

LA PAROLA DEL PASSATO

RIVISTA DI STUDI ANTICHI

FASCICOLO CCII
[ESTRATTO]



NAPOLI
GAETANO MACCHIAROLI EDITORE
1982

TESTI E MONUMENTI

VERISM AND THE VERNACULAR LATE ROMAN REPUBLICAN PORTRAITURE AND CATULLUS¹

The late Roman Republican period witnessed one of the greatest bursts of creativity in antiquity. Roman poets and artists alike first began truly to weld Greek forms and concepts to a Roman base rather than to force Roman ideas into a wholly Greek mould or structure.² This process not only occurred simultaneously in

¹ This article was presented as a lecture in the Humanities Forum at Dartmouth College and at Bryn Mawr College in October 1974 and March 1975 respectively. I especially thank the following for their helpful criticisms and suggestions: Professor Kyle M. Phillips and Robin Johnson. All abbreviations for journals will follow those listed in « American Journal of Archaeology », 74, 1970, 3-8. In addition the following abbreviations will be used: ANRW: H. TEMPORINI, ed., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (Berlin and New York, 1972 ff); BIANCHI-BANDINELLI, *Rome: R. B. B. Rome: The Center of Power* (New York, 1-970); BRECKENRIDGE, *Likeness: J. D. B. Likeness. A Conceptual History of Ancient Portraiture* (Evanston, 1968); BRECKENRIDGE, *Origins: J. D. B., Origins of Roman Republican Portraiture: Relations with the Hellenistic World*, ANRW I⁴, 826-54. CRAWFORD, *Coinage: M. H. C., Roman Republican Coinage* (Cambridge, 1974); HIESINGER, *Portraiture: U. W. H., Portraiture in The Roman Republic*, ANRW I⁴, 805-25; MICHEL, *Vorbild: D. M., Alexander als Vorbild für Pompeius, Caesar und Marcus Antonius, Collection Latomus*, 94 (Brussels, 1967), NEUDLING, *Prosopography: C. L. N., A Prosopography to Catullus* (Iowa Studies in Classical Philology, 12, 1955); POULSEN, *Pompeius: F. P., Les portraits de Pompeius Magnus, « RA », [s. 6, vol. 7], 1936, 2052. POULSEN, Portraits: V. P., Les portraits romains, I République et dynastie julienne* (Copenhagen, 1962); SCHWEITZER, *Bildniskunst: B. S., Die Bildniskunst der römischen Republik* (Leipzig, 1948); VESSBERG, *Studien: O. V. Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae, 8, Lund and Leipzig, 1941). References are complete only through Fall 1975. ² T. S. Eliot might have been writing about the late Roman Republican poets when he said: 'We may expect language to approach maturity at the*

literature and art, but also produced similar results as a study of portraiture in the poetry of the New Poets and in late Roman Republican sculpture will show.

Foremost among the new Poets was Catullus.³ His extant poetry fills only a slim volume, but is nonetheless extremely varied in form and subjects. Here the focus will be on only a small group: not his famous love poems about Lesbia or his more formal epyllion, but his invective poems about his contemporaries. In each of these short poems Catullus focuses on a single aspect of his subject's character and makes that one quality imply the nature of the whole person. Thus Catullus in a highly refined use of synecdoche has produced thumbnail portraits of people in his circle. A detailed examination of Poem 39 will show precisely of what elements such a portrait consists and how Catullus uses them.⁴

Egnatius, quod candidos habet dentes,
renidet usquequaque, si ad rei uentum est
subsellium, cum orator excitat fletum,
renidet ille; si ad pii rogum fili
5 lugetur, orba cum flet unicum mater,
renidet ille. quidquid est, ubicumque est,
quodcumque agit, renidet; hunc habet morbum,
neque elegantem, ut arbitror, neque urbanum.
quare monendum est (te) mihi, bone Egnati.
10 si urbanus esses aut Sabinus aut Tiburs
aut parvus Vmber aut obesus Etruscus
aut Lanuvinus ater atque dentatus
aut Transpadanus, ut meos quoque attingam,
aut quilubet, qui puriter lauit dentes
15 tamen renidere usquequaque te nollem:
nam risu inepto res ineptior nulla est.

moment when it has a critical sense of the past, a confidence in the present, and no conscious doubt of the future. In literature, this means that the poet is aware of the predecessors behind his work, . . . as we may be aware of ancestral traits in a person who is at the same time individual and unique. The predecessors should be themselves great and honored: but their accomplishment must be such as to suggest still undeveloped resources of the language, . . . [The poet] may even be in revolt against them, . . . but, in retrospect, we can see that he is also the continuer of traditions, that he preserves the essential family characteristics, and that his difference of behavior is a difference in the circumstances of another age'. (*What is Classic?*, London, 1945, 14).³ The scholarship on Catullus is quite extensive. For a recent summary, see K. QUINN, *Trends in Catullan Criticism*, ANRW, I³, 369-89. ⁴ In addition to Poem 39 there are at least thirteen other poems which belong to this type: 12, 14, 17, 22, 23, 25, 30, 41, 43, 69, 84 (see note 12 below), 86 and 110.

nunc Celtiber (es): Celtiberia in terra,
quod quisque minxit, hoc sibi solet mane
dentem atque russam defricare gingivam,
20 ut, quo iste uester expolitior dens est,
hoc te amplius bibisse praedicet loti.⁵

Egnatius, because he has white teeth,
smiles constantly. If it should be a situation of a defendant
at court, when an orator rouses weeping,
that one smiles, if at the pyre of a pious son
5 there is mourning, when a bereaved mother weeps over her only son,
that one smiles. Whatever it is, wherever he is,
whatever he does, he smiles: he has this disease,
neither elegant, as I think, nor urbane.
So, I must warn you, good Egnatius.
10 If you were urbane⁶ either Sabine or Tiburtine
or frugal Umbrian or obese Etruscan
or Lanuvian dark and toothy
or Transpadane, that I might also mention my own,
or anyone else who thoroughly washes his teeth.
15 nevertheless I would not want you smiling constantly:
for nothing's sillier than a silly smile.
Now you're a Spaniard: in the Spanish land,
what each has pissed, every morning with this
he brushes his teeth and rubs his gums red,
20 so the higher the polish on those teeth of your is,
the more this proclaims that you have drunk of your piss.⁷

For a complete understanding of the poem, the reader, in a sense, need go no farther than the first two lines. There Catullus introduces his subject, Egnatius; describes Egnatius' most salient characteristic, his white teeth, and their use, 'he smiles'; and finally establishes Catullus' own attitude towards his subject, that of reproving derision.⁸ Even if Egnatius' teeth do not strike the

⁵ For commentaries: K. QUINN *Catullus, The Poems* (London and Basingstoke, 1970), 208-11. K. QUINN, *Catullus, An Interpretation* (London, 1972), 207-11. W. KRÖLL, *Catull* (4th ed., Stuttgart, 1959), 72-4. R. ELLIS, *A Commentary on Catullus* (Oxford, 1889), 139-43 (see especially his note on *dentes*, p. 141). ⁶ *Urbanus* is frequently translated as 'Roman', because the quintessentially urbane would naturally be a Roman. The juxtaposition of *Sabinus* and *Tiburs* in Poem 39 may have reinforced this translation of *urbanus*. Yet Catullus is not comparing the provincial types to the Roman, but to each other. Consequently, *urbanus* precedes the 'aut-list' and should not be construed as part of it. ⁷ All translations unless otherwise stated, are the author's. ⁸ On other examples, particularly Greek, which

reader as an odd subject for a poem,⁹ the Latin 'renidet usquequaque' from the second line should.¹⁰ *Usquequaque* is almost a tongue-twister to pronounce and stands out when preceded by such simple and straightforward words as 'Egnatius quod candidos habet dentes'. The word has the unusual characteristic of permitting the speaker to pull his lips back into a smile as he caressingly savors each syllable and particularly each *que*. *Renidet*, an infrequent word before the Augustan period,¹¹ can be similarly produced with toothy grins after both the *re* and *nid* syllables. Moreover, *renidet* means not merely 'to smile', but implies the shine and the glitter which accompany the best of smiles. Likewise *usquequaque* has a broad range of meanings: not just 'constantly', but also 'everywhere' and 'on every occasion'. Catullus so liked the effect of these two words that in this short poem he repeated them once more together and *renidet* three other times in conjunction with other *que* words. With these two words, then, Catullus has not merely described an annoying habit, but has actually reproduced it physically.¹²

As the poem begins with a summary of its content, so do the three individual sections of the poem. In the first section (lines 1-8) Catullus presents Egnatius and his smile in the first line, gives examples of his habit in lines 2-7, and then delivers the somewhat unexpected comment, a categorizing of such smiles as

also deplore the poor taste of constant smiles, see KROLL, *Catullus*, 73-4. For a Latin instance, compare Martial III.20. ⁹ A portrait invariably has to be selective. All characteristics cannot be displayed, but only those which most distinguish the subject. Like Catullus, but slightly more recently, Tom Wesselsmann and Andy Warhol have painted portraits of Marilyn Monroe in which only her very red lips are displayed. Tom Wesselsmann, *Mouth 14* (Marilyn), 1967 in U. KULTERMANN, *The New Painting* (New York and Washington, 1969), 60 fig. 138; and Andy Warhol, *Marilyn Monroe's Lips*, 1964 in A. LERNER, ed., *The Hirschhorn - Museum and Sculpture Garden* (New York, 1974), 621 figs. 964-5 and 757, with bibliography. I thank Lucie Bauer for bringing this comparison to my attention. ¹⁰ On the poetic use of *atque*, a word similar to *usquequaque*, in Catullus, see D. O. ROSS, Jr., *Style and Tradition in Catullus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), 37. ¹¹ C. T. LEWIS and C. SHORT, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1879, rpt. 1969), 1564. ¹² Note that when pronouncing both *renidet* and *usquequaque*, it is necessary to exaggerate the movement of the lips to reproduce the effect Catullus desired. Poem 84 about Arrius' unfortunate habit of aspirating his 'Cs' and initial 'Is' clearly demonstrates Catullus' interest in reproducing the actual physical effects of sounds. Thus he begins the poem, 'Chommoda dicebat, si quando commoda vellet/dicere, et insidias Arrius hinsidias. . . iam non Ionios esse se Hionios'. . . 'Arrius used to say heavy whenever he wished to say easy and hamfush for ambush. . . Now it's not Ionian, but Hionian'. Note that Catullus in this poem as in 39 also selects only one facet of Arrius' personality, yet preserves him recognizably forever. See also QUINN, *Catullus - The Poems*, 418-21, with bibliography.

a disease neither elegant nor urbane. The next section (lines 9-16) begins with a direct address to Egnatius 'were you urbane', followed by examples of those who are more so than Egnatius, and ends with an aphoristic criticism, 'for nothing's sillier than a silly smile'. As each of the preceding sections ended with a punch line, so the last section (lines 17-21) forms a punch line for the whole poem. While still maintaining the same internal structure as in the previous sections, Catullus sets out the general problem, 'Now you're a Spaniard'; cites the example, how teeth are treated there; and delivers the specific and personally devastating denouement in lines 20-21, 'So the higher the polish on those teeth of yours is / the more this proclaims that you have drunk of your piss'. Thus the poem is extremely tightly structured both externally in its overall arrangement and internally in its reflection of the whole in the individual parts.

Catullus' use of sound and a tight structure, though particularly effective, does not distinguish him from his Greek and Roman predecessors and earn him the epithet, New Poet,¹³ but his combination of traditional Greek forms with the vernacular does. Vernacular as a term generally applies to the normal, spoken form of a language. Catullus does choose common, almost plain words. Not in this poem are there terms for obscure foliage or rare animals. Egnatius simply has white teeth. But, if a consideration of the vernacular is limited to language alone, then Catullus' true contribution to Latin poetry is missed. His images, his subjects are vernacular.

Catullus puts Egnatius into his contemporary cultural context. Egnatius does not smile only *usquequaque*, but on certain occasions experienced by most Romans. Egnatius smiles in the law court and at funerals, both situations for weeping. Catullus has not idly selected his examples, but has based them on close observation of his subject's character. The person unable to cope with a tragic event is prone to smile somewhat idiotically no matter what his real feelings may be.¹⁴ In the second section

¹³ For the Greek epigrammatic antecedents of Catullus, see, among others, J. GRANAROLO, *L'oeuvre de Catulle* (Paris, 1967), 319-23, and QUINN, *Catullus - An Interpretation*, 89 and 269 ff. Appropriately Poem 39 is written in limping iambs, a Greek meter associated with satirical or abusive verse. For a discussion of the meter alone, see J. W. LOOMIS, *Studies in Catullan Verse*, « Mnemosyne », Supplement 24 (Leiden, 1972), 102-18. On Catullus' Roman predecessors, see J. GRANAROLO, *D'Ennius à Catulle* (Paris, 1971), *passim*. Compare also note 2 above. ¹⁴ As a contrast to Egnatius' ineptitude, compare Cicero in *De Oratore* I.34.156 on the necessity of the good orator using gestures appropriate to the situation. Later Cicero (II.58.236) speaks pointedly on the use of figures such as Egnatius: *haec enim ridentur, vel sola, vel maxime, quae notant et designant turpitudinem aliquam non*

Catullus broadens his scope from Egnatius to others by comparing him not to the Greek and Roman heroes of yore, but to his and Catullus' own contemporaries, the Sabine and the Tiburtine.

Catullus' interest in recording character traits is in itself not unusual. Beginning with Aristotle, in for example his *Nichomachean Ethics*, the Greeks considered the different facets of man's personality. Specific examples, on the whole, were avoided; only types were studied. One would examine the generous or ambitious man, but would not cite a particular, living person as an example.¹⁵ This interest in types spread from philosophy to both literature and art. Thus Menander wrote the *Dyskolos* or the *Bad-Tempered Man* and Plautus the *Miles Gloriosus* or *Braggart Warrior*.¹⁶ While these examples may fit our definition or vernacular, they nonetheless differ from Catullus in one important respect: both plays concern fictional figures. More similar to Catullus' use of Egnatius is Aristophanes' inclusion of Socrates in the *Clouds*. The fifth century Greek play presents a satirical portrait of a contemporary; someone Aristophanes knew as Catullus knows Egnatius. Socrates is known as a philosopher and an important figure in Athenian society, but who in the world is Egnatius?

There have been scholarly attempts to identify the man as a third-rate Epicurean poet who may possibly have been part of Catullus' immediate circle.¹⁷ In Poem 37 (lines 17-20) Catullus refers to Egnatius as a frequenter of the 'salax taberna', the slimy tavern, in search of Lesbia's favors:

turpiter. 'For the chief, if not the only, objects of laughter, are those sayings which remark upon and point out something unseemly in no unseemly manner'. E. W. SUTTON and H. RACKHAM, trans., *Cicero, De Oratore* (LCL, Cambridge and London, 1942), I, 373. ¹⁵ Ancient studies of physiognomy and rhetoric are also related to this general interest in analyzing types of character. For example, *Physiognomica*, attributed to Aristotle, considers the various parts of the body as indications of specific character types, but neither teeth nor smiles are discussed there; nor are specific people ever named as representative of any group. Aristotle pursues similar problems in *Rhetorica*. On the relation between physical characteristics and personalities in ancient literary portrayals of historical figures, see E. C. EVANS, *Roman Descriptions of Personal Appearance in History and Biography*, «HSCP», 46, 1935, 44-84. See also E. C. EVANS' general discussion of physiognomy in *Physiognomics in the Ancient World*, «Transactions of the American Philosophical Society», n.s. 59, pt. 5, 1969. Note that here (p. 6) she believes that in general 'Catullus ... appear[s] little influenced by the physiognomical traditions'.

¹⁶ Compare also Theophrastus *The Characters*. Egnatius might fit the description of 'tactlessness', 'Now Tactlessness is a plain-giving failure to hit upon the right moment ... (J. M. EDMONDS, trans., *The Characters of Theophrastus*, LCL, London and New York, 1929, 71 No. 12). ¹⁷ NEUDLING, *Prosopography*, 58-64. J. GRANAROLO, *L'époque néotérique ou la poésie romaine d'avant-garde au dernier siècle de la République (Catulle excepté)*, ANRW, I3, 292-4, 335.

tu praeter omnes une de capillatis,
cuniculosae Celtiberiae fili,
Egnati, opaca quem bonum facit barba
et dens Hibera defricatus urina.

You alone beyond all other long-haired men
son of rabbit infested Spain,
Egnatius, whom a dark beard makes good-looking
and teeth brushed with Spanish piss.

Catullus has added little to our meager information: Egnatius has long hair and a beard and was associated with Lesbia, who is herself not securely identified.¹⁸ Knowledge of exactly who Egnatius was is not terribly crucial; only that Egnatius existed and was a contemporary of Catullus is important. Even when Catullus does mention a well-known figure such as Julius Caesar in Poems 57 and 93, one must remember that Catullus has frequently actually met these people.¹⁹ For the most part, however, Catullus writes poems about members of his own circle, be they important figures or not,²⁰ and almost solely about their private, not their public, lives, which explains why Egnatius is so hard to identify.

In keeping with the personal focus, Catullus puts himself directly into his poems. Three times in Poem 39 Catullus expresses his own, not some impartial judge's, opinion of and reaction to Egnatius: line 8, 'this disease; neither elegant, as I think, nor urbane'; line 9, 'So, I must warn you, good Egnatius'; and line 15, 'nevertheless I would not want you smiling constantly'.

Thus Catullus' greatest achievement is his original use of the vernacular, not just in the narrow sense of everyday language, but also in his choice of subject, a portrait of an otherwise undistinguished contemporary; in his unheroic, rather human images and comparisons; and finally in his expression of his own feelings in the first person. What makes this feat so significant is that Catullus has altered the course of poetry not by discarding earlier poetic traditions, but by working within the established Greek conventions of form, meter, and structure. Did Catullus accomplish this 'revolution', as some have called it, by himself?²¹ Was he an isolated phenomenon? Unfortunately, beyond brief fragments vir-

¹⁸ NEUDLING, *Prosopography*, 97-8. C. DEROUX, *L'identité de Lesbie*, ANRW, I3, 390-416, and especially 415-6. ¹⁹ On Catullus' meeting with Caesar, see Suet. *Iul.* 73; QUINN, *Catullus, The Poems*, 256; and NEUDLING, *Prosopography*, 91. ²⁰ On the problems of identifying the subjects of Catullus' poems, see NEUDLING *Prosopography*, v. ²¹ K. QUINN, *The Catullan Revolution* (Ann Arbor, 1969), *passim*.

tually no other writings of the New Poets have survived.²² Likewise little is known about their immediate predecessors. It is necessary, therefore, to broaden the scope by considering other forms of art to place Catullus truly within his context.

As the analysis of Catullus has centered on one poem, which will be further examined later, so the study of Roman Republican portraiture will also focus on a single example. Pompey the Great, a contemporary of Catullus, was the subject of several extant portraits²³ of which the finest is a bust found in Rome and now in Copenhagen.²⁴ (figs. 1-2) This sculpture gives an overall effect of

²² See note 13 and GRANAROLO's study cited in note 17 above. ²³ For the coin portraits of Pompey minted by his sons, Sextus and Gnaeus, in 46-36 B.C., see: SYDENHAM, *Coinage*, 173-4 Nos. 1036-9, 1041-3 and pl. 27; 210-1 Nos. 1344, 1350-1 and pl. 30. CRAWFORD, *Coinage*, 480 No. 470 and pl. LV, 495 No. 483 and pl. LVII; 520 No. 511 and pl. LXI-LXII. H. ZEHACKER, *Moneta, Recherches sur l'organisation et l'art des émissions monétaires de la République romaine (289-31 av. J.-C.)* (Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 222, Rome, 1973), 1007-17, 1180 (with bibliography). VESSBERG, *Studien*, 135-7 and pl. V figs. 3-6, 8-9. MICHEL, *Vorbild*, 57-60, pl. XIII figs. 1-5. For the portraits of Pompey on gems, see: M.-L. VOLLENWEIDER, *Die Porträtgemmen der römischen Republik* (Mainz am Rhein, 1974), I, 106-19; II, 45-6, pl. 71. MICHEL, *Vorbild*, 60-1. For the sculpted portraits of Pompey, see: F. JOHANSEN, *Antike portrætter af Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus*, « Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek », 30, 1973, 89-119. MICHEL, *Vorbild*, 62-6, pls. XIV-XX, POULSEN, *Pompeius*, 20-52. F. BROWN, *Magni Nominis Umbrae, Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson* (St. Louis, 1951), I, 761-4, pls. 95-7. M. BORDA, *Pompeo Magno*, EAA, VI, 367-9. Note that this article studies how a particular late Roman Republican portrait works; a stylistic examination of the extant portraits attributed to Pompey is a study beyond our scope. Likewise, the origins of Roman portrait sculpture also forms a subject distinct from these considerations. On the latter, see most recently, BRECKENRIDGE, *Origins*. ²⁴ Copenhagen No. 597 (I.N. 733), marble. I thank Dr. Flemming Johansen of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen for the photographs. Except for a few nicks the piece is in excellent condition to the neck where it has been broken. The extremely high polish is modern. The identification as Pompey has been uncontested since it was first made by Helbig because of the striking resemblance between the bust and coins minted by his son (see note 23 above). The Copenhagen bust is an early Empire copy of a late Roman Republican original. It is now generally dated to the time of Claudius by V. Poulsen, Michel, etc. Note that earlier scholars (e.g. Vessberg and Schweitzer) and recently Johansen follow F. POULSEN's earlier publication (*Pompeius*, 45), which dated the piece to the Hadrianic period. E. SIMON (in MICHEL, *Vorbild*, 63 n. 7) considers the piece Flavian. Despite the fact that the bust is an imperial copy, like many other extant late Roman Republican portraits, it consciously embodies the artistic principles of the Republic, which are the focus of this discussion. On such copying, see HIESINGER, *Portraiture*, 816. All references, except for those already given, are to the authors' works cited immediately below in this note. On the provenance of the bust, see note 49 below. The most recent basic publications are POULSEN, *Portraits*, 39-41 No. 1 and pls. I-II and JOHANSEN, *Antike portrætter af Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus*, 97-102 figs. 11-15.

obesity, accentuated by the smallness of the eyes, the thick bulbous nose, the thin lips and small mouth, all placed within a broad frame emphasized by the very full cheeks. Although not apparent in the profile view, his head has a rather odd form: because of the hairstyle it appears to be widest just above the temples rather than at the crown or at the cheekbones. The hair sits awkwardly on his head almost like a wig and triangularly frames his face. That is, several locks pick up just above the center of his forehead, while short, clumpy curls fall to either side.

Pompey's expression is ambiguous, particularly in the interplay between the eyes and the lips. Because his eyes are neither completely open nor entirely closed, the sculptor appears to have caught Pompey in the midst of an action; for it is difficult to hold one's eyes like that for any period of time, much less for eternity. When this feature is combined with the slight upward turn to the corners of the mouth, Pompey may seem to be smiling. His other features respond physically to that movement: his forehead creases; his skin pulls in slightly at the cheeks; and his hair falls in somewhat controlled dishevelment. On the other hand, this same group of characteristics may be explained less complimentarily as catching Pompey in a complacent sneer. Combined with the raised eyebrows and the three symmetrical furrows in his forehead, they give the impression that Pompey directs his gaze slightly downwards rather than straight out to the viewer.²⁵ His mouth then takes on a slightly smug appearance as he looks down the side of his nose at the world at his feet.

Likewise, the age of Pompey in this bust is difficult to ascertain. It has been conjectured that Pompey is depicted at the height of his power at about age fifty.²⁶ That the portrait represents a mature man seems evident; exactly how old, however, may be debated, because nowhere, outside of the three rather formal creases in the forehead, is any indication of age given. The skin, especially

W. HELBIG, *Sopra un ritratto di Gneo Pompeo Magno*, « RömMitt », 1, 1886, 37-41 and pl. 2. POULSEN, *Pompeius*, 35ff., 37-9 figs. 17-9. VESSBERG, *Studien*, 136-7. SCHWEITZER, *Bildniskunst*, 86ff. Group F No. 4 and figs. 117, 124-5. G. W. KASCHNITZ VON WEINBERG, *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Berlin, 1965), III, 447-50 and pl. 124 fig. 1. F. POULSEN, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen, 1951), 414-5 No. 597 and pl. 48. Add the following publications to those cited in the foregoing works: MICHEL, *Vorbild*, 62-3 and pl. XIV; BRECKENRIDGE, *Likeness*, 153-5 and 154 fig. 77; BIANCHI-BANDINELLI, *Rome*, 35 fig. 41; and HIESINGER, *Portraiture*, (plate vol.) 170 fig. 10. ²⁵ This effect is more noticeable in profile. Note that from the creases in the skin in the right portion of his neck it can be ascertained that he inclined his head slightly to his left. POULSEN, *Pompeius*, 39. ²⁶ Most scholars agree on this point. See, e.g., POULSEN, *Portraits*, 41 and SCHWEITZER,

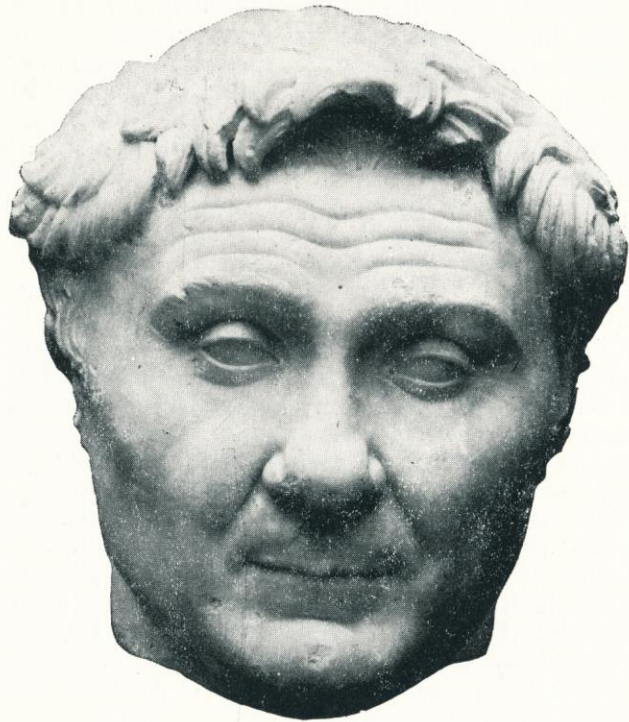


Fig. 1 - Pompey the Great. Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek No. 597 (I.N. 733). (Photograph: Museum)

in the full and unlined cheeks, still retains the tautness of youth.²⁷

These problems in interpretation arise because of the conflict between idealism and verism.²⁸ When applied to ancient portraiture, idealism refers to the emphasis on the spiritual or inner emotional qualities of the subject rather than on a physically mimetic fidelity. For instance, on the portrait of Alexander the Great from Pergamon and now in Istanbul,²⁹ Alexander is por-

Bildniskunst, 86. ²⁷ This quality may perhaps be explained by the fact that the skin of fat people tends to remain smoother from stretching than that of a thin person of comparable age. ²⁸ This aspect has been frequently noted by' among others, SCHWEITZER, *Bildniskunst*, 88 and KASCHNITZ VON WEINBERG, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 449. ²⁹ Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, Department of Classical Antiquities, No. 538 (1138), marble, from Pergamon. Photograph: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut-Athens, Neg. No.



Fig. 2 - Pompey the Great. Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek No. 597 (I.N. 733). (Photograph: Museum)

trayed with what has been called a 'melting gaze', an effect produced by the deepset eyes, knit brow, slightly parted lips, and soft, wavy hair (fig. 3). Whatever Alexander's true physical features may have been, they were of little concern to the artist. Alexander's brow is furrowed only to give him a thoughtful look, not to indicate age. If Alexander had a wart, for example, the artist would not have shown it. This idealism may also be seen in

Pergamon 90. R. LULLIES and M. HIRMER, *Greek Sculpture* (2nd ed., New York, 1960), 102 (with bibliography) and pls. 260-1. M. BIEBER, *Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art* (Chicago, 1964), 63-4 and pls. xxxvi-xxxviii figs 71-2ab. C.M. HAVELOCK, *Hellenistic Art* (Greenwich, Conn., n.d.), 24-5 (dated to 160 B.C.) and fig. 3. T. HÖLSCHER, *Ideal und Wirklichkeit in den Bildnissen Alexanders des Grossen*, « Abhandl. der Heidelberg Akademie der Wiss. », Ph.-hist. Klasse, 1971, 10 n. 6 and pl. 6. Hereafter cited as HÖLSCHER, *Ideal*.



Fig. 3 - Alexander the Great. Istanbul No. 538 (1138). (Photograph: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut - Athens)

the portrait of Pompey. He too has a brow lined to show thought and cheeks that are completely smooth.

As the Alexander represents pure idealism, so the portrait of an unidentified Roman patrician in the Museo Torlonia in Rome typifies late Roman Republican verism,³⁰ unlike idealism solely a Roman concept (fig. 4). No difficulty arises in deciding this man's age. Sparse hair, loose, sagging skin, sunken cheeks, toothless mouth, and an extremely lined face make him an old man. His features are not recorded entirely objectively, but appear to be

³⁰ Museo Torlonia No. 535, marble, from near Otricoli. Photograph: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut - Rome, Neg. No. 33.58. SCHWEITZER, VON WEINBERG, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 423ff. and pl. 116 fig. 1. *EAA*, VI, *Bildniskunst*, 72ff. Group D No. 1 and figs. 85-6, 91. Kaschnitz 720 fig. 832. BIANCHI-BANDINELLI, *Rome*, 70 fig. 80 and 77 fig. 84. HIESINGER, *Portraiture*, 812 and (plate vol.) 165 fig. 5.



Fig. 4 - Patrician. Rome: Museo Torlonia No. 535. (Photograph: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut - Rome)

emphasized as if the sculptor took the individual lines and increased their prominence by gouging them more deeply into the marble. Notice particularly the hollows in his cheeks. If the Alexander relies on the inner quality of his gaze for effect, then this patrician depends on the impression that the surface of his face gives to the viewer. Such traits which represent physical rather than spiritual reality are veristic,³¹ although the accentuation of a figure's physical features does not mean a complete denial of the character. The Torlonia bust obviously captures a rather strong,

³¹ See the discussion of BRECKENRIDGE on the definition of verism in *Origins*. 842-5.

doughty, no-nonsense, old man of good patrician stock who was not afraid of, indeed insisted on, being depicted as he was physically at the time when the portrait was executed.³² The Pompey portrait then combines these two qualities: Roman verism, the way he really looked, with Greek idealism, the kind of man he thought he was.

But what did Pompey think about himself? How is his expression to be interpreted smile or sneer? Because of his prominence in Roman history, Pompey was the subject of many ancient accounts, but, unfortunately, of few descriptions which considered both his physical and personal traits. Plutarch in his life of Pompey offers the most extensive characterization:

At the outset, too, he had a countenance which helped him in no small degree to win the favour of the people, and which pleaded for him before he spoke. For even his boyish loveliness had a gentle dignity about it, and in the prime and flower of his youthful beauty there was at once manifest the majesty and kingliness of his nature. His hair was inclined to lift itself slightly from his forehead, and this, with a graceful contour of face about the eyes, produced a resemblance, more talked about than actually apparent, to the portrait statues of King Alexander. Wherefore, since many also applied the name to him in his earlier years, Pompey did not decline it, so that presently some called him Alexander in derision.³³

Plutarch described only two physical features: (1) the way Pom-

³² In this respect the Torlonia man would resemble Oliver Cromwell, who said, 'Mr. Lely, I desire you would use all your skill to paint my picture truly like me, and not flatter me at all; but remark all these roughnesses, pimples, warts, and everything as you see me, otherwise I will never pay a farthing for it'. *Remark*, Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, ch. 12 quoted in *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* (2nd ed., London, 1966), 167 No. 7. I thank Robin Johnson for this comparison. ³³ B. PERRIN, trans., *Plutarch's Lives* (LCL, Cambridge and London, 1917, rpt. 1968), V, 119 (*Pompey* II. 1-2). Compare Pliny *N.H.* 37.6.14: 'Furthermore, there was Pompey's portrait rendered in pearls, that portrait so pleasing with the handsome growth of hair swept back from the forehead, the portrait of that noble head revered throughout the world...' (D. E. EICHHOLZ, trans., *Pliny Natural History*, LCL, Cambridge and London, 1962, X, 175). Consider also Vell. Pat. II.29.2: 'He was distinguished by a personal beauty, not of the sort which gives the bloom of youth its charm, but stately and unchanging, as befitted the distinction and good fortune of his career, and this beauty attended him to the last day his life'. (F. W. SHIPLEY, trans., *Velleius Paterculus and Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, LCL, London and New York, 1924, 111, 113). Both Pliny and Velleius Paterculus capture the same tone as Plutarch and likewise concentrate on the quality of the person rather than physical detail.

pey's 'hair was inclined to lift itself from the forehead' and (2) the 'graceful contour of face about the eyes'. The sculptor has given Pompey a cowlick, but whether or not one finds the contour graceful is not as important as the fact that the shape of the face and the treatment of the eyes are distinctive.

Plutarch next considers the similarities between the portrait statues of Alexander and Pompey. Physically, only the hair which rises up over the center of the forehead of the Copenhagen Pompey seems analogous to the Istanbul Alexander, but even that differs on closer comparison.³⁴ Pompey wears his hair in short, coarse clumps which just do not seem long enough to frame his face gracefully, while Alexander's hair falls gently around his face with the same degree of iniquity that is captured in his slightly troubled expression. Although both portraits share a comparable idealism, that kind of correspondence reflects more the aesthetic basis of the sculptors and their age than an actual similarity; but Plutarch did say that the resemblance between the two men was 'more talked about than actually apparent'. Plutarch's following comment is crucial: 'Wherefore, since many also applied the name [i.e. of Alexander] to him in his earlier years, Pompey did not decline it, so that presently some called him Alexander in derision'. Thus Plutarch has recorded the same ambiguity found in the Copenhagen bust. Those who consider Pompey to be like Alexander will see the Copenhagen bust as capturing Pompey in the midst of a majestic smile, while his detractors will see the bust as portraying the sneer of the overly ambitious man who would like to be an Alexander.³⁵ What at first seemed to be a conflict between the aesthetic principles of Roman verism and Greek idealism has become an exceptionally successful portrait blending the features of the man as he was and as he seemed to be to both himself and others.³⁶

³⁴ This feature, technically called the anastole, is considered a hallmark of Alexander portraits. See, for example, MICHEL, *Vorbild*, 23 and Hölscher, *Ideal*, 28. ³⁵ The problem of interpreting the Copenhagen Pompey's features is also reflected in Aristotle's *Physiognomica*. Since, in antiquity, a man was rarely considered to be an admixture of good and bad characteristics, the treatment of Pompey's eyes would either make him: an 'orderly man... [because] he has a black lack-lustre eye, neither very wide open nor half closed, and it opens and closes slowly... » or a 'little-minded man... [because he has] small eyes'. (Aristotle *Physiognomics*, III.807b-808a; translated by W. S. HETT, *Aristotle Minor Works*, LCL, Cambridge and London, 1936, rpt. 1963, 101-3). See also L. CURTIUS, *Physiognomik des römischen Porträts*, «Die Antike», 7, 1931, 236-8; and R. WINKES, *Physiognomonia: Probleme der Charakterinterpretation römischer Porträts*, ANRW, I⁴, 904. ³⁶ E. H. Gombrich also believes that the best portraits allow varying interpretations: 'He [the artist] must so exploit the ambiguities of the arrested face that the multiplicities of possible readings result in the semblance of life ... And

Until now Catullus and late Roman Republican portraiture have been considered as two separate subjects: the one distinctive for its use of the vernacular within a Greek format, the other notable for its combination of verism and Greek idealism. A study of the difference and similarities between Catullan poetry and Roman Republican portrait sculpture will show how verism and the vernacular are used similarly to express the same idea.

Certain limitations imposed internally by the natures of the two media are immediately apparent. Poetry is two-dimensional or linear,³⁷ sculpture three-dimensional or volumetric. That is, the poet has complete control over the order in which the reader receives images and ideas. The reader begins with 'Egnatius' in line 1 and progresses word by word until the final 'loti' in line 21. The poet builds from the specific image to a general impression of the whole. Sculpture works in exactly the opposite manner. The viewer comprehends the object in its entirety immediately; only afterwards does he examine the parts individually while still holding the rest of the structure in view. The sculptor cannot select one feature alone to characterize his subject, like the teeth of Egnatius, but must put the teeth within their structural context of the face. Moreover, he has much less choice about how he depicts his subject. He has to show the physical form in a particular pose, such as seated, on a horse, or as a bust. And only one instance may be represented in any one sculpture. The poet, however, may delineate his subject in one or more ways within one poem. He may describe his subject physically by highlighting only the outstanding features, the white teeth of Egnatius, depict his subject in action in detailed settings, he smiles in court and at funerals, reproduce his manner of speech, 'renidet usquequaque' etc. Nor is a poet limited solely to a consideration of his subject, Egnatius, but he may define Egnatius more aptly by comparing

yet this refusal to freeze into a mask and settle into one rigid reading is not purchased at the expense of definition. We are not aware of ambiguities, of undefined elements leading to incompatible interpretations, we have the illusion of a face assuming different expressions all consistent with what might be called the dominant expression, the air of the face'. E.H. GOMBRICH, J. HOCHBERG, and M. BLACK, *Art, Perception, and Reality* (Baltimore and London, 1972), 17 and 42, 44 respectively. Hereafter cited as GOMBRICH, *Art*. Compare also Gombrich's discussion (p. 33) of the lips of Antinous - are they pouting or were they the way his lips actually looked? In contrast, BRECKENRIDGE (*Origins*, 847) believes that the Pompey bust is 'distinguished chiefly by the faint degree of inadequacy of its effort to recapture the glamor of true Hellenistic royal portraiture'. But is it trying to revive an old tradition in its pure form or start a new one? ³⁷ For a discussion of the linear nature of writing, see Q. BELL, *Virginia Woolf, A Biography* (London, 1972), II, 106.

him to others, such as the frugal Umbrian or the fat Etruscan. The portrait bust, on the other hand, is self contained. It has no outside point of reference other than those supplied individually not by the artist, but by the viewer. Although by depicting Pompey's hair in a specific style, the artist may recall that feature on the portraits of Alexander. Nonetheless such comparisons are much more circumscribed in art than in literature. Thus the means which the two media use to achieve their effects may vary greatly.

Furthermore, the role of the sculptor differs from that of the poet. While Cicero in the *Pro Archia* may praise the poet and wish that he were one too, the sculptor was in a less enviable position.³⁸ He was considered a craftsman and consequently more subject than the poet to the desires of his patron or client.³⁹ This situation is in part inherent in the nature of sculpture. A sculptor could not produce a bust without a studio, tools, and expensive stone or bronze. The poet, on the other hand, needed virtually only paper and pen. Thus a patron was essential for the sculptor, but not necessary for the poet. Catullus, for example, came from a wealthy family in Verona and could have been self-supporting.⁴⁰ He could write poetry to please himself alone over which his subjects, such as Egnatius, would have no control. A patron might even encourage a poet to write derogatory poems against the patron's own enemies. Pompey, however, as a patron could withhold payment from the sculptor if he felt the portrait of himself was unflattering. Moreover, while it would be possible for a poet even with a patron to write an occasional poem outside of those

³⁸ Early in his speech Cicero says, 'I am a votary of literature, and make the confession unashamed', and later speaks of the lesser worth of art compared to literature, 'Many great men have been studious to leave behind them statues and portraits, likenesses not of the soul, but of the body; and how much more anxious should we be to bequeath an effigy of our minds and characters, wrought and elaborated by supreme talent?'. N.H. WATTS, trans., *Cicero, The Speeches* (LCL, Cambridge and London, 1923, rpt. 1935), 21 and 39 respectively (*Pro Archia* 6.12 and 12.30 respectively).

³⁹ On this subject, see A. BURFORD, *Craftsmen in Greek and Roman Society* (Ithaca, 1972), Chapter IV, 'Craftsmen and Their Patrons', 124-52, especially 124-8 on 'Interdependence'. On pp. 13-4 she defines 'craftsman' as 'used of every skilled worker whose labours contributed to the manufacture of objects in durable materials, and who depended on the exercise of his craft for a living. Defined thus, ... [is] the sculptor...'. Specifically on sittings for portraits and the patron's control, see HIESINGER, *Portraiture*, 816 and 819 respectively. Compare also Cromwell's view of the patron in the quotation cited in note 32 above. ⁴⁰ On Catullus' family, see, among others, F.O. COPLEY, *Latin Literature* (Ann Arbor, 1969), 69-70 and G. WILLIAMS, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford, 1968), 41 hereafter cited as WILLIAMS, *Tradition*). On patronage of poets and specifically Catullus' 'personal poetry', see WILLIAMS, *Tradition*, 38 and 460 respectively. For an ancient writer's view of patronage, see Lucian *Apology*

commissioned,⁴¹ a sculptor, because of greater costs, would be less likely to produce works not specifically ordered, much less a gratuitous complimentary portrait of a possible patron.

Closely related to the problems of patronage are the differing purposes for which the bust and the poem were created. The portrait in the late Roman Republican era served two basic functions: one public and the other private.⁴² Portrait statues were frequently set up in public to honor those who had served the state. The Senate, for example, voted that such a statue of Pompey be erected in the Forum Romanum. In addition those who funded public works could also place statues of themselves in or by their buildings as Pompey did in the curia of his theater.⁴³ Private portraits, on the other hand, generally served a religious purpose. The wealthy Roman family kept a gallery of its ancestors' portraits in the home and sometimes in the family tomb; they would display the busts on certain religious and funerary occasions.⁴⁴

Moreover the purpose which the portrait would serve could affect the tone of the portrait. Consider two busts of Vespasian, one in Copenhagen⁴⁵ and the other in the Museo Nazionale in Rome⁴⁶ (figs. 5-6). Both clearly depict the same man as seen by the similar overall shape of the head, the nose, and the general

10 and M. I. FINLEY's discussion in *The Ancient Economy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1973), 76. ⁴¹ W. H. AUDEN, provides an instructive parallel. He says 'All the poems I have written were written for love; naturally, when I have written one, I try to market it, but the prospect of a market played no role in its writing'. (*The Dyer's Hand and Other Essays*, New York, 1968, XII). ⁴² R. BIANCHI-BANDINELLI, *Ritratto*, *EAA*, VI, 720. ⁴³ Among the portrait statues of Pompey which must have been erected in Rome three are mentioned in ancient literary sources: 1) an equestrian statue ordered by the Senate (Vell. Pat. II.61); 2) a statue in the curia of the theater of Pompey (Suet. *Aug.* 31 and Plut. *Caes.* 56.1; note that Caesar was stabbed at the base of this statue); and 3) a statue on the rostra in the Forum Romanum (Suet. *Iul.* 75 and Cass. Dio 43.49). For a discussion of the literary references, see Brown, 'magni Nominis Umbrae', 761. ⁴⁴ J. M. C. TOYNBEE, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (London, 1971), 47-8. ⁴⁵ Copenhagen 659a (I.N. 2585), marble. I thank Dr. Flemming Johansen of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek for this photograph. V. POULSEN, *Les portraits romains, II De Vespasien à la basse-antiquité* (Copenhagen, 1974), 40 No. 3 (with bibliography) and pls. V-VI. G. DALTRÖP, U. HAUSMANN, and M. WEGNER, *Die Flavier* (Berlin, 1966), 75 pl. 3. BRECKENRIDGE, *Likeness*, 201 fig. 106. BIANCHI-BANDINELLI, *Rome*, 212 fig. 234. ⁴⁶ Museo Nazionale delle Terme, Inv. 330, marble, form Ostia, Photograph: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut - Rome, Neg. No. 54.797. DALTRÖP, HAUSMANN, and WEGNER, *Die Flavier*, 79 (with bibliography) and pl. 4. W. HELBIG, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* (4th ed., Tübingen, 1963ff), III, 227 No. 2310 (with bibliography). *EAA*, VII, 1147 fig. 1280. A. M. McCANN, *A Re-Dating of the Reliefs from the Palazzo della Cancelleria, « RömMitt »*, 79, 1972, 252-3 and pl. 118 fig. 2. BIANCHI-BANDINELLI, *Rome*, 212 fig. 235.

expression of the face, especially the way the eyes sit within their lids. Yet there are also very basic differences. The Copenhagen bust shows an almost completely bald, toothless old man with a rather large, slightly aquiline nose. His skin has begun to sag, as his eyelids have become flaccid with large crowsfeet at the corners. The other portrait depicts the same basic features, but has, in a sense, smoothed them over. The flesh is firmer; the teeth give form to the mouth; the brow is knit pensively; and the hair is fuller, particularly on top of the head. The Copenhagen Vespasian is then more veristic, the Rome bust more idealized. Because the Copenhagen bust, according to Bianchi-Bandinelli,⁴⁷ is a private portrait which would have been used only by Vespasian's family, it stresses physical verisimilitude to recall best the man as he truly looked. The Rome bust as an official portrait would be idealized to give the Roman people the most complimentary image possible of their ruler, the man who brought order to Rome after so much civil strife.⁴⁸

The distinction between public and private busts may also be found among the portraits of Pompey. The Copenhagen bust is possibly from a family tomb discovered near the Porta Pia in Rome.⁴⁹ It emphasizes the physical characteristics of Pompey more

⁴⁷ BIANCHI-BANDINELLI, *Ritratto*, 726 where he speaks of the Copenhagen's bust's 'espressiva volgarità' in contrast to the Rome bust's 'aristocratica intellettualità'. BIANCHI-BANDINELLI, *Rome*, 212. ⁴⁸ Daltröp (DALTRÖP, HAUSMANN, and WEGNER, *Die Flavier*, 16), however, considers the veristic Copenhagen bust to have been produced during the latter part of Vespasian's life in contrast to the Rome bust which in its idealized features would reflect the divinization of Vespasian after his death. ⁴⁹ The tomb of the Licinii, a family related to Pompey, was purportedly discovered and illicitly excavated in 1885. The tomb contained three chambers of which one had busts from the second century A.D. and the other busts from the first century A.D. The Pompey allegedly came from the second group. The tomb itself has been identified as belonging to the Licinii on the basis of inscriptions on cippi found together with the busts. Although conclusive proof obviously will never be found, Helbig, who in a sense acted as a middleman in the Ny Carlsberg's acquisition of this material, believed that the busts, including the Pompey, did come from this tomb group. Moreover, as both F. and V. Poulsen explain, Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, who was the son of Marcus Licinius Crassus Frugi and who was buried in this tomb when he died in 47 A.D., was named after his illustrious ancestor and would probably have included Pompey's portrait among the portraits of other, more contemporary, family members. In fact, V. Poulsen notes that family tombs need not contain portraits only of contemporaries. If our interpretation of the Copenhagen Pompey as a private, not a public, portrait is correct, then, perhaps, further support may be added to its provenance from a family tomb. For the circumstances of the discovery of the tomb and in particular Helbig's correspondence with Carl Jacobsen of the Ny Carlsberg, see F. POULSEN, *Célèbres visages inconnus*, « RA », s. 5, 36, 1932, 54-61.

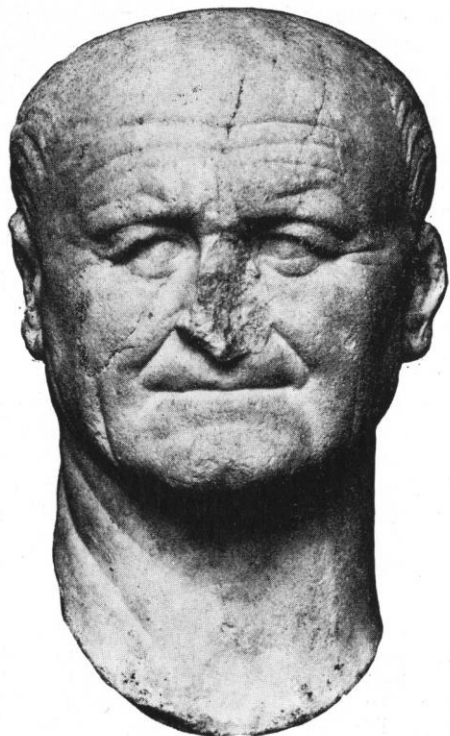


Fig. 5 - Vespasian. Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 659 a (I.N. 2585)
(Photograph: Museum)

than the public portrait which has survived in a bust in Venice⁵⁰ (figs. 7-8). The Venice portrait takes the basic features of the Copenhagen Pompey — the upturned hair, slightly creased forehead, raised brow, somewhat heavy-lidded eyes, bulbous nose, and full cheeks —

For a more detailed discussion on family tombs and this Pompey specifically, see POULSEN, *Portraits*, 101-6. On the later material from this tomb, see V. POULSEN, *A note on the Licinian Tomb*, «JWalt», 11, 1948, 8-13.

⁵⁰ Venice, Museo Archeologico Inv. N. 62, marble. Restored: nose; tip of chin; parts of lips, ears, and eyebrows; and bust. Photographs: courtesy of the museum. The bust is generally dated to the Claudian period, except by Kaschnitz von Weinberg who thought it Trajanic. Schweitzer and Michel maintain that this bust represents a younger Pompey than that of the Copenhagen bust. G. TRAVERSARI, *Museo Archeologico di Venezia, I Ritratti*

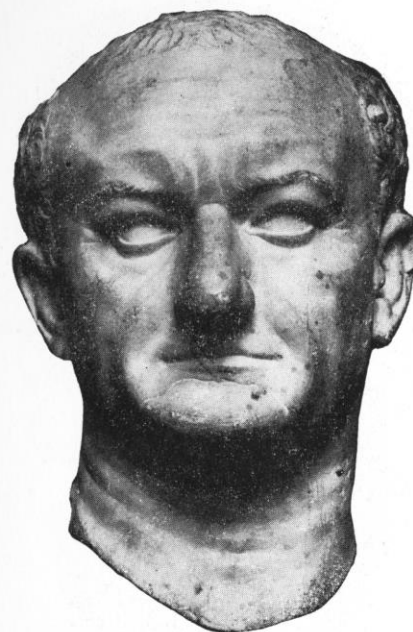


Fig. 6 - Vespasian. Rome: Museo Nazionale delle Terme Inv. 330. (Photograph: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut - Rome)

and places them in a more idealized mould. The resemblance between the two busts is particularly close in the profile views, though the Venice Pompey has slightly leaner cheeks, a more prominent browline, and more controlled hair. Yet when seen from the front, the differences between the two portraits are striking. Here in the unambiguous Venice bust is the man who had, according to Plutarch, a 'boyish loveliness', a 'gentle dignity' in addition to 'a majesty and kingliness of nature'. Even the ancient comparison of Pompey to the portraits of Alexander seems apt. The firm set to the mouth and the concerned eyes give him a grave

(Rome, 1968), 27-8 (with bibliography) No. 10 and figs. 10abc. JOHANSEN, *Antike portraetter af Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus*, 107 fig. 20. POULSEN, *Pompeius*, 22-7 and 21-2 figs. 718. VESSBERG, *Studien*, 137. SCHWEITZER, *Bildnis-kunst*, 86 Group F No. 3, 88, and figs. 121 and 123. KASCHNITZ VON WEINBERG, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 450 and pl. 125 fig. 1. MICHEL, *Vorbild*, 65 anl pls. XVIII-XIX.



Fig. 7 - Pompey the Great. Venice: Museo Archeologico Inv. N. 62. (Photograph: Museum)

appearance as he turns his head slightly to the left to look at the spectator. He is the senator, the military commander, who cares about his followers and can lead them. That is, the Venice bust renders Pompey in the same attitude in which the Rome bust depicts Vespasian.⁵¹

Accordingly, the patron could and did exercise a great degree of control over portraits depending on their purpose and place of display. As a result, the personality and opinion of the sculptor is almost invariably lost in his work. If a superior artist, he will be able to please both himself and his client by capturing his

⁵¹ Traversari, following Schweitzer, attributes the Venice bust to a copy of the equestrian statue of Pompey. See note 50 above for their studies and also note 43. Whether or not this head belongs to that particular statue is not as important as the fact that the head presents Pompey in a public stance.

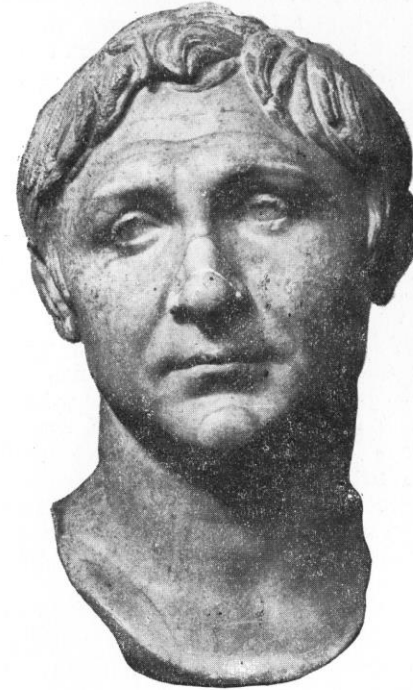


Fig. 8 - Pompey the Great. Venice: Museo Archeologico Inv. N. 62. (Photograph: Museum)

subject with a certain amount of ambiguity as in the Copenhagen Pompey. Yet the question will always remain of what the patron actually looked like when divergent busts like the two Pompeys exist.

Catullus' attack on Egnatius is the exact opposite of the impersonal portrait bust. Catullus' opinion of Egnatius is known, because poetry allows the poet to speak directly. On the other hand, the purpose for which a specific poem was written is much more obscure than the use for an ancient portrait. Catullus may have wished to revile Egnatius for too hotly pursuing Lesbia, as implied in Poem 37; or Egnatius may have offended Catullus in some other way, such as by composing awful poetry or by acting like an uncultured lout. The precise cause will probably never be known. Even the audience Catullus wished to reach is unclear.

He possibly circulated his poems privately as they were written and later collected them for publication as a unit.⁵²

Furthermore, if two faces of Pompey exist, so could two views of Egnatius. In fact, the wholly black portrait of Egnatius' white teeth raises the question of whether Egnatius has been so exaggerated as to represent an ethical type, the boor in Catullan society. Without knowledge of the man, who remains unidentified, this question may never truly be answered.

Until now the focus has been on Catullus' use of language and imagery to create a picture of Egnatius, and the tacit assumption has been that the object of the poem was only to ridicule Egnatius. Yet, Catullus does not merely describe Egnatius' actions, but puts them on a moral plane. That is, Catullus compares Egnatius with his habit of smiling to the way one *should* act. In line 8 Catullus calls the 'disease' of smiling 'neither elegant nor urbane' and again in line 10, he says 'were you urbane...'. Obviously urbanity is the ideal — the ideal which only the vernacular can define.⁵³ Catullus has taken Greek idealism and truly brought it down to the level of man. No longer is the general taken and given specific, identifying details as should be expected when the point of departure is idealism as in the Istanbul Alexander, but the ideal and the type are now derived from the specific.⁵⁴

Thus Catullus' vernacular is the poetic equivalent of the sculptor's verism. Both, in as much as their media permit, have used it to strike the same balance with idealism. By delineating their subject through physical reality — Egnatius by his actions in everyday situations and the way he actually talks; Pompey in the hairstyle and configuration of his face — Catullus and the sculptor have at the same time produced portraits of two ethical ideals, the *Roman* sophisticate and the *Roman* ruler.

The syncretism, the ability to adapt Greek concepts to Roman ideas, characterizes the late Roman Republican period when Rome first truly became a cosmopolitan center. Much of later Roman

⁵² See, among others, QUINN, *The Catullan Revolution*, 37. ⁵³ *Urbanitas* is a Roman, not a Greek, ideal, and one with which Catullus was particularly concerned. For recent discussions of the concept, see QUINN, *Catullus - An Interpretation*, 210-8; E. S. RAMAGE, *Urbanitas - Ancient Sophistication and Refinement* (Norman, Okla., 1973), 53-4 (on Catullus alone) and *passim*; and E. DE SAINT-DENIS, *Essais sur le rire et le sourire des Latins* (Paris, 1965), and 152-5. ⁵⁴ It is this moral plane which distinguishes Catullus from the earlier Greek poets of invective, for the latter are either extremely specific and pointed or entirely general. It is Catullus' combination, not the individual elements alone, that is new, because single Greek examples of the separate points may be found.

art and literature reflects developments of ideas first conceived during this period, but never again in Roman history would the vernacular be so distinctively used, verism so ruthlessly portrayed.

JOCELYN PENNY SMALL