Propaganda in Augustan Rome: the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine," in R. Winkes ed., *The Age of Augustus* (Louvain and Providence 1986) 169–76. The later Augustan monuments which survive espouse more positive and forward-looking themes: the *pax Augusta* (the Ara Pacis) and a Roman *imperium sine*

finibus (the Forum Augustum). The ancient sources provide no indication therefore as to where, after 19 B.C., a monument like the *Pasquino* would have been dedicated, although the number of extant copies indicates that it was in a public place.

If the *Pasquino* group was in fact a major Augustan monument, it is curious that it was not reproduced more frequently in the minor arts. In contrast with other Augustan monuments, like the statues of Aeneas and Romulus from the Augustan forum (supra n. 51), it appears primarily on gems. The popularity of the Aeneas-Anchises-Julus group, however, may be due to the fact that the kind of *pietas* it symbolized could be generalized more easily to the situation of the citizen than that of the Aeneas-Lausus group which depicted the death of a prince at the hands of a hero. Most replicas of the *Pasquino* group are in fact from a public or an elite setting. On the use of the Aeneas-Anchises group as a popular symbol of *pietas*, see P. Zanker, "Bilderzwang: Augustan Political Symbolism in the Private Sphere," in J. Huskinson, M. Beard, and J. Reynolds eds., *Image and Mystery in the Roman World; Three Papers given in Memory of Jocelyn Toynbee* (Gloucester 1988) 1–12, and Galinsky, *ASR* 4–6 (who contrasts the Augustan image of Aeneas with Anchises and Julius, his fig. 1, with another on a coin minted by Julius Caesar in 48 B.C., his fig. 2a).

⁵³ I list those copies which provide evidence of a find-spot or date of manufacture below in notes 54–55, 66, and 69, grouping them by approximate date and find-spot within the Roman period. I have not examined the replicas personally. My dating is based on evidence provided by photographs or on dates proposed by others.

⁵⁴ For the Palazzo Braschi replica, see Schweizer I (A) no. 1: Flavian (figs. 34a, 39b); Andreae, in *AntP* 14, 87 no. 3.2.1 (pl. 67b); Wünsche 7–10 (fig. 1). The Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe (formerly Schloß Goluchow) head is discussed by Schweitzer 6 (B) no. 8, figs. 12–14a; Andreae, in *AntP* 14, 89 no. 3.2.8, figs. 51–55; Wünsche 28–29, figs. 37–38. Lugli (supra n. 20) 208, fig. 3, and Ridgway, *HS* I 279. Schweitzer dates the head to the turn of the first and second centuries A.D. and suggests a Trajanic date. From his photograph (fig. 12), however, the carving of the curls in the pubic hair appears to be late Flavian. Lugli associates the head with a head of Menelaos found in a cloaca near the Governo Vecchio in the time of Alessandro VII, suggesting that it comes from the vicinity of the Piazza Navona. The idea is repeated, hesitantly, by Ridgway, along with the idea that it may have been displayed as a pendant to the Palazzo Braschi replica.

A head of a third replica, in reduced scale (Boston, MFA 88.644), has also been dated in the Flavian period, although its find-spot is not known and some consider it to be a Renaissance copy. The head was purchased in Rome. Dohan (supra n. 13) 174–75, no. 85 considers it to be Flavian and Ridgway (*HS* I 304, n. 1) accepts it as perhaps ancient.

⁵⁵ For Domitianic building in the Campus, see B.W. Jones, *The Emperor Domitian* (London and New York 1992) 80–93 with earlier bibliography. The Palazzo Braschi replica has been associated with the stadium of Domitian by A.M. Colini, *Lo stadio di Domiziano* (Rome 1941) 28–29 n. 42 and 95, following Flaminio Vacca,

Memorie di varie antichità trovate in diversi luoghi della città di Roma (1594) Mem. 29.

⁵⁶ On the *Ludi Capitolini* and their significance for Domitian, see Jones (supra n. 55) 103–104 and Hampe 61. Domitian was also attracted to Augustan themes and this may have added to the attraction of the *Pasquino* group: cf. Dulière I 159–60.

⁵⁷ For the gems, see Schweitzer 7, Type I (pre-Hadriatic); Zweierlein-Diehl 160, no. 355, pl. 64: second half of the first century A.D. An image of the Aeneas-Anchises-Julius group from the Augustan forum appears on a Flavian gladiatorial helmet from Pompeii: *LIMC I* (1981) 389, no. 127, s.v. Aeneas (F. Canciani).

⁵⁸ For Hadrian's institution of the *dies natalis urbis*, see Gagé 155; Strack II 102–105; Beaujeu 128–61; and Dulière 162–66, with bibliography n. 120. For Antoninus Pius and the *natalis urbis*, see Gagé 98–103; Strack III 67–87; Beaujeu 297–98; Dulière I 166; J.M.C. Toynbee, "Some 'Programme' Coin Types of Antoninus Pius," *CR* 39 (1925) 170–73; and eadem, "An Imperial Institute of Archaeology as revealed by Roman Medallions," *ArchJ* 99 (1942) 43–46.

⁵⁹ The Hadriatic coin emissions are discussed by Strack II 102–108, 174–82; and Dulière I 166. For Hadrian as the "new Augustus," see Strack II 104–108, 182 (coins with scenes from the *Aeneid*); and Beaujeu 126–27, 161. The distinction between the *ludi saecularis*, celebrated by Augustus and earlier emperors, and the *natalis urbis Romae* is clarified by J. Gagé, *Recherches sur les jeux séculaires* (Paris 1934) 77–79, 103–106.

⁶⁰ For the coins and medallions of Antoninus Pius, see Strack III 69–72; Beaujeu 291–93; and Dulière I 167. For Augustus as a model for Antoninus' commemoration of Roman-Italian history and cult, see Strack III 84–87, and J.M.C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*² (New York 1986) 218–29. Hercules' battle with the centaurs, which appears on the helmet of the *Pasquino* warrior, was also a common theme on the coinage of Antoninus Pius, a reference to the *temporum felicitas* created by the hero in delivering the world from monsters (Beaujeu 305).

⁶¹ Examples of early Roman themes in contemporary decorative arts include a sculptural group of the sow and piglets in the Vatican (Sala degli Animali inv. 176), from Valle S. Vitale (between the Quirinal and Viminal): Helbig⁴ I, 72, no. 94 (A. von Steuben); A. Alfeldi, *Early Rome and the Latins* (Ann Arbor c. 1963) 273, pl. V; portrait-statues of Romans as Venus and Mars: D.E.E. Kleiner, "Second-Century Mythological Portraiture: Mars and Venus," *Latomus* 40 (1981) 512–44, esp. 534 (for a possible Augustan prototype) and 542–43 (for the use of the motif by a broad social range of Roman patrons); and a Hadriatic sarcophagus featuring the myth of Dido and Aeneas: Helbig⁴ III, 66–69, no. 2162 (B. Andreae).

For representations of the *Pasquino* group on contemporary gems, see Schweitzer 7–9, Type 2, fig. 19 (gems not earlier than the second century A.D.); Zweierlein-Diehl 160, no. 354, pl. 64; *AGD I.2* no. 982; and *AGD II* no. 529, pl. 91. Two extant miniature copies of the group are probably also from this period: a. Würzburg, Martin v. Wagner Museum der Universität: Schweitzer 7 (C) no number; Andreae, in *AntP* 14, 89, no. 3.2.12, figs. 56–59; b. New York Art Market: Hesperia Arts Auc-

tion, Ltd. (sold Nov. 27, 1990); Wünsche 12–18, figs. 9–10, 16–17: second half of the second century A.D.

⁶² Leningrad, Hermitage: Schweitzer 6 (B) no. 9, fig. 80 a, c, d; Andreae, in *AntP* 14, 89, no. 3.2.9, figs. 69–71.

⁶³ Florence, Palazzo Pitti: Schweitzer 1–4 (A), no. 2, figs. 1–4: late Hadriatic or early Antonine; Andreae, in *AntP* 14, 87–88, no. 3.2.2, pls. 64a, 65a, 66b, figs. 43, 46, 47, 50, 66; and Wünsche 11, fig. 6. Florence, Loggia dei Lanzi: Schweitzer 2–4 (A), no. 3: late Hadriatic or early Antonine; Andreae, in *AntP* 14, 88, no. 3.2.3, pls. 64b, 65b, 66a, 67a, 68a–b, figs. 61, 67–68); and Wünsche 11, fig. 5. For the find-spots of the Florentine replicas, see G. Capecchi, "Le statue antiche delle loggia de' Lanzi," *BdA* 60 (1975) 175–77.

⁶⁴ For the post-antique history of the mausoleum, see Schweitzer 4.

⁶⁵ According to Schweitzer 4, these replicas were produced "in a common copyist tradition," which may suggest that they were commissioned from the same workshop or at the same time.

⁶⁶ 1.) Rome, Mus. Vaticano, Sala dei Busti no. 311. Tivoli, Hadrian's Villa: Preserved are five fragments including a head of "Menelaos" (=M.) (inv. 694), the back torso of "Patroklos" (=P.) (inv. 593), the r. arm of P. with the l. hand of M. (inv. 727), l. foot of P. (inv. 606), l. foot of M. (inv. 604), and fragments of the plinth and feet of the two heroes (inv. 604, 606): Schweitzer 4 (A), no. 4 (=V1), figs. 8a–c; Andreae, in *AntP* 14, 88, no. 3.2.4,1–5, figs. 44–45, 48–49; Helbig⁴ I, 126–28, no. 170 (W. Fuchs); Raeder 102–103, no. I 118; and Wünsche 24; 2.) Rome, Mus. Vaticano, Sala dei Busti no. 194, inv. 778. Tivoli, Hadrian's Villa: Preserved are the lower legs of "Patroklos" with part of the plinth: Schweitzer 4 (A), no. 5 (=V5), fig. 11; Andreae, in *AntP* 14, 89, no. 3.2.5, fig. 60; Helbig⁴ I, 126–28, no. 170 (W. Fuchs); Raeder 106, no. I 124; and Wünsche 11, 32, fig. 19. For the date of the Tivoli copies, see discussion infra n. 68. 3.) Astros Museum. Villa of Herodes Atticus, Loukou (Arcadia): A nineteenth-century discovery, described as two fragments of a "colossal" group of a "hero who supported a dead companion," probably "Menelaos" and "Patroklos": S. Karusu, "Die antiken vom Kloster Kuku in der Thyreatis," *RM* 76 (1969) 254 (with discussion of earlier literature); Andreae, in *AntP* 14, 89, no. 3.2.7; and E.E. Perry, *Artistic Imitation and the Roman patron (with a Study of Imitation in the Ideal Sculptures of Herodes Atticus)* (Diss. University of Michigan 1995) 121–22, no. 10. This sculpture has been presumed lost, but reports in the Athenian press (*E Kathermerine* 8/22–27/95) suggest it may have been rediscovered or that another copy has been discovered at the same villa. I am grateful to George Harrison for alerting me to this report, and to Michael Landon and Ellen Perry for clippings and other information about the finds. 4.) Geyre Museum, magazine (?). Discovered 1965/1967, on the north balustrade of a pool in the "Baths of Hadrian," Aphrodisias: Andreae, in *AntP* 14, 89, no. 3.2.11; Manderscheid 99, no. 251 (with additional bibliography). For the Hadriatic date of the baths, see L. Crema, "I monumenti architettonici Afrodisiiani," *MonAnt* 38 (1939) 282 and infra n. 74.

At least one additional replica is preserved from the Hadriatic/Antonine period: Aquileia, Museo archeologico inv. 148: Schweitzer 9–10 (F), no. 1: early Anto-

nine. Andreae, in *AntP* 14, 89, no. 3.2.10, figs. 72–75; Wünsche 14–15, fig. 13. This copy was found in the city wall and its original location is unknown.

⁶⁷ For the *pantanello*, see Raeder 290, and A.H. Smith, "Gavin Hamilton's Letters to Charles Townley," *JHS* 21 (1901) 307–309, esp. 307: "...[the] Pantanello being the lowest ground belonging to [the Villa Adriana] and where antiently (sic) the Water that served the villa was conducted, so as to pass under ground to the River."

⁶⁸ It is not clear that these copies were both made for the villa, although it seems likely. Both Schweitzer 5, and W. Fuchs (in Helbig⁴ I, 127, no. 170) noted a difference in quality between the two *Pasquino* replicas and dated Mus. Vat. inv. 778 in the Flavian or Trajanic period—pre-Hadrianic in any case—on the basis of the freshness of its carving style, the other copy (Schweitzer 44) to the same period on the basis of formal similarities. The villa Hadriana contained other sculptures, however, which have been adjudged "close to the quality of the (Hellenistic) original" in the quality of their carving, notably the kneeling Aphrodite in the Museo Nazionale Romano (inv. 108597): A. Giuliano, *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le Sculture* I.1 (Rome 1979) 141–44, no. 100, esp. p. 142 (O. Vasori). The question of date cannot be decided without autopsy, but Schweitzer's observation (p. 5) of what seems likely to be a second-century A.D. polish suggests that both replicas were contemporary with the villa, either Hadrianic or Antonine. Hausmann 197 considers them both to be Hadrianic. For pendant displays, see E. Bartman, "Decor et Duplicatio: Pendants in Roman Sculptural Display," *AJA* 92 (1988) 211–25; and eadem, in E. Gazda ed., *Roman Art in the Private Sphere* (Ann Arbor 1991) 80.

⁶⁹ Art market statuette: Wünsche 13–15, fig. 19. Aquileia replica: Schweitzer 34–37; Wünsche 14–15, fig. 13. Andreae (*Odysseus* 165; *Praetorium Speluncae* 34) also reconstructs a bronze shield for the Sperlonga replica, but the forearm attributed to the older warrior at Sperlonga does not have a dowel-hole, so it may not have been included in that copy (Wünsche 14–15, fig. 14). On the importance of the shield for the composition, see Künzl 149–150.

⁷⁰ Hausmann 196, followed by Andreae (*Praetorium Speluncae* 33), suggests that the two Tivoli replicas may have represented two different sets of Homeric heroes—Ajax-Achilles (seen from the front) and Menelaos-Patroklos (displayed to show the fatal wound in the back). There is no support for this, however, in what is known of the villa program (as noted too by Wünsche 32). For the shield of Aeneas as *fama et fata nepotum* (*Aen.* 8.731), see Galinsky, *ASR* 28, and P. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford 1986) 336–76, esp. 365–66. For the literary and artistic precedents for Aeneas' shield, see R. Cohon, "Vergil and Pheidias: the Shield of Aeneas and of Athena Parthenos," *Vergilius* 37 (1991) 22–30. The importance of the shield for both the composition and the meaning of the group suggests that it was part of the original statuary composition. The statue is, thus, not likely to have been a one-sided group as some scholars have suggested (Künzl 149–50; Kell 79–81), but to have been intended to be seen in the round.

⁷¹ For the human cost of Roman imperialism as portrayed by Vergil, see Griffin (supra n. 43) 195–96. For

the relationship between *aeternitas Romae* and *aeternitas Augusti* in the second century A.D., see Gagé 163, 175–79 and Beaujeu 150–57. Raeder (294–95) suggests that these *Pasquino* replicas were displayed in a grotto triclinium like those at Sperlonga and Castelgandolfo, but the doubling of the image—and the identification of the older warrior as Aeneas—would have changed its impact significantly with respect to those other settings. Raeder's interpretation of the sculptural display in the Canopus area of the villa (309–15) is similar to my interpretation of the two *Pasquino* replicas.

⁷² For the Achilles-Penthesilea group and its copies, see Berger (supra n. 6) 71–74, fig. 1, and Ridgway, *HS I* 281–83, pl. 139, with additional bibliography.

⁷³ For the find-spot, see K.T. Erim, *Aphrodisias. City of Venus Aphrodite* (New York 1986) 95–98, esp. 97. The Baths of Hadrian have not been published. Their architecture has been discussed by F. Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA. 1992) 273–78, fig. 343 and sculptural decoration by Manderscheid 96–99, esp. 99, no. 250, pl. 34.

⁷⁴ For the dedication, see G. Mendel, "Fouilles exécutées à Aphrodisias. Campagne de 1905," *CRAI* 1906, 167–68, 171–72; for the *pietas* of Hadrian, see Beaujeu 155. Emperors and their families were often honored in eastern baths and Aphrodisias had a tradition of imperial commemoration. For the imperial cult and the baths: G. Hanfmann, *From Croesus to Constantine* (Ann Arbor 1975) 65–67; Manderscheid 29–30, 36–38; F. Yegül, "A Study in Architectural Iconography: Kaisersaal and the Imperial Cult" *ArtB* 64 (1982) 7–31; and Yegül (supra n. 73) 422–23. For Aphrodisias and the emperors: M. Le Glay, "Les leçons d' Aphrodisias de Carie," *JRA* 4 (1991) 359–66; J. Reynolds, "Ruler-cult at Aphrodisias in the late Republic and under the Julio-Claudian Emperors," in A. Small ed., *Subject and Ruler: The Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity* (*JRA* Suppl. 17, 1996) 41–50. There may also be a precedent for this pairing in the dedication of the Hadrianic temple of Venus (Felix), the ancestress of the Roman people, and Roma (Felix/Aeterna), the symbol of their continuation, in Rome in A.C. 136/137; Mendel (supra) 178, compares the Medusa head from the baths with a series of large gorgoneia found near the Temple of Venus and Rome: Helbig² (1899) no. 11. For the temple and its cult, which stood at the center of Hadrian's cultural and political program for Rome and the provinces, see Gagé 152–69; Strack II 100–104 and 174–80; and Beaujeu 128–59, esp. 137.

⁷⁵ On the composition of Plutarch's *Lives*, see C.J. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (Oxford 1971) 103–109 and J. Boulogne, *Plutarque. Un aristocrate grec sous l'occupation romaine* (Lille 1994) 149–53. For Greek literature and culture during the high empire, see generally G. Anderson, *The Second Sophistic. A Cultural Phenomenon in the Roman Empire* (London and New York 1993) 1–12, 119–26; G.M. Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesus: Foundation Myths or a Roman City* (London 1991) 136–49; and E.L. Bowie, "The Greeks and their past in the Second Sophistic," in M.I. Finley ed., *Studies in Ancient Society* (London 1974) 195–209. For the programmatic coin emissions of Hadrian and Antoninus in the East, see Strack III 68; Toynbee, "An Imperial Institute of Archaeology" (supra n. 58) 37–39; M. Thompson,

"Reflections on the Athenian Imperial Coinage," in *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture, and Topography Presented to Homer A. Thompson* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 20, 1982) 166–71; and J.G. Milne, "Pictorial Coin-Types at the Roman Mint of Alexandria," *JEA* 29 (1943) 63–66; idem, "'Pictorial Coin-Types at the Roman Mint of Alexandria. A Supplement,'" *JEA* 36 (1950) 83–85; idem, "Pictorial Coin-Types at the Roman Mint of Alexandria. A Second Supplement," *JEA* 37 (1951) 100–102; and J.W. Curtis, "Pictorial Coin-Types at the Roman Mint of Alexandria. A Third Supplement," *JEA* 41 (1955) 119–20. Much of the scholarship dealing with these coin emissions is concerned with identifying monumental sources for the images, but this is probably less important within the context of the imperial period than the recurrence of specific themes—like Theseus and the Minotaur—across a variety of media and their significance within the context of the imperial period.

⁷⁶ G. Mendel (supra n. 74) 158–79; M. Collignon, "Sur les fouilles exécutées à Aphrodisias," *CRAI* 1904, 706–10; and briefly, K. Erim, *Aphrodisias*² (Istanbul 1990) 49. Hyginus, who may have been a contemporary of the baths, makes similar use of Aeneas in his listing of deeds of piety (*Fab.* 254.4). On Hyginus, see *KlPauly* II (1979) 1263, s.v. Hyginus (P.L. Schmidt). For the use of multiple exempla in epideictic rhetoric and its impact on imperial literature and art, see generally F.G.J.M. Müller, *The So-Called Peleus and Thetis Sarcophagus in the Villa Albani* (Amsterdam 1994) 143–56.

⁷⁷ For two comparable Trajanic pairings, see Mandercheid 86–88 (Ephesus, Harbor Baths, nos. 164–68: various *symplegmata*) and 100 (Apamea, Syria, Baths of Lucianus Julius Agrippa, nos. 263–64: Theseus-Minotaur and Apollo-Marsyas). On program and display in Greek imperial baths, see S. Ghiberti Bassett, "Historiae custos: Sculpture and Tradition in the Baths of Zeuxippos," *AJA* 100 (1996) 491–506, esp. 500–506 with previous bibliography.

⁷⁸ The possibility of a preference or even an origin for the Achilles-Penthesilea group in the imperial East has also been noted, on the basis of the find-spots of its copies, by Ridgway, *HSI* 283. For the formal similarities between the two groups, see Schweitzer 84–85.

⁷⁹ For the *Pasquino* group from Loukou, see supra n. 66. The excavator, T. Spyropoulos, suggests a preliminary date for the Loukou replica in the Hellenistic period, based on the quality of its carving, but this seems unlikely given the broader distribution of the type in the second century A.D. The recent announcement of the discovery of a mosaic representation of the *Pasquino* group at Loukou (*E Kathemerine* 11/14/95) underscores the importance of the group in the East in the imperial period.

S. Karusu (supra n. 66) 262–63, suggested that the original *Pasquino* group reported from Loukou was inspired by the use of the group at Tivoli and this idea is repeated in press releases about the recent discoveries. Nevertheless, the on-going discoveries at Loukou will almost certainly result in a more nuanced interpretation of a patron who felt himself to be both Roman and Greek. I am indebted to Michael Landon and Ellen Perry for sharing these news releases with me.

⁸⁰ For the identification, see Andraea, *Praetorium Speluncae* 14–21. Nevertheless, the villa is not universally

agreed to be not imperial and, if it is, Tiberius cannot be assumed to be the patron. There is evidence to suggest, for example, that the villa entered the imperial patrimony through the Empress Livia and it certainly remained an imperial possession after Tiberius' death. Another member of the family could have served as patron of the grotto.

⁸¹ For the villa's communications, see Riemann 371, and for reconstructions of the life-styles of the elite in this area, see J. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples* (Cambridge, MA, 1970) 48–55 and G. Houston, "Tiberius on Capri," *GaR* 32 (1985) 179–96. Andraea, *Praetorium Speluncae* 19–20, seems to me to be too pessimistic about the villa's accessibility.

⁸² For the construction history of the villa, see Riemann 371–83 and Andraea, *Praetorium Speluncae* 21–23.

⁸³ The sculptures can be dated in the Julio-Claudian period by their carving technique (cf., especially the treatment of the hair on the foot of Polyphemus, *AntP* 14, pl. 20a, and on the head of Diomedes, *ibid.* pls. 37–40). There is more drill-work in some of the heads than one expects to see in sculpture of this period (especially the head of Odysseus, *ibid.* pls. 14–17) and the carving of some figures and/or groups is very generalized (cf. head of steersman from the Scylla group, *ibid.* pl. 32). Nevertheless the variety of techniques employed can be explained by the location of individual groups within the cave—the strong undercutting of the Odysseus-head to the darkness of the sub-cave in which he was located and the generalized treatment of the Scylla group by the fact that it is separated from the viewer by the grotto basin. For the Julio-Claudian date of the sculpture, see also Andraea, *Praetorium Speluncae* 138–39 and Himmelmann, "Laokoon" 101, 114–15.

⁸⁴ For the enjoyment of literature over dinner, see Petron. Sat. 59; Pliny, *Ep.* 1.15.2–3; 9.17.3; 9.36.4. For settings inspired by this custom, see F.G.J.M. Müller, *The Wall Paintings from the Oecus of the Villa of Publius Fannius Synistor in Boscoreale* (Amsterdam 1994) esp. 130–31.

⁸⁵ For the later history of the grotto, see Riemann 372–74, 380. For the date of the Faustinus-epigram, see *EncVirg* IV (1988) 993–94, s.v. Sperlonga. L'iscrizione di Faustino (M. G. Granino Cecere) and Courtney 272, with earlier bibliography. The inscription is discussed at greater length infra.

⁸⁶ The location of these groups was established by Conticello (*AntP* 14, 10–16, 51) through an analysis of the find-spots of the individual fragments of sculpture, as they were recorded by the first excavator, E. Bellante.

⁸⁷ The iconography of the group is similar to that of earlier representations of Scylla. The monster is shown reaching for passing mariners and feeding them to her dog-headed appendages. (For the iconography, see Himmelmann, "Laokoon" 106, with previous bibliography.) The Faustinus inscription (line 6) suggests, however, that the group also referred to the shipwreck of Odysseus in Book 12. For the problem of Faustinus' description, see Courtney 271.

⁸⁸ *AntP* 14, 92–93; *Odysseus* 165; and esp. *Praetorium Speluncae* 30–31.

⁸⁹ *AntP* 14, 90–93; *Odysseus* 160–65; *Praetorium Speluncae* 31–33, 36–37, 106–107. Andraea's identification of the Sperlonga group as Odysseus-Achilles has been

accepted, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, by G. Sauron, "De Buthrote à Sperlonga: A propos d'une étude récente sur le thème de la grotte dans les décors romains," *RA* 1991, 22; Ridgway, *HS* I 281; Neudecker 43; and Wünsche 32–33. It is rejected by Hampe 33, and idem, rev. *AntP* 14, in *GGA* 228 (1976) 225–26; Raeder 103, no. I 118; Riemann 377; Himmelmann, "Laokoon" 102 and idem, (supra n. 11) 1/18/95.

⁹⁰ See esp. the criticisms of Hampe 33; B. Ridgway, "Laokoon and the foundation of Rome," *JRA* 2 (1989) 177–78; and Wünsche 27.

⁹¹ Neudecker 43.

⁹² Blood is, for instance, represented plastically on the young man's chest in the other *Pasquino* replicas (Andreae, *AntP* 14, pl. 68). Andreae (*Praetorium Speluncae* 34) suggests that the torso of the Sperlonga youth was covered with armor—an argument essential to his identification of the statue since Achilles was never stripped of his armor by the Trojans. Armor might indeed have helped to identify the group but its existence cannot be proved.

⁹³ B. Andreae, *Gnomon* 41 (1967) 815. Andreae emphasizes the difference in the length of the foot again in *Praetorium Speluncae* 32, but he does not claim a difference in the overall scale of the statue.

⁹⁴ The measurements for the Sperlonga *Pasquino* are given by Conticello, in *AntP* 14, 36; the measurements for the two Vatican replicas are given by Andreae, *ibid.* 89.

⁹⁵ Variations in the position of the *Pasquino* youth's legs and feet (cf. Andreae, *AntP* 14, 91; Lugli [supra n. 20] 16–17, figs. 10–11) suggest that the legs of the individual copies were reproduced to a large extent free-hand. An error such as this is, thus, easy to imagine. Hampe 33 suggests, similarly, that the position of the foot, flush with the base, was based on technical considerations.

⁹⁶ Rome, Mus. naz. inv. 50170: Giuliano (supra n. 68) 186–92, no. 121 (L. de Lachenal); H. Lauter, "Neues zum Mädchen vom Antium," *AM* 86 (1971) pls. 77, 1–2 (here Fig. 26.18); and Ridgway, *HS* I 228–30. For the Tiberian/Neronian date of the fanciulla, see Giuliano/de Lachenal, *op. cit.* 191.

⁹⁷ Lauter (supra n. 96, 161) suggests that the back of the statue was damaged after completion, but the back is carved up to the gap, without splintering or spalling, so it seems more likely that the break was present when the statue was carved (cf., Ridgway, *HS* I 228). For the use of "piecing" in late Hellenistic and Roman statuary, see P.C. Bol, *Die Skulpturen des Schiffsfund von Antikythera* (Berlin 1972) 93–96.

⁹⁸ For the find-spot, see Giuliano/de Lachenal (supra n. 68) 192.

⁹⁹ As noted too by Ridgway, *HS* I 278; the evidence for the find-spot of the Sperlonga *Pasquino* group is discussed by Conticello in *AntP* 14, 35–38.

¹⁰⁰ Some uneasiness about the interpretation has been voiced. The Vergilian associations of the Faustinus inscription and their potential for interpreting some aspects of the cave decoration have been noted by G. Bendz, "Vergil in Sperlonga," *OpRom* 7 (1969) 62–63; Courtney 271; and most extensively Hampe 63–70, although his study was flawed by its appearance before the definitive publication of the cave sculpture by Con-

ticello and Andreae which fixed the locations of the main sculptural groups within the cave (Conticello, *AntP* 14, 10–49) and established their Julio-Claudian date (Andreae, *AntP* 14, 103–105). In general, however, the Odyssean focus of the cave decoration remains unquestioned.

¹⁰¹ For early appraisals of the cave program, see Hampe 63–64.

¹⁰² The idea of Odysseus as a stoic hero is emphasized by Andreae in *AntP* 14, 105 and by Conticello, *ibid.* 36, n. 52. In later discussions (*Odysseus* 185–86; Andreae-Conticello, *Skylla* 37; *Praetorium Speluncae* 42, 129) Odysseus is proposed as a more generalized *exemplum virtutis*. For Ovid and the *Metamorphoses* as the primary influence on the cave program: Andreae, *Praetorium Speluncae* 25–27 (*navis Argo*), 36–37 (*Pasquino*), 42–43 (the Palladion group), 53–56 (the Polyphemus group), 83–84 (the Scylla group), 113–14 (Ganymede), and more generally 105–12, 124–34.

¹⁰³ Neudecker 43.

¹⁰⁴ Himmelmann (supra n. 11) 1/18/95.

¹⁰⁵ For the sources, see *LIMC* III (1986) 397–409, s.v. Diomedes (J. Boardman and C.E. Vafopoulou-Richardson) and Roscher III.1 (1897–1909) 1301–1309, s.v. Palladion (E. Wörner). Andreae discusses this group in *AntP* 14, 95–100, fig. 81; *Odysseus* 170–76; and *Praetorium Speluncae* 44–53.

¹⁰⁶ Andreae (*AntP* 14, 99) and Conticello (*ibid.* 40) suggest that Odysseus drew a sword from a scabbard hidden under his chlamys. The position of the right forearm and the tension in the muscles argue instead for a knife.

¹⁰⁷ Stewart 78 is followed by Sauron (supra n. 89) 23–25 and acknowledged by Andreae, *Praetorium Speluncae* 42. For negative characterizations of Odysseus in antiquity, see *Aen.* 2.44; 2.90; 2.164 and, more generally, W.B. Stanford, *The Ulysses Theme*² (Ann Arbor 1968) 98–121.

The impact of the *Pasquino* group, if correctly identified by Andreae as Odysseus rescuing the body of Achilles, would seem also to have been negative. In the usual version of the story, Ajax rescues the body of Achilles but the arms of Achilles are unfairly awarded to Odysseus, a decision which provokes Ajax to madness and eventual suicide: *LIMC* I (1981) 313, s.v. Aias I (O. Toucheffeu); Andreae, *Praetorium Speluncae* 36–37, n. 151. Representations of Ajax carrying the body of Achilles are among the most typical and popular scenes from his iconography: *LIMC* I, 334, s.v. Aias I, and *LIMC* I, 192, s.v. Achilleus (A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

In the light of this tradition, Ovid's account of the unequal debate between Ajax and Odysseus in *Met.* 13.1–398—and especially his summation (13.382–83), *fortisque viri tulit arma disertus*, the "dexterous speaker" bore off the brave man's arms—seems less an illustration of Odysseus' bravery than a cynical commentary on the power of eloquence to prevail unfairly over true heroism. The literary tradition surrounding Odysseus and Ajax has been discussed by Stanford (*op. cit.* 92–94).

¹⁰⁸ For Tiberius and Sperlonga, see supra n. 80.

¹⁰⁹ Stewart 87–88. Other scholars have taken different approaches to this problem, but have focused similarly on Tiberius and on his biography or interests: G.

Säflund ("Sulla ricostruzione dei gruppi di Polifemo e di Scilla a Sperlonga," *OpRom* 7 [1967] 50–52 and idem, *The Polyphemus and Scylla Groups at Sperlonga* [Stockholm 1972] 78–84) argues that the Polyphemus and Scylla groups were prompted by the rock fall that almost killed Tiberius, inspiring him to turn the cave into a Stygian antrum. G. Sauron (supra n. 89, 19–42, esp. 38) argues that choices of episode or literary model found in the cave decoration were secondary to Tiberius' desire for an astrological program, with the cave and its decoration as the embodiment of the zodiac and Odysseus as heroic navigator.

¹¹⁰Andreae, *Praetorium Speluncae* 44–47 interprets the position of Odysseus' right hand as a gesture of surprise, with the hand raised to the beard as on an Asian sarcophagus from Megiste (*AntP* 14, figs. 76–77, 80). The actions of the Sperlonga statue and those of the Odysseus on the Megiste sarcophagus are, however, completely different. The left hand of the Sperlonga statue holds the remains of a scabbard (*AntP* 14, fig. 39) and the right hand held something *at chest level* (cf. here Figs. 26.19–20); from the position of the right arm it would be logical to reconstruct the object as a knife. The Odysseus on the Megiste sarcophagus raises his right hand *to his beard*. He seems quiet, composed, and thoughtful. Rather than acting, he seems to be *contemplating* the murder of Diomedes—as Medea contemplates the killing of her children in the famous series of early imperial paintings from Pompeii and Herculaneum (R. Ling, *Roman Painting* [Cambridge 1991] 134–35, figs. 140–41). If this interpretation is correct, his gesture is a variation on that of the Sperlonga statue and not one which can be used to reconstruct its movement. Other dissimilarities between the Sperlonga group and the Megiste sarcophagus have been noted by Himmelmann ("Laokoon" 102–103) but, as Andreae (*Praetorium Speluncae* 45–46) writes, they are not decisive.

¹¹¹*Praetorium Speluncae* 42–43, 105–106. This suggestion is undermined by Ajax's famous refusal to speak to Odysseus in *Od.* 11.543–551, as Wünsche 33 has also observed.

¹¹²Cf., *Praetorium Speluncae* 132–34, although the question of incongruence is not posed by Andreae *per se*.

¹¹³*Praetorium Speluncae* 115, 117, 132.

¹¹⁴B. Andreae, *Laokoon und die Gründung Roms* (Mainz 1988) 74–75, argued initially that Tiberius and the other Claudians promoted Odysseus as an *alternative* to the Julian Aeneas because he also came from Troy and founded Italian cities. His recent writings (*Praetorium Speluncae* 40–41, 113–19, 123–24) relate the program more closely to the ancestors of the Julians and (124–25) to the founding of Rome, but he still considers the deeds of Odysseus to be the main focus of the program. (These are the main points of Andreae's interpretation. His arguments are more complicated than my account of them, since he argues that the Sperlonga program also functioned as an allegory for contemporary personalities and events).

¹¹⁵*Praetorium Speluncae* 108, 128–34.

¹¹⁶As also noted by Ridgway (supra n. 90) 177.

¹¹⁷For an overview of the problems and bibliography associated with the epigram, see Granino Cecere (supra n. 85) 992–94 and Courtney 270–73, no. 49.

¹¹⁸*Fractam puppim* is sometimes interpreted as referring to the helm broken off by Scylla (cf., Säflund, *OpRom* [supra n. 109] 16–17). The monster is often shown in minor arts swinging a rudder (*AntP* 14, figs. 34–38) and a giant hand holding a rudder is said to have been housed in the civic offices of the town of Sperlonga in the nineteenth century (Conticello-Andreae, *Skylla* 10; Andreae, *Praetorium Speluncae* 90). Courtney 271 believes, however, that the Sperlonga sculptors altered an existing iconography for the scene under the influence of *Aen.* 3.424–25: *Scyllam caecis cohibet spelunca latebris... navis in saxa trahentem*.

¹¹⁹According to M. Leppert, "Domina nymphas. Überlegungen zum Faustinus Epigramm von Sperlonga," *AA*, 1978, 554–73, the *dominis* are the nymphs, who were frequently worshipped in grottos, a suggestion rejected by H. Lavagne, *Operosa antra. Recherches sur la grotte à Rome de Sylla à Hadrien* (Rome, 1988) 529–30. Courtney 273 compares the line to *Stat. Silv.* 2.2.107 (*sis felix, tellus, dominis ambobus*—which addresses a villa at Sorrento) to suggest that *felix* is an adjective referring to *tellus* (the land) rather than a proper name.

¹²⁰The text is that given by Granino Cecere (supra n. 85) 992–93. A detailed discussion of its Vergilian appropriations, with references to the contributions of individual scholars, appears in Hampe 49–54; his summary and bibliography have been brought up-to-date by Granino Cecere (*ibid.*) 993 and Courtney 270–73.

¹²¹Courtney 272–73. There is also a play within these lines with what Bendz (supra n. 100) 58, has called the "two realities" of the epigram—the mythological reality, which has to do with the literary setting of the events discussed, and the artistic reality, which has to do with the sculpture in its grotto setting. Thus, *speluncas vivosque lacus* refers both to the mythological ambience of Polyphemus and Scylla as described by the epic poets and to the physical setting of the sculpture (Bendz 58); *cyclopea saxa* may refer to the grotto façade, which forms a sort of scaenae frons for the presentation of the sculptural decoration (G. Säflund, "Das Faustinusepigramm von Sperlonga," *OpRom* 7 [1967] 16), to the massive walls of the cave in which the sculpture is found, or to the sculpture itself, since the statues of Polyphemus and Scylla are themselves quite massive: Andreae (*Praetorium Speluncae* 100) estimates the blocks from which the Skylla group was carved to have measured 2.50 m. x 1.96 m. x 2.50 m (Scylla and five companions of Odysseus) and 0.92 m wide (the ship) respectively; Lavagne (supra n. 119, 529) gives the estimated weight of the Polyphemus statue as 10,000 kg.

¹²²The relationship between the Sinon and Achaemenides speeches has been discussed by Galinsky, *ASR* 29–30 and J. Ramminger, "Imitation and Allusion in the Achaemenides Scene (Verg. Aeneid 3.588–691)," *AJP* 112 (1991) 53–71 with earlier bibliography. These speeches are both critical of Odysseus, as well, and this may be one other reason for their selection for the cave. (For the cave program as a comparison of the heroes Odysseus and Aeneas, see *infra*.) Achaemenides does not seem to be as critical of Odysseus as Sinon, but having reported to the Trojans (3.617–618) that he was left behind by *unthinking* or *forgetful* comrades (*immemores socii vasto Cyclopi in antro/deserere*), he describes how Odysseus, having endured the horrors in the cave, *was*

not forgetful of himself in such a critical moment—*nec talia passus Ulixes/oblitusve sui est Ithacus discrimine tanto*. Achaemenides' main point is the terrible retribution Odysseus exacts from Polyphemus, but the wording seems to call attention to the selectivity of the hero's memory as well. Ovid (*Met.* 14.159–220) seems to have understood the implications of this passage better than most modern interpreters. His characterization of Achaemenides goes further than Vergil's in imagining the Greek sailor's horror at being left to the Cyclops and his gratitude to Aeneas for his rescue.

¹²³The selection of statuary types for the cave also suggests a desire on the part of the artist or designer to conform with Vergil's description of these scenes: Andreae (*Praetorium Speluncae* 112) argues that the Polyphemus group is indebted to Ovid, but he admits (*ibid.* 56) that Ovid's account of the episode is closer to the "wine-offering" Polyphemus groups of Baiae and Ephesos than it is to Sperlonga. Ovid's Achaemenides (*Met.* 14.198–212) recalls the horror of his encounter with the Cyclops—the devouring of his companions alive and the vomiting up of wine mixed with pieces of men, a gruesome detail based on Homer (*Od.* 9.343–74). He does not describe, however, the blinding of the monster. The Sperlonga group can be more convincingly compared with Homer (*cf.*, *Od.* 9.371–73):

...he [Polyphemus] reeled and tumbled backward,
his great head lolling to one side; and sleep
took him like any creature. Drunk, hiccuping,
he dribbled streams of liquor and bits of men...
... I [Odysseus] drew [the olive pike] from the
coals and my four fellows
gave me a hand, lugging it near the Kyclops...
straight
forward they sprinted, lifted it, and rammed it
deep in his crater eye...

(trans. R. Fitzgerald, p. 156).

There is a closer relationship, however, between the Sperlonga group and Vergil's adaptation of the Homeric passage (*Aen.* 3.630–38), since Vergil emphasizes more the teamwork involved in the blinding of the monster. Achaemenides is the narrator:

Gorged with feasting and dead-drunk with
wine,
The giant put down his lolling head, lay down
Enormous on the cave floor. In his sleep
He dribbled bile and bits of flesh, mixed up
With blood and wine. We prayed to the great
gods,
Drew lots for duties, and surrounded him,
Then with a pointed beam bored his great eye,
His single eye, under his shaggy brow,
Big as a Greek shield or the lamp o' Phoebus.

(trans. R. Fitzgerald, p. 88).

The characterization of Scylla by the Sperlonga sculptors—as a combination of female body, fish-tail, and hounds'-heads, is obviously closer to Vergil's description of Scylla (*Aen.* 3.426–28) than it is to Homer's many-headed monster (*Od.* 12.85–96) as Andreae (*Prae-*

torium Speluncae 83, 85–86) and others have observed. This "maiden-like" Scylla-type had existed for a long time in minor arts, however, so both the Sperlonga sculpture and Vergil's description may have been influenced by that visual tradition (*cf.* Himmelmann, "Laokoon" 106). This, however, does not preclude the possibility that the Sperlonga sculptors altered an existing iconography to conform with Vergil's description, as Courtney (271) suggests. Andreae (*ibid.* 83–105, 125–126) compares the iconography of the group with Ovid (*Met.* 13.730–35 and 14.59–67), whose description of the monster is similar to Vergil's, and the same argument could apply. (Andreae believes that the Sperlonga group copies an earlier, Hellenistic monument on Rhodes, but that the selection of that statuary model for Sperlonga was due to its compatibility with Ovid.) Neither hypothesis can be proved or excluded by comparison with the text. Nevertheless, the overwhelming emphasis placed on Vergil at Sperlonga suggests that he was the designer's source.

¹²⁴Coticello, *AntP* 14, 5. As Coticello and others interpret the Faustinus-epigram, two groups, the Palladion-theft and the *Pasquino* were omitted by Faustinus. In my interpretation, only the *Pasquino* group goes unnamed, making the omission even more striking. On the selectivity of the epigram in its description of the cave decoration, see also Hampe 68.

¹²⁵In the first two instances, 20 lines of description precede the naming of the hero; in the *Aeneid*, 90 lines of introduction precede the naming of Aeneas. For the literary technique of the "delayed naming," see F. Cairns, *Virgil's Augustan Epic* (Cambridge 1989) 191 and bibliography cited in his n. 51.

¹²⁶This interplay between text and tableau, if indeed part of the planner's vision, is also interesting from the standpoint of narratorial stance and moral commentary: the three Odyssean episodes are described by Aeneas second-hand and any criticism of Odysseus implied by the description (*cf.*, *supra* n. 122) is attributed to the original speaker, Sinon and/or Achaemenides, who are both Greek. Diomedes (*Aen.* 11.255–93) speaks similarly as a Greek when he recalls the impiety of the violators of Troy and when he praises Aeneas. Vergil's attention to narratorial stance in these three passages would thus have underscored the heroic qualities of Aeneas. On the importance of "narratorial stance" in Augustan epic, see Galinsky, *AugCult* 231–34.

¹²⁷On the erudition of the *Aeneid*, see Horsfall (*supra* n. 43) esp. 34, 36. This does not mean that the Sperlonga sculptures would have been incomprehensible to a non-literary Roman audience. As noted by Galinsky (*supra* n. 31) 471, in relation to the Ara Pacis, "the intentional multiplicity of meanings [displayed by such monuments] can be experienced on several levels, depending on the sophistication of the viewer." It is just that the anticipated audience for a villa such as this one would almost certainly have been elite.

¹²⁸To my knowledge, only Stewart 78 and Courtney 272 attribute the *dolos* of the Faustinus epigram to the Palladion group.

¹²⁹Servius (*Aen.* 2.79) says that Sinon was Odysseus' cousin and thus came by his deceitfulness (*fallacia*) and regular use of treachery (*proditionis officium*) naturally. Vergil also uses Odyssean material from earlier classical

literature to compose Sinon's speeches: G. Highet, *The Speeches in Vergil's Aeneid* (Princeton 1972) 247–48. For a detailed analysis of Sinon and Laocoon as characters, see J.P. Lynch, "Laocoon and Sinon: Vergil, *Aeneid* 2.40–198," *Gar* 27 (1980) 170–79. For a general discussion of Sinon, with additional bibliography, see *EncVirg* IV (1988) 884–87, s.v. Sinone (C. Deroux).

¹³⁰The image of the *Pasquino* group may be used to make a similar comparison on the Julio-Claudian silver cup from Manching bei Ingolstadt (Wünsche 32, figs. 40–41). There, Neoptolemos' execution of captive women and an old man appear in sharp contrast to Aeneas' treatment of Lausus, illustrated on Neoptolemos' shield.

¹³¹Neudecker 223. Andreae and others (*Praetorium Speluncae* 116–17, 128) reconstruct the statue as standing on the top of the cave, but the detailed carving and undercutting of the drapery would have been lost on a viewer separated from the statue by this distance (cf., Andreae, *ibid.* pl. 25.1) and the position of the statue would have forced diners/viewers to crane their necks uncomfortably. The statue's find-spot, in the basin just in front of the cave-entrance, can as easily indicate that the statue came from the right side of the cave entrance. Its comparatively unweathered condition also suggests that it received more protection from the elements than a location on the top of the cave would have provided.

¹³²For the iconography of the statue, see *LIMC* IV (1988) 154–169 (H. Sichtermann) and Schneider, "Orientalische Tischdiener" (supra n. 38) 301–302. Andreae (*Praetorium Speluncae* 113–14) relates the statue of Ganymede to Orpheus' song about the loves of the gods for boys and girls in Ovid, *Met.* 10.155–61, and only secondarily to Vergil 1.28. For a recent discussion of the Vergilian passage and its role in the epic, see M. Putnam, "Ganymede and Vergilian Ekphrasis," *AJP* 116 (1995) 419–40.

¹³³For the Andromeda/Hesione, see Neudecker 222, no. 62.27; B. Conticello, "The One-eyed Giant of Sperlonga," *Apollo* (March 1969) 191, fig. 6; and Riemann 380. Leppert's discussion of the statue (23 *Kaiservillen. Vorarbeiten zu Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte der Villeggiatur der hohen Kaiserzeit* [Diss. Freiburg 1974] 349, n. 47), cited by Riemann, has not been available to me. The identification of the female figure as Hesione would link the figure not only to the Trojan scenes on the right side of the cave, as noted by Riemann, but also to the Argonautica on the left, since Herakles was among the Argonauts when he learned of Hesione's fate. For a recent discussion of the Hesione myth, see P. Birchler and J. Chamay, "Hésioné en Apulie: un chef-d'oeuvre de la peinture apulienne," *AntK* 38 (1995) 51–56.

Andreae, *Praetorium Speluncae* 118–20, also sees an historical dimension to the program, but he reconstructs it differently.

¹³⁴For representations of Tiphys in imperial art, see Roscher V (1916–1924) 979–80 s.v. Tiphys I (J. Schmidt). The interpretation of the Sperlonga Argo as inspired by Ecl. 4, I owe to Hampe 29. For other interpretations of the ship and readings of its inscription, see Lavagne (supra n. 119) 547 and Andreae, *Praetorium Speluncae* 25–28.

¹³⁵For the find-spot of the Venus Genetrix relief, see G. Jacopi, *L'antro di Tiberio* (Rome 1963) 118–23.

¹³⁶The pigs have been variously interpreted: H. Lauter, "Der Odysseus der Polyphemgruppe von Sperlonga," *RM* 72, 1965, 228, n. 9 identifies them as the companions of Odysseus, turned into swine by Circe (*Od.* 10.283), and Leppert (supra n. 119, 560, n. 46) as dedications to the Nymphs (on which see Neudecker 222, no. 62.25). To my knowledge, their precise find-spot has never been published.

¹³⁷The problem of how one viewed the Sperlonga ensemble has been addressed by Stewart 80–81 and Andreae, *Praetorium Speluncae* 122–24. They, and I too in this discussion, focus primarily on how the organization functioned when viewed as an ensemble from the island triclinium/stibadium at the front of the cave. The Sperlonga sculptures were probably not intended to be viewed only as an ensemble, however, and/or probably not only from the front of the cave. C. Pertschi ("Grottenarchitektur und Licht—Überlegungen zu Sperlonga," in W.-D. Heilmeyer and W. Hoepfner eds., *Licht und Architektur* [Tübingen 1990] 79–85) has suggested that the passage of the sun across the sky brought each of the major groups into relief in turn, and Andreae's discussion (*Praetorium Speluncae* 69) makes it clear that the Polyphemus group was intended to be viewed from different angles from the circular path leading around the grotto. The presence of the circular walk and of the seats cut into the walls on either side of the grotto entrance suggest, in fact, that the ensemble was intended to be seen from different vantage points, and perhaps at varying levels of illumination during the day. The moral associations which these monuments had for the viewer would also have changed as (s)he moved around the cave and contemplated the individual groups in different relationships with each other.

It is tempting to characterize this kaleidoscopic organization of the ensemble as a specifically Roman trait, since there is an obvious parallel between the designer's vision and a Latin text like the *Aeneid*, wherein important passages function both in terms of their contribution to the broader narrative and as presentation pieces which are to be compared with a passage from an earlier literary monument or monuments. Vergil's art of reference may be indebted to the traditions of Hellenistic literature (cf., Horsfall [supra n. 43] 31–36), but I know of nothing like the Sperlonga ensemble from the Hellenistic period. The "sculpture parks" of Rhodes which are frequently cited in comparison are clearly much less ambitious in both organization and scale. (For a general discussion of the Greek evidence, see B.S. Ridgway, "Greek Antecedents of Garden Sculpture," in *Ancient Roman Gardens* (Washington D.C. 1981) 9–28, esp. 12–15 for Rhodes and Sperlonga.)

¹³⁸For a Flavian date for the Ganymede, see e.g. Jacopi (supra n. 135) 117, Hampe 161. For an Augustan date, see Schneider, "Orientalische Tischdiener," (supra n. 38) 301 and Andreae, *Praetorium Speluncae* 114–15. For the date of the mosaic inscription: F.B. Sear, *Roman Wall and Vault Mosaics, RM-EH* 23 (1977) 64, no. 24. The bibliography on the Andromeda/Hesione is collected by Neudecker 222, no. 62.27.

¹³⁹The fact that only the Julio-Claudian/Odyssean groups have received full publication has almost cer-

tainly had an impact on the way the cave program has been interpreted. Since the cave continued in use until late antiquity, it is possible that the program continued to be elaborated. This points up the urgent need for a full publication of the Sperlonga sculpture—with evidence for the find-spots of *all* the sculpture found in the cave—as noted by Riemann 379 and Ridgway, (*supra* n. 90) 177.

¹⁴⁰For the cosmic framing of the scene on the cuirass, see Zanker, *Images* 189–92.

¹⁴¹In the epic the comparison is direct, as noted by G.N. Knauer, “Vergil and Homer,” *ANRW* II.31.2 (Berlin and New York, 1981) 877–81 and esp. 878: “Vergil has not only condensed the beginning of Odysseus’ narrative in *Odyssey* 9 and its end in 12 but has in fact, by a very clever reshaping condensed the whole context of these two books into *Aeneid* 3.”

¹⁴²This is also noted by Cairns (*supra* n. 125) 206–207.

¹⁴³The parallels between the storms in *Odyssey* 12 and *Aeneid* 1 are not absolute. The more obvious model for Vergil’s storm is *Od.* 5.291–332. Yet the reader could hardly fail to make the association. For the parallelism between Neptune and Aeneas in the ‘statesman simile,’ see e.g., M.J. Putnam, “Possessiveness, Sexuality and Heroism in the *Aeneid*,” *Vergilius* 31 (1985) 2–3 and Galinsky, *AugCult* 20–24.

¹⁴⁴Scholars vary in their assessment of Vergil’s use of Odysseus as a model for Aeneas in the epic: Stanford (*supra* n. 107) 131–37, sees Odysseus as a positive model for Aeneas and he is followed to some degree in this view by Cairns (*supra* n. 125) 177–214 and Galinsky, *ANRW* (*supra* n. 46) 1002–1003. My view of the relationship given to the two in the cave program is expressed more precisely by Knauer, *ANRW* (*supra* n. 141) 878, who notes that, “In *Aeneid* 3 Aeneas is presented throughout as a hero surpassing his Greek counterpart, Odysseus, who had passed the same or similar situations before him (in epic time). Odysseus, the victor, destroys Ismaros in Thrace; Aeneas, the exile (3.11), founds Ainos in the same region. On his way home to the patris, Ithaca, west of the Peloponnesus,

Odysseus is shipwrecked by a storm at Cape Maleia; Aeneas, in spite of a storm, successfully passes this cape (cf., 5.193) on his way to the west, where in the end he will find the promised patria, Hesperia. Here for the first time one begins to sense Vergil’s purpose in following Homer.”

¹⁴⁵The study of the cave sculpture by Hampe 66–70 anticipates some of my conclusions and individual observations, but it started from a different understanding of the evidence and reached another set of conclusions (cf. *supra* n. 100). The program, as Hampe reconstructed it, was a loose compendium of images taken piecemeal from Vergil and not—as I reconstruct it—a tightly organized *aemulatio* of the *Aeneid* in a visual medium.

¹⁴⁶This new reading of the sculptural program is more consistent with its location in an imperial villa than any of the other interpretations suggested thus far. The psychoanalytic approach employed by Andreae and others (cf., n. 109) ignores the fact that many, if not all, imperial residences were used for official meetings and receptions and a Vergilian program would obviously be well-suited to both the function and the location of the villa. An interpretation similar to mine, in the sense that it emphasizes the relationship between the official character of an imperial villa and its decoration, has been proposed for the decoration of the villa of Livia at Primaporta: B. Kellum, “The Construction of Landscape in Augustan Rome: The Garden Room at the Villa ad Gallinas,” *ArtB* 76 (1994) 211–24.

This is not to deny the importance of the *Odyssey* for the decoration of a Campanian villa (on which see, e.g., Lavagne [*supra* n. 119] 531–32) or the popularity of the *antrum Cyclopi* as a topos in Roman villa decoration of the late republic and early empire (Andreae, *Praetorium Spelunca* 18–19). I consider these decorative environments to be the true antecedents of the sculptural complex at Sperlonga and not the Rhodian “sculpture-parks” that are often cited (e.g., Andreae, *ibid.* 23 and *supra* n. 137). The popularity of such displays would have made the novelty of the Sperlonga program more striking for an elite Roman audience.