

## A ROMAN POET VISITS A MUSEUM

MARTIAL'S last book of epigrams includes a series of distichs dealing with works of art which, for the history of art in general, is of the greatest interest (XIV, 170-182). Though in the case of some of these distichs commentators and archaeologists have established relationships to other literary traditions or to extant monuments, no one has ever discussed their comprehensive significance. In any case, such an analysis will prove invaluable, inasmuch as this literary assemblage of works of art cannot fail to reveal some essential trends in taste of the period. Furthermore, we can, I believe, establish that Martial actually refers to a definite collection of works of art, that this collection was displayed in a prominent place, and included certain famous masterpieces.

True, such an idea is not in harmony with established views concerning the character of these epigrams. That the complete edition of Martial's work was made after his death<sup>1</sup> is evident from the fact that the book on the Spectacles, which introduces the work, and the two books on the Xenia (XIII) and on the Apophoreta (XIV), which conclude it, are earlier than the bulk of the intervening epigrammatic books. In addition, they are different in character since, unlike the latter, each of these two books contains a strictly homogeneous series of poems. This organization is further developed by an arrangement in typological groups of objects for which these epigrams allegedly are poetical substitutes (XIII, 3, 6). The meaning of this poetical fiction is quite obvious: it is a framework within which the poet can discuss every kind of object and add his witty epigrammatic remarks.<sup>2</sup> This fiction is elaborated in the two books by connecting the Xenia with the well-known custom of social parties and the Apophoreta—a less homogeneous set of "gifts"—with the Saturnalia.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the basic discussion by L. Friedlaender, *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammaton libri* (Leipzig, 1886), I, pp. 50 ff.; *idem*, *Sittengeschichte Roms* (10th ed., Leipzig, 1921), vol. IV, pp. 290 f.; O. Weinreich, *Studien zu Martial* (*Tuebingener Beitrage zur Altertumswissenschaft*, 4, Stuttgart, 1927), pp. 21 f.

<sup>2</sup> C. Schrevel, *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammata* (Leyden, 1665), pp. 712, 741, seems to have recognized this fact. A good general characterization of the poet's desire to exhibit his skill in handling a wide range of subject matter in these two books is found in J. Wright Duff, *Varied Studies in Martial* (*Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of E. K. Rand* [ed. by L. W. Jones, New York, 1930]), pp. 90 f.

<sup>3</sup> The epigrams were taken to be substitutes for actual presents by most of the editors from the Renaissance on: see, for instance, ed. Morellon (Paris, 1617), p. 579. Friedlaender, *Sittengeschichte*, IV, p. 333; W. A. Kerr, *Martial* (*Loeb Class. Libr.*, 1920), note to XIV, 170. H. J. Isaac, *Martial, Épigrammes*, I (Paris, 1930), p. xvi, note 2, and II (Paris, 1933), p. 193, expresses most clearly his belief that the epigrams were composed as gift cards to be attached to gifts actually presented.

However, only one of the epigrams on Works of Art, the last one, alludes to this festival (182). One feels that the author wanted to establish, rather artfully, a connection between this group of distichs and the poetical fiction which serves as their frame.<sup>4</sup> Beyond this general scheme, Martial indicates, in the introduction to the last book, that valuable and cheap "gifts" alternate, within the subject matter groups of the Apophoreta (XIV, 1, 5). It has been established by Birt and Friedlaender<sup>5</sup> that this arrangement with alternates was followed, to some extent, by the poet. But the idea that Martial felt obliged to carry out meticulously this scheme of alternating valuable and cheap "gifts," led modern critics to assume that the present arrangement does not correspond to the original one, that transpositions and omissions took place in the final edition.<sup>6</sup> But why should the old Latin editors have caused this disintegration of Martial's original order? After all, they were able, as we are today, to read the introductory poem. It seems to me that Martial did not plan to satisfy the philological schoolmasters but felt free, as a poet, to deviate from his own loose and fictional scheme, whenever the Muse induced him to write a distich which did not exactly fit this uniform order of alternation. However that may be, the scheme collapses completely if we consider the two succeeding series of epigrams on Works of Art and on Books (XIV 170-182 and 183-196). Looking at Birt's and Friedlaender's schematical arrangements<sup>7</sup> of the section on Books, one notes that the entire scheme, as we have it, has to be completely destroyed in order to satisfy the requirement of alternating valuable and cheap "gifts." Furthermore, hypothetical and entirely unfounded assumptions regarding the value of objects have to be introduced. In fact, Friedlaender considered those very books as more expensive which Birt had classified as the cheaper ones. In the case of the works of art,<sup>8</sup> the assumption is made that paintings were less expensive than sculptures—an assumption which is contrary to all the evidence that we have from antiquity. The scheme simply does not work in these two connected groups and, instead of trying to force it, we should accept the more reasonable suggestion that Martial himself did not feel rigidly bound by it. His arrangement in these sections was dictated by chance or by the whim of some occasion. In the case of the Books, it is obvious that they are arranged, with but one exception, in categorical groups such as might be found on the shelves of an actual library.<sup>9</sup> We shall return to this point later.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 265.

<sup>5</sup> *Martialis epig.*, II, pp. 295 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 300.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 299.

<sup>9</sup> Section A: Homer and Vergil, 183-186. Section B: Menander, 187. Section C: Latin Literature: (I) Cicero, 188; (II) Historians (Livy, Sallustius), 190-191; (III) Poets (Ovid, Tibullus, Lucan, Catullus), 192-195; (IV) Technical Writers (Calvus), 196. Only number 189 (Propertius) is out of place in this otherwise logical order. Friedlaender's arrangement results in the assumption of two cases of transposition and four (!) omissions of original epigrams.

Let us now consider the works of art, individually, and in their relationships to each other. They are:

1) ep. 170: a golden (or a gilded) statue or statuette of Victory. Martial relates it to the victories of Domitian in Germany. But it can, of course, be an earlier Greek or Roman work.

2) ep. 171: a clay statue (or statuette) of a boy, the *Βρούτου παιδίον*. The figure is characterized as small (line 1). This may mean that it was either smaller than life size or that it represented a young child. The former is the more likely supposition. It has been recognized that the figure is identical with a work which Pliny mentions and which was greatly admired by Brutus. This work was made by Strongylion in the early fourth century B.C. and was probably owned by Brutus in the first century before our era.<sup>10</sup> His devotion to the figure must have been spectacular enough to warrant the name *Βρούτου παιδίον*. Curiously analogous is the esteem which Nero had for the only other known work of the same Greek sculptor, an Amazon which he carried on his voyages and which, obviously, must have been a statuette.<sup>11</sup> We may reasonably assume a small size likewise for the "Boy of Brutus." Another question is whether the work referred to by Martial was the same original figure which Brutus had once owned, or whether it was a copy. Modern critics have, without hesitation, assumed the latter to be the case.<sup>12</sup> However, I know of no evidence for Roman terracotta copies of masterpieces of Greek art. On the other hand, the statuette owned by Brutus might well have been the original clay model of the work of Strongylion. We know from Pliny<sup>13</sup> how much Roman collectors in the first century B.C. admired clay models made by famous artists, and thus it is quite possible that the *Βρούτου παιδίον* of Martial was the actual original which Brutus had owned. That this figure was popular in Martial's time also and therefore probably displayed in a prominent place, is indicated by the fact that he refers to it in another epigram (IX, 50, 5). Here again he calls it small and describes it as a plastic prototype (model !) of his own poems, as minor art. In that poem he added "Langon," a word which has been taken to refer to another figure,<sup>14</sup> but which may be, if we consider it as an appositive, another name for the same work. In that case, the "leisurely" boy may well have been represented in a leaning posture like the well-known "Narcissus" type of the fourth century.

<sup>10</sup> Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXIV, 34, 82. G. Lippold in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Strongylion.

<sup>11</sup> Pliny, *loc. cit.*, with note ed. Blake-Sellers.

<sup>12</sup> Lippold, *loc. cit.*, p. 373.

<sup>13</sup> *N.H.*, XXXV, 151 f.

<sup>14</sup> Friedlaender, in his note to this epigram, and Lippold in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, vol. 13, p. 2296, no. 7, connected Lango with an alleged statue of an otherwise unknown sculptor Lyciscus which is assumed from the corrupted passage in Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXIV, 79. The better tradition of the Bambergensis codex, rightly accepted by most modern critics, rules out such a consideration.

3) ep. 172: A figure of the Sauroctonos in Corinthian bronze.<sup>15</sup> That this is typologically identical with the Sauroctonos of Praxiteles has been recognized. But it has been generally assumed that this, again, is a copy.<sup>16</sup> Martial may well be referring to the original in bronze, and indeed in the Corinthian mixture, favored by artists of the fourth century.<sup>17</sup> Where the original stood in Martial's time is unknown. The boyish character (line 1) and the leaning posture relate the figure to the preceding one. In addition, both are works of roughly the same period of Greek art: the fourth century B.C.

4) ep. 173: Hyacinthus, a panel painting, either on wood or marble. Hyacinthus was represented dying after having been hit by the disk thrown by Apollo. A connection between this painting and a famous painting by Nikias has been suggested, but again with the supposition that Martial refers not to the original but to a copy.<sup>18</sup> The painting by Nikias was brought by Augustus from Alexandria to Rome and later dedicated by Tiberius in the temple of Divus Augustus because the founder of the empire had been particularly fond of it.<sup>19</sup> It must still have been visible there in the second century after Christ because Pausanias (III, 19, 4) refers to details of it which he saw. It was therefore in the temple of Divus Augustus in the age of Martial. Although the topic recurs later in the "gallery" described by Philostratus,<sup>20</sup> it is not represented among the copies of Pompeian wall painting, and thus it was not a common iconographic type. It is, therefore, within the realm of possibility that Martial refers to the original in the Temple of Divus Augustus. As we shall see presently, this fact can be proved. It may be added that, in subject matter, this painting can be connected with the preceding figure of Apollo Sauroctonos. We also meet again—for the third time—a work of the same Greek artistic milieu of the fourth century B.C.

5) ep. 174: a marble Hermaphroditus. Whether this is a statue or a relief is not indicated by Martial. However, the former is unlikely for several reasons. Martial is referring to the metamorphosis of Hermaphroditus that resulted from his love adventure with the nymph of the fountain Salmakis: <sup>21</sup> his reference is hardly a purely literary one to Ovid's famous narrative. From the epigram one gets the impression

<sup>15</sup> I fail to understand M. Bieber's remark, Thieme-Becker, *Kuenstlerlexicon*, s.v. Praxiteles, that "Corinthian" might point to the location.

<sup>16</sup> Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, p. 334; Bieber, *loc. cit.*; Kerr, *op. cit.*, note to XIV, 172; Isaac, *op. cit.*, II, p. 246, note 2.

<sup>17</sup> K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Drei Entwicklungsphasen griechischer Erzplastik* (Stuttgart, 1937), p. 6.

<sup>18</sup> Kerr, *op. cit.*, note to XIV, 173, who, however, confuses Nikias with his teacher Antidotos (copied by Isaac, *op. cit.*, p. 246, note 3): cf. G. Lippold, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Nikias, p. 338.

<sup>19</sup> Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXV, 131; Th. Reinach, *Recueil Millet* (Paris, 1921), pp. 287 f., with correct translation, fails to refer, however, to Martial.

<sup>20</sup> *Art Bulletin*, XXIII, 1941, pp. 33 f.

<sup>21</sup> Ovid, *Met.*, IV, 285-389.

that Hermaphroditus was shown after he had emerged from the fountain and that the locale was indicated. This type of representation could only be given in a marble relief and in that class of monuments popularly called "Hellenistic relief paintings." In fact, the subject itself occurs in this group of decorative wall reliefs of the first and second centuries after Christ.<sup>22</sup> The hypothesis that Martial refers to such a relief becomes certain by virtue of the fact that, in the obvious counterpart of this epigram, the poet describes Leander in landscape scenery: "Leandros marmoreus" corresponding to the "Hermaphroditus marmoreus" here.

6) ep. 175: Danaë, a painting. Whether this painting was a panel or a fresco is not said. The subject was not uncommon and occurs several times in Pompeian wall painting. Martial fails to indicate details. But there is a very important fact which cannot be accepted as coincidental: The painting with Danaë follows—in Martial's set of epigrams referring to paintings—immediately upon that of Hyacinthus (no. 4). Now Pliny, in the passage where he lists the works of Nikias, mentions a Danaë, though obviously not brought by Augustus from Alexandria, as being then on exhibit, together with the Hyacinthus, in the temple of Divus Augustus.<sup>23</sup> The connection between these two paintings in both cases proves that Martial's epigram actually refers to the Danaë of Nikias and to the collection in the temple of Divus Augustus.

7) ep. 176: a mask of a German. Martial fails to indicate more than that this mask represented a rather wild barbaric type which might terrify a child. In addition, he appears to indicate red painted clay as the material. Since a clay mask could only have a decorative function, I assume it refers to the architectural setting of the works of art described in this series of epigrams.

8) ep. 177: a group of Hercules strangling the serpents, in Corinthian bronze. We possess copies of various Hellenistic and first century B.C. sculptured groups of this kind.<sup>24</sup> Here, Martial may well be referring either to a bronze copy of one of

<sup>22</sup> Th. Schreiber, *Hellenistische Reliefbilder* (Leipzig, 1889), pl. 15.

<sup>23</sup> Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXV, 131 f. (see, above, note 19) with note ed. Blake-Sellers. Th. Reinach, *loc. cit.*, while he fails to consider the Hyacinthus painting of Martial in connection with the passage of Pliny, does refer to the Danaë epigram, and also to Terence, *Eun.*, 3, 5, 36/7. If this passage goes back to an original of the New Comedy, it too may well refer to the painting of Nikias. Kerr, *loc. cit.*, curiously connects this Danaë epigram with a copy of Artemon's picture of Danaë (Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXV, 139) and, while he does not mention the Danaë of Nikias, he refers (with a mistaken name of the artist, see above, note 18) to this very passage of Pliny in connection with the Hyacinthus painting. L. Homo, *Gaz. d. beaux arts*, XV, 1919, p. 34, and Platner-Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (1929), p. 63, misquoted Pliny by referring to the Hyacinthus of Nikias as the only painting dedicated in the temple. One is somewhat appalled by such an array of superficiality and mistakes concerning a single little piece of evidence.

<sup>24</sup> O. Brendel, *Der Schlangenwuergende Herakliskos* (Berlin, 1933), pp. 218 f., with reference to this epigram, p. 219, note 1.

these groups or to one of the originals exhibited in Rome, e. g., in the temple of Divus Augustus.

9) ep. 178: Hercules in clay. Inasmuch as Martial calls it *sigillum*, it is either a statue of small size, a statuette, or a relief. However, the parallelism with number 2 (Βρούρου παιδίον *fictile*—*Hercules fictilis*) makes it certain that the first supposition is correct. It has been observed, furthermore, that Martial's *Hercules fictilis* is also related to a work mentioned by Pliny.<sup>25</sup> The latter in fact mentions a *Hercules fictilis* in the same idiomatic form which was used for the Βρούρου παιδίον: he describes it as quite famous and as a valuable piece, an archaic Etruscan clay figure by Vulca which, in his time, was publicly exhibited in Rome.<sup>26</sup> Again this duplication of label cannot be attributed to mere coincidence. On the other hand, as far as we know, the possibility that such archaic Etruscan works were copied in the later age must be ruled out. The conclusion is that Martial refers to the original *Hercules Fictilis* and that the figure stood in the temple of Divus Augustus<sup>27</sup> from the time of Tiberius on—whatever its fate before that age had been. We may also note that this second Hercules figure is mentioned next to the Hercules group indicating, once again, as before in the cases of numbers 3 and 4, a local connection of interrelated subject matter.

10) ep. 179: Minerva in silver, probably a statuette or statue of silver or silvered bronze. She has a spear and helmet but no aegis which gives Martial an opportunity to make a flattering remark about Domitian. I do not see that that iconographic detail has any significance for dating or relating the figure.

11) ep. 180: Europa, a painting. The label, again, in parallelism to number 6, does not indicate whether this is a panel or a fresco. But this very parallelism (*Danaë picta*—*Europe picta*) is significant inasmuch as the two paintings depicting two brides of Zeus are obviously counterparts in subject matter. It is also obvious that such a relationship is not the result of the poet's selection: it must be due to the fact that he saw the two paintings in a balanced arrangement within an ensemble. Europa was represented riding on the bull in a well-known type. The subject was popular in Greek and Pompeian painting. Here, we have either a Roman copy of a Greek work or one of the originals now preserved in such copies.<sup>28</sup> However, the character of the whole collection points to its being a Greek masterpiece.

<sup>25</sup> *N.H.*, XXXV, 157, with Sellers' note. Kerr, *op. cit.*, note to XIV, 178, retains the old reading based on the inferior manuscripts and a wrong name for the artist—a tradition which was abandoned nearly a century ago (copied by Isaac, *op. cit.*, II, p. 247, note 3).

<sup>26</sup> . . . ab hoc eodem factum Herculem, qui hodieque materiae nomen in urbe retinet.

<sup>27</sup> It may be noted that among the works which decorated the library of the temple of Divus Augustus there was a colossal Etruscan statue of Apollo.

<sup>28</sup> There is no proof whatsoever for the assumption (Kerr, *op. cit.*, note to XIV, 180 = Isaac, *op. cit.*, II, p. 299) that this painting was a copy of that by Antiphilus in the Porticus of Pompey (Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXV, 114), while Martial II, 14, 3 indeed refers to the latter: see Sellers' note.

12) ep. 181: a marble Leander. It has been mentioned already that this work, in its label, corresponds to number 5 (*Hermaphroditus marmoreus*—*Leandros marmoreus*). Furthermore, Martial's description shows that Leander was represented swimming—which is the only iconographic type known from antiquity. It is, therefore, obvious that the work referred to belongs to the group of "Hellenistic relief paintings" of the first century after Christ<sup>29</sup> and that the relief was made as a pendant to the *Hermaphroditus*. The relationship between the two from the point of view of subject matter—the amorous adventures of young heroes—is analogous to that of the *Danaë* and *Europa* paintings.

13) ep. 182: a terracotta hunchback. Whether it is a statuette or a relief is not clear from the term *sigillum*. The unique allusion to the Saturnalia in this epigram might suggest that we have here actually a description of a clay figurine of grotesque character made for that festival, as has been assumed by others.<sup>30</sup> In this case, we should consider this epigram written by Martial for the very purpose of connecting the preceding description of works of art with the poetical fiction of the book. However, there exists also the possibility that this figure or relief of a hunchback actually was kept in the same place with the other works of art or near by. In that case, a very obvious explanation is at hand: the famous hunchback is Aesop. If we consider this possibility in the light of the position of this epigram between the other works of Art and the Books which follow, we come face to face once more with a strange phenomenon: the last work of art may be connected, in some way, with these books.

The reader who has patiently followed my analysis of the single items is now prepared for some conclusions. Martial's epigrams refer to an actual collection of works of art. At least two of these, the terracotta statuettes of the "Boy of Brutus" and of the "Hercules in Clay" were famous originals and not copies. This is true in both cases because of the material and, in the case of the Hercules, because such pieces were never copied, as far as we know. In the case of the other famous works, the *Sauroctonos* of Praxiteles, the *Hyacinthus* and the *Danaë* by Nikias, the *Infant Hercules Strangling the Serpents*, and the *Europa* painting, there is nothing against the theory that these, too, were famous originals with which we are familiar from other evidence. In each instance, the material and technique are in harmony with such an assumption. On the other hand, the pictorial relief panels of *Hermaphroditus* and *Leander* are Roman works of the early empire, belonging to a category of wall reliefs which were produced for the decoration of buildings in that period. An architectural framework of the collection is indicated, also, by the reference to a terracotta mask

<sup>29</sup> Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, II, p. 335, calls it a marble figure of Leander, which is quite impossible. The idea that this is an "Andenken" of the performance mentioned by Martial, *spect.* 25 b, is grotesquely modern.

<sup>30</sup> Kerr, *op. cit.*, note to XIV, 182.

of a barbarian, and this type, in turn, points to a public building of a Roman army leader. The Golden Victory and the Silver Minerva are precious objects which may well have had their place in such an important collection. Fortunately, the fact that the Hyacinthus and Danaë paintings by Nikias were exhibited in the Temple of Divus Augustus in Martial's age reveals the actual place of this collection. Though we have no precise idea of the site and plan of the temple,<sup>31</sup> we know that it was connected with a famous library. The precious books which Martial describes in the next set of epigrams and which he picks, so to speak, from the shelves of a library in the order in which they were classified<sup>32</sup> may well be from this very library. But I must leave this question to experts in that field. It may, however, be mentioned that a "Campana" clay relief<sup>33</sup> showing the hunchback Aesop at the entrance of the library, in which many other sculptures and portraits of authors were exhibited,<sup>34</sup> may have been the inspiration of Martial's epigram 182.

However this may be, the epigrams XIV, 170-182, are the only description we possess of a Roman temple museum of the early empire.<sup>35</sup> Though we cannot be sure

<sup>31</sup> See, for these problems: Platner-Ashby, *op. cit.*, s.v. Divus Augustus, aedes and Bibliotheca templi Divi Augusti; D. Brown, *Architectura Numismatica*, I, *The Temples of Rome* (Ms., Diss., New York Univ., 1940), pp. 52 f. The old theory of the identification of the complex with buildings in the northwestern corner of the Palatine, including Sta. Maria Antiqua, will, I hope, not revive, after R. Delbrueck's basic investigation (*Jahrb. d. arch. Inst.*, XXXVI, 1921, pp. 8 f.). The only reason for the location of the temple in this region is the tradition about Caligula's wooden bridge between Capitol and Palatine. That such a wooden construction selected the shortest distance and was built in a straight line is, however, not at all necessary. The temple, according to Suetonius, *Galba*, 1, was struck by lightning in A.D. 69, and Pliny's statement about its destruction by fire may well refer to the same episode. It does not have to mean complete destruction. In fact, according to Suetonius, some statues in the cella were only partially mutilated. The works of art in the pronaos may not have suffered at all. That the temple was completely destroyed and, only after twelve years, rebuilt by Domitian (as one reads in all modern handbooks) is a theory without basis. Neither is there any evidence for Domitian having built a shrine of Minerva in connection with this temple: Martial, IV, 53, 1-2, does not say that the Pallas shrine and the *templum novum* were in the same place. Martial's old beggar might have turned up in various places. Later, in the Diploma inscriptions, the temple is called "*ad Minervam*." According to Pliny, VII, 210, a statue of Minerva stood in the library of the temple before Domitian's time, and this would explain the references. As early as the time of Tiberius, this library is called "*Bibliotheca templi novi*" by Suetonius (*Tib.*, 74, omitted in Platner-Ashby, *op. cit.*, see Cl. Boyd, *Public Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome* [Chicago, 1915], pp. 12 f.). Consequently, the term *templum novum* designates the original temple, like "Chiesa Nuova." For a rebuilding by Domitian we have no evidence. Another question is whether the coins of Antoninus Pius (Brown, *loc. cit.*; *idem*, *Temples of Rome as Coin Types* [*Num. Notes and Monogr.*, 90, New York, 1941], pl. 6, fig. 5) give evidence for a complete renewal in the period of this emperor. They show an octastylus on a high podium, a type indicating the usual deep Roman pronaos. They also prove that the library was a separate structure near by.

<sup>32</sup> See above, note 9.

<sup>33</sup> See, for this class of reliefs, H. v. Rhoden, *Architektonische roemische Tonreliefs* (in R. Kekule, *Die antiken Terrakotten*, IV, Stuttgart, 1911).

<sup>34</sup> Pliny, *N.H.*, VII, 210.

<sup>35</sup> For these collections, in general, see F. Jacobi, *Grundzuege einer Museographie der Stadt*



that this set of distichs gives a complete picture of the collection which had been created by Tiberius and kept, in all likelihood, in the deep pronaos of the temple, it does reveal the typical character of such a small public museum. It included, indeed, a variety of works of different media: gold, silver, bronze, marble, clay sculptures and reliefs and, in addition, paintings, some of which were panels, others, perhaps, frescoes. The subject matter of these works is equally varied, though, with the one exception of the decorative mask of a German barbarian, it is limited to the mythological and divine sphere. Athena and Nike, Apollo and Herakles, famous love episodes of gods and heroes, are the topics. Stylistically, the collection includes a typical selection of interests of the Roman connoisseurs of the late Republic and early Empire. The one archaic work, the Hercules Fictilis of Vulca, is a romantic curiosity out of the Roman past.<sup>36</sup> Most of the other works which we can classify, sculpture and paintings alike, the clay model of a figure by Strongylion, the Apollo Sauroctonos of Praxiteles, the Hyacinthus and Danaë paintings of Nicias, and, probably, the Europa picture as well, are works of mature classical Greek art. This may also be true of the golden Victory<sup>37</sup> and the silver Minerva. The bronze group of Herakles strangling the serpents was a Hellenistic or, possibly, a neoclassical work of the first century B.C. Finally, we find, in addition to the mask of a barbarian—which, obviously, was a piece of decoration on the temple—two of those so-called Hellenistic mythological marble reliefs with landscape scenery which had become popular with the Augustan age; made to be inserted as pendants in the walls, they were almost certainly original works of the time of Tiberius. But these reliefs, as one can still see in many instances, used and adapted famous pictorial scenes of Greek art<sup>38</sup> and, in the opinion of the connoisseurs of that age, were well fitted to be combined with famous Greek paintings, inasmuch as they themselves quoted such models.

In addition to this general character of the collection, we can, also, see the outlines of its arrangement. We have noted repeatedly two features which are obvious. Certain works which are related by their subject matter are described in succession, while others, which are obviously related as pendants, occur in separate places within the series of distichs.<sup>39</sup> Instances of the former are: the Sauroctonos of Praxiteles

*Rom zur Zeit des Kaisers Augustus*, 1, Speyer, 1884; L. Homo, *op. cit.*, pp. 32 f. An interesting, but much later Latin catalogue of works of art on a papyrus fragment was published by J. Nicole, *Un Catalogue d'œuvres d'art* (Geneva, 1906) and interpreted as an inventory of the collection of the Thermae of Caracalla. Evidently, here, the works are grouped according to media and not to location. Furthermore, it seems quite possible that the list does not at all itemize works of one collection. Rather it could be research material for a treatise dealing with masterpieces which were brought from the Greek East to Rome in various periods.

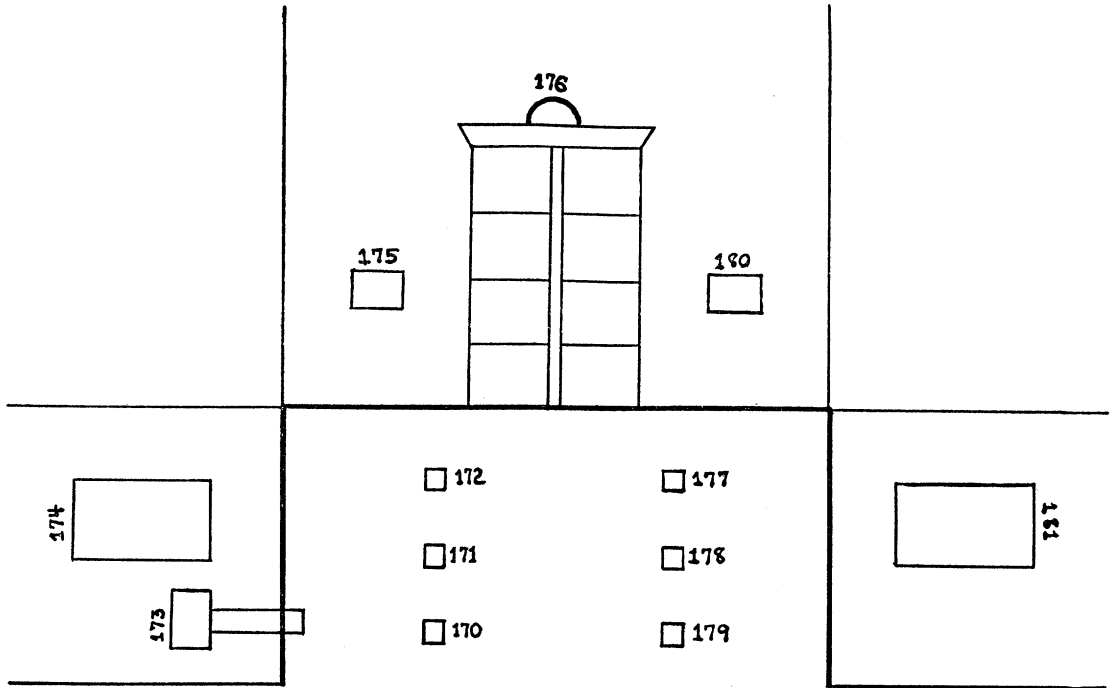
<sup>36</sup> See, also, above, note 27.

<sup>37</sup> See H. Thompson, *Harvard Studies in Class. Philol.*, Suppl. I, 1940, pp. 183 f.

<sup>38</sup> See, for the interrelationship of these reliefs with contemporary Pompeian painting, Cl. Brokaw, *Marsyas*, II (1942), pp. 17 f.

<sup>39</sup> A similar method has been used for reconstructing the "gallery" of Philostratus, *Art. Bull.*,

which is mentioned next to the Hyacinthus painting (172-173) and the two Herakles figures (177, 178), though they differ in medium and style of art. Instances of pendants separated in the sequence of epigrams are: the pair of pictures of Danaë



175: Danaë picta.  
174: Hermaphroditus  
marmoreus.  
173: Hyacinthus in  
tabula pictus.

176: Persona Germana.  
172: Sauroctonos  
Corinthus.  
171: Βρούτον παιδίον  
fictile.  
170: Signum Victoriae  
aureum.  
177: Hercules  
Corinthus.  
178: Hercules  
fictilis.  
179: Minerva  
argentea.

180: Europa picta.  
181: Leandros  
marmoreus.

Figure 1

and Europa (175, 180) and the marble reliefs with Hermaphroditus and Leander (174, 181). In addition, we meet works which are separated in the description but which, at the same time, would make good counterparts because of their material, size and general character. These are the Golden Victory and the Silver Minerva (170, 179), the terracotta boy of Strongylion and the terracotta statuette of Vulca (171,

*loc. cit.* In connection with the results thus obtained, Professor B. L. Ullman called my attention to the epigrams of Martial, and therefore this study is actually a fruit of his learning. To Dr. Bluma Trell I am greatly indebted for valuable assistance.

178), the Corinthian bronzes Sauroctonos and Infant Herakles (172, 177). In other words, ten of the twelve works, that is, all with the exception of a single outstanding masterpiece, the Hyacinthus panel of Nikias (173), and the decorative mask of the barbarian (176), show an artful arrangement of selected pendants. With this arrangement, care has been taken, as far as possible, to place related subjects together, and it would seem, from the sequence of the figure of Strongylion, the Sauroctonos of Praxiteles, and the Hyacinthus of Nikias, also, to place works of similar stylistic character together. All these observations point to the fact that the order of the epigrams reflects an arrangement not of poetic invention but of an actual—surprisingly modern—museum. For this order is based on decorative response and, at the same time, it aims to relate the works of art by subject matter and style.

It may seem hazardous to go farther and suggest a scheme of arrangement in the pronaos of the Temple of Divus Augustus. But such a suggestion will help us understand the background of these epigrams, which are in themselves the only graphic source for the appearance of an antique museum (Fig. 1).

Some such arrangement, which is both logical and explains the order in which a visitor might look at the objects, must be assumed. We may well imagine our poet passing from one piece to the other and from here to the library of the temple, and there seeing the terracotta image of the hunchback Aesop (182) before he takes up the interesting books.

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