Transactions of the American Philological Association 129 (1999) 343–373

Culture and History at Pompey's Museum*

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> Knowing the past is as astonishing a performance as knowing the stars. Astronomers look only at old light. There is no other light for them to look at. This old light of dead or distant stars was emitted long ago and it reaches us only in the present.... Hence astronomers and historians have this in common: both are concerned with appearances noted in the present but occurring in the past. The analogies between stars and works of art can profitably be pursued. However fragmentary its condition, any work of art is actually a portion of arrested happening, or an emanation of past time. It is a graph of an activity now stilled, but a graph made visible like an astronomical body, by a light that originated with the activity. When an important work of art has utterly disappeared by demolition and dispersal, we can still detect its perturbations upon other bodies in the field of influence.[1]

Since the age of eighteen, my own practice as an art historian has been perturbed by recurring contact with George Kubler's essay on making a "history of things," or I should not find myself so often trying to see what was once important as well as what is left now. My graph of obscure art-events is made from those acts of attention constituted both by visual and textual reflection and representation, of destroyed things and plants, bodies and minds. Continually reverberating upon viewers since its opening in 55 B.C.E., Pompeius Magnus' Theater-Portico for Venus Victrix endured into late antiquity as one of that city of spectacle's largest, oddest and most beautiful precincts, containing almost every Roman art—architecture, landscape architecture, sculpture and painting, performance, and language arts and music. Now it survives physically in pitiful shreds—a contour in Rome's street grid, a

*Faults are my own; for any virtues, my thanks to Helene Foley and my co-panelists for framing this interdisciplinary *forum*, and especially to Susan Alcock and Bruce Hitchner for their sympathy here and at other times to landscapes and Roman histories; to my editor Marilyn Skinner; to Kathryn Gleason, Michel Conan and Bettina Bergmann for stimulating me to study landscape issues and images; and to Joseph Farrell and those other encouraging colleagues, students, and audiences at Penn and Princeton for whom I've tried to understand Pompey's portico.

[1]Kubler 19.

few bases and statues, the blueprint on the Severan Marble Plan. But it survives textually in what may be the broadest and most varied textual dossier on any *monimentum* at Rome, accreted in a range of genres over the next half-millennium.

That text dossier is itself a collection of artifacts,[2] historically located and intentionally patterned made things. Many authors talk about the forms and activities they knew there to illustrate other purposes, but for a surprising number "picturing" Pompey's design is focal. That this precinct celebrated "culture" and writers is, I think, a cause; we have found its **Muses**, and Tatian's *Oratio ad Graecos* (33ff.) lists some at least of its writer portraits. No verbal or visual picture is transparent and unstylized, but stylizations themselves are related to their subject's intended potential to imprint and signify. To exploit text-artifacts art-historically requires a double effort: to read them against their material subjects, sensed as fully as possible within their authors' and auditors' experience; and to honor the text-picture's own character as a whole, artfully made thing of its own kind, in order to assess its documentary value rightly.

I find myself increasingly concerned to understand this place and its meanings, in work on the Roman esteem for Pergamene models of art about story and culture (for which this major Roman *Mouseion* is important evidence), on Republican and Augustan political display, on the relation between "private" house and villa culture and public culture, and on Roman landscape arts.[3] At the paper presentation, I displayed a "graph" of much of the evidentiary dossier so as to contextualize the text-images set off by the monument's forms when still "new," in 55, and again at Augustus' "restoration" of 32 B.C.E. That would take half a book to reproduce and then explicate,[4] nor can I flash here my slide carrousels of contextualizing images. The best way to "see" the Portico and its gardens in print is in Kathryn

[2]This remark reflects my approach to spectacle texts: see Kuttner (in press).

[3]Especially on imperialist themes ("**Nationes**"), *fora* and political Venus cult in Kuttner 1995a: index s.v. "Pompey" and "Rome: Portico of Pompey." On the art program and Asian models, see Kuttner 1995b: 165, 170–74. My book on Rome and Pergamum, in part on Roman Mousaia and Pompey's installed art and authors, is forthcoming from the University of California Press (Kuttner, in progress). For "gardening ideology," text and image representations, and Pompey's plant books, see Kuttner 1999: 8–11 and 29, noting the rich recent bibliography.

[4]For the Portico and all other "places" discussed s.v. entries in the topographical dictionaries *LTUR* and Richardson, together with Kuttner 1995b. Sauron is exhaustive; ch. 3 is dense and speculative.

Gleason's seminal reconstructions; to envision garden sculptures, consult Neudecker.[5] For *TAPA*, I seize the chance to assess at length the Republican, Augustan and Flavian Latin and Greek poems, hoping to expand our knowledge of subject and image alike.

Pompey's Garden Museum

In 61 B.C.E., Pompeius Magnus triumphed on his birthday over "the pirates, Asia, Pontos, other peoples and kings" (Plin. *Nat.* 7.98, 37.12–16, 18; App. *Mith.* 17.117), after completing Lucullus' campaigns against Mithridates of Pontos. This was the third and final Roman defeat of that king's aspirations to a new eastern Empire of Greeks and Asians. Six years later, the manubial monument was ready to dedicate, in the *Campus Martius*' traditional zone of triumphalist display. Pompey paraded the Asian landscape through Rome's streets: first as a great gold pyramidal (*quadratus*) model of a paradisal mountain, rising from an encircling vine, on which stags and lions ran through fruited trees (Plin. *Nat.* 37.14), second, by displaying, for the first time in a Roman triumph, living trees (*Nat.* 12.111) brought from Asia and Africa to be transplanted to life in Rome, like the traditional *evocatio* of enemies' gods—balsam (*Nat.* 12.111) from the royal paradise in Judaea, "Ethiopian" palm trees (*Nat.* 12.20), and surely also Asiatic plane trees. An important part of his booty was Mithridates' "plant library," illustrated books that Pompey ordered translated, "a victory that was as much a profit to life itself as it was to the Republic" (*Nat.* 25.5–8 at 7). Pompey's triumph thus already established his precinct's governing theme of transplanted landscape (Asian to Italy, rural to urban, private to public), whose reception dominates its poetic dossier.

It is clear that, while still abroad, Pompey had already thought of what sort of precinct he would build, as triumphant *imperatores* did, for the divinity protecting his efforts, Rome's mother Venus in her war-goddess avatar. Some built temples, some a *porticus*; Pompey made both when he added a theater *cavea* to an enormous portico and crowned this "*gradus*" by temples to Venus Victrix, her entourage of good fortune and happiness (*Felicitas*), and courage, strength and excellence paired with honor and glory (*Virtus* and *Honos*). On

[5]There is no synthetic work on Greek or Roman display formats. See Neudecker and Gleason 1990, 1994. Also, in an important colloquium, Gros 322–26, with *Capitolium* analogies; Pollini; Coarelli on the thirty-seven works of art mentioned in Tatian *ad Gr.* 33 and the excavated inscribed bases and sculpture fragments. For the Pergamene **Muse** and **Apollo** sculptures, see Fuchs, and on Pompey's portrait, Bentz. For the Porta Collina Venus Erycina shrine imitated, cf. Galinsky 178–87. Apropos, Weigel's patronage survey.

axis with the temple, at the foot of its central *ambulatio* he set a *Curia* governed by his own portrait, so appearing as Venus' consort and master of all the feminine *turba* of the garden. In a complementary chamber somewhere in the porticoes were the female personifications of all the "**Nations**" he had brought under Rome's sway, now his clients. *Triumphatores*' dedicated images were captured from their enemies, given free or released at a price from the public patrimony of allied communities in the war zone, and commissioned new from artists already at Rome or brought in from abroad. Pompey arranged for all three, e.g., in taking notes on a theater at Mitylene and bringing home from Athens the prestigious Pentelic marble for the new works, and from Pergamon the cloth-of-gold tapestries "invented" by the Attalid kings, from workshops evidently still active at what was now the capital of the province of Asia.

In its forms and decoration, the precinct sought not only to praise Roman arms and Latin culture, but also to heal the wounds of imperial civil war by elevating the image of "good" Greek and Asian culture and history[6] and preaching hegemonic national myths about fruitful interchange between the Asian and Greek east and the Greek and Latin west. The precinct is very much a one-off image of a public place decorated over time. Roman villa and house peristyles and gardens, temple precincts and *fora* had by Pompey's day long assimilated the model of eastern and western Greek palaces, *gymnasia*, *palaistrai*, and philosophical school precincts: colonnaded spaces, planted with trees and furnished with water, filled under the sky and in colonnades and recesses with paintings and sculpture, occupied by politicians, teachers, reading and conversational groups seated and strolling among intellectual portraits—and also plane trees![7] And Pompey went east already accustomed to the great terraced, porticoed sanctuaries that shaped his design—the second-century B.C.E. temples framed by rings of trees in the Latin hills around Rome, where the Roman elite went to pray, look and build villas. Almost all had a theater *cavea* for god and the crowd to watch spectacles. Pompey's sacred stone theater-mountain, dedicated officially as the *gradus* of his Venus temple, was grumbled at for its very appeal to the crowd. But for those who embraced it, it

[6]The colossal marble ruler- and leader-images in Pentelic marble, three in fragments, two in inscribed bases (one by Polykles): Coarelli 101 and 117–19, and add the Palazzo Spada **Pompey**, from the same material and in the same scale. Cf. Coarelli 102 on the base for the **Basileus Seleukos** by Lysippos.

[7]See now Hardie. A master bibliography to *domus* and *monimentum* studies may be found in Bodel. For analogues in recent work by classicists, cf. Rodriguez, Leach, Jaeger, Mader, Wiseman, and Prior.

merely imported the sacred topography of Latium to Rome, above all Fortuna's magnificent complex at Praeneste. That shrine's oracular and fertility-causing powers were embodied in his sculptural program of birth portents, and by its watered ascent ramps Pompey was inspired to make water trickle through his theater *cavea* (V. Max. 2.4.6) below the goddess' statue, to refresh body, ear and eye. At Rome, too, goddesses had theaters—the Great Mother of Asia had her own little *cavea* atop the Palatine slope, overlooking the *Circus Maximus* where her *ludi Megalenses* were further staged before permanent seats, as were the *Floralia* watched by Flora from the Aventine slopes opposite. Pompey also looked to the precinct of Venus of Eryx further outside the city core, at the Colline Gate where Caesar had a *hortus*. That goddess too watched over female and natural sexuality and also over Roman arms. At the Sicilian sanctuary of Venus of Eryx Roman magistrates still enjoyed the sensual gifts of *hierodouleia*; the *meretrices* who celebrated at the *Floralia* and at the Colline precinct are glossed in Pompey's Greek *hetaira* statues, and in the living *turba* that he himself must have invited in.

New was the emphasis on the goddess' precinct as a distinctly articulated portico, displaying not a temple but an ordered garden as its principal monumental feature, its doubled pairs of tree ranks as much a work of artifice as the gold mountain in the triumph. Stately plane trees as living colonnades dominated ordered boxwood topiaries, myrtle and palm and laurel trees and vines, and living birds brought to life the *paradeisos* conceit enacted in the theater's beast shows. Plane trees, useful only to delight the eye and give refreshing shade, were thought a quintessentially Asian tree, beloved of Persian kings; this is the first Roman *hortus* to deliberately import, assemble and order them as Cyrus had. That historical parable about the demonstration of social order in tended nature, we know, especially sanctified gardening for Pompey's contemporaries (Cic. *Sen.* 59). The garden sculptures further enacted this conceit by foregrounding images of those who specially inhabited or discussed "landscape"—**Aesop** and **Sophron**, the **Muses** and **Apollo**, the satyr **Maro**, and the sculpted beasts who populated this paradise in the often eroticized and metamorphic mythological tableaux[8] helped animate the paradisiacal *locus*

[8]Tatian gives **Ganymede** (and the eagle) by Leochares (Alexander's artist), **Harmonia** ("Concordia," the daughter of Venus by Mars) by Andron; two **Europas** (on whom see Martial, below), namely **Europa** on the bull by Pythagoras and **Agenor's Daughter** [Europa] on a calf with a Victory, by Mikon. "Bad" exempla are **Pasiphae** by Bryaxis, **Phalaris** of Akragas who sacrificed babies, by Polystratos, and **Polyneikes vs. Eteokles**.

amoenus and "map" its earth against heaven and ocean. In this triumphalist seat of public religion and art, it was fitting too that beasts damn the hubris of improper desire, equating libido with tyranny in a quintessentially Roman formulation, and also warn against art's perversion; hence the legendary Cretan queen Pasiphae (who also had a monstrous birth) and the historical Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum, each of whom famously misused a commissioned bovine bronze that may have been shown with them, pendant to the twin Europas.

Pompey's most prominent "foreign" paradigms were the landscape and portico architectures of the Pergamene Attalids; as Pompey's younger contemporaries Strabo and Vitruvius observe, they innovatively stressed as benefactions theater porticoes, designed landscape, and gardened portico "museums." Pergamon had already helped inspire the main shrine in Rome to the Italian Muses, Fulvius Nobilior's watered garden precinct of Hercules and the Muses near Pompey's portico. It is from Pergamon also that Pompey derived one of the most innovative aspects of his temple garden: to populate it not only with the Muses, but with a programmatic set of author portraits, imitating the visual display on the Attalid citadel before the library in the colonnades of Athena. In honor of Venus, the Lucretian mother of culture, Pompey assembled female authors, virgins and matrons whose own poetic themes (war, love and Aphrodite votives) suited his museum for Venus *Victrix*,[9] and great courtesans who were friends to artists, "authors," and statesmen.[10] They included at least one female author of a medical text (**Lais**), and forged a link to the weird, portentous birth-omen series.[11] A most striking feature

[9]From Tatian (cf. Antip. Thess. G-P 19, discussed below): **Sappho** by Silanion, **Corinna** by Silanion, **Erinna** by Naukydes, **Telesilla** (of Argos) by Nikeratos, **Myrtis** by Boiskos, **Praxilla** by Lysippos, **Myro** by Kephisodotos; third-century B.C.E. figures include **Nossis** by Aristodotos (of Locri in Italy) and **Anyte** (of Tegea) by Euthykrates. All these poets have known work and/or *vitae*, often connected with famous male poets, victors, etc. The epigrams of Nossis and Anyte are especially apt for the Portico. No poems survive for Tatian's **Thaliarchis** of Argos by Euthycrates, **Learchis** by Menestratos, **Mnesarchis** of Ephesos by Euthykrates, **Praxagoris** by Gomphos, **Klito** (the mother of Euripides) by Amphistratos, **Argeia** the lyre-player by Herodotos, and the **Wise Melanippe** by Lysistratos (possibly a mythic representation; cf. Euripides' tragedy).

[10]From Tatian, **Phryne** by Praxiteles and Herodotos, **Glykera** by Herodotos, **Neaira** by Kalliades, **Lais**, Praxiteles' **Woman with Bracelets**. Base, see Coarelli 100f., for **Mystis** by Aristodotos.

[11]Plin. *Nat.* 7.34 on marvels of gynecology and their status as [war] omens: "Pompey the Great arranged among the *ornamenta* of his Theater outstanding wonder-statues, worked out most carefully for that theme by the talents of the greatest artists, among whom [i.e., whose inscriptions] can be read **Eutychis**, thirty times a mother at Tralles, carried to the pyre by

throughout is the insistent recourse to Greekness, especially as Roman author statues already stood in similar sanctuaries. This obviously illustrates the partial ancient Roman identification of culture as such with Philhellenism; it is also an interesting pre-Augustan configuration of intellectual activity as almost entirely female, as opposed to war and politics as male, and of Greekness itself as feminine in relation to Romanness as masculine. The combination of these elements celebrates the worth of the female, of civilization, of Hellenism, but such categories are also shown to depend on a masculine Roman *virtus* on whose ordering and loving *cura* they depend for sustenance. (Compare Cicero's polemic clearing of Archimedes' neglected tomb garden, as described in *Tusc.* 5.32.) Yet the sets of authors also do more than show the "alien," for here as in every other series we can see a Roman effort to mark out "our" west within the category "Greek."

Pompey set his manubial garden-temple by the major sites of Roman triumphalist display, political assemblage, and state food distribution. His own residential *horti* were next door, just as his town-house on the *Carinae*, the *domus rostrata* now decorated with pirate spoils, was near the temple of Tellus. In those homes he himself was an important patron of cultural as of political enterprise; from the *horti* he had only to walk next door (as he is described doing) to address the senate in his *curia*, and there he lived his role as a statesman in obtrusively uxorious congress with Venus' descendant Julia while designing his great project. (That she died in 55, the year of its dedication, was a savage irony, as was her death in childbirth, given the miraculous birth theme so important there.) Pompey's social *personae* were broadly shared, but they were specially prescribed and glossed for general Roman imitation by his public complex.

Augustus' noted "sacro-idyllic" ideology succeeded because it responded to major Republican concerns, and Pompey's complex served him as a validation of that ideology. Now, as already for Caesar, the garden served the mother of the Julian house just like the *Forum Julium*, and her "victories"

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twenty children, and **Alcippe**, delivered of an elephant—in fact that subject is certainly to be considered an omen, for [just so] among the events of the onset of the Marsian War a servant girl gave birth to a serpent. (According to Tatian, the statue represented **Glaucippe** and her elephant child, made by Nikeratos son of Euktemon of Athens.) And polymorphous births of all sorts get recorded as portents." Tatian adds **Panteuchis** by Euthykrates, pregnant by rape, and **Besantis** queen of Paionia, who bore a black child, by Deinomenes. Antipater (below) may have seen here **Hermokrateia**, whose twenty-nine children all lived to adulthood.

included the avenging of Caesar by the *divi filius*; texts show how succeeding Julio-Claudian emperors up to Nero used the theater for triumphalist spectacle and occupied the famous *domus rostrata*. In 32 B.C.E. Augustus formally rededicated the complex, but left Pompey's name intact, as his own *Res Gestae* (20) emphasize—the only Republican patron's *monimentum* it so names. He enhanced Pompey's image as a triumphal *summus vir* by putting up an arch to receive Pompey's portrait from the *Curia*, and adding somehow to the "*Porticus*" wing by Coponius' **Nationes**; but by closing the *Curia* where Caesar had been assassinated, Augustus handed the shrine completely over to *otium*, and he "gardened" more, adding a soil level to fertilize and elaborate the original tree colonnades. How that symbolic statement of his own stewardship of Republican *gloria* obviously links to his "gardening" of the *Campus Martius* and his own monuments, I will not spell out here.

Praise of Place: Catullus Starts the Poets Walking

In 55 B.C.E., Catullus took a walk to find his friend Camerius, from the lower *Campus Martius* to its *Circus Flaminius*, into bookstores, up to the precinct of Jupiter on the Capitoline, then back into the lower *Campus* to the Portico of Pompey next to the *Circus*. That loop (c. 55.1–7) is typical of Roman itinerary poems, a genre just taking form now (compare Attis' speech, 63.50–73). The locations serve political and religious *negotium* and cultured *otium* in an elite male's daily round; Pompey's Portico, just opened, is cast as a fitting addition. Now the joking starts (6–14):

> While in Magnus' *ambulatio*
> I grabbed all the girlies, my friend,
> whom I saw with face nevertheless serene.
> But it was you I kept at them for—
> "[Give] me Camerius, you wickedest girls!"
> A certain one said, flashing bare breast,
> "Hey, he's hiding here in pink nipples."
> But to bear you now, that's a labor of Hercules....

Tell me where you are, he goes on at exhausted length, twitting Camerius with hiding there, somewhere, making love. At Pompey's Portico the closing appeal to Venus (20) invokes the temple and statue looming over poet and garden; Catullus' request in the last line (22) to be Camerius' *particeps amoris* is at once a claim on friendship and a wish to join his erotic sport. This teasing poem is also a panegyric tribute to Pompey's new dedication, saluting both its serious

purpose and its character as a *locus amoenus* decorated with authors and girls in many guises to attract poets.

Ambulatio means not just "path" (as in Sherwin-White's translation of Cicero's villa letters!) but garden plantings, to be enjoyed by means of paths and to make those paths pleasant. As primary place denominator in poem 55, *ambulatio* responds to the essence of Pompey's gift. Having stumbled into a garden of whores, Catullus burlesques a man looking for a favorite tart—and makes it clear that he expects Camerius might have come for just that reason. The poet is Hercules itinerant, from harrowing Hades' *tenebrae* in line 2 to the final exhausting labor of "bearing" (*ferre*) Camerius, i.e., taking Atlas' place carrying the sky, thereby evoking the Hesperides' garden (line 13). "You aren't caught in the arms of milk-white girls, are you?" (line 17) makes Camerius into Hylas, sought among nymphs by the Catullan Hercules. We see here how Pompey aimed to compete with the attractions of the poet-Hercules playing a *kithara* in the nearby manubial garden precinct of Hercules Musarum *in Circo*. The knowing mock-triumphalism also makes Catullus impersonate late Republican conquerors'—especially now Pompey's—favorite mythic *exemplum* and *comes*. Already for the Spanish triumph of 61 Pompey had erected a great Hercules temple at the *Circus Maximus*; where Catullus was searching, Hercules stood on the ground (Plin. *Nat.* 36.39, *humi*), and so amid the plantings, before the *adytum* (formalized recess) where the girlish pack of Coponius' **Nationes** fawned on Pompey. The call-girls' implacable *vultus serenus* evokes the garden-statues of courtesans, and the unusual color-word *lacteolus* in line 17 suggests marble girls; she who pulls down her gown turns herself into a classic Venus image; and, in the companion poem to 55, the poet feels himself turned into a statue as well—Hephaistos' living bronze, Talos: "Not if I were fashioned into that (statue) guardian of Crete….." (58b.1).

Describing

Catullus helps initiate a new, Latin strain in Hellenistic poetry about praise of place and by means of place, which is expanded by Vergil, Horace, Propertius and Ovid. A brief definition is in order to supplement current Latinist "*ekphrasis*" studies, which are mostly uninterested in visual and sensory patterns adduced by the poems' real analogues. These Latin poets evolved a newly focused Hellenistic genre that praises the powerful by explicating their monuments, lauding them and Rome by an itinerary visual and physical, and using this armature for poetry of emotion and opinion. Without that generic shift, we would lose much of the rich documentation of Roman art and architecture, and be left as ignorant as we are of the displays of the eastern

islands, Asian, African and Italian Greece (where Pausanias did not go) and of the Hellenistic and Imperial displays at Pausanias' sites. The Latin poets' efforts, energized by distinctive Roman attitudes to the *monimentum*, were fed and matched by prose efforts in more ancient (usually fictional) Greek and contemporary Latin literature, a phenomenon obscured in classical studies' conventional segregation of verse from prose. Roman writers were educated to read and speak across the span of literary genres, and were steeped in the rhetorical, systematic visualization processes of "memory training," whose Roman-era strategies for setting images in highly structured itineraries are now emphasized by art historians like Bergmann and Leach when discussing poetry and art alike. I stress that Latin authors' "*ekphrasis*," especially of real things, is often "gestural"—pointing at selected details, like a declaiming orator at a next-door temple, to make a solid memory-picture return to an informed reader's mind in order to frame the burden of a text, at once coloring that project and colored by it. Authors must have known that obscurity might befall, in the geographically wide *publicatio* they craved; the resulting "in-group" effect thus glamorized the *Urbs* and its inhabitants and posited Rome itself as a *mythos* worth knowing. Cryptic now, to the hearer in the same city a reference was clear, and evocation sensory as well as "iconographic" was immediate.

Flourishing next to traditional object descriptions, preferred by Greek poets at Rome, these Latin itineraries between and within monuments rely on the originary hearer's knowledge of structured location and mix in image references not only for their own sake but also to further evoke location. Roman art-and-place *ekphrasis* includes not only unbroken descriptive sequences (the typical object of modern "*ekphrasis*" analysis), but also, largely unstudied, prose and verse frames made of proemic and framing references, located to initiate and punctuate a text's expository project. Catullus and Propertius are cousins to, e.g., Varro and Cicero. In Varro's *De lingua latina*, the definition sequence literally maps the sacred, historiated topography of Rome, natural and man-made, and in the *De re rustica* Rome's images and iconic buildings recur in significant proems, like later novels' prologues. From the 70s onwards Cicero's forensic prose gestures at places and images to scourge or urge someone; his treatises' conversational settings (compare Catullus) make speakers stroll significantly around Athens' suburban philosophy gardens and exemplary Romans' villas and parks,[12] and his house and villa letters also convert itinerary and image inventory to praise of a patron (himself and his

[12]Cf. Vasaly *passim*; Kuttner 1999: 9.

brother). Returning to Catullus 55, compare how in the very next year, 54 B.C.E., Varro (*De re rustica* 3.2.2–6) praises Caesar's imitative re-design of the *Villa Publica* close by, to frame a discussion of magnificence in villas (including, obviously, Pompey's *horti* close by), conducted with the bird-watching, bird-named augurs relaxing among the collected masterpieces and plantings to the background roar of the elections in the next-door *Saepta*, also under Caesarian renovation. Varro too strolls in here with a friend from *negotium* to *otium*, to take the shade (3.2.1) during the elections at the adjacent *Saepta*; his "*ekphrasis*" (3.6–17) too has the *Capitolium* at one end (3.17.10), and mixes serious frame with joking repartee. Caesar's renovations of the *Saepta* and *Villa Publica* complemented as well as rivaled his son-in-law's project, together making fine permanent architecture for the places of public congress (*ludus*, senate meeting, plebeian assembly) in the lower *Campus*. Pompey's friend Cicero assisted Caesar (*Att.* 4.16.8), his crony Atticus aided Pompey (*Att.* 4.9.1), with contracting for art and architecture. It illuminates the genesis of Roman literary fashions across prose/verse boundaries when we can see strong parallels between Varro and Catullus' designs for place/praise texts about related subjects.

Catullus was of course a literary model for Propertius and Martial, also poets of *amor* and *amicitia* at Rome; but Propertius was also motivated by panegyric aims launched by current politicized re-building. Over a century after the *Porticus*' foundation, Martial, our other major Latin poetic source on Pompey's Portico, gives us an a-politicized (though not a-moralized) poetry of now-established social preferences of the *literati*, imprinted by both predecessors' poetry of the flâneur—the search for the friend, comically avid or detached attitudes to sexy girls here, and recognizable asides to the garden plantings and images. Martial's more profuse and concrete terms partake in a generic tendency of later first-century C.E. texts (those of Statius and Silius, Petronius and Pliny the Younger) about art and (landscape) architecture in parks and gardens, villas and palaces and *fora*. From Martial and Martial's Catullus it is but a short step to Tatian. In his typically "Second Sophistic" tour all the precinct's myths and literary portraits reek of female libido and male response, for a Christian as sinful as are the *spectacula* of the theater-temple, documented by Tertullian for damnation; scholars must be grateful that, where poetic praise tends to be general, gesturing at shared attitudes and knowledge, reproof tends to detail and inventory.

Propertius' Preaching Porticoes

In 2.32, Propertius, like Catullus, sets *amor* at the Portico of Pompey. But in using it as a stage for his focal relationship with his *domina*, he takes male-female love much more seriously, drawing it into an ethical domain that is, like Pompey's amorous art, truly exemplary. As Augustan place-descriptions come to be, his project is more overtly panegyric than Catullus', and carries—all joking and personal emotion aside—an exemplary message for Augustus' efforts at the moral and physical re-ordering of Rome. The Portico of Pompey thus engages Propertius' two most serious projects as a poet, the personal and the political. In comparison with the pendant 2.31 about the precinct of Apollo Palatinus, 2.32 is laconic about listing separate "things," and so has never received similarly intense scrutiny. How Propertius reacts to Pompey's monument tells us not only about details of its embellishment, but also, importantly, about educated awareness of the fundamentals of conscious design that shaped the precinct, and about the iconic implications of those formal characters.

Propertius' "portico poems" 2.31 and 32 are generally looked at apart, but to understand either we need to acknowledge the pairing, itself an "itinerary," juxtaposing Augustus' two great patrons, Apollo and Venus; later the pair is glossed by 4.8, to make a triad of sanctuary poems. Propertius expects us to know that both precincts were designed with an eye to attracting authors (cf. the Palatine libraries and authorial college); their place-names emphasize a wider world of which Augustus' Rome is the *umbilicus* and which contains the paradigms for either Roman *porticus*—2.31, Rome's Mediterranean empire and Delos and 2.32, the indigenous Latin sanctuaries. Propertius goes to both and recommends Pompey's to Cynthia. The pairing poses a series of gendered binaries—e.g., warlike "male" and gardened "female" sanctuary; "abroad" and "home"—and reifies the Apollo-poet's own relation to and expectations for Cynthia, his Venus and Muse. 2.31 names Augustus as sanctuary patron and 2.32 names Pompey; the juxtaposition implies Augustus' care for Pompey's Portico and follows Augustus' own lead in foregrounding Pompey's exemplary stature. That consorts with the poet's eulogy to Pompey, 3.11.33–38, used to set up invective against Cleopatra as a *meretrix regina* (in contrast to Pompey's own wife Julia, Caesar's daughter)—an unexploited document for Augustus' polemic care of the *dona Pompei.*

2.32 uses *laudes loci* for a complex hortatory program (like Pompey's) about (female) *pietas*, personal, social, and religious. It opens by bemoaning

how Cynthia wakes desire in who sees her—"Who sees you sins," as if she were the Helen and Venus of lines 31–34. Immediately this is countered (2–6) by Cynthia's piety in habitually touring Latin shrines, then undercut by observing her chances for amorous excitement there (lines 17–18, cf. 4.8.15–16). As remedy Propertius tries to seduce Cynthia home to what she shuns, Pompey's Venus sanctuary, a place in which all her own qualities and causative potential, as he and we know, are brilliantly delineated. In the end he "consoles" her, 25–26, against fearing the sorts of scandalous speculation in which he has himself just bitterly indulged; her dallying no more shames her than it does a Helen, or Rome's Venus herself, *corrupta* by Mars, or Catullus' Lesbia (45–46), or Pasiphae (represented at Pompey's Portico!) and Danae. These closing lines (selectively paraphrased) are full of ambiguous evocation of Rome's iconic, holy mythology—the *consortium* of Venus and Mars, the *fata Troiana*, the primordial Sabine city. Now, in closing (61–62): *quod si tu Graias es tuque imitata Latinas, / semper vive meo libera iudicio*! "So, if you are an imitator of Greek women and of Latin ones, may you live free always from my condemnation." Knowing as we do that Pompey's Portico itself displayed a wide range of feminine *personae* positive and negative, in Greek guise, as *exempla* willy-nilly to the female Roman gaze, the barbed parting judgment/valedictory seems especially apt.

Mention of Pompey's precinct follows on the oracular sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste, Tusculum, and the sanctuaries of Hercules at Tibur and Juno Sospita at Lanuvium (see 4.8.3–14 on the rites of the latter, involving a virgin and a snake!); and it is contrasted at greater length with that of Diana-Hekate at Nemi (2.32.7–16):

> hoc utinam spatiere loco, quodcumque vacabis,
> Cynthia, sed tibi me credere turba vetat,
> cum videt accensis devotam currere taedis
> in nemus et Triviae lumina ferre deae.
> scilicet umbrosis sordet Pompeia columnis
> porticus, aulaeis nobilis Attalicis,
> et platanis creber pariter surgentibus ordo,
> flumina sopito quaeque Marone cadunt,
> et leviter nymphis tota crepitantibus urbe
> cum subito Triton ore recondit aquam.
>
> In this place [Pompey's Portico] I wish you would stroll
> whenever you take your ease,
> Cynthia, but the crowd forbids me to have faith in you

> when it sees you, a votary running with lit torches
> into the *nemus* and bringing lights for the goddess Trivia.
> Too clearly, Pompey's *Porticus* with its shady columns
> will disgust you, noble with Attalid curtains
> and the *ordo* thick on each side with soaring plane-trees
> and the streams that run from drunken Maron
> and lightly, through the whole *urbs* like murmuring nymphs,
> when with sudden[ly gaping] mouth Triton sucks the water back.

Propertius strolls in the Portico as he speaks this, imagining Cynthia in the great terraced Latin citadels and sanctuaries, echoing how strongly and successfully Pompey sought here to glorify Latin *religio* and its physical forms. It is interesting that Propertius opens with Praeneste, as we do when choosing a single Latin model for Pompey's ideology and design, and confirms our reading of Pompey's park as a stylized *nemus* by introducing it via the dense woods, the *nemus* at Lake Nemi, where his *domina* joins the women who famously celebrated the killing of a goddess' mortal lover (a useful gloss on Propertius' tense love-affair!).

Striking is the focus on architectural design, and the knowing appeal to its terms by their unparalleled inversion—the columns are shady as if made of trees, the plane-tree ranks within are depicted like columns as an *ordo* of soaring shafts, characterized as in architectural theory by their symmetricality and density of arrangement. If the vision of tree-architecture was Pompey's, he too will have evoked the primordial tree- and cave-architectures of Lucretius' Venerian anthropology. A valuable document to Roman contemporary understanding of landscape architecture as an *ars* in its own right, Propertius' text illuminates how the ordering of plane-trees was a metaphor for the fruitful control of ambiguous feminine potential. Decked with *Attaleia*, cloth-of-gold hangings from Pergamon draped between the columns, Venus' precinct resembles a beautifully clad woman and so casts as jealousy Cynthia's aversion to the very building. The trees "on each side" locate us in the central pathway, where Propertius comments on a focal Dionysiac statue for water display, whose murmuring rivulets, "chattering nymphs," suggest both Venus' traditional entourage and a talkative *turba* of lovely visitors. Water turns the stylized *ambulatio* fully into a *locus amoenus*, running from this *caput* out into the city to meet somewhere a Triton statue that evokes encircling Ocean; the passage drives home Pompey's intention to make here a microcosm of the Romans' world.

The inebriated (*sopitus*) **Maro** governing these streams evokes the *Odyssey*, like the extant Augustan water-sculptures at Sperlonga. A Thracian priest who lived in Apollo's grove at Ismaros, Maro gave Odysseus the extraordinarily potent, fragrant wine with which he would drug Cyclops. Fitting inhabitant of this *nemus* also occupied by Apollo, he bears a name also that of an aromatic plant,[13] and he may well have had his own perfumed herb planted around him. Euripides' *Cyclops* already calls him Dionysos' son, raised by Silenos (141–43); in the Roman *imaginaire*, too, Maro was since Ennius' day, the late third to early second century B.C.E.— as Pompey's friend Varro recalls (*L.* 5.2)—the founder of the temple to "Liber Pater" in Thrace. That is at the eponymous Maroneia near Ismaros, whose fourth-century B.C.E. grape coins show the hero worshipped both as *ktistes* and wine-giver, near a port known to any Roman visiting the province of Macedon. (Varro/Pliny *Nat.* 14.53 praises the ancient glory of the wine of Maroneia, Homer's vintage, perhaps the first wine.) Maron's own rural *heroon*, on a lake by a stream called "*Odysseon*," is suggestive for this water architecture (the Augustan Strabo, fr. 7.44/45). Since Maro was drunk, thus embodying his own gift, he would have sat or sprawled with wineskin and/or cup, drinking (like a banqueting Hercules) or asleep, or stood capering or stumbling like a Dionysos; probably, satyr-features in face and ears showed his paternity. That would fit the Portico's tendency to monumentalize typical villa-garden decorations and sanctify the public enjoyment of private pleasures (see below for the evidence that grapes hung from some plane-trees in this garden, further reifying the conceit of this Dionysiac installation). Dionysos was a Roman Republican, as well as Hellenistic Greek, exemplar to eastern conquerors; the power that foiled a ravenous monster fits too the Mithridatic theme, the Cyclops being a classic gloss on the cruel tyrant, especially this one who had called himself a new Dionysos.

Propertius has to select, so any single image choice from the enormous sculptural repertoire here must be heavily coded. He could have pictured his *locus amoenus* without naming Maro. What does he get out of doing so? Standing amid the trees before Pompey's *Curia*, Maro made this precinct echo the *Forum Romanum*. Before its *Curia* the satyr-king **Marsyas** with his

[13]Identified as a kind of thyme (catnip?) in Lewis and Short and as "sage" in *LSJ*. Note that Plin. *Nat.* 12.11 comments on its lovely odor (so, with balsam and wine, used in the "royal lotion" of Parthia, *Nat.* 3.18), in the same passage commemorating the balsam trees in Pompey's triumph.

wineskin stood by the *ficus Ruminalis* and the statues of the **Wolf and Twins**, a significant icon as we know of *libertas* and rule by law, and over by *the Vicus Tuscus* an ancient **Vertumnus** embodied early Rome. Propertius' explication of the meanings of the latter figure, spoken by Vertumnus himself (4.2), helps confirm that the poet (like any Roman) would recognize the *Forum*-parallel intended by Pompey. Like the *Forum* images, Pompey's Maro evokes the primordial city of trees governed by Faunus, where Numa who established Rome's first *Mouseion* consorted with oracular satyrs and nymphs in a watered grove, just as Propertius consorts with Maro now.

Poet by springs—that hints at the well-attested contemporary literary metaphor of poetic inspiration through drinking "someone's" water. Just as no Roman could miss how Propertius' later reference to Lesbia honored his debt to Catullus, no contemporary would miss the specific loving compliment to Vergil, also "Maro," as Propertius' spring of poetry. Framed by Muses and Greek author-images, the mythic *vates* (prophet/poet) at the garden's core establishes that Latin creativity (like that of Propertius) is *Graecitas*' fitting counterpart and governor. This fortuitously available salute is as much a poetic *laus parentis* as the recognized tribute of 4.1, the "mini-Aeneid." This *laus* gestures toward Vergil's "landscape" *opus*, the *Georgics*, and specifically to 3.1–48 where *religio*, *Romanitas*, iconic images and gorgeous tapestries also manifest to the glory of Roman poetry and poet, in the semi-fictional Augustan theater-portico that licenses Propertius in 2.32 to spell out architectural contours and volumes.

4.8 recontextualizes 2.32. Now inter-personal and urban violence is aroused then pacified through Venus' agency and agents, as in Augustan myth-history of the Civil Wars. Pompey's precinct follows once more Latium's shrines but also Rome's own sacred hills, starting with the Esquiline panic of line 1. Cynthia has gone off to the portentous oracle at Juno's Lanuvium (3–14) with her other boyfriend (15–26), amplifying the imputations of 2.32. In iconic allusion to the patrician and plebeian citadels (29–32), from Diana's Aventine and the Capitoline groves of Tarpeia (cf. 4.4) come the loose women for Propertius' consolation party, his private Esquiline *secessio plebis*. Cynthia interrupts (49) like Pompey's raging Venus *Victrix*, shackling an usurping "Oriental" rival, Lygdamus (79–80)—and also beats the spirit out of Propertius. This angered *domina* is much discussed. Important to the poem's serio-comic flavor, however, is that Cynthia is possessed by a specific Venus, who comes down therefore from a lofty shrine just like the party-girls in order to impose a

woman's postures on the speaker; for the first law Cynthia enjoins upon Propertius suppliant at her feet is, *tu neque Pompeia spatiabere cultus in umbra* (4.8.75–79):

> *You will stroll no more all polished in Pompey's shade!*
> and not when sand strews the lascivious *Forum*, either.
> *Watch out, don't you crane your twisted neck to the top of the theater,*
> don't you let an open litter give itself to your delaying gaze.

She throws back in Propertius' face virtually his own exact words to her in 2.32.7 and 11; retrospectively, that imposes a twist on why the so-virtuous Propertius was strolling in Pompey's precinct, and in alternate lines we say hail and farewell to both Pompey's garden and his theater where Venus lived *in summum*.

Greek Poets at Pompey's Portico

The Portico of Pompey praises literature in its Greek history. If Roman poets felt at home here, contemporary Greek authors in Rome should have felt so even more. So I set out to scan the *Greek Anthology*, which still preserves the works of many of Pompey's human Muses. The Republican and early imperial epigram collections made at Rome modeled poetry as the flower and fruit of a garden; Meleager's *Garland* was composed by the first decade of the first century B.C.E.; Philip added his swag (naming a Roman patron) in the 40s C.E.[14] Resident in the newest center of Hellenistic patronage, the editors and their modern authors published for bilingual Romans as much as for Greek readers, as we can see from the included Romans and the Greek *liberti* and nobles' clients, and they evidently used rich libraries at Rome. Analogous are the Late Republic's enslaved and immigrant Greek artists and architects from Rome's south and east, whom Pompey's portico itself signally documents with its mix of ancient *opera nobiliora* and modern replicas and inventions by Greek and Roman hands. Greek visual artists' service to the Republican gaze and its effect on their imitative and inventive energies is often explored, as are (visual) collecting and reproduction habits, but the literary artists and collections have yet to be properly examined in this way. Pompey's poetess series uses Meleager and/or other collections not now preserved to make a prescriptive anthology in its own right. His, like all author-statue sets, directs the viewer/reader of the

[14] For recent discussion of Meleager's collection, see Gutzwiller 276–322. Epigrams in the *Garland of Philip* follow numeration of Gow and Page 1968 (G-P).

images and their entitling bases to the enterprise of cultural curatorship, not only pairing (as Hellenistic cultural theory did) artistic and literary excellence, but also positing linguistic and visual "collage," collecting, as one another's license. The *Garlands*' chronological span from the Archaic East and West to modern Rome is like contemporary visual programs that curate (Greek) old masters with new production in finding a way to assert the contrasting ancient values of emulation and invention. But no major public or private visual program at Rome has a Greek patron, to give us a Greek authorial voice as these literary collections do—Greeks approving Roman hegemonic claims[15] to be a good nurse to its Greek parent and sibling, the *Urbs* as *Mouseion* to rival Pergamon and Alexandria. The *Garlands* thus are historically pendant to Romanizing "foreign" prose voices of the Republic and Augustan age (Polybios, Strabo, Diodoros Siculus, and Pompey's correspondent Dionysos of Halicarnassus.)

Nervous enough at tackling Latin lit-crit, I admit even more trepidation at adding the *Greek Anthology*. The oral paper to the APA was not least a search for guidance, especially in comparing Latin with Greek. We tend to inspect what Roman authors got from Greeks, but it is obvious (from political panegyric, for example) how Greeks at Rome also learned from their Roman fellow-poets and patrons what subjects were fashionable to discuss, and new terms in which to discuss them. In a manner different from that of art history, the sociology of "Classics" separates knowledge of Greek and Roman language art, and disesteems Greeks' late Hellenistic and imperial production. Visual Romanists take their text cues from philologists; so, "classicists" lack art-historical commentary to the rich epigram corpus, and do not make the translations, narratives and commentaries that assist visual historians' courage, in stark contrast to the interdisciplinary glossing built up between Latinists and Roman art historians around Latin art texts. Whatever the plausibility of these particular readings, then, I hope that even disbelief might nudge other Romanists to my essential project—read the later, Roman-Greek epigrams, in the light of Rome and Latin.

Antipater of Thessalonike at the Portico

Their poets document how the first-century B.C.E. Calpurnii Pisones were deeply concerned with visual art. The sparkling manipulation of art criticism

[15]On Romans' attitudes, see Gruen. For analogous Greek visual expression, cf., e.g., the written and edited work of R. R. R. Smith and S. Alcock.

and knowledge in Horace's *Ars Poetica*[16] is known, though it needs full appraisal still, as do Philodemus' art poems. Arriving at Rome (G-P 1) between 20 and 10 B.C.E., Piso's client Antipater of Thessalonike speaks to Pompey's Portico sculptures, among the many art and artifact vehicles of panegyric (30–31, 41, 43–45) with which he praised his lord. If it is true that the Pisones owned and elaborated the famous Villa dei Papiri, then we have an extensive Pisonian sculpture program at a site whose potential response to Pompey's decorations needs discussion. That Antipater G-P 19 describes Pompey's poetesses is recognized by Whittaker in her edition of Tatian, with whose statue list this overlaps:

> These are the god-voiced women whom Helikon nurtured
> with songs, and Macedon, the Pierian crag:
> Praxilla, Moero, the mouth of Anyte, the female Homer,
> Sappho, ornament of the beautiful-haired Lesbian women,
> Erinna, fair-famed Telesilla, and you, Corinna,
> singing the warlike shield of Athena,
> Nossis tender-voiced, and behold, sweetly-chanting Myrtis,
> all, artisans of undying pages.
> Nine Muses great Ouranos made, and nine herself
> Earth gave birth to, for mortals immortal *euphrosyne*.

This is certainly an ekphrastic address to images before which the poet stands, calling them "these," addressing one as "you," exhorting us to "behold" (*ide*, 7). Knowing that the **Muses** stood in this garden, Antipater's closing comparison (cf. Hes. *Th.* 77–79) comes alive as a gesture to that image series also, and the first two lines make the hearer/reader expect a Muse-list, not the *gynaikai* we wait until line 3 to meet. We know from Tatian that Antipater has made his own internal selection of nine names. He may move down the installed row, or reorder it for his own patterns; he does confirm that they were grouped like Muses in a coherent series, and that the poetesses and the **Muse** statues were in a physically pendant relationship also—whether that meant they were next to one another, or set in facing ranks near or far apart (as in the separate halves of the *Forum Augustum* portrait series). Ancient formats dictate that both series stood "outside," or at least on its edge between the portico columns. So does the comment that they all make a second Helicon and Antipater's native Pieria, a landscape in which human makers visit with the Muses, like Antipater himself, in a perpetual *sacra conversazione*, as in contemporary Roman house

[16]Cf. Armstrong and Tsakiropoulou-Summers.

decorations, and so in Greek and Latin poetry. Given space, Antipater characterizes authors by biography and written subject. That typical Hellenistic strategy underwrites our inference, as for all authorial portrait patronage, that Pompey meant viewers to think both on works and life, and recall the prophetic and warlike *virtus* of an Anyte and a Telesilla, the Venerian votives by courtesans and matrons described by Nossis. Earth-born, historical hypostases of divine power, the authors model how by their works mortals can achieve the immortality of heroic fame, poetic tropes that apply also to Roman triumphalist theology. The only extant textual testimony to the extant **Muse** sculpture, Antipater's poem highlights the frame assumed by all Roman poets choosing to speak about visiting this precinct, and his choice of Roman *Mouseion* assumes their notions of a properly iconic stroll.

Antipater also implies panegyric to the *gens Pompeia*. The tribute would have been clear, in the context for and about which so many of his poems were written—the house of the Calpurnii Pisones. For the death of a Libyan slave girl G-P 16 consoles a noble Pompeia—the daughter of Pompey's son Sextus, Piso's mother-in-law, married to M. Licinius Crassus. Address to Muses and authoresses is traditionally suited to women, here a Pompeian mother-in-law and wife. We know the Licinii were proud of the lineage Pompeia brought to their house, because the famous Copenhagen head of Magnus comes from the *imagines* in the Tomb of the Licinii; this marble head most likely replicated one of the two bronzes at Pompey's portico, either that in the *Curia* (moved to an arch by Augustus) or, more probably, that standing accessibly among Coponius' **Nationes**. The Pisones also are likely to have praised the connection, especially judging by Piso's addiction to styling himself a second Alexander and Dionysus (as Antipater's panegyrics document), strategies for which Pompey's Alexander *imitatio* was inescapably a precedent. (Perhaps Thracian Maro also appealed to the Thracian conqueror.) That this poem might address particular concerns of the Pisones and Augustus with Pompey's Portico is made plausible when we note how Antipater, like Ovid and Propertius, emphasized art at other notable Augustan porticoes. In the Greek traditional mode, Antipater's "*ekphrases*" focus on one thing at a time, uncontextualized as to place or patron except where he names a (house) possession of his noble patrons, Piso and Gaius Caesar (and one altar, of king Seleukos, G-P 39).[17]

[17]Moving inside the Palatine house of Augustus beside the Apollo sanctuary, a ceiling painted for Gaius Caesar (G-P 46); as the hook for panegyric on that prince's *profectio* to Asia

Acknowledging the difference in generic focus from the new Latin ekphrastic modes, we can see the common aim to honor a monumentalized place and its maker(s). Where Propertius surveys in one poem (2.31) a range of images at an Augustan Apollo temple, Antipater writes several unplaced distinct *ekphrases*, on the otherwise attested **Dying Niobids** (G-P 22) of the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine or of Apollo Sosianus *in Circo*, and also (G-P 84) on one of Myron's **Cows**,[18] in the Palatine herd of four bovines that Propertius places at Apollo's altar. At these sites he asked Augustus' Apollo (G-P 40) for favors from god and king to himself and Piso, and, I think, saw Onatas' bronze **Apollo** (G-P 83). Similarly he spoke to Caesar and Augustus' Temple of Venus *Genetrix* in the *Forum Julium* by describing (G-P 29) only the noted **Medea** (in its porch with an **Ajax**).

Such poems let us locate in porticoes like Pompey's distinctive votive embellishments for which supplementary sources are lacking. I posit below that Antipater's plane-tree poem G-P 35, like Thallus', has to do with the Portico gardens. G-P 90 praises Muse statues, a curated chamber orchestra of ancient musical images (showing Roman interest in "Archaic" art typical of the period), from a Roman gallery-*Mouseion*, possibly Pompey's.[19] Fond of (art on) famous mothers (cf. G-P 21–24), Antipater cites "historical" ones with miraculously multiple offspring, especially in G-P 67, where a Hermokrateia the mother of twenty-nine (!) children, all of whom lived to adulthood, is contrasted with Niobe and her offspring, and G-P 24, the Cretan bitch Gorgo who prayed to Artemis while hunting and littered nine pups over a dead stag. Especially suggestive are G-P 9 and 10; these Greek votives offered to Aphrodite by virtuously husband-seeking courtesans must be in a Roman Venus shrine. G-P 9 purports to be by a painter from the poet's homeland of Macedon, the fourth- to third-century Aristomenes (of Thasos; the contemporary Roman Vitruvius [3 praef. 2] knows his excellence). Three citizen women, once courtesans but now *univirae*, collaboratively worship at a pictured temple and statue of Venus, bringing cup, shoes, robes to thank the goddess for winning permanent mates.

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in 2 B.C.E., compare G-P 30, Piso's victories via a "bodyguard" **Dionysus** installed at his vestibule.

[18]For the epigrams on Myron's cows (themselves, a herd in the Anthology!), see Gow and Page 1965: II.63–64 s.v. Antipater of Sidon 36.

[19]In G-P 90 the speakers are three **Muses**, one with a lyre, the second with a barbiton, the third with a reed-flute, respectively assigned to Aristokles (the brother of Kanachos), Agelados (of Argos, late 6th to early 5th century B.C.E.), and Kanachos of Sikyon (ca. 500 B.C.E.).

(This scheme is paralleled in extant fresco "paintings" of the 40s and 30s, from Pompeii and from Augustus' own house). In G-P 10 a Venus statuette is brought by "Kythera" of Bithynia to a shrine whose statue is the votive's model, in prayer for a husband's loving heart.

The theme strongly suggests Pompey's *meretrix* set and the oeuvre of his **Nossis**; compare Ovid on the "ancient" votive paintings assembled for Livia's Portico behind the Danaids of the Palatine Apollo sanctuary (*Ars* 1.71–72). It also suggests the rites of *volgares puellae* (Ov. *Fast.* 4.863–70) at the Temple of Venus Erycina at the Porta Collina, which Pompey's sanctuary evoked. There, in fact, art like this existed—an actual, "collected" Greek fifth-century work, the so-called "**Ludovisi Throne,**" a large Severe Style object on whose sides a naked flute-playing courtesan and swathed matron (or courtesan) offer incense to collaborate in worshipping Venus, whom her nymphs raise from her ocean bath or birth on the "Throne" front. The "**Boston Throne**" found with this is a Roman first-century B.C.E. emulation; here an old crone and a naked boy kitharode flank two draped woman at a *sortes* ritual, watching gladly/sadly as *Amor* weighs in a balance their prospects for a husband, the naked men who dangle on either weight.[20] As Galinsky observes, the acanthus ornamentation puts the **Boston Throne** close to the Augustan period, Antipater's day; his poems and the **Boston Throne** are both attentive re-representations of similar older votives. Epigrams 9 and 10 may well refer to art at the Porta Collina sanctuary, not Pompey's. They still help us to understand how period viewers could have admired the *exempla* of matron and *meretrix* alike, in an age when Pompey's precinct had made Venus' *voluptas* a *mater* to the arts (cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4.95–98.).

Plane Trees and Talking Trees

Propertius shows that Augustan poets responded to Pompey's iconic plane trees; I propose that this explains the plane-tree panegyrics of Antipater and Thallus that, as we will see, puzzled Gow and Page. These court poets are foreshadowed by the sacro-idyllic poets Zonas and Erucius, who seem to introduce plane trees to conventional sacro-idyllic epigram; both wrote in the earlier first century, the age of the Mithridatic wars fought by Sulla, Lucullus

[20]Both objects are much discussed in surveys of Greek sculpture. For re-use, see Galinsky 243f. with figs. 168 a–c and 169 a–c. He associates the fifth-century piece with the Sicilian precinct of Venus Erycina, but it could have come from Italy or other eastern sites at any time before the later first century B.C.E.

and Pompey. Zonas' G-P 3 takes up the topos of a hunter's votive offerings to Pan at a rustic shrine—but they are hung, now, on a plane tree. Similarly, Erucius of Kyzikos, also fond of sacro-idyllic themes and plant motifs, makes his Glaukon and Korydon (G-P 1) nail their bucolic votive for Pan, a calf's horns, on a plane tree. The poems can't be precisely dated but, whatever the relation to Pompey's garden, adding the plane tree (which was previously iconic as the philosopher's shade tree) to the sacred woodland *locus amoenus* is a significant convergence with his aims.[21]

I have already discussed Antipater's court setting. The high-placed east Greek emissary Antonius Thallus wrote for Augustus; we know that he would compose on Augustan monumental themes, because G-P 1, the odd verbal "weapons frieze," with invented dedicators' names alluding to the weapons' potency, clearly refers to Augustus' ideology of Mars and the *spolia opima* of Romulus—whose statue stood in the *Forum Augustum*—and Aeneas: "ever grant to all, man-destroyer Ares, that they carry off spoil from their adversaries." Here, then, is Thallus G-P 5:

> See, the green plane tree, how it hides the lovers' *orgia* spreading the sacred foliage (*tan hieran phyllada*), and around, the sweet vine, grace to the Horai, hangs down clusters about its branches. So, o plane tree, grow, and may your green leaf always cover the *hetairoi* of the Paphian.

On the tree serving as support for the vine, Gow and Page remark (*ad loc.*): "The training of vines on the branches of a plane tree is abnormal and surprising....A dead plane (Antipater of Thessalonica xxxv) might be so used, but a living and leafy one seems quite unsuitable." Now compare Antipater G-P 35:

> Me, the dried-up plane tree, the grapevine creeping upwards hides, flourishing all around me with alien foliage, I who once nursed with my own growing branches the clusters, I who was not less leaf-covered than she [the vine]. Indeed, such a *hetaira* let anyone cherish hereafter, she alone who knows how to repay one when dead.

Here Gow and Page observe (*ad* v. 1): "a somewhat unexpected tree."

[21]Cf. how the grove of tree-species in Zonas G-P 7 revives from archaic epic and, as Gow and Page note, from Plato the story that the oak is mother of mankind, which immediately recurs in Latin—of obvious interest to Italians, for whom Jove's oak "was" (cf. Strabo) the Italian forest (Cic. *Att.* 13.28.2; Verg. *A.* 8.315; Ov. *Ars* 2.541).

Indeed, Greco-Roman agricultural practice shows no parallel for training grapevines on ornamental plane trees, which are too tall to make their branch-trellis accessible for harvest. Thallus' poem seems first, glossed by Antipater (compare how the **Boston Throne** adds a contrast of youth and age to the **Ludovisi Throne** program!). Thallus is clear: these holy plane trees belong to Venus—though they are not her standard Greek or Roman attribute—partake in her entourage of the Seasons, and shelter men visiting with the goddess to make love (*orgia*) to women. It is as a sacred, festive planting that the tree earns the poet's salute. Antipater makes this tree, now grown old, talk to us about love and *pietas*. Whereas the vine had first seemed an *hetaira* decorating with its own sexualized beauty the living tree that supported it, now, like a pious daughter or concubine, the vine gives beauty and foliage to its withered supporter, and is praised like a pious wife who makes offerings at her husband's tomb. In these weird, unique poems (themselves a little "grove"!) Venus' plane-trees have to be located at Pompey's Portico. We also know how sculptured *hetairai* watched Roman men consort with living courtesans there under the goddess' protection, and how Latin poets associated these encounters with the plane-tree *ambulatio*. It is typical of the difference (see above, p. 336) between Greek and Latin habits that Propertius, like Martial, names a larger area and its arrangements to locate the viewing itinerary, while Thallus and Antipater speak to one element of that larger whole to please its restorer Augustus and his nobles.

The Greek epigrams tell us something new: Pompey's Venus garden had at least one display of fruited vine trained on a plane tree. It seems risky to so reconstruct the entire path, but Roman habits of symmetry indicate that some *locus* must have been marked out in the tree rows by at least two vine-draped trees; even a limited reconstruction establishes a new prototype for Livia's great garden-portico of Concordia, dedicated in 7 B.C.E., famed for the iconic vine growth roofing its colonnades. The meretricious Roman Venus Erycina cult and shrine that Pompey's program evoked was closely tied to the *Vinalia*, the great wine festival of the Roman year, at once lascivious and triumphalist; as previously observed about Pompey's evocation of the divine Eastern conqueror Liber, Propertius' fountain of Maro documents that the image of salvific wine and Dionysiac display were central here. Our plane-tree-with-grapes epigrams parallel that Propertian focus. Antipater's plane has had time to age, and I think the arrangement is original to Pompey, for its most obvious prototype fits so well a polemic against Mithridates. I've already mentioned how the Persian royal plane-tree garden of the good prince Cyrus had become a positive Roman

icon, so glossing Pompey as an exemplary gardener. However, "evil" Asian royal invaders liked ornamented and be-vined planes: Xerxes on his way to Sardis hung an especially beautiful plane-tree with gold and gave it a royal bodyguard (Hdt. 7.31.1), and the revoltingly wealthy Lydian Pythios, on whom he later inflicted great cruelty, had given his father Darius a solid-gold plane tree hung with a grape-vine, described when Xerxes meets Pythios (7.27.1). In Pompey's triumph, recall that his wooded golden mountain, signifying Asia captive, was surrounded by a grapevine—it must have been displayed afterwards in this Portico! Suggestive for chronology too is that, when fighting Pompey soon afterward, Caesar planted a Dionysiac, vine-draped plane tree in a noble house in Spain, which is represented as an anti-Pompeian planting by the later poet of the *Porticus*, Martial (9.61.15–22).

If I'm correct, the grape-wreathed plane tree(s) told a Herodotean story, to contrast natural, productive magnificence with improper "Oriental" *luxuria*. Exemplary tree stories suggest the *sententia* of fable,[22] and Antipater's poem is explicitly fable, with speaking tree and (only) plant actors. Callimachus' lengthy dispute of the olive and laurel (*Iamb.* 4) helped validate the motif for later poets, but Antipater's pungent speaking tree poems (also) deliberately evoke Aesopian models.[23] Compare here G-P 27, an iconic list of tree species at a mapped and measured rural holy grove, whose laurel speaks as Daphne asking to be spared from having her branches broken off for a worshipper's ritual apparatus. Fable-armature of arbutus, terebinth and laurel intrudes into the same topography Vergil had described for the bees' palace in the fourth *Georgic* (4.18–29), namely lists of trees in woods, and river; the single tree speaking from a larger group of sanctuary plantings parallels my thesis for the talking plane. Earlier poets exploited fable, but not with this new focus on plants; such an innovation is linked to the status of "fable" as a genre, which Pompey's *porticus* honored with an image of **Aesop**.

Aesop evoked a primordial Golden Age, in which humans, animals, trees and stones all could speak with one another, earth burgeoned naturally and

[22]Cf. the Julio-Claudian Phaedrus 4.7.20, where "Cato," in speaking of Minos' thalassocracy as *exemplum justi imperii*, alludes recognizably to Thucydides' account.

[23]As examples of fable, cf. G-P 18, the eagle and the octopus; 80, contrast of two birds; 81, the Apolline and solar myth of the poplar (Augustus planted a poplar grove by the Mausoleum). G-P 106 is a nut-tree's complaint. Compare the Augustan epigrammatist Argentarius' G-P 22, a blackbird warned to avoid an oak and its mistletoe in favor of a vine with grapes.

agorai were (as here) in the middle of groves, as the Flavian fabulist Babrius paraphrased Aesop's proto-Lucretian world in his proem.[24] Aesop's stories were painted even in Roman *tabernae* by the first century C.E. (Phaed. 4.6.2). That Antipater's younger contemporary Phaedrus, perhaps Augustus' freedman, wrote fables on Aesop's evoked model during the 30s and 40s is illuminating. He mixes with Aesopian fable longer satires and epigrams drawn from Roman social and public settings (compare Antipater 35), including treatments of historical Roman leaders (the good Pompey, *App. Perottina* 10), Roman garden scenarios (2.5, Tiberius at Lucullus' villa at Misenum) and a gallery of trees under divine patronage (2.17) that strikingly matches Varro or Pliny (*Nat.* 12.3). Phaedrus likes randy "monstrous birth" fables (*App. Perottina* 4 has a *meretrix* and a bearded baby; in 2.3 human-headed lambs are generated as one might guess).[25] These hint at a fable-element in both Pompey's weirder birth-statues and Antipater's potentially related anecdotes of multiple human and animal birth.[26] In Hellenistic Athens, Lysippos set up before a group of the **Seven Sages** a bronze **Aesop** (which Pompey's probably copied), commissioned surely by Demetrios of Phaleron who associated Aesop's sayings with the Sages'; from that era the high worth and status of fable's enjoyable moral persuasion descends to Pompey's exemplary portrait. Phaedrus shows how Aesop had himself become a protagonist of wisdom-story, and Pompey's statue is suggested too when Phaedrus defends his Latin *aemulatio* of a Greek genre by citing the Attic portrait of Aesop, testifying on its *aeterna basis* to the fabulist's *ingenium* (2.9.1-2).

Martial on Pompey's Garden

Because this essay focuses on the originary, "intentionalized" phases of Pompey's complex, I will not trace out Martial's itineraries or their roots—given all his poetry about the *Campus* porticoes, the imperial *Fora* and Palatine, and Italian shrines, villas, and houses, that needs a longer contextualization anyway. With the dyad *porticus et umbra*, "peristyle and tree-shade" (1.12.5), Martial generically characterizes the rural Latin sanctuaries that Pompey's Portico and other *fora* in Rome imitated. This "ex-urban life-style" poem's pendant is 5.20, giving the normal urban itinerary in the *Campus* as *Campus*,

[24]For Babrius, consult van Dijk 46f. and G 19a; on the animal fables previously mined by Hellenistic poets, see further 134f., 262–63.

[25]And see 4.24, on the mountain that birthed a mouse.

[26]van Dijk 237f. and 20F1, on Callimachos (*Iamb.* 4.6ff. = fr. 194 Pfeiffer); on Phaedrus, 43–44 and 403f.; on Aesop's statues, 56 and 77–78 n. 226.

porticus, *umbra*, *Virgo* [Agrippa's Aqua], *thermae* (9)—the sequence of elements 2.14 unfolds when specifically describing Pompey's portico.[27] Martial 2.14.10, locating a *nemus duplex* in the *dona Pompei*, is our standard text for explicating the footprint on the Marble Plan. As for Domitian's rose-gardens in the new *Isaeum* nearby (6.80) or Caesar's *aemulatio* of Pompey's planes with grapevines in a Cordoban house-court (9.61), the emphasis on both *porticus* and the plants within it coheres with the garden specifications in the younger Pliny's villa letters.

Martial 2.14 has unobserved company in 3.58. Though he, like Horace, resorts many times to prescribing "country" life over city life, and recurs to the modest pleasures of his own suburban *villa Nomentana*, he also upholds the opposite attractions of urbanity. 3.58 is an ironic encomium of the too-rustic villa of Faustinus at Baiae, whose teasing close contrasts it with the flashier (and more appealing!) villa of his addressee Bassus, just outside Rome. The opening evocation of "City" required by the country vs. city paradigm this poem burlesques is Pompey's garden *in Campo*:

> That Baian villa of our Faustinus, Bassus,
> does not, laid out (*ordinata*) with myrtles of *otium*,
> man-deprived (*vidua*) with plane tree and cut boxwood,
> lengthen the thankless tracts of the wide *Campus*,
> but rejoices in true—and barbarous!—rusticity.

The pun on trees without male supporters in this grove of *otium* evokes the precinct's real and literary forms and its sociology. *Ordinata* recollects Propertius but also refers to actual visual effects, telling us that shorter, shrubbier myrtle grew by the governing plane trees. That is a significant addition to our knowledge of the garden's forms and iconography, originary and persisting. For myrtle was Venus' traditional Roman tree. Especially, symbolic "plebeian" and "patrician" myrtles flourished in the precinct that housed the temple of Flora next to that of Quirinus on the Quirinal—Flora, patroness of *meretrices* and famously salty *ludi*, near whose grounds Martial takes care to stress that he lives (5.22.3–4, 10.58.10, and add 6.27.1–2), and who presides, as at her games, over the jokes of the *Epigrammata* (1.prologue), as she does over chastely wrapped whores (1.35.8–9).

[27]Cf. Mart. 5.44.5–6: baths, theaters, and "every sort of shaped retreat" (*conclavia omnia*).

The boxwood topiaries are good to know about, too. They may be an addition by Augustus, in whose age we think Romans first embraced topiary; whenever they were planted, they added to the contrast of prinked formality with vigorous growth, as to the garden's perfumes, thus enhancing its airs of "femininity." These little hedges also seem to have been pruned to frame particular sculptures, as in garden fresco. On the mention in 2.14 of "Europa," who anchors the poem's itinerary loop and appears in other poems (3.20, 7.32, 11.1), has been based an unattested "*Porticus* of Europa." Not only has this construction no room in the crowded topography where Martial locates his "Europa," but Tatian's list shows that Martial is referring to the pendant bronze girls and bulls by Mikon and Pythagoras, as nested in the box-wood topiary (3.58) with seats for taking perfumed warmth and shade.[28] Martial connects the bronzes with the *meretrix* thematics of Pompey's precinct, comparing Flora's related precinct, the *porticus Quirini* (11.1.9–13), and matching **Europa** and her lusty boyfriend with whores (cf. also 2.43) and girlfriends of *bons viveurs*. 11.1.12 links "Pompeius" and "**Agenor's Daughter**" to a *turba otiosissima*; in 2.14 the shift from the *dona Pompei*, broadly delineated, to one iconic statue within them is clearly predicated on Propertius 2.32; and elsewhere Martial exploits the teasing themes of one image in a larger garden (Priapus in 6.72 and 9.40; in 3.68.8–10, Venus in a garden is an image of the poem's place in its book).

For Martial, this precinct is (still) a garden of poetry, and of Pompey. Augustus' sanctioned pleasure-park embodies *otium* and its salty laughter, and makes excuses to Domitian for them, when the poet's range between joking and serious panegyric is modeled (7.51) on the parallel contrast between the *Pompeium* and Augustus' Temple of Mars Ultor (in the *Forum Augustum*). The figure of Pompey evokes, too, the noble last age of the "old Republic," culturally and politically fascinating to Martial as to Lucan, Silius, and Tacitus. With the poems about Antony and Cleopatra belong 5.74, lauding the campaigns and defeats of Pompey's sons in the three continents associated with their father, and 8.66, praising a contemporary triumph with triple *sacros honores* that the senate awarded Pompey and his *gener* Caesar.[29] That Pompey's "ancient" precinct represents how the Republican and Augustan Golden Age affords a model for Martial's own life and works emerges in a defiant apology to potential censors (5.10.3–10.):

[28]Compare the preserve within the younger Pliny's "hippodrome" garden in *Ep.* 5.6.32–36.
[29]Recent discussion in Butrica.

> Surely these, you Regulus, are the *mores* of *invidia*,
> that it should always prefer the *antiqui* to the new.
> So we seek out the *vetus umbra* of unthanked Pompey;
> so the old men praise that shabby temple of Catulus [the old *Capitolium*].
> Ennius is read, o Rome, although Maro [Vergil] is extant for you;
> and his *saecula* laughed at Maeonides [Homer].
> Only a few theaters clapped for prize-crowned Menander,
> only Corinna gave the time of day to her Naso [Ovid].

A monument about literature has won equation with it; and the censorious reaction to Pompey's project in his lifetime (a known history), with subsequent fame for its artistic worth, foreshadows Martial's endurance as much as mention of Homer does.

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Governed by Greek **Aesop** and Sicilian **Sophron** as their "old philosophers," Pompey's religiously and historically iconic plantings, sculptures and water-displays invited the viewer to understand Venus' inviting museum-*nemus* as a moralized and moralizing landscape. Poets and patrons at Rome answered the invitation[30] to walk through this microcosmos thoughtfully, adding to it Pompey's changing posthumous *numen*. Venus' sons Caesar and Augustus responded both in how they restored this complex and how, like Livia, Octavia and Maecenas, they emulated it in their own buildings. When Martial made this garden a *locus* of his life as of his poetry, he had good company for this in an inhabitable representation, the contemporary "imperial villa of San Marco" at Stabiae, whose enormous garden replicated the combined contours of *porticus* and theater *cavea* and held a *nemus duplex*. I end as I began, with a quotation from Kubler: "Prime objects and replications denote principal inventions, and the entire system of replicas, reproductions, copies, reductions, transfers, and derivations, floating in the wake of an important work of art."[31] Perhaps this little foray into some of the text-artifacts bobbing after Pompey's Portico may pull a wider range of Romanists towards seeing this *monimentum* as a prime subject for our histories.

[30]Note the curiously fable-like character of the omen reported at the Portico presaging Caesar's assassination there for regalism (Suet. *Jul.* 81): a bird called "little king" (*regaliolum*), carrying a bit of laurel, was chased into the *Curia* and torn to pieces by a flock of other kinds of birds *ex proximo nemore*.

[31]Kubler 39.

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