



Mimesis or Phantasia? Two Representational Modes in Roman Commemorative Art

The commemorative forms of the Romans are marked by the ubiquity of two contrasting presentational modes: one essentially mimetic, rooted in the representational power of artistic forms, the other abstract and figurative, dependent on the presentation of cues for the summoning of absent yet necessary images. The mimetic mode was thoroughly conventional, and thus posed few problems of interpretation; the figurative knew no such orthodoxy and required a different and distinctive form of attention. At the tomb, epigraphic and sculptural forms, each in its characteristic manner, addressed an audience habituated by tradition to respond to both of these modes, to grasp their differences, and to rise to the challenge implicit in the very fact of their contrast.

In his *Ars Poetica*, amidst his discussion of the theatre, Horace remarked that sight was the most reliable of senses: “things impressed on the mind by means of the ears stimulate it less actively than those presented to it by the trustworthy eyes, which the spectator can see for himself.”¹ But as Horace went on to point out, certain things should not be depicted—merely described—so as to insure a sense of propriety: “let not Medea butcher her sons before the eyes of the people, nor nefarious Atreus cook human entrails in public.”

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Translations of the standard Classical authors are drawn from the Loeb Classical Library, though adapted in numerous instances; others, particularly the epigraphical material, are the author’s unless otherwise indicated.

1. Hor. *A.P.* 180–82: *segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem quam quae sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus et quae ipse sibi tradit spectator.*

Decorum demanded that the *visualization* of such horrible scenes be left to the imagination, where they might be as fleeting, or as lasting, as any individual might tolerate. So, for example, in a well-known painting of Pompeii's "House of the Fatal Loves" [fig. 1], those unseemly events so central to Medea's story are only signaled proleptically by her brooding pose, which is in such stark contrast to the carefree image of her children who are unaware of what their mother contemplates; similarly, in this picture's pendants, Phaedra contemplates the course of her actions, and the horrific denouement of her unbridled lust for Hippolytus has yet to lead to his tragic death; and, in the third of the room's paintings, Helen contemplates Paris' invitation—an event whose ultimate consequence, the Trojan War, would inevitably have been called to mind by any ancient observer.²

Horace's commentary distinguished between two different categories of experience. While things both seen by the eyes and heard by the ears are rooted in perception, he declared that the visual impresses itself upon the mind more forcefully and—more importantly—more directly.³ The distinction suggests a belief that while vision perceives reality, in the case of hearing, in those instances in which one hears a narrative, description mediates reality: in the context of the theatre, what is merely heard would need to be reconceived by the mind, as sense perception was transformed by the imagination. Thus, implicit in Horace's prescriptions for the stage are a characterization of two distinctive representational modes, one that depends primarily on the mimetic power of visual representation, the other on the capacity of spectators to mentally transform verbal description into an adequate (albeit not too powerful) representation of the narrated scene. This was a fundamentally Greek tradition. The ancients understood this sort of mental transformation and its cognitive representations, which they termed *phantasiai*; they distinguished these from what was presented to the senses, and which they understood as a form of imitation of reality, something they knew as *mimesis*. As ancient theatre and painting made plain, these two different aspects of mental life, *mimesis* and *phantasia*, played a distinctive role in ancient representations; one was grounded in external reality, the other expanded on that reality by means of the powers of mind. In the arts of antiquity, the visual arts, in particular, both played roles;⁴ the nature of those roles, however, and the character of their effects in any given case, require explication and explanation—something the present essay hopes to provide.⁵

2. Trenchant analysis in Bergmann 1996.

3. Cf. the similar formulations at Quint. 11.3.67, Sen. *Ep.* 6.5, and Cic. *Planc.* 66.

4. History writing might well be regarded as another area in which this distinction figured: see the suggestive comments in Bell 1997: esp. 4, and Marincola 1997: 63–86.

5. Cf. Pollitt 1974: 201–205, Rouveret 1989: 383–401, and recently Perry 2004: 150–71; differences in approach and interpretation will become apparent.

I. AN ANCIENT DISTINCTION

The ancient sources offer some direction. Horace's comments, and their context, recall another apposite example. In his account of ancient painters in his *Natural History*, Pliny tells of Timanthes and his portrayal of the "Sacrifice of Iphigenia":

orators have sung the praises of his *Iphigenia* ... awaiting her doom; the artist has shown all present full of sorrow, and especially her uncle [Menelaus], and has exhausted all the indications of grief, yet has veiled the countenance of her father [Agamemnon] himself whom he was unable adequately to portray.⁶

Like the painted tragedies of the "House of the Fatal Loves," Timanthes' *Iphigenia* was also reflected in the repertory of subjects that adorned the walls of Pompeian houses [e.g. 2],⁷ and it too engendered a response to our distinction between *mimesis* and *phantasia*.

Cicero had long before employed the example of Timanthes' *Iphigenia* in his discussion of *decorum*, similarly arguing that, "Agamemnon's head must be veiled because he could not portray that supreme sorrow with his brush."⁸ Agamemnon's veiled head is an iconographic motif with a very long history, but this is not our concern here. Nor is the problem of *decorum*, the context in which these anecdotes from our sources almost exclusively figure;⁹ *decorum* does not do these anecdotes justice—for there is more at stake here. In fact, Quintilian points the way towards a fuller appreciation of these matters. In his discussion of the same theme, he presses the issue to its full conclusion and signals the properly theoretical framework in which this bit of ancient art criticism took its rightful place—theoretical in the *ancient* sense of an adequate intellectual account of a given natural phenomenon's logic and structure. As Quintilian states it:

He [*sc.* Timanthes] had given Menelaus an agony of sorrow beyond which his art could not go. Having exhausted his powers of emotional expression he was at a loss to portray the father's face as it deserved, and solved the problem by veiling his head *and leaving his sorrow to the estimation of each individual spectator* [emphasis added].¹⁰

6. Plin. *H.N.* 35.73–74: *eius enim est Iphigenia oratorum laudibus celebrata, qua stante ad aras peritura cum maestos pinxisset omnes praecipueque patrum et tristitiae omnem imaginem consumpsisset, patris ipsius vultum velavit, quem digne non poterat ostendere.*

7. For the presumed replica of Timanthes' painting from Pompeii's "House of the Tragic Poet" (VI 8,3), see Ling 1991: 134 and e.g. 139; Perry 2002: 154–56 and e.g. 7.1.

8. Cic. *Orat.* 21.74: *obvolvendum caput Agamemnonis esse, quoniam summum illum luctum penicillo non posset imitari.*

9. See recently Perry 2002, with previous bibliography.

10. Quint. *Inst.* 2.13.13: *addidisset Menelao, quem summum poterat ars efficere, maerorem, consumptis adfectibus, non reperiens, quo digne modo patris vultum posset exprimere, velavit eius caput et suo cuique animo dedit aestimandum.*

As is the case with all such narratives, one had to recognize what story was being depicted, then recall the sequel, and finally—what is most significant here—visualize, in the “mind’s eye,” not only the tragedy’s unrepresented denouement, but the extraordinary effect that the depicted event should rightly have registered on the emotional state of the intended victim’s father. For Quintilian, the full horror of Agamemnon’s expression, dictated by the tragic circumstances, was more powerful as suggestion than depiction—better imagined than represented. Ultimately, the real lesson of Timanthes’ painting (as Quintilian, and also Valerius Maximus,¹¹ had recognized) was that the spectator played a necessary and active role in establishing not only such a painting’s effect and its meaning, but in the fullest possible sense, what it represented.

The ancients themselves provide eloquent testimony to this artistic phenomenon of leaving the fulfillment of imagery to the memory and imagination of the spectator. But this expressive strategy was not always acknowledged, since in discussions of memory and imagination in relationship to the visual arts, following the precepts of the ancient rhetoricians, imagination is generally seen as fundamentally dependent on memory—hence, by implication, on experience, sense perception, and ultimately, *mimesis*.¹² Often it is a famous series of architectural metaphors that is evoked, metaphors rooted in the legendary account of Simonides’ ability to recall the seating arrangements of guests at a banquet after the hall in which they were dining collapsed, burying and disfiguring them. Just as Roman oratorical tradition exploited this story by enlisting the architectural analogy to organize the material of a speech in such a way that it might be recalled, serially, as Simonides had done, by associating its parts with the various rooms of a house,¹³ art historical treatments of memory have generally literalized those metaphors in the discussion of architectural ensembles. Such analyses, while in some instances of great interest and insight, merely extend the discussion of the famed *loci et imagines*, reversing the process of their rhetorical metaphorization, and now focus on *real* architecture, employing the memory-system as a cue to discerning meaning.¹⁴

Yet this renowned system of *loci et imagines* tells only part of the story of ancient mnemotechnics; its predominance in accounts of ancient memory demonstrates how the Greek philosophical tradition’s fundamental concern with the epistemological and physiological aspects of memory, while not entirely

11. Val. Max. 8.11, ext. 6: “Did he not confess by veiling Agamemnon’s head that the bitterness of deepest grief cannot be expressed in art? So his painting is wet with the tears of the soothsayer and the friend and the brother, but left the father’s weeping to be judged by the emotion of the spectator.”

12. Webb 1997: 123–24 (following Pedrick and Rabinowitz 1986).

13. Simonides’ feat is related at Quint. 11.2.11–13; the memory system is the subject of Quint. 11.2.1–50; see the fundamental treatments of Yates 1966; Carruthers 1990; Coleman 1993.

14. For sophisticated application of these ancient ideas to the painted decoration of Roman domestic interiors, see Bergmann 1994 and Rouveret 1989: 303–79; Bodet 1997 provides an alternative approach.

forgotten, was subordinated in the rhetorical and oratorical treatises to the more practical issue of “memorization.” By contrast, the realization that visual or verbal images might prompt or engender such *mental* images was a staple of Aristotelian tradition. The ancients, astutely aware of the apparent presence of things recalled, did not hesitate to recognize that so often memory functioned, as Aristotle had put it, by means of “some such thing as a picture.”¹⁵ Indeed, reminiscence provides us, quite literally, with mental images that seemingly represent the material “actuality” of the past, as memory imitates sense perception. Aristotle, however, was also acutely aware of the immediacy of *phantasiai*, mental images that were distinguished—indeed divorced—from sense perception.¹⁶ The difference is essential. For Aristotle, imagination was dependent on memory for its material, but not limited to memory for its specific content; while memory might be regarded as a mimetic faculty, the imagination knew no such limitations. Although on the one hand memory images were powerfully mimetic, as when visual sense perceptions might be recalled (for instance, I am moved when I recall and, as it were, picture in my mind what my childhood home looked like), on the other hand, mental images might not be mimetic at all, as when we have a *phantasia* of something fearful and yet remain unaffected (as we may be unmoved when we look at a painting of a horrific scene). This comparison (drawn from Arist. *De Anima* 3.3 = 427b) demonstrates that while the *form* of the *phantasia* (which is likened to a painting) is mimetic, its *content*, not specifically the product of sense perception, is not. The distinction, between what was visible to the eye and what was conceivable to the mind, played a role in early aesthetics and is already fully articulated by the third century BC; Plutarch reports that:

most people, as Arcesilaus said, think it right to examine poems and paintings and statues of others with the eyes of both the mind and the body, poring over them minutely and in every detail. . . .

Plut. *De tranq. anim.* 470

Similar and related ancient testimonia are well known: one need only recall Horace’s famous castigation of centaurs, mermaids, and the like—all of which might exist in the mind, or in art, but never in life; or Vitruvius’ excoriation of “those monsters [that] are now painted in frescoes rather than reliable images of definite things.”¹⁷ And by the beginning of the third century AD, the contrast between *mimesis* and *phantasia* in artistic practice might be made explicit; in a dialogue in Philostratus we read:

15. *De memoria et reminiscencia* 450a. Such *visual* memories are to be distinguished, however, from other forms of reminiscence which persist without the aid of mental imagery (e.g., sensations).

16. Amid a huge bibliography, see Schofield 1978/1992; Frede 1992; and Watson 1982. The recent account offered in Perry 2004: 150–71 does not pay sufficient attention to this fundamental distinction.

17. Hor. *A.P.* 1; Vitruv. 7.5.3; cf., however, Lucretius’ materialist explanation at 4.732–48.

- Did Phidias and Praxiteles and the rest go up to heaven, then, and take an impression of the gods' appearances so as to reproduce it, or was there some other influence controlling their work?
- Indeed, there was—something rich in wisdom.
- What? You can't find anything other than imitation (*mimesis*) surely.
- Yes; *phantasia* did this work, a more cunning craftsman than your imitation. *Mimesis* will fashion what she has seen, *phantasia* also what she has not seen.¹⁸

Now it need hardly be emphasized that a fascination with those aspects of mind that have been underscored here was not a strictly *ancient* phenomenon. Clearly, the structural dynamics of spectator response is a fundamental concern for the interpretation of art of all periods;¹⁹ but, despite some significant efforts,²⁰ these matters—as they pertain to the art of the Romans—have not received their due, with respect to either their historical contextualization, or to their theoretical elaboration. The focus of what follows, a series of works of art whose imagery—indeed, whose very structure—was designed so as to encourage the solicitation of mental imagery, is merely one aspect of the larger question of spectatorship. While not only, or even primarily, a Roman artistic phenomenon, for the sake of coherence and concision, the following pages address such a solicitation of mental imagery in a discussion of two related Roman aspects of the commemorative arts. While the specific examples differ in genre, in format, and in time period—and purposely so—all exploit the phenomenon of mind that is implicated in Horace's comments on Medea and Quintilian's account of Timanthes' *Iphigenia*. For in the private sphere of commemorative practice, despite the genre's demonstrable conventions and formulae, artistic productions were free from the restraints imposed on public monuments and might at times move beyond the uniformity and conventionality of established modes of *Selbstdarstellung*.²¹ The *personalization* of commemorative practices vouchsafed memory's ability to provide—with all the vividness at its command—what was required not only for a monument's comprehension, but for its most commanding affect. Indeed, commemorative imagery held for its prospective audience—especially for those immediate descendants who were its primary audience, if not its patrons—it held for them a distinctive authenticity, since such imagery so often testified to their own experience and invoked their personal memories in the form of mimetic images; for others (that is, those who had no

18. Philost. *Vita Apoll.* 6.19; trans. from Russell and Winterbottom 1972: 552.

19. See, in particular, Riegl 1901/1985 and 1902/1999; Alpers 1983; Crary 1990 and 1999; Freedberg 1989 offers a broad, essentially anthropological overview of the entire historical problem; notably, Gombrich 1969, whose conception of "the beholder's share" has played a fundamental role in all recent developments.

20. See, in particular, von Blanckenhagen 1975; Giuliani 1986; Elsner 1995; Zanker 1994, 1997, 2000.

21. Cf. Fittschen 1970; Lahusen 1999: 201; and recently, in a broader context, Gradel 2002.

direct, lived experience of the deceased), this imagery might prompt *phantasiai*, those mental images that allowed them to participate in what was, potentially, an equally vivid, yet wholly imagined experience. The two sets of examples presented here—which concern the funerary monument and the tomb—are to be regarded as an initial attempt to sketch the breadth of such a practice’s purchase and the scope of its employ.

II. MONUMENT AND EPITAPH

On a well-known relief, now in the Capitoline Museum [g. 3], a woman mourns the death of her son who reclines, as if still alive, beneath the *imago clipeata* of his dead father.²² Under the watchful eyes of the older man, who no doubt served as an *exemplum virtutis* in death as in life, mother embraces son as if to declare that the bonds between them were not yet fully severed, to signal her refusal to acknowledge that Death should have been allowed to take him so quickly, and to represent her desire to remain bound to him in death as in life. Given its size and format, the relief most likely graced the facade of the tomb, where its representation of an interior setting advertised the omnipresent funerary metaphor that regarded the tomb as the “house” of the dead (cf. Section III, below).

The sentiment such a scene was intended to instill may be recuperated. By the end of the first century AD when the Capitoline relief was produced, such *imagines clipeatae*, originally military in their significance, would have been a well-known fixture in the domestic setting if we are to believe the elder Pliny.²³ The broader sense of the relief’s imagery depends not only on our comprehension of the differing status of mother, father, and son—that is, who is alive and who is dead, and for how long—but on our recognition that the ancients’ representations continued to play a “living” role in the experience of those who survived them.²⁴ Indeed, it is imagery like that on the Capitoline relief that Tacitus evokes when, in his discussion of the mourning for Germanicus, he asks, “Where were those images of the ancients, the image placed at the head of the couch?”²⁵ Such a setting no doubt enhanced the shield portraits’ anthropomorphism, if not their verisimilitude,

22. Winkes 1969: 213–15; Winkes 1979; Becatti 1942; Wrede 1977: esp. 404.; and most recently D’Ambra 1995.

23. Military origin: Plin. *N.H.* 35.12 (at the Temple of Bellona, ca. 495 BC: anachronistic and incorrect—see *LTUR* 1 [1993], s.v. *Bellona, Aedes in Circo* [A. Viscogliosi], for a restoration by Ap. Claudius Pulcher, tr. 33 BC); origin of domestic usage, *ibid.* (in the house of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, ca. 78 BC). For painted portraits on gilded shields set up in public in first-century Sardis, see *IGR* iv.1756, lines 48, 71, 79 = Buckler and Robinson 1914: 331–33; further, Blanck 1968, and for the public role of such *clipei*, cf. the golden image of Germanicus set up in the portico of the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine: evidence and discussion in Corbier 1992: 893–900.

24. Cf. D’Ambra 1995: 672 on the conventionality of such “family portraits” amongst the freedman class, and 674 for the probable status of the group on the Capitoline relief—freedman father and freeborn son.

25. Tac. *Ann.* 3.5.

as it so evidently made the life of the domus the focus of their gaze. Tilted out from their position high on the wall—as can be seen in their representations in Campanian painting²⁶—the setting of these portraits of the ancestors must have seemed as if designed to allow them to enact a common metaphor, as they literally “watch over” the lives of their descendants, thus fulfilling an apotropaic notion implicit in the shields’ form.

The Romans continually cast the dead in such a role. The idea of their “watching over” the living helps to evoke the full potency of the Capitoline relief’s imagery, which offers visible testimony to the power of the *paterfamilias* and, in its own modest way, a demonstration of that hereditary dignity that was the essence of *mos maiorum*; as the dead might be so conceived, so too the living were obliged to watch over them with continued enactment of the traditional *sacra* and care for their tombs.²⁷ Yet, one rightly asks, can the relief’s visualized claim—that such familial bonds might extend beyond the boundary of life and death²⁸—be anything other than a dream? Indeed, this imagery fulfills such a dream of uniting the dead with the living; it gives this dream both form and permanence, and thus provides its visual corollary. Such imagery is echoed when Propertius recounts the dream in which his lover appears to him and he tells of how “Cynthia seemed to bend over my couch’s head, Cynthia so lately buried beside the roaring road, as fresh from love’s entombment I slept a broken sleep. . . .” Ovid similarly describes how Morpheus appears in the form of Ceyx and “stands before the couch of his despairing wife,” Alcyone. Or again, according to Ovid, how Aesculapius might appear in a dream, standing before the sleeper’s couch, as he had traditionally in the imagery of the incubation rite.²⁹ And it is again the same when the illustrator of the Vatican Vergil [g. 4] would depict how Hector would appear to Aeneas in his dream, *in somnis . . . ante oculos*.³⁰ These correspondences—the relief’s domestic setting denoted by the *kline*, the couch’s implication of sleep, and implicitly, of dreams, and the watchful role of one already deceased—suggest that the presence in the domus of such *real* imagery provided the model, not only for our relief, but for the *phantasiai* of dreams. That is, since real *clipei* were accustomed to be so displayed, one dreamed of their revivification, as lived reality conditioned imagination and guaranteed its vividness.

26. Winkes 1979: 483; cf. Ling 1991: 157 and g. 168 (Pompeii I,9,1: House of the Beautiful Impluvium), g. 25 (Oplontis, room 23, east wall).

27. Cf. Bodel 1997: 18–25 (developing Champlin 1991 and Johnston 1988) who discusses the relationship of tombs and villa and presents the evidence for a concern that property not be alienated so as to insure that commemoration continues.

28. Cf. Statius *Silv.* 2.7.122–23: *solet hoc patere limen/ad nuptas redeuntibus maritis*.

29. Prop. 4.7.2–5; Ov. *Met.* 11.650–60 and 15.653–56. Cf. the appearance of Aesculapius to the participants of the incubation ritual, e.g., on a relief from the Piraeus (see Hausmann 1960: g. 28), or the votive relief to Amphiaras from Oropos (Ridgway 1997: pl. 49).

30. Verg. *Aen.* 2.269–71 = MS Vat. Lat. 3225, fol. xxiv) or the similar visual formula employed for the apparition of the *Penates* to Aeneas (*Aen.* 3.147–52 = Vat. Lat. 3225, fol. xxviii).

Such dreams were a comfort, and portraits like the *clipeus* seen on the Capitoline relief were intended to provide solace—as, no doubt, was the Capitoline relief itself. Other monuments make the claim explicitly; thus an epitaph from Rome declares,

In place of you I keep a likeness, as a comfort for us, which we piously cherish, and many a garland is offered [to it].³¹

Or, on another,

When [your parents] gaze upon your features, you will give solace.³²

But, at times, such real, sculpted imagery might offer little consolation, and in such instances the dead would live on solely in memory, in *interior* images that might bring the only true solace. Statius invokes once again the same imagery of portrait hanging over couch when he writes, as though speaking to a friend newly deceased of the wife he has left behind:

But you she worships, with you she has communion in her being's inmost depths; she wins but empty solace from your countenance which, carved to your likeness in gold, shines above her couch and broods over her untroubled slumbers.³³

So we see that while *visual* images were capable of encouraging the soothing illusion that the dead might still live, their power might give way to emotions, and to those emotions' imagined correlative: one *felt* the enduring presentness of the dead in the solace such mental images might continually afford. What Statius evokes is not only a profound sentiment of unassuageable grief, but a realization of how a portrait's ability to manifest the "presentness" of one now lost pales beside the imagistic power of memory and the immediacy of those emotions that memory brings in its train. The same might be said for *phantasiai* and dreams—so Cicero acknowledged in the *Somnium Scipionis*, when he had the younger Africanus relate how the elder Scipio came to him in a dream: "[he] revealed himself in the form that I knew from his *imago* rather than from his

31. *Effigiem pro te teneo, solacia nostri / quam colimus sancte sertaque multa datur*: CIL 6.37965 = CLE 1988; trans. from Gordon 1983: no. 65; cf. Horsfall 1985.

32. *Vultus tuos intuendo solaci(um) prestat*: CLE 1607 = CIL 8.19606. Cf. AEp 1982: 984 (*istic Fidentia dormit / cui pater hunc tumulum / sibi haec solacia fecit*); Verg. Aen. 10.859 (*hoc solamen erat*); CIL 8.434 (*hoc solamen erit visus*); CIL 11.3771 = CLE 430 (*et solamen erit*); CLE 1604 (*haec sunt enim mortis solacia, ubi continetur nominis vel generis aeterna memoria*); commentary in Sanders 1989: 63.

33. Stat. *Silv.* 2.7.126 .:

*ipsum sed colit et frequentat ipsum
imis altius insitum medullis,
ac solacia vana subministrat
vultus, qui simili notatus auro
stratis praenitet incubatque somno
securae. . . .*

real self.” While Scipio indeed appears in the manner of his *nota imago*,³⁴ it is the dream’s *content* that moves the young man, in which the two encounter each other’s presence as if in the fullness of life. Indeed, Cicero’s account provides eloquent testimony to the interrelationship of those *topoi* evoked by the Capitoline relief—ancestors’ portraits, the “leaning over the couch,” the presence of the dead in dreams—and the vividness these might customarily conjure.

The sculpted and epigraphic funerary monuments might acknowledge both of these aspects—the tangibly visual and the inebly imagined—at once. For example, on a monument from North Africa we read:

Here lies Varius Frontonianus, whom his charming wife Cornelia Galla has buried here. To revive the sweet solaces of their earlier life, she added his marble image, so that for a long time she would be able to satisfy her eyes and her soul with his dear form. This sight will be her comfort. For a pledge of love is preserved in the breast (*pectore*) by the sweetness of mind; nor will his lips be lost in easy oblivion; but while life remains, her husband is totally within her heart (*toto in corde*).³⁵

On Varius’ monument, his portrait had a two-fold purpose. His *imago* not only brought him before his wife’s eyes, as the sculpted form feigned his appearance; more importantly, it was to function here as a visual cue for a whole host of images Cornelia preserved within her. These were her memories, those “sweet solaces” which were to be called forth by the vision of her husband’s features. Varius’ portrait, we are told, “will be her comfort”³⁶—yet its true vividness was not to be found carved upon the marble of his funerary plaque, but harbored within Cornelia’s breast. The portrait enshrined upon his memorial served to prompt not only an emotive response, but this in turn unleashed a flood of powerful *mental* images. To call these memory images forth was a fundamental purpose of the commemorative monuments.

The locus of such powerful feelings—and the memories that accompany them—was variously reported. Varius’ wife preserved them in her breast, within her heart. Similarly, Ovid held that they were evoked by love and linked to the

34. Cic. *Rep.* 6.10 ; cf. the same reference to the recognizability of the portrait at *De Fin.* 5.2.4, on the memory of Carneades, *quem videre videor (est enim nota imago)*; cf. Lucr. 4.1061–62.

35. *CIL* 8.434 = *CLE* 480:

*Hic situs est Varius cognomine Frontonianus,
quem coniunx lepida posuit Cornelia Galla,
dulcia restituens veteris solacia vitae.
Marmoreos voltus statuit oculos animumque
longius ut kara posset saturare figura.
Hoc solamen erit visus: nam pignus amoris
pectore contegitur, memor<i>dulcedine mentis,
nec poterit facili labium oblivione perire;
set, dum v<i>ta manet, toto est in corde maritus.*

36. Cf. the materials cited in nn. 31–32, above.

heart, as he relates in his response to the letter that brings the news of Celsus' death:

His image lingers before my eyes as if he were present; he is gone, but love imagines him still alive, as often, my spirit (*animus*) recalls.³⁷

Here, in an effort to evoke even greater vividness, the conventional analogy to sight—"the eye of the mind"—is connected to a more corporeal metaphoric. Sorrow, like love or virtue, was thought to be sealed within the breast, and the physical effects of each of these feelings might be considered the substantive and forceful aspect of memory. So Cicero declared in the first of his *Philippics* that, although the tyrannicides, Brutus and Cassius, were unable to be present in the gathered assembly, "they were yet present, held fast within the marrow (*in medullis*) and innermost flesh (*in visceribus*) of the Roman people."³⁸ In similar fashion, according to Dio, Maecenas told Augustus:

You must depend on your good deeds to provide for you any additional splendor. And you should never permit gold or silver images of yourself to be made, for they are not only costly but also invite destruction and last only a brief time. Rather, by your benefactions fashion other images in the souls (*ψυχῆς*) of your people, images that will never tarnish or perish.

And likewise, Tacitus reports that Tiberius, as he declined the honor of a Temple to his divinity, proclaimed to the Senate his accomplishments and *officia*, saying:

These are my temples, within your spirits (*in animis*), these my fairest and abiding edifices: for those that are reared of stone, should the judgment of the future turn to hatred, are scorned as sepulchers.³⁹

While the idea of memories held in the heart, in the breast, or in the marrow was a topos,⁴⁰ it nonetheless served to express, at times in the most moving fashion, the fully physical anguish that might accompany commemoration: that anguish was memory's powerful correlative, one that might last forever.⁴¹ Thus does Lucan recount Cornelia's plaint, which gives voice to the power of her memory and proclaims the vividness and force of her interior vision:

Shall I never be allowed to give due burial to a husband? Shall I never mourn over an urn that contains ashes? But what need is there of a grave, or why does grief require any trappings? Do I not . . . carry Pompey

37. Ov. *Pont.* 1.9.7–9. Cf. the ascription of memory to the heart in the so-called prophecy of Vegoia (= *Grammatici veteres*, I, 350–51, Blume, Lachmann, Rudorff, eds.): *pone disciplinam in corde tuo*.

38. Cic. *Phil.* 1.15.36.

39. Dio 52.35; Tac. *Ann.* 4.38.

40. Cf. further Plut. *Cato Minor* 19; Plin. *Panegy.* 55; with Price 1984: 199 and n. 152.

41. Lucr. 2.906–908: "And for us, weeping unceasingly as you were consumed on the funeral pyre, no day will take away that eternal sorrow from our breast."

wholly within my breast (*in pectore*)? Does not his image cling to my innermost being (*imis visceribus*)?⁴²

Such images—taken to heart and held in the breast—were memories of life. As they were recalled from experience, these fundamentally mimetic images supplied the quintessential bond that linked loved ones across the boundary that divided the dead from the living.⁴³

Yet the wholly distinctive quality of mental images is that they can exceed the brute facts of our daily, material, existence; they can exist purely in the ideal. As we have seen, the Romans, like the Greeks, were fully aware that the mind has the power not only to create but to retain images that are unfettered by the contingencies that define our relations with the real world around us. Such imagery belongs not to the objective world outside, but to the personal world within, and is, effectively, a part of us. Thus, perhaps not so paradoxically, one might abjure a portrait likeness in order to transform the experience of a monument, and to heighten the role of one's memory, or the force of one's *phantasia*, in that experience. A "real" *imago* might give way to a more powerful imagined one, as is proclaimed on a funerary inscription from Etruria:

Here lies the lifeless body of my cherished step-daughter, an innocent, whom the Fates have overwhelmed by a bitter death (for not yet had she fulfilled her tenth year); to me the Fates have cruelly granted a sad old age. For I shall seek you continually, my darling Asiatica, and in my sadness I shall continually imagine your features: and this will be my comfort, that now and again I shall see you. And when my life is finished, I will join my shade to yours.⁴⁴

In this instance sculptural forms were forsaken altogether, and the commemorative inscription demands a more focused form of attention. The sentiments here given voice were the province of memory or of imagination, which would provide

42. Luc. 9.67–72. Cf. Apul. *Met.* 8.8–9.

43. Cf. further *AEP* 1913: 134, lines 55–59, where L. Munatius Hilarianus gives thanks to the *phratría* of Artemis at Naples for a series of portrait statues of him and his son that have been set up in their honor, and concludes: *item de imaginibus quattuor et de statuís quattuor; mihi enim sufficit statua una et una imago, set et in honorem fili<i> mei sufficiet statua una; plures enim imagines et statuas in vestris animis habemus constitutas.*

44. *CIL* 11.3771 = *CLE* 430:

*Hic iacet exanimus dilectae corpus alumnae,
quam parcae insontem merserunt funere acerbo,
nondum etenim vitae decimum compleverat annum,
et mihi crudeles tristem fecere senectam.
Namque ego te semper, mea alumna Asiatica, quaeram
adsidueque tuos voltus fingam mihi m(a)erens
et solamen erit quod te iam iamque videbo,
cum vita functus iungar t<u>is umbra figuris.*

the necessary images.⁴⁵ Thus these “images” might not only be varied, but plentiful, as the young girl is remembered now from one context, now another. She might be variously imagined—as she looked shortly before she died, as a ten-year old girl, or as she appeared in her early childhood years. And while one’s *memories* might be limited by experience, one’s *phantasiai* knew no such bounds.

This representational form was not unique. Asiatica’s inscription, as it recalls, in both *mode* and diction, Ovid’s letter written from Pontus to Graecinus at Rome, suggests a widespread practice. Ovid imagines himself at his friend’s inauguration as consul and thus demonstrates that one could think in this fashion of the living, not just the dead:

Yet I will use my mind, which alone is not exiled, to behold your robe and fasces. [My mind] shall see you now dispensing justice to the people, and shall fancy itself present unseen at your actions; now it shall believe that you are bringing beneath the spear the revenues of the long lustrum and contracting for everything with minute good faith; now that you are uttering eloquent words before the senate, seeking what the interest of the state demands; now that you are proposing thanks on behalf of the godlike Caesars, or smiting for them the white throats of choice oxen. . . .⁴⁶

As Graecinus might be imagined on the Capitol, so Asiatica might be, once again, among the living; these were quintessentially *vivid* images, and the *presentness* they afforded—in the sense of both *hic et nunc*—was conceived of as palpable. As Quintilian would declare, when explaining the vividness of the advocate’s language, the recourse to memory allowed the past to seem as though relived:

When I am complaining [in court] that a man has been murdered, shall I not bring before my eyes all the circumstances which it is reasonable to imagine must have occurred in such a connection? Shall I not see the assassin burst suddenly from his hiding-place, the victim tremble, cry for help, beg for mercy, or turn to run? Shall I not see the fatal blow delivered and the stricken body fall? Will not the blood, the deathly pallor, the groan of agony, the death-rattle, be indelibly impressed upon my mind?⁴⁷

In all these examples—in Ovid, in Quintilian, and in the inscription for Asiatica—mental images partake of, indeed vie with, the character of life itself. For in all these instances, whether the workings of the imagination or of memory, everything takes place with profound immediacy and in the lived present, *hic*

45. Cf. Vit. 9, pr. 16: “And thus those who have minds imbued with the joys of literature cannot fail to have the image (*simulacrum*) of Ennius the poet consecrated in their breasts (*in suis pectoribus dedicatum*) as if he were one of the gods. Those who devotedly delight in the poems of Accius not only seem to have the power of his words but also his portrait (*figuram*) present along with them” (trans. Rowland).

46. Ov. *Ex pont.* 4.9.41–50.

47. Quint. 6.2.31.

et nunc.⁴⁸ So it was to be for Asiatica's father: "now and again I shall see you. . . ." In these memories—and perhaps, *phantasiai*—Asiatica might move, live, and breathe. All those things that the Romans say about statues, all of which are never more than mere metaphor, now they would take on the vivacity of experience, if only in the mind: this would take place "now and again," repeatedly,⁴⁹ and *this* would be a comfort. Beyond the privileged role in which it cast her step-father, Asiatica's epitaph evoked a commemorative image that depended on the participation of all its spectators: they were enjoined, upon reading her epitaph, to imagine themselves in the role of her parent—not only to empathize with his grief, but to imagine his memories. As a result, in the case of such a monument, both its content and the form of that content have become indistinguishable.

III. THE TOMB

While highly evocative, the epigraphic monument dedicated to Asiatica finds relatively few comparanda; for those who could afford it, sculpture was both the conventional form and the established norm: in contrast to even the most stirring of epitaphs, it allowed one to *see* a monument's content. In this sense the preference for images over texts corresponded, *mutatis mutandis*, to the hierarchical evaluations of seeing and hearing espoused by Horace with which this essay began. The extreme case is presented by those instances in which the tomb itself became a representation, when its sculpted decor bridged a presumptive divide between art and architecture to effect a greater verisimilitude. At times, however, even the most resplendently naturalistic decor might have served as merely the mimetic setting for a deliberate appeal to the spectators' capacity to imagine.

The tradition of elaborately appointed architectural interiors in tombs was long known in Italy. For example, ancient visitors to the large and sumptuous mid-fourth-century Tomb of the Reliefs at Cerveteri [g. 5] were overwhelmed by its remarkable display.⁵⁰ Huge columns supported mock ceiling beams, all cut from the rock, and the tomb's many surfaces were covered with painted stucco reliefs depicting the military and religious paraphernalia of aristocratic life. The chamber's central niche was elaborated as a funerary couch, formed in relief. The couch's cushions and mattress were rendered with great care, and between its carved legs the wall illusionistically receded, as though a real void lay beneath. Here, so it seems, the actual bodies of the dead once reclined, as if asleep, *in aeternitate*.

48. Cf. McCrone 2004.

49. Cf. Plin. *Ep.* 2.1.11–12: "For he lives and will live forever, and in a wider sense in our memories and on our lips, now that he has left our sight. . . . I see him (*video*), and in these dreams, so vivid and so vain, I speak to him, he answers, and I feel his presence near (*audio adloquor teneo*)."

50. See Blanck and Proietti 1986.

The funeral couch on which one was depicted reclining—either to sleep or to dine—was a long-established and ubiquitous symbol of the afterlife.⁵¹ Not only did it transform the dead’s eternal home in the tomb into the mirror of that they had enjoyed in life, but this specific imagery allowed a distinctive commentary on the relative advantages of the two abodes. Nowhere is this more evident than on the monument of one Rubrius Urbanus [g. 6], where his epitaph cynically points up the difference between art and life:

He who, while life was granted him, always lived as a miser, parsimonious to his heir and envious even of himself, ordered that after he met his fate he should be artfully carved reclining here amiably, by a skilled hand. This was so that at least recumbent in death he might be able to rest, and reclining, he might enjoy peace and quiet. His son, who died following the camp before the sad last rites of his father, sits to his right. And so what do the dead have to gain from this amiable image? They should rather have lived in this way.⁵²

Gaius Rubrius’ inscription affirmed for all eternity those pleasures that had been but fleeting in life. Yet his body was merely an image; those that once lay in the Tomb of the Reliefs made a larger claim. Their recumbent bodies were originally displayed in a fashion that one not only recognizes from so many painted and sculpted Etruscan works that preserve the motif, but from a famously evocative account of the mid-nineteenth-century discovery of the François Tomb at Vulci:

The light of our torches lit those hollow rooms whose silence and darkness had not been troubled for more than twenty centuries. Everything was still the way it had been on the day the entrance had been closed, and ancient Etruria appeared to us just as when it was in its glory. On their funeral couches warriors, covered by their armor, seemed to be resting from the battles they had been waging against the Romans and our ancestors the Gauls. Shapes, garments, cloth, color, all were clearly distinguished for some minutes, then everything disappeared as the outside air came

51. Dentzer 1982. For the imagery of sleep, cf. also *AEp* 1966: 404, the epitaph of the freedwoman Scandilia Pamphila: *Hospes, noli admirari quod sic me in lecto vid<es> recubante<m>, dormiente<m>, mortua sum sibi [. . . dormire puta<s>. . .*

52. CIL 6.25531 = *CLE* 1106:

Qui dum vita data <e>st semper vivebat avarus heredi parcens, invidus ipse sibi, hic accumbentem sculpi genialiter arte se iussit docta post sua fata manu, ut saltem recubans in morte quiescere posset securaque iacens ille quiete frui. filius a dextra residet qui castra secutus occidit ante patris funera maesta sui. sic quid defunctis prodest genialis imago? hoc potius ritu vivere debuerant.

*C(aius) Rubrius Urbanus sibi et Antoniae
Domesticae coniugi suae et Cn(aeo) Domitio
Urbico Rubriano filio suo et libertis
libertabusque posterisque eorum et M(arco)
Antonio Daphno fecit.*

See Häusle 1980: 99–100, and for the image now Dunbabin 2003: 1–4; trans. from Stenhouse 2002: 302, slightly adapted.

into the underground chamber, where our sizzling torches were almost blown out. The past which had been conjured up lasted no longer than a dream, and disappeared, as . . . these frail remnants turned to dust upon contact with the air.⁵³

While this account of the evanescent vision of the tomb has been criticized as a romantic fiction, it is echoed in reports of other such discoveries,⁵⁴ and the excavator himself had originally reported seeing pairs of corpses atop the four funerary couches.⁵⁵ It is clear from other Etruscan works depicting funerary banquets that in the fourth century BC, on a visit to the tomb, the chamber's representations would have left little to the imagination.⁵⁶

This now empty tomb still has a profound—albeit different—effect on its beholders, and the reasons for this may be gleaned by a comparison. At a late first-century AD tomb outside Cologne [g. 7], visitors were greeted by just such an empty subterranean chamber.⁵⁷ At the center of the three main walls were large *arcosolia*, the bases of which were decorated so that they would appear as couches.⁵⁸ From these details it is clear that they were to be understood as forming a *triclinium*, and that the room was designed to evoke a funerary banquet—an imagery with a long history, as we have seen.⁵⁹ While one recognizes that at the Cerveteri tomb, where carved pillows atop the couches (and the absence of dining imagery) suggested sleep, on the relief of Rubrius Urbanus and in Cologne they figured the banquet; yet together all three of these examples demonstrate both the mutual relevance and common ground of the two metaphors invoked. In Cologne the banquet imagery was confirmed [g. 8] by the presence of two elaborately carved stone chairs—precisely like those seen on contemporary funerary reliefs [g. 9], where the wife of the heroized deceased

53. The find: Noël des Vergers, quoted in Dennis 1883: II.508; translated in Bonfante 1978: 136.

54. Körte 1897: 61 (“der phantastische Bericht”); Bonfante 1978: 137 (“romanticized”); Holliday 1993: 175–56 (“fiction”). Similar account: cf. Lanciani 1890: 65–66 on an 1876 discovery on the Esquiline: “All of a sudden the southern portion of the ground gave way, and one half of the area fell through into a chasm thirty feet deep. On careful examination . . . it was ascertained that . . . the [foundations of the house being excavated] had been laid on the site of the ditch, filled up with thousands upon thousands of corpses, which, when brought in contact with the air after twenty centuries, had crumbled into dust or nothing.”

55. François 1857: 103: “quattro banchi funerei con due cadaveri per ciascheduno, più due urne da cenere,” quoted in Körte 1897: 61–62 n. 17.

56. E.g., urns: Spivey 1997: 92–95 and pls. 75–79; tomb paintings: Briquet 1986: 157–59 and g. IV-91 (Tomb of the Leopards, Tarquinia).

57. Ulrichs 1843: 134–48; Fremersdorf 1957; Toynbee 1971: 212–16; Deckers and Noelke 1985.

58. The busts and the sarcophagus shown in published photos belonged to a later generation's use of the tomb: see Deckers and Noelke 1985: 9.

59. For the Cologne tomb's distinctive architectural character, see Haberey 1961: 333–42. For the banquet imagery, see above, n. 52 and below, nn. 61–64.

sat in perpetual attendance on her husband.⁶⁰ Here [g. 7] chairs and couches together served as the “stage-props” of a dramatic tableau, one whose imagery was realized on human scale, and whose implicit theatricality shared its space with its spectators.

Such an interpretation of the Cologne tomb is confirmed by the presence of *triclinia* at other tombs,⁶¹ and by funerary inscriptions that summon the visitors to join the dead in feasting,⁶² at times, *in perpetuum*.⁶³ But not always so. On a well-known monument now in Indianapolis [g. 10], the stretched-out form of the deceased, dressed in the himation, cup in hand, adjusts his crown, as if in preparation for the symposium; his inscription declares:

Tiber was my home, I am called Agricola, also Flavius. I am reclining here for you to see. In this fashion, and in those past years which the fates gave me, I cultivated my soul, and never lacked Lyaeus [wine]. . . . Friends, you who read this, I admonish you, mix wine, and drink from afar, crowning your temples with flowers, and don't deny sex to beautiful girls: Whatever else is [left] after death, the earth and fire consume.⁶⁴

Like the epitaph of Rubrius Urbanus, that of Flavius, as it strikes its note of *carpe diem*, employs the image of one reclining on the couch to signal those pleasures of the living that were lost with one's demise.

No inscriptions were found at the Cologne site, and the traditional funerary banquet seems to have been evoked by the architectural and sculptural imagery

60. Stone chairs: Fremersdorf 1957: 28–31 and pls. 6–7; Deckers and Noelke 1985: g. 7. Banquet reliefs: Fremersdorf 1957: 29 and pl. 9; Deckers and Noelke 1985: g. 23.

61. E.g., Tomb C in the Via Cristallini, Naples: Baldassare 1998: 96–149; Triclinium at the Julio-Claudian columbarium in Pompeii: see Toynbee 1971: g. 32; Meiggs 1973/1977: 461; Jashemski 1979: g. 241; Kockel 1983: 109–11 and pl. 31b; at Cherchel, see von Hesberg 1994: 89 and g. 28.

62. So the spirits of Gaius Silicius Romanus and his wife Frucia Victoria hail those who visit their tomb, who are summoned to join them in the pleasures of feasting: *salvi huc ad alogiam veniat is hilares cum omnibus* (CIL 6.26554); cf. Henzen 1858: 116–18; Hopkins 1983: 233. The idea of such “fellowship” with the dead is long-standing; cf. Nock 1944/1986: 152–55; it could be parodied as well: cf. CIL 6.2357 = ILS 8204, which concludes, *Hospes, ad hunc tumulum / ne meas ossa precantur / tecta hominis, sed si gratus / homo es, misce bibe da mi* (“Stranger, the buried bones of a man request you not to piss at this tomb, but, if you are an agreeable man, mix a drink, drink it, and give me some” [trans. Courtney]).

63. Marcus Ruus Catullus provided his family tomb with a vineyard and stipulated feasts in every month thirty days in length, *in perpetuum*: CIL 13.2494. See further, the discussion in Hatt 1951: 71–73; and cf. CIL 13.7128; 12.3637.

64. CIL 6.1785a = CE 856, with Häusle 1980: 98–99:

*Tibur mihi patria, Agricola sum vocitatus,
Flavius idem, ego sum discumbens ut me videtis,
sic et apud superos annis quibus fata dedere
animulam colui, nec defuit umqua(m) Lyaeus. . . .
Amici, qui legitis, moneo, miscete Lyaeum
et potate procul redimiti tempora flore
et venereos coitus formosis ne denegate puellis:
cetera post obitum terra consumit et ignis.*

On this monument, see Wrede 1981: 101–102; Zanker 2000; Dunbabin 2003: 103–104.

alone. The dead themselves, while clearly the focus of that imagery, do not appear: the beholders were compelled by the tomb's decoration to imagine their presence.⁶⁵ Here the empty couches suggest that the place of honor was reserved for the dead so they might enjoy the companionship, the "table-fellowship," of the celebrants who would come to remember them. Whether the imagery was meant to allude precisely to the funeral feast known as the *silicernium*, the dinner held at the tomb on the ninth day after death called the *cena novendialis*, the days of purification celebrated by the survivors' sitting amongst the dead, termed *denicales feriae*—or was a common factor among them all—matters little; what is striking is that here, at the tomb, the living sat while the dead reclined, as though the latter were now *in deorum numero*.⁶⁶

Thus, at the Cologne tomb, a traditional metaphor of the after-life as a banquet was transposed into idiosyncratic visual form. Here the dead were evoked by an appeal either to memory or to imagination: the crucial aspect of this tomb's imagery was *mental* imagery, and it was provided—as it were, projected—by the spectators, who animated those empty spaces in an interior vision, be it an act of recollection or one of imagination. That affective bond between object and audience, essential to the meaningful experience of the tomb as a vehicle of cultural expression, was ultimately dependent on the active participation of those who not only beheld the tomb's imagery, but augmented and fulfilled its representational claims. This was a monument that sought to recall life not by means of its imitation, but by engendering in the minds of its spectators a wholly distinctive series of representations, regardless of whether they depended on *mimesis* or *phantasia*.

This distinctive form of attention and the representational mode that elicited it demonstrate in a singular manner the fundamental contrast proposed here between monuments that re-present a once-lived actuality and those whose imagery demands the participation of the spectators' imagination, independent of former experience. This may be gleaned from a comparison of the Cologne tomb's imagery [g. 7] with the experience of our Etruscan example [g. 5], the Tomb of the Reliefs—an experience that was *originally* rooted in a display of a striking realism. The Etruscan tomb's conspicuously familiar setting exploited the presence of *real* bodies, which were posed as if to enact—in perpetuity—a readily recognizable aspect of life that was immediately called forth by the elaborately confected setting. Yet time's effects have long since transformed that experience: as the bodies turned to dust, indeed vanished, the tomb's demands on its spec-

65. Cf. the similar formulations in Fremersdorf 1957; Deckers and Noelke 1985.

66. *Silicernium*: Festus 376 and Paulus Festus 377 (Lindsay). *Cena novendialis*: Cic. *Mur.* 36.75; cf. Hor. *Ep.* 17.48 (*novendialis pulveres*). *Denicales feriae*: Cic. *Leg.* 2.22.55, with Liou-Gille 1993: 111–12 and n. 25. As Cicero's comments reveal, the fact that the dead were represented as reclining assimilated them to the rite of the *lectisternium*, the imaginary feast shared with the deities whose images were set atop couches (a relationship to the *lectisternium* was suggested by one of the journal's anonymous readers).

tators' attention have been formulated anew. The vacant couches one finds today ask for something more than an acknowledgement that we witness a moment of the past, as if frozen in time. The central focus of the tomb—as a *representational tableau*—has become those now-empty spaces that had once housed the scene's protagonists: their presence is not remembered, nor merely intuited, but wholly supplied, in the spectators' imaginations. The fate of the Tomb of the Reliefs is that it has become what the Cologne tomb originally was—a distinctive mode of expression whose vividness is an index of both its spectators' participation and their ability to form a mental image that complements, and fulfills, the scene.

* * *

What has been sketched here, by means of these several examples of commemorative forms, is the ubiquity, indeed the fundamentality, of two contrasting presentational modes: one essentially mimetic and, in the conventional sense, illusionistic, rooted in the *representational* power of artistic forms; the other, by contrast, abstract and figurative, depended on the presentation of cues for the summoning of the absent, yet necessary images—again, whether visual or verbal—that were required for the realization of a monument's significance.⁶⁷ In the case of each of these examples, their function and meaning required more than their mere visibility, and more than an acknowledgment of their commemorative character. The various epitaphs demonstrated the fundamental pictorialism of poetic language, and its ability to evoke for its audience the powerful presentness of mental images, while the *kline*-tombs suggested how deliberate absences amid visual forms required of the spectator not only an obvious, and necessary, fulfillment, but the distinctive form of attention such a practice demanded. Each of the examples presented here shares with the others a common representational structure, one that demands that its audience rise to the challenge of its artistic language, respond to the cues they each offered to memory and the imagination, and ultimately fulfill each monument's purpose by the active participation in the manifestation of its meaning.

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67. Of course, other examples might have been adduced: for example, the questions of “impressionistic” landscape painting and the phenomenon known as “aerial perspective” (for which see von Blanckenhagen 1990: 41–49 and Rouveret 1989: 278–99), or that of the “physiognomic” portrait (I shall discuss this matter on another occasion).

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Fig. 1: Medea, House of Jason (= "House of Fatal Loves"), Pompeii. Photo: DAIR neg. 35.1886.

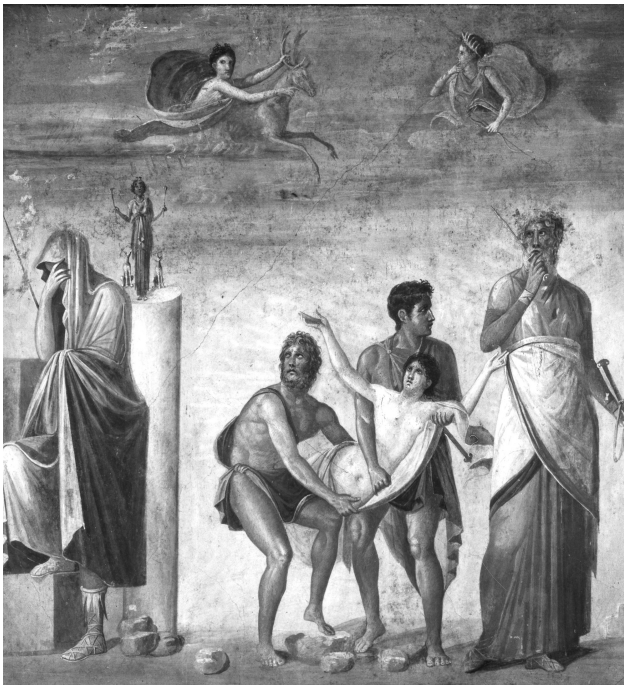


Fig. 2: "Timanthes" Sacrifice of Iphigenia, Naples, Mus. Arch. Photo: DAIR neg. 63.2166.



Fig. 3: "Testamentum Relief," Rome, Museo Capitolino. Photo: DAIR neg. 74.163.

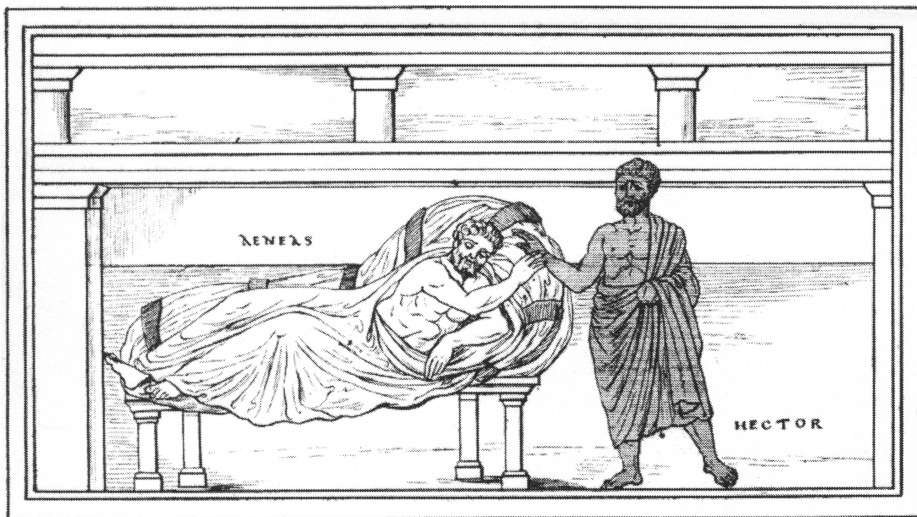


Fig. 4: "Aeneas' Dream," Vatican Vergil [MS Vat. Lat. 3225, fol. XIX^v]; engraving by Carlo Ruspi, from *Virgilii picturae antiquae ex codicibus Vaticanis*, ed. A. Mai, Rome, 1835.

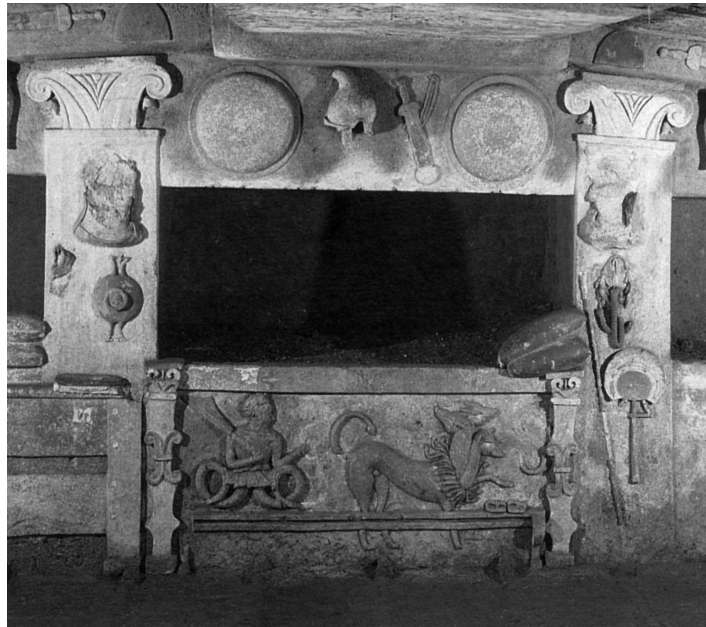


Fig. 5: "Tomb of the Reliefs," Cerveteri. Photo: Fototeca Unione / American Academy in Rome, neg. 13243.

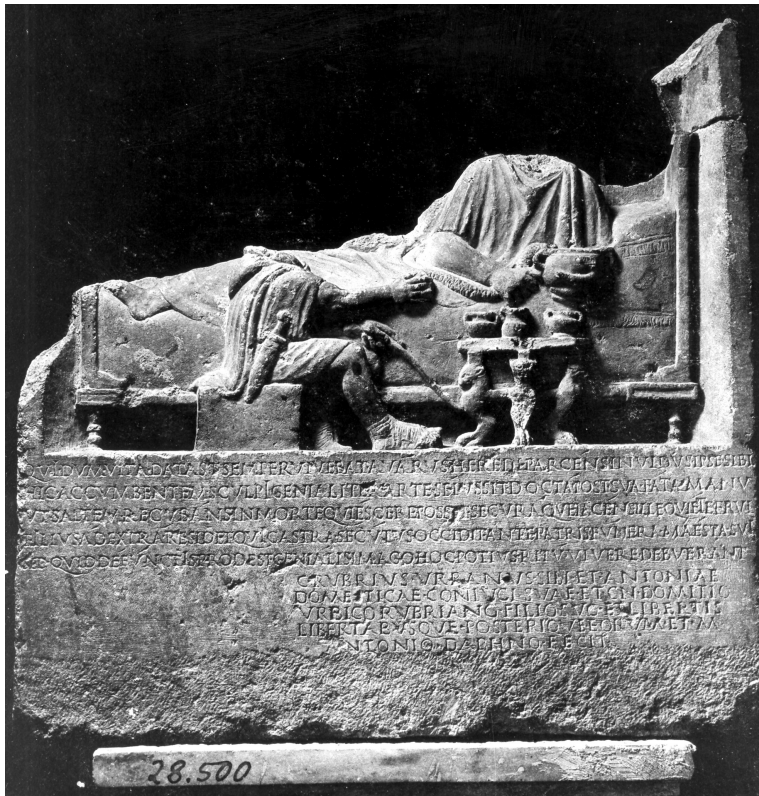


Fig. 6: Epitaph of Rubrius Urbanus, Rome, Palazzo Barberini. Photo: DAIR neg. 62.628.

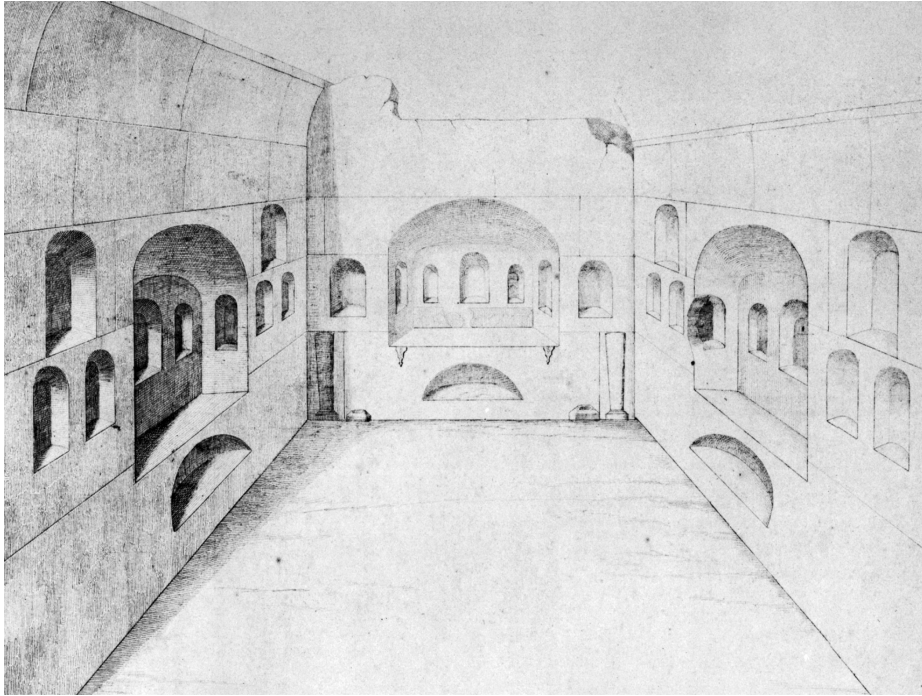


Fig. 7: Cologne tomb (drawing). Photo: after Ulrichs 1843.

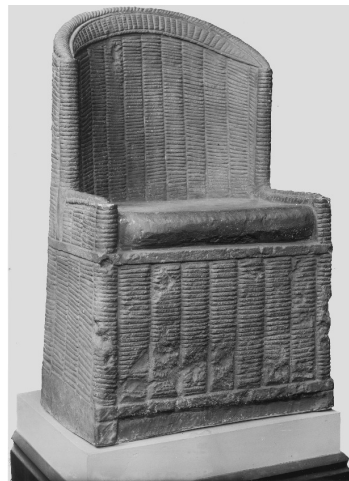


Fig. 8: Carved chair, Cologne tomb. Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv, by permission of Bezirksregierung Köln.



Fig. 9: Funerary relief of M. Valerius Celerinus, Cologne, Römische-Germanisches Museum. Photo: Foto Marburg, neg. 1.522.049.



Fig. 10: Flavius Agricola monument, Indianapolis Museum of Art, gift of Alan Hartman. Photo: Museum.

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