

Subject selection and viewer reception of Greek portraits from Herculaneum and Tivoli

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Portraits of Greek philosophers, poets, orators, and generals, such as Socrates, Sophocles, Demosthenes, and Pericles, were used in the Roman period to decorate the luxury villas of wealthy upper-class Romans, serving as indices of their classical education and lending authority to their intellectual pursuits.* Most commonly comprising a head copied from an earlier portrait statue that was then mounted for display on a marble bust or herm pillar, these images of Greeks of the distant past affirmed the owner's sense of himself as an educated gentleman, and provided an appropriate setting for the leisurely discussions of philosophy, rhetoric, or poetry in which the villa-owner and his friends might engage.¹ Considering the crucial rôle the Roman house and its decoration is now recognized to have played in constructing and communicating an owner's personal identity,² these private portrait collections provide a fertile site for exploring the intellectual and cultural interests and aspirations of the patrons, and the tastes and concerns of the periods during which they were formed. I focus here on the Greek portraits from the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum and the Villa of 'Cassius' at Tivoli, two large and well-preserved bodies of material particularly well suited to such a study. While the sculptural display of the Villa of the Papyri has been the focus of much programmatic analysis, with the Greek portraits playing an important rôle, few have recognized the unusual nature of the portrait subjects included in this ensemble, and no one has yet considered the implications of this particularity in their interpretations. The portraits from the Villa of Cassius are less known than those from Herculaneum, but the more familiar portrait subjects represented there provide an illuminating contrast. I look first at the Greek portraits from the earlier Villa of Papyri, and then consider the later (probably 2nd-c.) portraits from

* The following abbreviations are used for frequently cited works:

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| C-deP | D. Comparetti, G. de Petra, <i>La villa ercolanese dei Pisoni</i> (Turin 1883). |
| Lorenz | T. Lorenz, <i>Galerien von griechischen Philosophen- und Dichterbildnisse bei den Römern</i> (Mainz 1965). |
| Neudecker | R. Neudecker, <i>Die Skulpturen-Ausstattung römischer Villen in Italien</i> (Mainz 1988). |
| PofG | G. M. A. Richter, <i>Portraits of the Greeks</i> (London 1965). |
| Richter-Smith | G. M. A. Richter, <i>The portraits of the Greeks</i> (abridged and revised by R. R. R. Smith; Ithaca, NY 1984). |
| Smith | R. R. R. Smith, <i>Hellenistic royal portraits</i> (Oxford 1988). |
| von den Hoff | R. von den Hoff, <i>Philosophenporträts des Früh- und Hochhellenismus</i> (Munich 1994). |
| Warden | P. G. Warden, "The sculptural program of the Villa of the Papyri," <i>JRA</i> 4 (1991) 257-61. |
| Warden & Romano | P. G. Warden and D. G. Romano, "The course of glory: Greek art in a Roman context at the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum," <i>Art History</i> 17 (1994) 228-54. |
| Wojcik | M. R. Wojcik, <i>La villa dei papiri ad Ercolano</i> (Rome 1986). |

- 1 Cicero's dialogues give settings, occasions, and participants: see J. Linderski, "Garden parlors: nobles & birds," in R. I. Curtis (ed.), *Studia pompeiana & classica in honor of Wilhelmina F. Jashemski II: Classica* (New Rochelle 1989) 105-27. For an overview of the intellectual climate of the late Republic see M. Griffin, "The intellectual developments of the Ciceronian age," *CAH IX* (2nd edn., Cambridge 1994) 689-728; for villa social life see J. H. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples* (Cambridge, MA 1970) 39-61.
- 2 For the Roman house as a site of identity construction see, e.g., T. P. Wiseman, "Conspicui postes tectaque digna deo: the public image of aristocratic and imperial houses in the late Republic and early Principate," in *L'Urbs: espace urbain et histoire* (Colloq. 98, 1987) 393-413; Y. Thébert, "Private life and domestic architecture in Roman Africa," in P. Veyne (ed.), *A history of private life I* (Cambridge, MA 1987) 315-409; A. Wallace-Hadrill, "The social structure of the Roman house," *PBSR* 43 (1988) 43-97; C. Edwards, *The politics of immorality in ancient Rome* (Cambridge 1993) 150-60; J. Elsner, *Art and the Roman viewer* (Cambridge 1995) 49-87; id., *Imperial Rome and Christian triumph* (Oxford 1998) 44-50; and P. Zanker, *Pompeii* (Cambridge, MA 1998) 9-25.

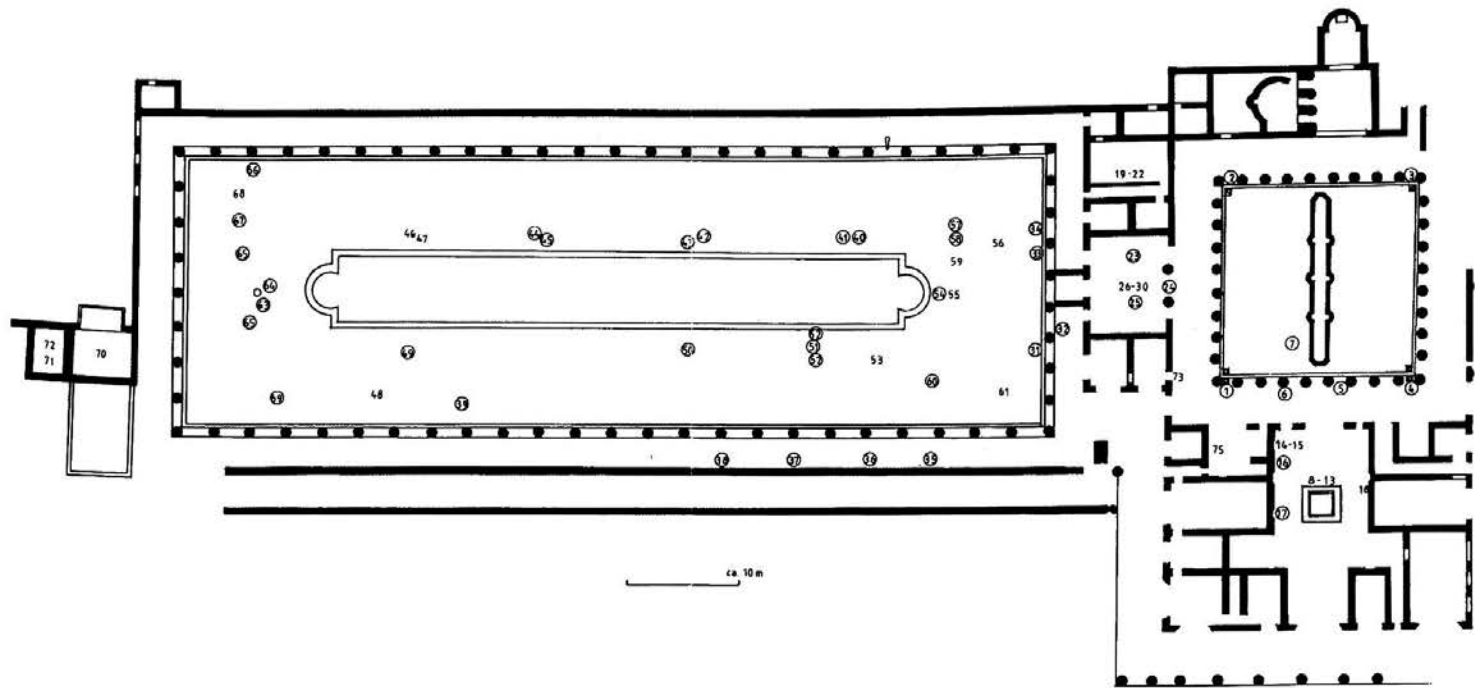


Fig. 1. Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum, plan with findspots of sculptures. Secure findspots are circled; numbers correspond to Neudecker's catalogue (from Neudecker, Beilage 1).

Tivoli. I examine the portrait subjects selected for each of these villa displays, map their arrangement and contexts as far as can be reconstructed, and then consider possible programmatic meanings. Finally I explore how viewers and the viewing process could have shaped and affected 'readings' of such portrait galleries.

The Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum

The material from this villa provides some of our best evidence for the display of portrait sculpture in a domestic setting. About 40 portraits (22 in bronze, 18 in marble) are preserved, representing a wide range of subjects. Portraits account for more than half the total sculptural collection, offering the full spectrum of possible size and formats — herm, bust, statue — and a broad range of contexts in which such portrait sculpture might be displayed within a Roman villa.³ The subjects represented comprise 22 Greek writer-thinker types; 12 (mostly Hellenistic) rulers; 4 private portraits of Romans (3 male and 1 female); and 2 private female portraits in Hellenistic-Greek style.

The portraits were displayed throughout the villa (fig. 1). Three bronze busts of Hellenistic rulers decorated the atrium;⁴ four over-life-size bronze portrait busts (3 Greek writer-thinkers and one Hellenistic prince) were set on marble pillars around the pool of the small peristyle.⁵ Rooms in between the small and large peristyles contained a large number of bronze busts: six

3 C-deP, Neudecker and Wojcik are fundamental. The villa's sculptural collection plays a pivotal rôle in Neudecker's study, where it is said to include all of the major elements and standard subjects found in later, Imperial-period villas (chapt. 4). For a recent review of the extensive scholarship analyzing the villa's sculptural program see Warden.

4 C-deP 264, nos. 19, 21-22, pls. 10.1, 9.3-4; Neudecker 149, nos. 14.16-14.18; Wojcik 219-26, nos. I1-I3, pls. 109-11; sculptural decoration of the atrium is discussed by M. George, "Elements of the peristyle in Campanian atria," *JRA* 11 (1998) 84-85.

5 C-deP 261-62, nos. 8-10, pls. 8.2, 4, 9.1; 264, no. 23, pl. 9.2; Lorenz 11, pl. 4.2-3, 5-6; Neudecker 148-49, nos. 14.3-14.6; Wojcik 171-90, nos. G3-G6, pls. 93-96, identified respectively as Pythagoras, Empedocles, Ap. Claudius Pulcher, cos. A.D. 54, and Demokritos.

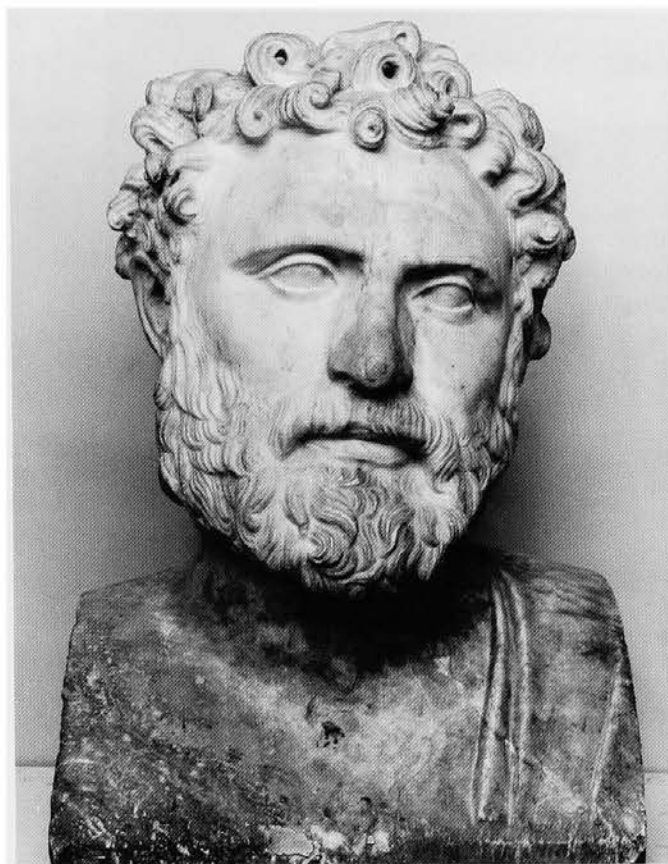


Fig. 2. Marble herm of 'Lysias', Naples inv. 6147 (DAI neg. 85.1057, Schwanke).

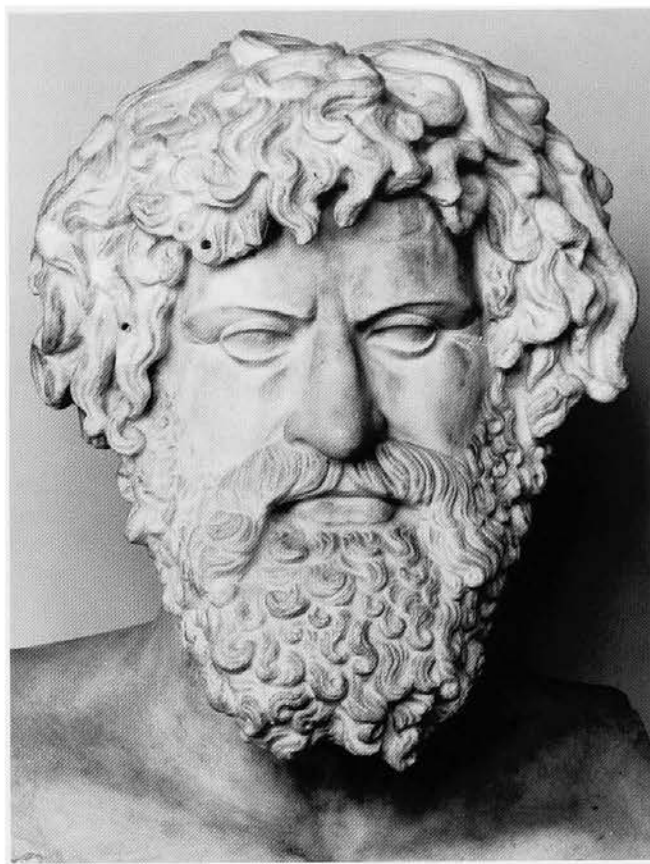


Fig. 3. Marble herm variously identified as Juba, Hannibal, Apollodoros or Menippos, Naples inv. 6154 (DAI neg. 85.1057, Schwanke).

busts of Greek writers and thinkers were probably set on shelves in room V8;⁶ 7 portraits — one marble statue (Hellenistic-style female) and 6 bronze busts (4 Romans and 2 Greek writer-thinkers) were found in room 36.⁷ Four marble portrait statues stood in the portico leading into the large peristyle;⁸ 13 marble portrait herms were set on either side of the peristyle garden's large pool (figs. 2-5),⁹ and 3 more bronze busts were displayed in the garden.¹⁰

While the Villa of the Papyri presents the best-documented context for the display of Greek portraits in Roman villas, the subjects represented do not present a typical selection of subjects commonly copied in the Roman period. The Greeks of the past included here are quite unusual and particular: many are unknown, and many portraits are preserved in only this single

6 C-deP 262-63, nos. 11-13, pl. 12.4, 1, 7; nos. 15-17, pl. 12. 6, 8, 9; Lorenz 12, pl. 6; Neudecker 149-50, nos. 14.19-14.22, 14.30a, 14.74; Wojcik 157-70, nos. F1-F6, pls. 83-88.

7 C-deP 262, no. 12, pl. 12.1; 263, no. 14, pl. 12.5; 265, nos. 26-28, pl. 11.2-4; 267, no. 31, pl. 12.3; 278, pls. 87, 19.3; Neudecker 150-51, nos. 14.23-14.29, 14.30b, d; Wojcik 129-56, nos. E1-E10, pls. 66-75.

8 C-deP 277-78, nos. 83-85, 88, pl. 18.1-3; Lorenz 13, pl. 5; Neudecker 151, nos. 14.31-14.34; Wojcik 39-50, nos. A1-A4, pls. 24, 26-27, identified respectively as Isokrates, Demetrios of Phaleron, Aeschines, and Demosthenes.

9 C-deP 272-76, nos. 67, 69-80, pls. 20-22; Lorenz 14, pls. 8-10; Neudecker 152-53, nos. 14.40-14.43, 14.45-53; Wojcik 51-85, nos. B1-B15, pls. 30-45, identified respectively as Demetrios Poliorketes, Antimachos of Colophon, Alexander Molossos, Krates, Ptolemy II, Panyassis, Philetairos of Pergamon, Archidamos III, 'Lysias', Pyrrhos, Athena, Hestia, Menippos of Gadara, Bion of Borythenes, and Herakles of Polykleitos.

10 C-deP 265, nos. 25, 29, pls. 10.4, 5; Neudecker 154-55, nos. 14.67-14.69; Wojcik 87-106, nos. C5-C7, pls. 51-53, identified respectively as Seleukos I, Sappho, and Aristophanes.

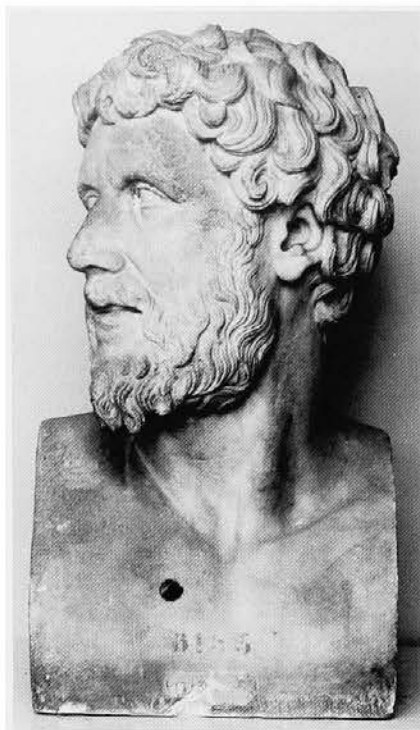


Fig. 4. Marble herm, perhaps an early Hellenistic poet, Naples inv. 6135 (DAI neg. 85.1060, Schwanke).

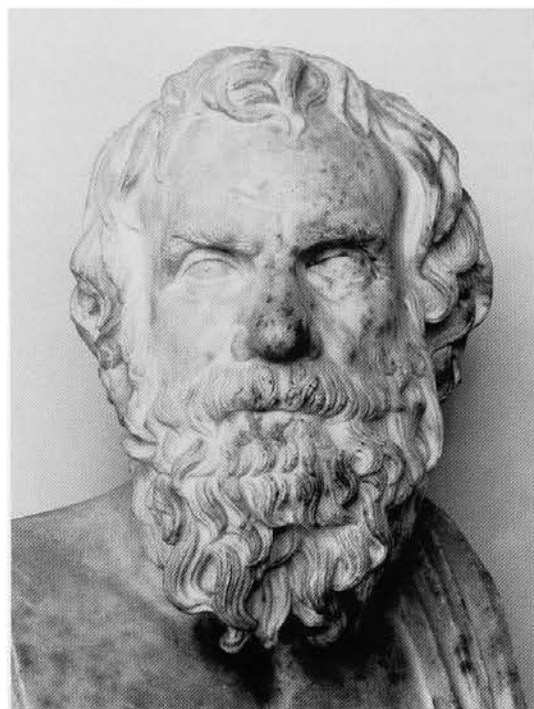


Fig. 5. Marble herm of unnamed philosopher, Naples inv. 6155 (DAI neg. 85.1082, Schwanke).

example. For example, none of the 4 bronze portrait busts from the small peristyle is identified,¹¹ and only 4 of the 13 marble portrait herms from the large peristyle are certainly named (the poet Panyassis, identified by a painted inscription on the herm's chest, and 3 rulers).¹² Only one of the 4 so-called orator statues (Aeschines) is securely identified, and it is also the only one that certainly represents an orator.¹³ Even the identification of types — that is, the

- 11 Three are Greek writer-philosopher types (C-deP nos. 8-10; Lorenz 11, nos. 4.3-5, pls. 4.2-3, 5; Neudecker 148-49, nos. 14.3, 14.4, 14.6); the fourth is probably a Hellenistic prince (C-deP no. 23; Lorenz 11, no. 4.6, pl. 4.6 (unknown youth); Neudecker 148, no. 14.5 (perhaps an athlete, more probably a Roman); for identification as Hellenistic prince see Smith 77-78, no. 27 'Young commander'). The two additional bronze busts from the small peristyle are ideal sculptures: they are the Doryphoros herm and a classical-looking female type (C-deP 261, nos. 6-7, pl. 8.3, 1; Lorenz 11, nos. 4.1-2, pl. 4.2, 4; Neudecker 148, nos. 14.1, 14.2).
- 12 Panyassis: C-deP no. 72; I. Sgobbo in *RendNap* 46 (1971) 115f.; Neudecker 153, no. 14.53; Wojcik B6; Richter-Smith 170-71, fig. 132. The rulers are Philetairos: C-deP no. 78; Neudecker 152, no. 14.40; Richter-Smith 243, fig. 246; Smith no. 22; Archidamos III: C-deP no. 76; Neudecker 152, no. 14.41; Richter-Smith 93, fig. 57; and Demetrios Poliorketes: C-deP no. 73, Neudecker 153, no. 14.51; Richter-Smith 228, fig. 193; Smith no. 4.
- 13 Aeschines statue: C-deP no. 84; *PofG* 213, no. 6, figs. 1369-71; Neudecker 151, no. 14.34. I. Sgobbo (*RendNap* 47 [1972] 241-305) proposed precise identifications for the three statues that stood together with Aeschines: the 'Homer' (C-deP no. 83; Neudecker 151, no. 14.31) she identified as Isocrates, the Athenian orator; the statue of the beardless youth (C-deP no. 85; Neudecker 151, no. 14.32) she called Demetrios of Phaleron; the very fragmentary statue (C-deP no. 88; Neudecker 151, no. 14.33) she identified as the Athenian orator Demosthenes. These identifications were accepted by both Wojcik and Warden & Romano, but there is little evidence to support them. For example, the body of the 'Homer' statue, which depicts an elderly man wearing *himation* and *chiton* and leaning heavily on a long stick, is not a type commonly associated with a classical orator, but more probably represents either a poet or philosopher. In addition, while it is possible that the statue of the young beardless man wearing only a *himation* represents Demetrios of Phaleron, this identification is purely hypothetical — it is not even certain that the subject represented is a classical orator. It has, for example, been suggested that this statue represents a contemporary Roman, perhaps the owner of the villa, dressed up in Greek clothes (P. Zanker, *The*

differentiation of a man of thought from a man of action, or a philosopher from a poet — is provisional and should not be pushed too far or too precisely.¹⁴ While various identifications have been proposed for the portraits,¹⁵ many of the subjects represented are simply unidentifiable at present.

We are on firmer ground with the 8 bronze bust portraits from the rooms in between the small and large peristyles. Four are helpfully inscribed with the names of the subjects, all also well attested within the larger corpus of Greek portraits made in the Roman period. Epicurus¹⁶ appears three times within this group, Hermarchos¹⁷ and Demosthenes¹⁸ twice, and Zenon¹⁹ once. While it has long been suggested that an interest in Epicurean philosophy informed the selection of sculpture throughout the villa,²⁰ it is only here that two Epicureans (Epicurus and

power of images in the age of Augustus [Ann Arbor 1988] 30-31, fig. 24). One can say very little about the fragmentary fourth statue, now lost, other than that it apparently depicted a draped male.

- 14 For example, we are probably correct in interpreting Naples inv. 6155 (fig. 5), which represents an old man with long hair and full thick beard, as the portrait of a philosopher, perhaps of the 4th c., as most have done (C-deP no. 71, "philosopher"; Wojcik 53-54, no. B2, pl. 31 (Antimachos of Colophon); Neudecker no. 14.52 (probably a philosopher of the 4th c. B.C.); E. Pozzi (ed.), *Le collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Rome 1989) 124, no. 146 (Greek man of letters, Antimachos of Colophon?, Roman copy of a mid-4th c. B.C. original); von den Hoff 153 n.35 (copy of an original c.330 B.C.). But how should we read the portrait (Naples inv. 6153, fig. 4) that depicts a mature man with short thick hair and beard and a dynamic turn of the head? This portrait is commonly identified as a poet of the early Hellenistic period because of the head pose and parted lips (E. Buschor, *Das hellenistische Bildnis* [2nd edn., Munich 1971] 17, 19, no. 57, fig. 14 (copy of original of second quarter of 3rd c. B.C., poet?); Lorenz 14, no. 4, pl. 9.4 (unknown poet?); Wojcik 69-71, no. B14, pl. 43 (Bion of Borysthenes; original of early 3rd c. B.C.); Pozzi (ibid.) 124, no. 137 (man of letters, copy of original of c.270 B.C.); Neudecker no. 14.47 (probably depicts early Hellenistic intellectual); von den Hoff 46 n.32, 76 (copy of original of second quarter of 3rd c. B.C., probably poet rather than philosopher). This portrait seems to me, however, to have strong affinities with the portrait of the Athenian general Olympiodoros, who is depicted with a similarly dynamic pose and spirited expression (*PofG* 162, figs. 894-96). The three bronze 'philosopher' busts from the small peristyle and the three 'orator' statues from the portico present similar interpretative difficulties. Indeed, this group of portraits strongly suggests that there is a great deal more ambiguity and ambivalence in the visual expression of one's social rôle in Greek portraiture than is generally acknowledged.
- 15 For example, one marble herm from the large peristyle, Naples inv. 6154, has been variously identified as Hannibal (C-deP no. 80; E. Q. Visconti, *Iconographie grecque* III [Paris 1824] 282-83, pl. 55); Apollodorus (B. Vierneisel-Schlörb, *Glyptothek München. Katalog der Skulpturen II: klassische Skulpturen* [Munich 1979] 418); Juba II (*PofG* 280); Menippus of Gadara (Wojcik 67-68, no. B13, pl. 42); and an unknown Cynic philosopher of the late 4th c. B.C. (D. Pandermalis, "Zum Programm der Statuenausstattung der Villa dei Papyri," *AthMitt* 86 (1971) 178; Neudecker 152, no. 14.46).
- 16 Small inscribed bronze bust from room V8, Naples inv. 5465: C-deP 262, no. 13, pl. 12.7; *PofG* 196, no. 8, figs. 1175-77; Neudecker 149-50, no. 14.20; Wojcik 163-64, no. F4, pl. 86; small bronze bust with no secure findspot, Naples inv. 5470: C-deP 263, no. 15, pl. 12.6; *PofG* 196, no. 9, figs. 1180-82; Neudecker 151, no. 14.30a; Wojcik 167-70, no. F6, pl. 88; life-size bronze bust from room 36, Naples inv. 11017: C-deP , 263, no. 14, pl. 12.5; Neudecker 150, no. 14.25; Wojcik 143-44, no. E10, pl. 75.
- 17 Small inscribed bronze bust from room V8, Naples inv. 5466: C-deP 263, no. 16, pl. 12.8; *PofG* 204, no. 10, figs. 1291-93; Neudecker 150, no. 14.21; Wojcik 157-59, no. F1, pl. 84; small bronze bust with no secure provenance, Naples inv. 5471: C-deP 263, no. 18 'Metrodoros', pl. 12.2; *PofG* 204, no. 12, figs. 1294-96; Neudecker 155, no. 14.74; Wojcik 161-63, no. F3, pl. 85.
- 18 Small inscribed bronze bust from room V8, Naples inv. 5467: C-deP 262, no. 11, pl. 12.4; *PofG* 217-18, no. 12, figs. 1438-40; Neudecker 150, no. 14.22; Wojcik 164-67, no. F5, pl. 87; small bronze bust without precise find spot, Naples inv. 5469: C-deP 262, no. 12, pl. 12.1; *PofG* 218, no. 13, figs. 1441-43; Neudecker 151, no. 14.30d; Wojcik 131-32, no. E2, pl. 67.
- 19 Small inscribed bronze bust from room V8, Naples inv. 5468: C-deP 263, no. 17, pl. 12.9; *PofG* 188, no. 2, figs. 1086-88; Neudecker 149, no. 14.19; Wojcik 159-61, no. F2, pl. 84.
- 20 Primarily by Pandermalis 1971 (supra n.15) and G. Sauron ('Templa serena: à propos de la villa des papyri d'Herculaneum,' *MEFRA* 92 [1980] 277-301). Wojcik (275) and Warden (260) question this idea

Hermarchos) are certainly represented. The Zeno is surely the founder of Stoic philosophy, and not, as some have argued, the more obscure Epicurean Zeno of Sidon.²¹

The rooms in which these portraits were found could have been used for reading rooms, suggesting that perhaps these particular subjects were selected to reflect the holdings of the library. R. Neudecker would like to establish a strong distinction between the function and meaning of Greek portraits displayed within a villa's inner rooms (usually of small format and more expensive materials) and those set up in its peristyle garden (usually life-size and of marble). He suggests that the particular interests and preferences of a patron are revealed in the subjects displayed inside, which he argues were also the object of cult reverence, while the herms displayed in a peristyle garden he believes were selected from a standardized repertoire of authors whose writings formed the basis of a classical education.²² He does not believe that the marble herm gallery in the peristyle garden reflects specific interests of the villa's owner.²³ While it is possible that one would express a more personal connection to a particular Greek cultural hero by commissioning a small-scale portrait made of precious materials for display in a bedroom or library, the unusual and particular nature of the subjects chosen for the garden does suggest a degree of involvement and interest on the part of the patron. The Greek portraits displayed in the inner rooms of the villa, on the other hand, represent well-known, conventional subjects that would probably have been part of the stock repertoire, the kinds of subjects one could perhaps expect when simply ordering 'portraits appropriate for a library'.

In addition to the many unknown subjects, most of the Greek portraits are preserved in only this single example.²⁴ For example, of the 16 life-size portraits in both bronze and marble of Greek writer-thinker types, only 4 — Aeschines, Panyassis, 'Crates', and the 'Pseudo-Seneca' (Hesiod?) — represent portraits preserved in more than one example.²⁵ Except for these 4 and

of Epicurean principles guiding sculptural selection based on the assumption that the planner of the sculptural decoration was also the patron of Philodemos of Gadara. Warden & Romano (246), however, suggest that the message expressed through the sculptural program does not contradict "the presumed Epicurean philosophy of the villa's owner" The frequency with which such properties changed hands, together with the difficulty in dating such sculpture with any precision makes associating the selection of these portraits with a particular owner hazardous. For the frequent sale of such villas, especially in the late Republic, see E. Rawson, "The Ciceronian aristocracy and its properties," in M. I. Finley (ed.), *Studies in Roman property* (Cambridge 1976) 85-102.

21 See von den Hoff 94 for the most recent discussion of the identification of this portrait type.

22 Neudecker 73-74; cf. P. Zanker, *The mask of Socrates: the image of the intellectual in antiquity* (Berkeley 1995) 206. See also A. Stähli, "Ornamentum academiae: Kopien griechischer Bildnisse in Hermenform," in T. Fischer-Hansen et al. (edd.), *Acta Hyperborea* 4 (1992) = *Ancient portraiture: image and message* 147-72, esp. 150-53.

23 Neudecker 109: "Nach alledem kann die marmorne Hermengalerie nicht als besonderes Interessengebiet des dominus betrachtet werden; ebensowenig originell ist das dionysische Programm."

24 It is, of course, possible that the subjects included in the Villa of the Papyri collection could be well-known individuals, represented in unusual, non-canonical portrait types. The bronze bust from the small peristyle, for example, could depict a non-canonical Aristotle, as first suggested by M. Bieber (*The sculpture of the Hellenistic age* [2nd edn., New York 1961] 62, figs. 192-93). See also Neudecker 148, no. 14.6; von den Hoff 57-58, where the portrait is identified as a Peripatetic philosopher because of its affinities with the portraits of Aristotle and Theophrastos. Literary and epigraphic sources demonstrate that it was not unusual for an individual to be represented in several different statues set up in various places, and the Roman copies show that more than one of these could be replicated. There were, for example, at least three different statues of Isocrates (*PofG* 209); three of Lycourgos (*PofG* 212); two of Aristotle (*PofG* 171); three of Epicurus (*PofG* 195); and two of Menander (*PofG* 225). The portraits of Homer, Socrates, and Sophocles are all preserved in Roman replicas of more than one model. What we could have at the Villa of the Papyri, then, are famous individuals represented in portraits different from the ones that were usually selected.

25 The portrait of the Athenian orator Aeschines is preserved in about 10 Roman-period versions; Panyassis in about 3, 'Crates' in about 4; the 'Pseudo-Seneca' in over 40. The evidence is conveniently

the bronze busts of Epicurus, Hermarchos, Demosthenes and Zenon, most of the portraits seem not to have been part of the standard repertoire of villa decoration. While the display of such herm portraits of learned Greeks was probably meant, at some level, to evoke the ambiance of the Greek gymnasium, the subjects represented by the herm portraits here were not those that one would have received by simply asking, as Cicero did, for things γυμνασιώδη.²⁶

The high quality of both the bronze and marble portraits also suggests that a great deal of care, attention, and money was lavished on their manufacture and acquisition. It has even been argued on technical grounds that the bronze portraits were cast from moulds taken directly from the original statues and are therefore nearly exact reproductions of their models.²⁷ The marble herm portraits from the peristyle garden are also of high quality; equally finished all the way round, they show a wide variety of surface treatment and design details. All the bust and herm portraits appear to retain the head pose of their original models. This turn or tilt of the head, sometimes quite dramatic, is alien to the strict frontality of the ancient herm format and was probably imported from the originating portrait statue. These features of quality, finish and pose set these portraits apart from most Greek portrait copies, which tend to be of less high quality, with heads set straight on their shafts.²⁸ The special interest in Hellenistic rulers is another unusual feature of the portraits since the surviving corpus of Greek portrait copies shows a clear preference for men of thought (philosophers, poets, and orators) rather than for men of action (generals or rulers).

This particularity of the portraits has not been adequately appreciated, and its implications for interpretations of the program have yet to be assessed. Much has been made, for example, of the relationship between the contents of the library, the subjects represented in its Greek portraits, and the meaning of the villa's sculptural program.²⁹ D. Pandermalis imposed a fairly rigid organizational scheme on the marble herm gallery, in which portraits of philosophers and poets, signifying Epicurean contemplative life and the concept of *otium* were contrasted with those of orators and rulers, representing the Stoic active life and *negotium*.³⁰ G. Sauron saw the peristyle garden as a re-creation of the Garden of Epicurus and suggested that the portraits represented Athenian political and cultural heroes of the same period.³¹ R. Neudecker was more flexible, while retaining the concept of *otium/negotium* as an organizing principle.³² M.-R. Wojcik also opted for a less rigid interpretative framework, but then assigned precise names to the portraits based on too little evidence.³³ More recently, G. Warden and D. Romano argued that the sculptural program was designed to offer the viewer a series of

set out in Richter-Smith s.vv. Aeschines, Panyassis, Pseudo-Seneca. For the 'Crates' type, see *PofG* 186, figs. 1076-78, 1080, 1083.

- 26 For analysis of Cicero as art-buyer see Neudecker 8-18; M. Marvin, "Copying in Roman sculpture: the replica series," in *Retaining the original: multiple originals, copies, and reproductions* (Washington, DC 1989) 29-45.
- 27 Smith 71-72. While this suggestion has not met with much favor, the high quality and fine finish of these bronze portraits are undeniable. C. Mattusch's new study of the bronzes from the Villa of the Papyri will provide much-needed technical documentation.
- 28 Zanker's characterization of this genre of sculptural production is particularly apt: "Perhaps no group of Roman copies can claim as many examples of hasty workmanship and poor quality as the portraits of the Greeks" (*Mask of Socrates* [supra n.22] 14). It has been confirmed by my own experience of looking at hundreds of such heads. A similar impression can, I think, be gained by leafing through the photographs in *PofG*. The bronze and marble portraits from the Villa of the Papyri are some of the finest examples of portraiture preserved.
- 29 A useful summary of past programmatic analyses is given in Warden 258-60.
- 30 Supra n.15.
- 31 Supra n.20.
- 32 Neudecker 105-14.
- 33 Wojcik 259-84. See the criticisms of this misleading naming practice in R. Neudecker's review of Wojcik, *Gnomon* 61 (1989) 59-64.

contrasting choices (private/public, *otium/negotium*, inner/outer, order/disorder), the competing attractions of which he was invited to contemplate;³⁴ by their formulation, the so-called orator statues (of which only the Aeschines is certainly an orator) are said to form a conceptual bridge between the worlds of *otium* (i.e., the peristyle garden) and *negotium* (the small peristyle) by the subjects' combination of intellectual or passive traits with political or active ones. Warden and Romano also introduce an agonistic dimension by making the two bronze runners set up at the end of the large peristyle the focus of the collection.³⁵

While the various interpretations of the villa's sculptural program have differed in detail, most have been predicated on, or have at least accepted in part, that the organizing concept of selection and display was the contrast between *negotium* and *otium*. The garden herms play a crucial rôle in this formulation, as the juxtaposition of Hellenistic ruler portraits with those of Greek intellectuals is usually cited as clear evidence for the articulation of these competing concerns. Is this, however, the only, or even the most likely, message these portraits were meant to convey? Are there other possible meanings that the owner may have meant to evoke with this particular, and indeed unusual, combination of subjects?

Rather than presenting the viewer with contrasting choices of public and private or active and passive, I suggest that the inclusion of portraits of Hellenistic kings was perhaps meant to elevate the owner to a similar "kingly" status by associating him visually with great military figures of the Hellenistic world. The combination of kings with Greek intellectual types was perhaps meant to recall the important rôle played by Hellenistic philosophers as tutors and advisors to the Hellenistic kings. The portrait gallery could then evoke a similar relationship between, for example, the villa's owner and an in-house intellectual taking care of the library,³⁶ while also expressing the owner's ambitions for or pretensions to the power, influence, and patronage of Hellenistic kings.³⁷ Aspirations to a similar sort of 'private royalty' can be seen, for example, in the painted Macedonian frieze from the Villa at Boscoreale, which also includes a philosopher-king combination,³⁸ the Alexander Mosaic from the House of the Faun,³⁹ or even in a villa's private fishponds, an expensive pastime adopted from the Hellenistic kings.⁴⁰ The display of portraits of Greek writers and thinkers of the distant past may well have originated with Hellenistic kings: statues of Alkaios, Sappho, Herodotos, Timotheos of Miletus, Balkros, Apollonios, and Homer stood in the library at Pergamon; and statues of Pindar and Plato and 8 additional Greek cultural heroes were set up by the Ptolemies at the Serapieion in Memphis.⁴¹ The combination of ruler portraits and intellectuals in the garden of

34 While they acknowledge that many of the portrait subjects are not precisely identifiable, Warden & Romano (234-35) argue that the *otium/negotium* contrast in the marble herm gallery is made explicit by the pairing of the herm of Athena with that of Hestia. The Hestia identification, however, is far from certain. For example, it has recently been suggested that this portrait probably represents an early Hellenistic queen or princess, rather than an ideal type (Smith 65, 83, 89 n.24, and no. 8). Only the pairing of 'Lysias' (fig. 2), an unidentified, but clearly intellectual type, with a Hellenistic ruler certainly articulates the *otium/negotium* contrast within a single-pair grouping among the marble garden herms. For this pair see Lorenz 13, 7, no. 2, pl. 7.3-4; Neudecker 152, nos. 14.42-14.43.

35 Warden & Romano esp. 240-48. They retain, however, the idea that the Epicurean interest of the patron is reflected in the sculptural collection. C. Mattusch, however, has recently suggested that the bronze runners were not set up simultaneously as they are not made of the same alloy.

36 E. Rawson, *Intellectual life in the late Roman Republic* (Baltimore, MD 1985) 81-83.

37 For the relationship between powerful Romans of the late Republic and Hellenistic kings, see E. Rawson, "Caesar's heritage: Hellenistic kings and their Roman equals," *JRS* 64 (1975) 148-59 (a reference I owe to K. Welch).

38 R. R. Smith, "Spear-won land at Boscoreale: on the royal paintings of a Roman villa," *JRA* 7 (1994) 100-27.

39 See, most recently, A. Cohen, *The Alexander mosaic: stories of victory and defeat* (Cambridge 1997).

40 D'Arms, Romans (supra n.1) 41-42; J. Higginbotham, *Piscinae: artificial fishponds in Roman Italy* (Chapel Hill, NC 1997) 55-64.

41 Portraits in the Pergamene library: see Lorenz 3-4; statues in Memphis: Lorenz 4-6; Zanker (supra n.22)

our villa well articulates the belief that one needed to be both an accomplished military commander as well as an educated, cultured individual. The decision to lead a life wholly devoted to leisure and intellectual pursuits was not one that would have been made willingly by a Roman aristocrat with political ambitions such as those whom scholars have proposed here as the owners.⁴² Thus the concerns of an active or political life and a contemplative or intellectual life should not be seen as competing messages but as complementary.

Although it has been argued on stylistic and technical grounds that the marble herm portraits were made in the early Augustan to Tiberian period,⁴³ the programmatic interpretation suggested here suits a date in the late Republican period.⁴⁴ The dating of Roman versions of earlier Greek portraits by style or even technique cannot be precise, and the problems with this method are shown by the varying dates that are routinely suggested.⁴⁵ It may be better, in this case at least, to argue on the basis of other considerations. Portraits of Hellenistic kings (other than Alexander the Great) are very rare among Roman copies of Greek portraits. This is the largest single assemblage preserved. If one considers, however, such royal imagery as the Macedonian painting cycle from Boscoreale, the Alexander mosaic from Pompeii, or the Second Style paintings from Oplontis, as well as political circumstances in the late Republic, the deployment of such royal portraits in a domestic setting would make most sense in the mid- to late-1st c. B.C. rather than later when Augustus effectively blocked the possibility of aristocratic aspirations to kingly power and influence.⁴⁶ It may also be significant that the portraits probably represent mostly early Hellenistic rulers, rather than contemporary figures with whom Rome had been at war. There was always a certain ambivalence to Roman interest in and emulation of Hellenistic rulers, especially those whom the Romans themselves had defeated.⁴⁷ The use of portraits of these latter as domestic decoration may express visually some of

171-73; B. S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic sculpture 1. The styles of ca. 331-200 B.C.* (Madison, WI 1990) 131-34, with full bibliography. Republican Roman reception of Pergamene art is explored by A. Kuttner in "Republican Rome looks at Pergamon," *HSCP* 97 (1995). See also ead., "Culture and history at Pompey's Museum," *TAPA* 129 (1999) 359-62, on portraits of Greek poets at Pompey's portico, and the potential relationship between its sculptural decoration and the display at the Villa of the Papyri.

- 42 Men like L. Calpurnius Piso Caesonius, the patron of Philodemus, L. Calpurnius Piso Pontifex (Pandermalis' candidate for owner), or Appius Claudius Pulcher, consul in 54 B.C. (most recently proposed as owner by Wojcik). Cicero withdrew from public life out of necessity, not by choice; see D'Arms (supra n.1) 70-72; C. Habicht, *Cicero the politician* (Baltimore, MD 1990) 2-3. See also remarks by D'Arms (ibid. 57-58) that "otium claimed only limited portions of the statesman's time; the phrase *Graeculus otiosus* reveals Roman contempt and disparagement of too much learning and too much leisure."
- 43 Pandermalis (supra n.15) argues for an early Augustan date; J. Frel, *Klearchos* 37-40 (1968) 70 ff., suggests the marble herm portraits were Tiberian. Neudecker (108-9) believes they fit best in between, in the Augustan period.
- 44 N. Himmelmann, *Herrscher und Athlet* (Milan 1988) 209, argues for a date before 30 B.C. for the Herculaneum marble portrait herms; see also R. R. R. Smith in *JRS* 82 (1992) 272, who suggests that the Villa of the Papyri sculptures could be late Republican. B. Ridgway has argued for a mid to late 1st c. B.C. date for the bronze bust of 'Sappho', also found in the villa's peristyle garden ('A goddess in Philadelpha,' in B. Magnusson et al. (edd.), *Ultra terminum vagari: scritti in onore di Carl Nylander* (Rome 1997) 271-77; and M. Fuchs has suggested that the so-called Pisoni kouros is stylistically datable to this period as well (*In hoc etiam genere nihil cedamus: Studien zur Romanisierung der späthellenistischen Kunst im 1. Jhdt. v.Chr.* (Mainz 1999) 25-26, pl. 26 (I owe these references to B. Ridgway).
- 45 For the difficulties in dating Roman 'copies' and a critique of the methodological underpinnings of the endeavor, see C. H. Hallett, "Kopienkritik and the works of Polykleitos," in W. Moon (ed.), *Polykleitos, the Doryphoros, and tradition* (Madison, WI 1995) 121-60.
- 46 See W. Eck, "Senatorial self-representation: developments in the Augustan period," in F. Millar and E. Segal (edd.), *Caesar Augustus: seven aspects* (Oxford 1984) 129-67, for changes brought about in aristocratic display in Rome.
- 47 See Rawson (supra n.36). For Roman interest in Alexander and the Diadochs, see Smith 78. For the relationship between the Roman aristocracy and Hellenistic kings, see T. Hölscher, "Römische Nobiles

this ambivalence: while such expensive objects would enhance the status and image of the villa-owner, the images of these once-great rulers and thinkers of the Greek East were also being shown cut down to size, their heads mounted for display like so many trophies by their Roman conquerors. It is surely a powerful index of one's political supremacy to take the public monuments of a defeated enemy and turn them into garden sculpture.⁴⁸

The unusual and particular character of the portraits thus demonstrates a high level of interest and engagement on the part of the patron in the selection of subjects. These are not the kinds of portraits one would have found readily available in a workshop, or the result of a generic commission for 'Greek portraits for a garden'. To assemble this particular selection, one would have had to specify the subjects desired, most of which were probably only available by special order. The precise programmatic intentions of the patron (or patrons) who chose the portraits, however, remain difficult to reconstruct without knowing the identity of all the portraits; but it is clear, when one compares this group to the surviving corpus of portraits of distant Greeks made in the Roman period, it does not resemble a typical cross-section. Potentially more fruitful both for assessing typical practice and for analyzing sculptural program are the portraits from the Villa of Cassius at Tivoli, to which I now turn.

The Villa of 'Cassius' at Tivoli

First excavated under Pope Pius VI in the 18th c., the Villa of 'Cassius' is one of the many once large and luxurious but now poorly preserved villas that dot the countryside between modern Tivoli and the better-preserved Villa of Hadrian to the south. Like many of its neighbors, including Hadrian's, it seems to have been a modest Republican villa that was remodeled and expanded in subsequent building campaigns to become a luxurious country estate. Three large terrace walls are all that now remain of what was once a large and elaborate architectural complex. The assortment of high-quality marble sculpture recovered gives a good indication of the villa's former splendor. In addition to the Greek portraits, it included finely-carved statues of Apollo and the Muses, a statue of Athena, an over life-size marble reclining Dionysus, as well as at least 8 Egyptianizing statues in dark gray granite, all now on display in the Vatican Museums. Many more statues are recorded as having been found at the site but are now lost.⁴⁹

The villa's collection originally comprised over 30 Greek portraits, 21 of which are preserved.⁵⁰ The subjects represented are identified by inscription and included (in alphabetical order) Aeschines, Anacreon, Antisthenes, Archytas, Bacchylides, Chabrias, Diogenes, Harmodios, Hermarchos, Lykourgos, Peisistratos, Pericles, Pheidias, Pindar, Plato, and the Seven

und hellenistische Herrscher," *Akten des XIII. int. Congresses für klassische Archäologie* (Mainz 1990) 73-84; and for the uses of Greek art by the Roman aristocracy, see id., "Hellenistische Kunst und römische Aristokratie," in G. Hellenkemper Salies (ed.), *Das Wrack: der antike Schiffsfund von Mahdia* (Cologne 1994) 875-87.

48 See J. Henderson's provocative article, "Seeing through Socrates: portrait of the philosopher in sculpture culture," *Art History* 19 (1996) 333: "is there not a major catachresis at play in the head-shrinking habit? If the Greeks are the intellectual master race, history says that the Romans cut them down to size. So many talking heads to admire, to have around the house, to patronize and have the servants dust"; and A. Wallace-Hadrill, "Horti and Hellenization," in M. Cima and E. La Rocca (edd.), *Horti romani* (Rome 1998) 1: "rather than seeing a symbol of Roman cultural weakness [in their appropriation of non-Roman ways], we emphasize the ruthlessness and success with which the Roman ruling class seized Greek cultural goods from their original social and ideological contexts, and transplanted them to their own benefit into Roman contexts with new force and resonance."

49 Complete list of finds in Neudecker 229-34, no. 66; add the fragmentary head of Harmodios found during recent excavations: Z. Mari, "La villa tiburtina detta di Cassio: nuove acquisizioni," *RIA* 6-7 (1983-84) 121-26, figs. 27-30. For the statues of Apollo and the Muses, see K. M. Türr, *Eine Musengruppe hadrianischer Zeit* (Berlin 1971).

50 Nine additional portraits recorded in an earlier Vatican inventory of finds from the villa cannot now be located.

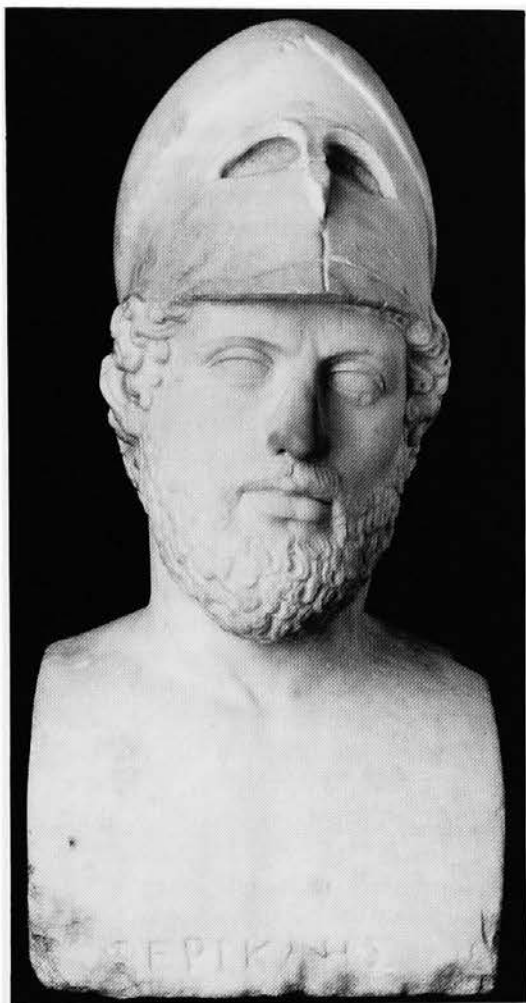


Fig. 6. Herm of Perikles from Tivoli, British Museum inv. Sc549 (copyright Trustees of British Museum).



Fig. 7 (center). Herm of Perikles from Tivoli, Vatican Museums Sala delle Muse, inv. 525 (DAI neg. 86.1566, Neudecker).

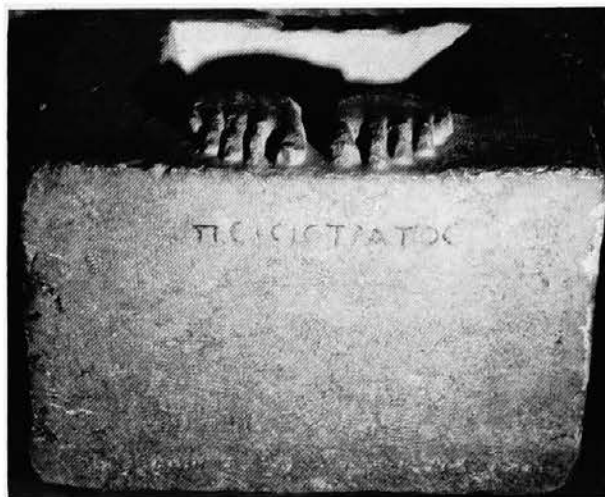


Fig. 8. Marble footed herm base for herm of Peisistratos from Tivoli, Vatican Museums Sala delle Muse inv. 577 (DAI neg. 86.1563, Neudecker).

Wise Men (here comprising Bias, Chilon, Kleoboulus, Periander, Pittacus, Solon, and Thales). Pericles, Pindar, and Pittacus all appear twice. Eleven of the subjects are known in examples found elsewhere.⁵¹ This is a range of heroes primarily of the Classical period, a preference common in this and other categories of Roman villa-decoration.

The extant portraits can be divided into three groups based on the form and style of the herm.⁵² The first comprises 4 marble herms with simple name inscriptions representing Aeschines, Pericles (fig. 6), Antisthenes, and the fragmentary head of an unknown.⁵³ These

51 These are Aeschines, Anacreon, Antisthenes, Bias, Harmodios, Hermarchos, Periander, Pericles, Pindar, Pittakos, and Plato.

52 There were basically three ways of constructing a herm portrait:

(1) the head and just the top part of the herm shaft are carved from a single piece of marble; the herm is then set on a tall pillar for display — the Herculaneum marble portrait herms are examples of this type; (2) the head and complete shaft of the herm are carved from a single piece of marble — the tall herms from Tivoli are examples of this type; and

(3) the head is carved separately and worked for insertion into the herm shaft — see, for example, the head of the 'Pseudo-Seneca' in the British Museum (*PofG* figs. 201-3) or the head of Pindar in the Capitoline Museum (*PofG* figs. 413-15). For further examples and discussion see Stähli (*supra* n.22).

53 Aeschines: *PofG* 213, no. 1, figs. 1372-74; Neudecker 230, no. 66.13, pl. 19.1; Antisthenes: *PofG* 180, no. 1, figs. 1037-39; Neudecker 231-32, no. 66.32, pl. 19.3 (Flavian-period version); Pericles: *PofG* 103, no. 1, figs. 432-33, 435; Neudecker 232, no. 66.36, pl. 19.4 (early Trajanic version); unknown: Neudecker 232,

herms, which comprise the head and upper part of the herm shaft carved in one (like those from the Villa of the Papyri), would have been set on separate pillars. The second group consists of 11 tall, free-standing herms carved from a single block of marble, with the name, patronymic, and ethnic of the subject inscribed in large, elegantly-formed letters on the upper herm shaft; they represent Anacreon, Chabrias, Pericles (fig. 7), Plato, and the Seven Wise Men.⁵⁴ Ten square marble bases with simple name inscriptions into which herm shafts would have been set, are all that survive of the third group:⁵⁵ they represented Archytas, Bacchylides, Diogenes, Hermarchos, Lykourgos, Peisistratos (fig. 8), Pheidias, Pindar (twice), and Pittacus.⁵⁶ One further herm base is not inscribed. These herm bases are of an unusual type: carved in high relief at the center of the upper surface is the front part of a pair of feet. Their inscriptions were carved with much less care than the more elaborate ones on the tall herms: some names are mis-spelled (ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΣ, ΦΘΙΔΙΑΣ and ΒΑΧΧΥΛΙΔΟΥ), some are in the nominative case (ΠΕΙΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ, ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΣ), while others are in the genitive (ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΟΥ).

Little is known of the precise find-contexts. We do not know if they were set up together or if they decorated different areas of the villa, as did the portraits from the Villa of the Papyri. Given their differing formats and sizes, the latter seems more likely. We know that at least some of the portraits were set up in a peristyle garden much like the marble herms from Herculaneum, as a number were reportedly found on the villa's upper terrace, together with traces of a long peristyle and fragments of columns.⁵⁷ Study of the technique and form of these sculptures⁵⁸ suggests the group was not acquired at one moment but over time. The four portrait herms of similar size and shape with inscribed first name, for example, probably formed a single group. Although they have been variously dated (the Antisthenes has been said to be Flavian,⁵⁹ or 3rd c.,⁶⁰ the Pericles early 2nd c.⁶¹) the compact herm set on its own pillar seems to

no. 66.39, pl. 19.2 (copy of a model of the 4th c. B.C.).

- 54 Extant herms of this type are Pericles: *PofG* 103, no. 1, figs. 432-33, 435; Neudecker 232, no. 66.35, pl. 18.2 (late Hadrianic copy); Plato: *PofG* 166, no. 8, fig. 906; Neudecker 233, no. 66.60, pl. 17.1; Bias: *PofG* 87, no. 1, figs. 352, 354-55; Neudecker 230-31, no. 66.14, pl. 17.2; Periander: *PofG* 86, no. 1, figs. 333-34, 336; Neudecker 231, no. 66.15, pl. 18.1 (copy of a type of the 4th c.B.C.); Thales: *PofG* 83, fig. 324; Neudecker 231, no. 66.16, pl. 17.3; Solon: *PofG* 84, no. 1, fig. 329; Neudecker 231, no. 66.17, pl. 16.2; Pittacus: *PofG* 89, no. 2, fig. 368; Neudecker 231, no. 66.18, pl. 16.3; and Kleoboulos: *PofG* 90, no. 1, fig. 350; Neudecker 231, no. 66.19, pl. 16.1. Records of three fragmentary inscribed herms now lost show that Anacreon (*PofG* 77, no. 10; Neudecker 231, no. 66.20), Chabrias (Neudecker 231, no. 66.21), and Chilon (Neudecker 231, no. 66.28) were also represented in this herm type.
- 55 A number of the tall herms from the villa have been inserted into these bases for display in the Vatican Museum. Those herm bases left empty show that the slot for inserting the shaft has angled sides and was worked smooth and flat with the claw chisel. There is a rectangular-shaped dowel or pinhole in the middle for attaching the marble herm shaft.
- 56 Diogenes: *PofG* 182, no. 1, fig. 1062; Neudecker 231, no. 66.22, pl. 16.5; Pindar: *PofG* 143, no. 1, fig. 785; Neudecker 231, no. 66.23, pl. 16.3; Peisistratos: *PofG* 93, fig. 380; Neudecker 231, no. 66.24, pl. 17.5; Lykourgos: *PofG* 92, fig. 379; Neudecker 231, no. 66.25, pl. 17.4; Archytas: *PofG* 179, fig. 1021; Neudecker 231, no. 66.27, pl. 16.4; Pheidias: *PofG* 152, fig. 852; Neudecker 233, no. 66.48, pl. 16.2; Bacchylides: *PofG* 142, fig. 786; Neudecker 233, no. 66.50, pl. 17.3. The footed herms of Hermarchos (Neudecker 231, no. 66.26), the second Pindar (Neudecker 233, no. 66.49), and Pittacus (Neudecker 233, no. 66.51) are now lost.
- 57 Neudecker 233-34.
- 58 Undertaken by the author in 1997-98. I would like to thank M. Lella, A. Coulson, and the staff of the American Academy for kindly helping me obtain permission to study the portraits in the Vatican and for helping me gain access to the pieces in Naples.
- 59 B. Andreae, "ΑΝΤΙΣΘΕΝΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΣ ΦΥΡΟΜΑΧΟΣ ΕΠΟΕΙ," in *Eikones: Studien zum griechischen und römischen Bildnis. Festschrift Hans Jucker* (AntK Beiheft 12, 1980) 43-44.
- 60 H. von Heintz in *Helbig*⁴ I, 53, no. 67.
- 61 D. Pandermalis, *Untersuchungen zu den klassischen Strategenköpfen* (Berlin 1969) 26; R. Krumeich, *Bildnisse griechischer Herrscher- und Staats-männer im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr* (Munich 1997) 236-37, cat. A33.

be a format favored in the late Republican and early Imperial periods.⁶² These herms, then, perhaps represent the original core of the villa's collection of Greek portraits. Three of the four depict famous representatives of Athens' golden age — Aeschines the pure Attic orator, Pericles the exemplary *strategos*, Antisthenes the founder of Cynic philosophy, pupil of Socrates and teacher of Diogenes. The identity of the fourth is not known.

The group of 8 tall herms with three-part name inscriptions may represent a 2nd-c. expansion of the collection.⁶³ Complete portrait herms of Bias, Periander, and Pericles are preserved, while Solon, Pittacus, Thales, Kleoboulos, and Plato are represented by headless but inscribed shafts. Excavation inventories record Chilon, and show that Anacreon and Chabrias were also present but these three are now lost. Below the names of the Wise Men is inscribed a motto or saying,⁶⁴ drawn from the sayings of famous men or *apophthegmata* long associated with the Seven Wise Men and philosophers and popular as copybook exercises in Hellenistic and Roman primary education.⁶⁵ While the Villa of Cassius preserves the only complete ensemble of sculpted Seven Wise Men, mosaics, paintings and silver attest to the group's popularity as learned domestic decor. For example, the 3rd-c. mosaic of the Seven Wise Men from a villa at Baalbeck includes the same selection of figures as at the Villa of Cassius, with exactly the

62 All of the marble herms from the Villa of the Papyri are of this compact format; see also the marble herm of Euripides from the early Imperial villa of the Volusii at Lucus Feroniae (Neudecker 157, no. 15.3), and the marble herms of the Farnese Collection in Naples, dated between the early Augustan and Tiberian periods (von den Hoff 89).

63 Epigraphic style and the form of these herms and their inscriptions show clearly that the same workshop which made these herms also supplied the neighboring villa of the 'Pisones' with its Greek portraits. The subjects represented among the 'Pisone' herms include, in alphabetical order, Aeschines, Alcibiades, Alexander the Great, Andokides, Aristogeiton, Aristophanes, Aristotle, Herakleitos, Hermarchos, Isokrates, Karneades, Metrodoros, Miltiades (twice), Philemon, and Themistokles. For the villa and its remains, see Neudecker 225-28, no. 64; B. P. Venetucci (ed.), *Pirro Ligorio e le erme tiburtine* I.1. *Uomini illustri dell'antichità* (Rome 1992) 59-61; id. (ed.), *Le erme tiburtine e gli scavi del settecento* I.2. *Uomini illustri dell'antichità* (Rome 1992) 187-221; D. Hertel, "Die griechischen Porträts der Sammlung Azara und ihre Rezeption in der Casa del labrador von Aranjuez," *MadMitt* 26 (1985) 234-42; S. Schröder, *Katalog der antiken Skulpturen des Museo del Prado in Madrid* I. *Die Porträts* (Mainz 1993) 24-26.

64 Solon, ΜΗΘΕΝΑΓΑΝ ('nothing in excess'); Bias, ΟΙ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΟΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙ ΚΑΚΟΙ ('most men are bad'); Kleoboulos, ΜΕΤΡΟΝΑΡΙΣ ΤΟΝ ('moderation is best'); Periander, ΜΕΛΕΤΗΠΑΝ ('practice makes perfect'); Pittacus, ΚΑΙΠΟΝ ΓΝΩΘΙ ('know your opportunity'). Only the upper part of Thales' herm, on which the subject's name is inscribed, is preserved; the motto on the now-lost herm of Chilon was not recorded. For the sayings of the Seven Wise Men, see *AnthPal* 9.366. Neudecker (66) suggested that these mottoes represent later additions to the portrait herms, appended at the time the inscribed footed herms were added to the collection. It is true that the sayings are rendered in a script that appears to copy the style of the name but does so in a less careful and elegant manner. Rather than representing a difference in date, however, the inscriptions could have been executed by two different hands. This is suggested, I think, by the fact that on two of the herms — Bias and Kleoboulos — both the name and the motto were inscribed by the same less-proficient hand. The portrait of Bias, the head of which is preserved, shows no signs of being a later addition to the series; it seems to have been made at the same time and by the same workshop as the portraits of Periander and Pericles. Surely Bias' herm would have been inscribed at the time it was made, as were the herms of Periander and Pericles. The uneven letter-size and shape of inscriptions on portrait herms in general suggests that these inscriptions may regularly have been cut by a sculptor rather than by a professional letter-cutter. See, e.g., the inscriptions on portraits of Demosthenes, Euripides, Lysias, Pericles, Poseidonios, and Zenon (*PofG* figs. 1439, 717, 1341, 430, 2020, 1089 respectively), or the 'builder's inscription' on the background of the relief representing the ethnos of the Piroustae from the Aphrodisias Sebasteion (R. R. R. Smith, "Simulacra gentium: the ethne from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias," *JRS* 78 [1988] 61, with K. Erim, *Aphrodisias: city of Venus-Aphrodite* [New York 1982] fig. 121b), clearly cut by someone other than those responsible for the more formal base-inscriptions.

65 See S. Bonner, *Education in ancient Rome* (Berkeley 1977) 175-76.

same accompanying mottoes.⁶⁶ Similar sayings are found on late-antique silver spoons.⁶⁷ These tall herms surely stood together, perhaps near one of the dining rooms. Here the sayings could provide witty commentary on guests' eating and drinking habits during the long ritual of aristocratic dining when visual and gastronomic pleasures were combined with edifying conversation. The Seven Wise Men were closely associated with the ritual of the symposium: an account of their lavish banquet, with Periander as host, is recorded by Plutarch,⁶⁸ the mosaic at Baalbek was found in a *triclinium*, and silver spoons with their sayings surely functioned as accoutrements for aristocrat dining.

The footed herm bases are somewhat unusual, perhaps archaizing in form⁶⁹ and impossible to date closely. We do not know if they were set up with the tall inscribed herms or if they formed a separate display. The footed herms expanded the subjects represented by adding Peisistratos and Lykourgos, the lyric poets Pindar (twice) and Bacchylides, the philosophers Diogenes and Hermarchos and, more unusually, the sculptor Pheidias and the general and Pythagorean philosopher Archytas. The subjects were perhaps chosen to complement the existing selection. Diogenes, for example, is commonly included among the Wise Men in mosaic ensembles and was celebrated for his quick wit and memorable ripostes. The portrait of Pheidias could have been paired with Pericles, a juxtaposition that could have brought to mind the story of the inclusion of their portraits by Pheidias on the shield of the Athena Parthenos.⁷⁰ In the 2nd c. A.D., Pericles provided a moral *exemplum* for the contemporary *strategos*,⁷¹ while Pheidias was transformed into an eloquent public speaker.⁷² That so many Athenians are represented is not surprising; the city and its leading men were of special interest and importance especially during the period Second Sophistic.⁷³ As the history of Athens was a favorite theme for Sophistic display oratory,⁷⁴ the many Athenians represented in this portrait gallery would have provided inspiration and setting for a pre-dinner declamation, for example, on the subject of whether the Athenians were more famous for their intellectual or military achievements.⁷⁵ Military prowess was always a desirable component of a Roman aristocrat's influence, but it was precisely in this period that learning, erudition, and eloquence also became essential qualities for which one could be *publicly* praised.

66 Examples of the Seven Wise Men in mosaic, including the Baalbek example, are conveniently collected in PofG 81-82, figs. 314-20.

67 M. Mango in D. Buckton (ed.), *Byzantium: treasures of Byzantine art and culture* (London 1994) 118-20, with bibliography; Elsner 1998 (supra n.2) 102-3.

68 *Convivium septem sapientium* (*Moralia* 146c 1ff.). For discussions of the literary tradition of the wise men, see R. P. Martin, "The seven sages as performers of wisdom," in C. Dougherty and L. Kurke (edd.), *Cultural poetics in archaic Greece: cult, performance, politics* (Oxford 1993) 108-28; J. Mossman, "Plutarch's Dinner of the Seven Wise Men and its place in symposium literature," in J. Mossman (ed.), *Plutarch and his intellectual world* (London 1997) 119-40; and S. Jedrkiewicz, *Il convitato sullo sgabello: Plutarco, Esopo ed i Sette Savi* (Pisa 1997). I thank P. Stadter for these references.

69 Neudecker 66, n.658; H. Wrede, *Die antike Herme* (Mainz 1985) 140.

70 Plut., *Per.* 31.4.

71 Plut., *Praecepta gerendae reipublicae* (*Moralia* 813D).

72 Dio Chrys., *Or.* 12.55-83.

73 The bibliography on this period is vast. See, for example, G. W. Bowersock, *Greek sophists in the Roman empire* (Oxford 1969); E. L. Bowie, "The Greeks and their past in the Second Sophistic," in M. I. Finley (ed.), *Studies in ancient society* (London 1974) 166-209; C. P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (Oxford 1971); E. Champlin, *Fronto and Antonine Rome* (Cambridge 1980) esp. 29-44; C. P. Jones, *Culture and society in Lucian* (Cambridge, MA 1986); G. Anderson, *The Second Sophistic* (London-New York 1993); S. Swain, *Hellenism and empire* (Oxford 1996). For a recent analysis of the links between the art of this period and the Greek past, and on the visual manifestation of Greek *paideia* in the Roman house, see Elsner 1998 (supra n.2) 106-13, 169-85.

74 Bowie *ibid.*; Anderson *ibid.* 114-26.

75 Plutarch, who wrote on this theme, claimed Athens most esteemed of ancient cities and the only one worthy of comparison to Rome. See his *De gloria Atheniensium* (*Moralia* 345C ff.); and Jones (1971, supra n.73) 109.

To summarize, then, the subjects at these two villas. The portraits from the Villa of the Papyri represent an unusual selection of subjects: few are precisely identified and most have not been found elsewhere. Other than Demosthenes, Epicurus, Hermarchos, Zeno, and the 'Pseudo-Seneca', the portraits seem never to have entered the standard repertoire of villa decoration. The selection seems mainly to favor figures of the late 4th-3rd c. B.C., with a particular interest in Hellenistic rulers. The high quality, fine finish, and head pose, together with the uncommon subjects, suggest that they were specially ordered, rather than being selected from a standard 'line' normally available in a workshop.⁷⁶ While the bulk of the villa's sculpture, including the portraits, is usually dated to the Augustan-Tiberian period, the deployment of the early Hellenistic royal portraits in a domestic context better suits a late Republican milieu, reflecting tastes and interests of the period before Augustan classicism.⁷⁷

The pieces from the Villa of Cassius, by contrast, consist primarily of Greek philosophers and statesmen from the period before 350 B.C. The initial core of the collection comprised representatives of the golden age of Athenian culture; this was later expanded to include the Seven Wise Men and additional figures related to Athens, such as Anacreon, Chabrias, a second Pericles, Plato, Pheidias, and Peisistratos. This interest in subjects and events prior to the Hellenistic period is also seen in public display oratory, a form of entertainment especially popular in the 2nd c.⁷⁸ While many of the subjects are indeed well known in portraits found elsewhere, the group does include some more unusual choices, such as Pheidias, Chabrias, and Archytas.

I will try now to place these two collections within the broader context of the range of Greek portraits made in the Roman period. In this larger corpus there are c.510 extant portraits that represent 23 named Greeks. Those preserved in more than 20 examples comprise: Homer, Hesiod (?=Pseudo-Seneca), Sophocles, Euripides, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Epicurus, and Menander. These 10 subjects account for c.385 out of 510, or c.75% of the identified material. Menander was by far the most popular (c.70); Demosthenes was second (c.50); then Socrates and Homer at c.40 each.⁷⁹

While the portraits from the Villa of Cassius were, on the whole, more conventional than those from the Villa of the Papyri, they were not altogether routine. The need for so many portraits of Greeks of the distant past presumably necessitated the move beyond what appears to have been a fairly small, standardized repertoire. The selection of subjects for large portrait galleries was probably contingent on a variety of factors.⁸⁰ In addition to a patron's personal interests, the availability of models or in-stock inventory and broader intellectual trends also probably played a part, although one could probably obtain whatever one wanted within reason — even a portrait of Pheidias for whom there seems to have been no Greek model.⁸¹

76 P. Zanker has suggested that a standardized program of sculptural decoration was already firmly established in the villas of the Roman aristocracy of the 1st c. B.C. ("Zur Funktion und Bedeutung griechischer Skulptur in der Römerzeit," in *Le classicisme à Rome aux Iers siècles avant et après J.-C.* [Entr. Hardt 25, 1979] 300). M. Marvin (supra n.26) p. 44, n.4, however, denies that one can extrapolate on the basis of Cicero's letters the existence of a standard repertoire of villa decoration. That there were pre-existing inventories of sculpture for the villa market seems to be suggested by the vague instructions given by Cicero to Atticus for the purchase of sculpture in Athens for his Italian villas, and by the cargo of decorative villa sculpture in the Mahdia shipwreck (*Das Wrack* [supra n.47]).

77 For the effects of Augustan classicism on both public and private art, see Zanker (supra n.13) esp. 239-63, and 265-95.

78 E. L. Bowie in *The Oxford classical dictionary* (3rd edn., Oxford 1996) s.v. Second Sophistic; D. A. Russell, *Greek declamation* (Cambridge 1983); id. (ed.), *Antonine literature* (Oxford 1990); G. Kennedy, *The art of rhetoric in the Roman world 300 B.C.-A.D. 300* (Princeton 1972).

79 These numbers are culled primarily from *PofG* and von den Hoff.

80 Some of these factors are spelled out by K. M. D. Dunbabin in 'Tessellated texts,' *JRA* 12 (1999) 641.

81 Therefore it was surely an 'imaginary' portrait (I thank B. Ridgway for suggesting this). We do not know what form this made-up portrait took — that is, we do not know if another readily available portrait was simply inscribed with Pheidias' name (as was the case with the so-called Velia

Although programmatic interpretations of domestic sculptural ensembles seem generally to envision selection and display as a well-planned process whose aim it was to articulate a pre-conceived and coherent thematic program, this seems far from certain. One need only read the letters of Cicero to see that the process of buying and displaying sculpture might not be highly organized and systematic but sometimes unpredictable, likely to be filled with surprise and delight as well as by disappointment.⁸² The decorative effects of sculptural display could well have been carefully considered, and judicious placement might indeed activate associations resonant with meaning, as Cicero vividly shows.⁸³ Thereafter viewers would be free to interpret displays in ways that might differ from that originally intended by the patron. A viewer's interest, level of expertise, or even a piece's location in a garden might shape conceptions and interpretations of the sculptural decoration.

Because the display of its sculptural decoration is relatively well documented, the Villa of the Papyri provides an opportunity to explore the dynamic but unstable process of creating meaning in such domestic assemblages. I will here focus mainly on the marble herms from the peristyle garden, and suggest some points to consider in 'reading' these portraits. My purpose is not to offer a new interpretation of its sculptural program but merely to consider how viewers and the viewing process may have affected and shaped the making of meaning.⁸⁴

'Reading' the Papyri portrait herms

Analyses of the villa's marble herm portraits have mainly focused on the selection of subjects and their arrangement or display in meaningful pairs. It is true that the standardized format of these herms, the fact that they are all of marble, and their arrangement in pairs, would all have encouraged viewers to 'read' them as a coherent series. The similarity of their sculptural technique also suggests that the herms represent a single commission of one workshop — that is, the portraits were ordered as a group. That particular portrait subjects could be chosen and combined in meaningful pairs is shown, for example, by the double herm format, in which two portraits are carved back to back from a single block of marble,⁸⁵ and by a herm of Menander, found with one of Homer, inscribed with the following epigram:

'Parmenides', in which a portrait of the Epicurean Metrodoros was inscribed with the name of Parmenides); or if a wholly new portrait was invented. Generic-looking portrait types, like a Metrodoros or a Miltiades, could easily have been substituted when an order came in for a model that was unavailable or the workshop did not have on hand. Such substitutions would have been more difficult for a very distinctive type like Socrates or Homer.

82 See Cicero's letter to M. Fabius Gallus, who was buying sculpture for Cicero's villas: D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero: epistulae ad familiares* (Cambridge 1977) no. 209.

83 For example, when Cicero writes to Atticus: 'I am quite pleased with your Hermathena. It's so judiciously placed that the whole hall is like an offering at its feet' (D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus* [Cambridge 1965] 1.10.5).

84 I am guided here in part by the notion, borrowed from literary studies, of reading as a process in which meaning is generated as a reader encounters a text (see, for example, R. Barthes, *S/Z* [New York 1974] and S. Fish, *Is there a text in this class? The authority of interpretive communities* [Cambridge, MA 1980] esp. 303-21). I have also tried to keep in mind J. Culler's notion of 'framing the sign' in my 'reading' of the Papyri garden herms: "The expression framing the sign has several advantages over context: it reminds us that framing is something we do; it hints of the frame-up ('falsifying evidence beforehand in order to make someone appear guilty'), a major use of context; and it eludes the incipient positivism of 'context' by alluding to the semiotic function of framing in art, where the frame is determining, setting off the object or event as art, and yet the frame itself may be nothing tangible, pure articulation. Although analysis can seldom live up to the complexities of framing and falls back into discussion of context, with its heuristically simplifying presumptions, let us at least keep before us the notion of framing" (J. Culler, *Framing the sign. Criticism and its institutions* [Norman, OK 1988] xiv). It is, I think, important to keep this in mind in any discussion of 'archaeological context'.

85 Some examples of double herm pairings: Epicurus and Metrodoros [*PofG* figs. 1149-50, 1153 [Epicurus], figs. 1230-32 [Metrodoros]]; Herodotos and Thucydides [*PofG* figs. 810-12 [Herodotos], figs. 825-27

Not without reason have I placed you, dear Menander, alongside and opposite the gaze of the head of Homer, inasmuch as the wise grammarian Aristophanes, excellent judge of your writings, gave you second place immediately after the great genius.⁸⁶

Even such explicitly meaningful combinations as these would not have closed off other possible ways of reading such pairings. Indeed, the relationship between some of the subjects combined in double herms is not always now apparent.⁸⁷ Thus, when putting together series as large as those from our two villas, it would have been difficult to fix meaning or to control viewer reception simply by arranging the portraits in pairs.

Here we should also consider how the identities were inscribed in these two villas, as they show two very different practices that would have affected the 'reading' process. At Herculaneum the subjects of marble herms were apparently named in small painted inscriptions, the traces of which survive on only two: Archidamos III and Panyassis. Archidamos' name was painted in small letters (now difficult to decipher) on the herm's right shoulderpiece; traces of Panyassis' name with an epithet were discovered on the herm's chest.⁸⁸ These unobtrusive labels may be contrasted with the prominent, easy-to-read engraved inscriptions on the herm shafts at the Villa of Cassius, whose letters were also painted red. Thus, even if a viewer there were unfamiliar with a particular portrait, no mistaken identifications could have been made; one could see, even from a certain distance, who was represented, if one could read Greek. The names at Herculaneum, however, could only have been read from close up, and the subjects could have been misrecognized (even willfully or playfully?). The subjects' names were not considered an integral part of their display, as they clearly were at Tivoli.

The way in which a viewer moved through the garden at Herculaneum also would have shaped the ways in which such portraits were read and affected the meanings they might evoke.⁸⁹ While most previous analyses have tended to visualize the display as a diagram or map and have made their readings based on such mappings, this is not how such sculptural displays would have been experienced.⁹⁰ A first-time viewer, for example, could not have anticipated the subjects or their pairings. This viewer's experience of the portrait display and his interpretations or conceptions of it would have changed or been modified as he proceeded along the line of herms; as new subjects were seen, new meanings and associations would have been made. If the marble herms were set up back to back, as in Neudecker's reconstruction, the viewer's reading and recognition of any meaningful associations between them would have been delayed, providing opportunity for other possible readings to intrude. Repeat viewings would have affected reception as previously unnoticed details were observed, new connections or associations made, or witty sayings or notable deeds remembered. Further, both collections included repeated images — Demosthenes, Epicurus, and Hermarchos appear more than once at

[Thucydides]); Socrates and Xenophon (unpublished herm from Aphrodisias).

⁸⁶ *PofG* 226, no. 4: Lorenz 29, no. 23.

⁸⁷ See, for example, the double herm of Menander with the 'Pseudo-Seneca' type (*PofG* 59, no. 6, figs. 140-41 [Pseudo-Seneca/Hesiod?]; *PofG* 230, no. 8, figs. 1551-52 [Menander]); the pairing of the 'Pseudo-Seneca' type with the so-called Poulsen's 'Vergil' (*PofG* 61, no. 36, figs. 189-90); the combination of Solon and Euripides (*PofG* 85, no. 3); or the pairing of the 'Hypereides' type with a female, both of which have been variously identified (*PofG* 211, no. 3, figs. 1355-57).

⁸⁸ Richter-Smith s.v. Archidamos III and Panyassis. I would like to thank B. Ridgway for reminding me of this difference, and for suggesting I consider its implications.

⁸⁹ Neudecker (110-14) does take the process of viewing into consideration in his reading of the program, suggesting that the collection would have been viewed from various vantage points within the garden and house, and that the groupings created by these vantage points could have had different allusions and messages. Warden & Romano also consider the rôle of viewing in their interpretation, identifying the two bronze runners from the peristyle garden as key elements of the villa's sculptural program that focus its meaning.

⁹⁰ This practice is criticized by Neudecker (114 n.1161), who points out that in some programmatic readings, such as that proposed by Pandermalis, the viewer would have been standing in the pool.

Herculaneum, although only among the bronze busts; Pericles, Pindar, and Pittacus are doubled at Tivoli. Repetition would have affected one's interpretation — the references or associations evoked by the first portrait of Pericles, for example, might differ from those brought to mind by the second. Meaning would surely also have changed depending on their respective contexts. Thus, if Pericles were displayed with Peisistratos and Lykourgos, one might think of different forms of government and debate their relative merits; if Pericles were grouped with Pheidias, Aeschines, and Plato, the golden age of Athens would come to mind. One could then have discussed Plato's attitude to the arts, Pheidias' talents as a public speaker, or Aeschines' pure style of oratory. And even if these portraits did not stand in close proximity, in the discussion one could play with various meanings and associations.

The viewer intimately familiar with the collection, or one viewing it from afar, might see it merely as a part of the garden landscape. Here we recall the importance of flowers, plants, and trees in creating the overall effect of outdoor sculptural displays. On some level and at certain times these collections may have functioned simply as expensive garden ornaments. This is one possible interpretation of Cicero's remark that the *palliat*i in Quintus' garden (by the term Cicero surely means statues of Greek intellectuals) are so enveloped in ivy that they look as if they were gardening.⁹¹ That a luxuriant garden setting was integral in creating desired effects is made explicit by a Latin epigram inscribed on a herm from a villa at Frattocchie.⁹² The epigram invites the viewer to read the garden and its sculpture as a unified programmatic whole:

you look at the monuments of men, worthy of poets in the manner of
the ancients;

you also see vineyards, violet-beds, grottoes.

Lilies, apples, roses, vines, and arbors

crown the faces of the Greeks and the shrines devoted to the Muses.

The figures suggest enough of the expression and face of Socrates

and the lively mind of Cato that you know the type.⁹³

vatum digna m[odis veterum] monumenta vivorum
vites (aspicis et) lucos, violaria, tecta.

Graiorum vultus et Musis dedita templa

Lilia, poma, rosae, vites, arbusta coronant.

Socratis os [habitu]mque] et vivida corda Catonis

produnt signa satis, ut genus [inde] scias].

The decorative aspects would not preclude a didactic function. It has recently been argued that, rather than expressing the villa owner's philhellenic taste through decorative effects, the Villa of the Papyri's sculptural program was carefully planned along didactic lines with self-improvement of the viewer in both public and private life in mind.⁹⁴ This formulation, however, seems unnecessarily restrictive: the portraits could have been both didactic *and* expressive of their owner's taste in Hellenic culture. That images of Greek heroes were thought by some to have a didactic effect is suggested by the story in Philostratos that Herodes Atticus' father blamed the herms of ancient orators displayed in his house for corrupting his son's talent,⁹⁵ or by the parody of them in the Boscoreale skeleton cups or in the Baths of the Seven Sages at Ostia.⁹⁶ The didactic aspect of Greek portraits is expressed by the inscribed sayings on the Tivoli herms which transform these portraits into 'talking heads' that speak to the viewer. One can imagine the villa-owner and his young son strolling among the portraits, repeating the sayings and discussing their meanings. The peristyle garden of a Roman villa was modeled

91 *AdQFr* 3.1.

92 Frattocchie is located south of Rome on the road to Castel Gandolfo: Neudecker 159, no.17.

93 R. Paribeni, *NSc* 2 (1926) 284. C. A. Salowey (Hollins University) kindly provided the translation.

94 Warden 260; argument further developed in Warden & Romano.

95 He had them pelted with stones in retaliation (*VSoph* 521).

96 See most recently R. Neudecker, *Der Pracht der Latrine* (Munich 1994) 35-38. Other parodied collections of wise men include (1) the well-known 'skeleton' cups from the villa at Boscoreale: K. Dunbabin, "Sic erimus cuncti ... the skeleton in Graeco-Roman art," *JdI* 101 (1986) 224-30; and (2) a bronze vase from a tomb in Herstal now in Brussels: G. Faider-Feytmans, *Les bronzes romains de Belgique* (Mayence 1979) no. 367, pls. 145-46; F. Baratte, *CahArch* 40 (1992) 11-12, fig. 9. This vessel depicts four philosophers who display their learning on the body of the vase, while engaging in sexual liaisons with young men on the vase's shoulder.

on the Hellenistic gymnasium, the locus of Greek education and where aristocratic Romans had attended lectures during their 'school days' in Athens.⁹⁷ We should also recall the importance of the Roman house as an *aide-mémoire* for rhetoric.⁹⁸ While architecture and room layout are commonly stressed, interior decoration also played a part in the memorized version of a speech.

Some programmatic readings have constructed a single ideal viewer, one possessing a high degree of specialized knowledge who would have quickly grasped the intentions of the patron. While it is conceivable that the Roman aristocracy constituted a unified "interpretive community",⁹⁹ members of this class were not the only viewers. The inclusion in the marble herm gallery, for example, of what may well be the portrait of a veiled Hellenistic queen¹⁰⁰ points to a possible place for female viewers in this otherwise male world. Hellenistic queens were publicly active and provided a model for wealthy aristocratic women. The presence here of a queen may have been to provide such a model for the owner's wife, to elevate her to a comparable 'queenly' status. We may recall the marble portrait statue of a woman in Hellenistic style from room 36, which should represent a female member of the household, perhaps depicting the owner's wife. This statue, with its idealized face, centrally parted hair, and veil, is similar in style and appearance to the female represented in the garden herm, providing, possibly, a visual equivalence between the two.

Lack of access may also have played a part in the audience's reception of the images.¹⁰¹ Visitors who saw the garden from a distance would have had only a vague impression of the portraits as old-fashioned Greeks set around a sparkling pool within a grand space which looked more public than private. The sheer number of portraits displayed at Herculaneum would have given the impression of comprehensiveness, to impress the viewer with the owner's learning, breadth of interests, and depth of pockets. Viewers from a distance may have been awed by these fine objects of intellectual and cultural authority. The modest Greek portrait galleries found in two houses at nearby Pompeii, which included subjects found at the Villa of the Papyri, suggest the non-aristocratic viewing of such grand displays, and their emulation.¹⁰² Other viewers might have dismissed such portraits as intellectual pretentiousness, as symbols not of their owners' learning but merely of their ability to buy expensive objects.¹⁰³

How viewer reception of these galleries changed over time is even more difficult to assess. The sculpture from the Villa of the Papyri may well have been on display for almost a century. It is likely, for example, that the Hellenistic ruler portraits evoked for their late Republican viewers associations and meanings very different from those for a visitor of the mid-1st c. A.D. While such portrait galleries may well have been conceived and arranged to communicate particular meanings, perhaps even to articulate a carefully defined program, once in place neither program nor meaning could have been fixed nor viewer reception strictly controlled.

97 L. W. Daly, "Roman study abroad," *AJP* 71 (1950) 40-58.

98 See, for example, F. Yates, *The art of memory* (London 1966); B. Bergmann, "The Roman house as memory theater: the house of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii," *ArtB* 76 (1994) 225-56; Elsner (1995, *supra* n.2) 77-80.

99 For some of the problems in analyzing reception among members of a particular group, see M. Bal and N. Bryson, "Semiotics and art history," *ArtB* 73 (1991) 184-88; for the concept of "interpretive communities" and how they work, see Fish (*supra* n.84).

100 The so-called Hestia (*supra* n.34).

101 For the importance of the view and of the spectator's relationship to what he or she is seeing, see Elsner (1995, *supra* n.2) 76.

102 For emulation of aristocratic villa décor in Pompeian houses, see P. Zanker, "Die Villa als Vorbild des späten pompejanischen Wohngeschmacks," *JdI* 94 (1979) 460-523; Zanker (*supra* n.2) 135-203. For the two Greek portrait galleries from Pompeii, see Lorenz 15-16, pl. 7.

103 See Juv., *Sat.* 2.4-7: *indocti primum, quamquam plena omnia gypso Chrysippi invenias; nam perfectissimus horum, si quis Aristotelen similem vel Pittacon emit et iubet archetypos pluteum servare Cleanthes*. ('First they are ignorant, in spite of the plaster casts of Chrysippus that fill their houses. The nearest any of them comes to culture is to buy a copy of Aristotle's head or Pittacus' image, or to have an original bust of Cleanthes placed on their sideboard'; transl. N. Rudd, *Juvenal: the satires* (Oxford 1992) 9.

Conclusion

Reading Greek portrait galleries was a dynamic and shifting experience, one shaped at least in part by what viewers brought to the activity. While it is possible that these portrait collections were assembled with a well thought-out program in mind, we should perhaps imagine a more flexible, less systematic approach to both subject selection and sculptural display and allow to viewer reception a more active rôle in making meaning. Even in the case of the named portraits from the Villa of Cassius, it is difficult to identify a single unifying theme or program, beyond an interest in Athens and the Seven Wise Men and a preference for the Classical age. This may be due partly to the fact that the group seems to have been formed over time, perhaps even by different owners. But perhaps we should not expect a *single* theme to unite large collections of subjects or to have informed their selection. The absence of a definitive interpretation was perhaps inherent, even desirable, in such large series. One need only recall the pedantic scholarly wit parodied in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*¹⁰⁴ to imagine the wide range of possible associations, quotes, and obscure stories these portraits could have evoked. The portraits of distant Greeks displayed in Roman villas performed a nexus of functions, both archival and commemorative, for their owners and viewers. As portraits of historical personages, they made the past present by providing a focus for imagining and recalling that person.¹⁰⁵ As images chosen to represent Greek culture and learning, they help domesticate a more highly developed intellectual tradition for the educated Roman, reassuring the owner that he has acquired the requisite knowledge while also advertising his 'command' of Greek *paideia* to others. Embodying the authority of a cultural canon, they affirm the place of their owners in the present by means of the past.

Although the Villa of the Papyri presents the best-documented context for the display of Greek portraits in Roman villas, its portraits are more specialized and particular than has been previously recognized. It seems essential now to explore other lesser-known (and less well preserved) groups, compare them to the larger corpus of Greek portraits made in the Roman period lacking firm contexts, and then consider not only subject selection and sculptural arrangement but also the rôle that viewers and the viewing process may have played in the making of meaning. Only then can we begin to recover the complexity and interest of such domestic sculptural displays.

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104 See A. Lukinovich, "The play of reflections between literary form and the sympotic theme in the *Deipnosophistae* of Athenaeus," in O. Murray (ed.), *Symptotica* (Oxford 1990) 263-71.

105 See Cicero on the portrait of Carneades, *Fin.* 5.4; and discussion by A. Gregory, "'Powerful images': responses to portraits and the political uses of images in Rome," *JRA* 7 (1994) 86-87. For the Romans' desire to know the Greeks of the past through their portraits see Pliny, *NH* 35.9-11.