## Which Posidippus?

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A STATUE IN THE VATICAN MUSEUM (Inv. no. 735; see PLATE 4) bears on its plinth the inscription  $\Pi O\Sigma EI\Delta I\Pi$ - $\Pi O\Sigma$ . Miss Richter says of this statue: "There seems little doubt that the man represented in the Vatican statue is the comic poet Poseidippos, the only bearer of that name sufficiently important to have had a statue erected to him, and one, as we saw, popular in Roman times."<sup>1</sup> The statue depicts a seated man with his right hand resting on his lap; in it he holds a papyrus roll. On stylistic grounds, Miss Richter would date the statue to the middle of the third century B.C., as would other scholars. There is also virtual unanimity about the subject's identity.<sup>2</sup> Thus the latest edition of Helbig's guide assumes that the Posidippus in question is the playwright.<sup>3</sup>

The statue, together with another seated male figure also holding a roll in its left hand, was found on the Viminal in a small round building that was part of a larger complex. At first the two statues were thought to represent Marius and Sulla. From the early nineteenth century the other statue was taken to be Menander, but is now thought to represent a Roman and to belong to the first half of the first century B.C.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> G. M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* II (London 1965) 238, fig. 1647. K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker* (Basel 1943) 110, suggests that it is a Flavian copy of a bronze original dating to ca 250 B.C.; H. von Heintze, "Zu Poseidippos und 'Menander' in Vatikan," RM 68 (1961) 81-87, argues that the face was damaged and subsequently recut ca 1700 after a likeness in a manuscript of Menander; R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture* (London 1991) 38, accepts the attribution to the comic poet but is more cautious about what has happened to the face.

<sup>2</sup> For an exception see ALAN CAMERON, Callimachus and his Critics (Princeton 1995: hereafter 'Cameron') 79, who raises the possibility that the statue may be of Posidippus the epigrammatist.

<sup>3</sup> W. Helbig, Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom<sup>4</sup> I (Tübingen 1963) 96.

<sup>4</sup> Von Heintze (*supra* n.1) 91. Schefold (*supra* n.1) 164, suggests it may be the portrait of a Roman comic poet and that it was the counterpart to the portrait of the Greek comic poet.

Three considerations favor attribution to the comic playwright: (1) most Roman portrait statues of Greeks are copies of Athenian statues of men prominent in the life of the city in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. (*sic* Smith [*supra* n.1] 39); (2) the fragment of a statue base that stood in front of the temple of Apollo on Delos and bore the inscription  $\Pi O\Sigma EI\Delta I\Pi \Pi ON$ KA $\Sigma\Sigma AN\Delta PEI$ [ suggests a Delian statue of the comic playwright erected perhaps by the people of his place of birth, Cassandreia in Macedonia (*Suda s.v.*  $\Pi o\sigma i\delta i\pi \pi o \varsigma$ );<sup>5</sup> (3) he was popular with the Romans (so Richter [*supra* n.1] 238).

The last of these considerations has little to recommend it. Posidippus may in his day have been the most successful comic poet competing in Athens, but his fame does not compare with that of Menander and he is certainly not as famous as most other Greeks whose statues were to be found in Rome. We may reasonably doubt whether he was ever well-known there. The case for his Roman popularity is based on the sole reference to him in Latin literature: the antiquarian Aulus Gellius says (NA 2.23.1ff) that in his day comedies by Roman poets based on and translated from Menander, Posidippus, Apollodorus, Alexis, and some other comic poets were read, but that if these renderings are compared with the Greeks plays that inspired them, then the Latin versions seem poor. A learned antiquarian's awareness that Posidippus lay behind some Roman comedy of the second century B.C. does not prove Posidippus' popularity in Rome. Furthermore, Gellius gives no indication that he has read Posidippus. It is inherently unlikely that he did; his limited knowledge of Greek comedy seems confined to one play of Aristophanes and one of Menander.6 If Gellius knew Posidippus only by name, then few, if any, other Romans of the late second century will have been familiar with him. The situation is unlikely to have been much better in earlier times.

The statue on Delos cannot be used to bolster the case for Posidippus the comic playwright. To judge from the restored dimensions of its base (height 0.24 m.; width 0.89 m.; depth 0.99 m.), it was not a seated statue. Beyond the height (1.47 m.), no dimensions are given for the statue of Posidippus in the Vatican.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> T. Homolle, "Dédicaces déliennes," BCH 3 (1879) 379 no. 10; *IDelos* 2486; A. Wilhelm, Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen (Vienna 1906) 118, would, without having seen the stone, restore the inscription as Ποσείδιππον [Κύνισκου/Κασσανδρε[ις ἀνέθηκαν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> cf. L. Holford-Strevens, Aulus Gellius (London 1988) 174.

If we suppose that the two statues represented the same man, we have to posit his representation in two different statue types, a seated and a standing figure. We do not know enough to say whether this is likely. Certainly the statue on Delos cannot have been the model for the statue in Rome.

It is definitely not because Posidippus was a playwright wellknown to the Romans that there was a statue of him in Rome. Other reasons for its presence are not hard to imagine. The statue's location with another seated statue of a poet or writer in what seems to have been a villa points to an attempt to invent an atmosphere suggestive of learning or poetry. Cicero writes a series of letters to Atticus about the sculpture he wishes to acquire for his Tusculan villa. These letters constitute the principal evidence that a desire to create a certain cultural ambience could be the governing factor in determining what was in a collection of sculpture.<sup>7</sup> If that were true in this case, the collector would have seen the statue of Posidippus merely as the statue of a poet or writer. No particular interest in or knowledge of the comic poet would have led him to acquire it.

There is also the possibility that the statue does not represent the comic playwright Posidippus but another Posidippus, the epigrammatist. For most Romans he will have been an even more shadowy figure than his namesake. No references to him occur in Latin literature, nor has his influence been detected in Latin epigram, although there is a faint chance that this may change with the full publication of a papyrus of the late third century B.C., containing six hundred lines of Posidippus, of which five hundred are new.<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, we do know from a poem he wrote about himself in old age that he hoped to be placed in the agora at Pella, the city of his birth, unrolling a book—that is, he was to be represented by a statue of himself

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Att. 1.1.5, 3.2, 4.3, 5.7, 6.2, 7, 8.2, 10.3f, 11.3, analyzed by M. Marvin, "Copying in Roman Sculpture: The Replica Series," in *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies and Reproductions* (=Studies in the History of Art 20 [Washington 1989]) 29-45, who draws general conclusions from Cicero's case. For necessary qualification see E. Bartman, "Sculptural Collecting and Display in the Private Realm," in E. Gazda, ed., Roman Art in the Private Sphere (Ann Arbor 1991) 71-88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> For a description of the papyrus and its contents, see G. Bastianini and C. Gallazi, "Il poeta ritrovato," *Ca' de Sass* 121 (1993) 29-34. A selection of twenty-five epigrams have been published by the same scholars as *Posidippo*, *Epigrammi* (Milan 1993).

holding a book roll (SH 705.16f).<sup>9</sup> The poem is preserved in two wax tablets of the first century A.D., written by the same hand. The writer was careless and may have been writing from memory. His orthography reflects the phonetics of everyday speech. Lloyd-Jones, whose analysis of the poem is fundamental, has suggested (supra n.9: 95f=190f) that it was a  $\sigma \varphi \rho \eta \gamma \iota \varsigma$  for a collection of the epigrams of Posidippus.

We know from a proxeny decree of the Aetolian League at Thermum of 263/262 B.C. that the epigrammatist Posidippus came from Pella and retained his Pellaean citizenship, despite a sojourn in Egypt:  $\Pi o[\sigma] \epsilon \iota \delta(\pi \pi \phi \tau \hat{\phi} \epsilon \pi \iota \gamma \rho \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau \sigma \sigma \iota \hat{\phi} (IG IX.1^2 17.24)$ . The other men on the list are predominantly, as would be expected, from northern and central Greece. Posidippus is singled out from the many other honorees by the reference to his calling in life—presumably an indication of his renown. There is at least one other epigraphic attestation: a Delphian proxeny decree of 273/272 B.C. honors a Posidippus and an Asclepiades (FdD III 192.9f)<sup>10</sup>—presumably the epigrammatists Posidippus and Asclepiades. They are also mentioned together as opponents of Callimachus in an ancient commentary on his Aetia ( $\Sigma$  Flor. 4f).

Posidippus' poem begins by invoking the Muses to join him in singing of his old age. He then invokes Apollo's help and asks the god to deliver a loud prophecy, so that the Macedonians might honor him as well as those (if the restoration is correct) on the islands and those who dwell by Asia's shore. The poet now declares that he is of Pellaean descent and expresses his ambition to be represented unrolling a papyrus roll in the agora (SH 705.12-17):

> τοίην ἐκχρήσ(αι)ς καὶ ἐξ ἀδύτων καναχήσαι[ς φωνὴν ἀθα(νά)την, ὡ ἄνα, καὶ κατ' ἐμοῦ,
> ὄφρα με τιμήσωσι Μακηδόνες οι τ' ἐπὶ ν[ήσων οι τ' ᾿Ασίης πάσης γ(ε)ίτονες ἠιόνος.
> Πελλαῖον γένος ἀμόν · ἔοιμι δὲ βίβλον ἑλίσσων †ἀμφω† λαοφόρωι κείμενος εἰν ἀγορῆι.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The basic discussion of the text of the poem and its meaning is H. Lloyd-Jones, "The Seal of Poseidippus," JHS 83 (1963) 75-99 (=Greek Comedy, Hellenistic Literature, Greek Religion and Miscellanea: The Academic Papers of Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones [Oxford 1990] 158-94).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The *architheoros* Posidippus, who led a delegation from Alexandria to Delos and is mentioned in several inscriptions of that island (of which the earliest dates to 257 B.C.), could conceivably be our man (*IDelos* 226.5, 287.85, 296 B.18, 298 A.121, 338 Bc.9, 358.6)

These lines relate the honors that Posidippus hopes to have conferred on him. The poet does not say what honors the Macedonians, those dwelling on the islands, and the dwellers by the Asian shore were to accord him in response to Apollo's prophetic utterance, if they are indeed separate from the mark of distinction for which he hopes in Pella, but they were sure to be concrete signs of recognition. The poet certainly does not mean that he expected people to look admiringly at him and stop their conversations, as they passed him on the street. If we may translate Posidippus' accounting into a prosaic and concrete reality, the first stage must have been the consultation of the Pythian priestess and her prophecy declaring that Posidippus should be honored.<sup>11</sup> The poet's *proxenia* at Delphi may not be unconnected with his expectation that the oracle there would recommend his being honored. The second stage in the procedure would be the Macedonians' and the other groups' action on that recommendation. As a parallel for an oracle's response concerning the honors a city or community should confer on a man, a fragmentary Athenian inscription dating to the 430s B.C. records a prescription by what can only be Pythian Apollo about the honor  $(\tau_{1\mu}\eta)$  to be conferred on various categories of persons receiving public maintenance ( $\sigma(\tau\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma)$  in the prytaneum (IGI<sup>2</sup> 77). The Macedonians whom Posidippus hopes will honor him must in this context mean the assembly (ἐκκλησία) of Macedonians. Who constituted this assembly is uncertain but of no great moment for our purposes.<sup>12</sup>

The precise force of the asyndetic sentence in which Posidippus asserts his Pellaean descent is hard to gauge, but it may well be causal. In that case what the poet says is: as I am from Pella, I should like to be honored there also, in this case with a statue of myself unrolling a scroll to be placed in the agora. The poet, accordingly, passes from the honors to be given him by various larger bodies to the honor that he hopes his native city will confer. One may suspect that Posidippus is not soliciting an honor he did not have good reason to think would be conferred.

The honor that he seeks is very high indeed. The award of a statue in the Athenian agora or elsewhere belonged to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> This Pythian response is missing from the list of responses in J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* (Berkeley 1978).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See N. G. L. Hammond, *The Macedonian State* (Oxford 1989) 60ff.

μέγισται τιμαί that the state accorded major benefactors.<sup>13</sup> The statue in these instances is invariably of bronze. In Athens all the seventeen statues awarded citizens and foreigners in a period from the end of the fourth until the beginning of the second century B.C. were of bronze. Sometimes in the case of foreigners the honorific decree specifies that the statue should be on horseback.<sup>14</sup> The best known of these statues is that for Demosthenes set up in 280 in the Athenian agora on the insistence of his nephew, Demochares. It was done by Polyeuctus ([Plut.] X orat. 847a); according to Plutarch, it was a standing figure in bronze with the fingers intertwined, and is beyond all doubt the model for the marble statues now in the Vatican and Copenhagen (Dem. 30.5-31.2; cf. Richter [n.1] supra] II.216, figs. 1397–1400). Plutarch also tells us that beside it grew a plane tree of modest dimensions (31.2). It will have been one of the plane trees with which Cimon is credited with having adorned the agora (Cim. 13.7, Praecept. reip. ger. 818d).

The invariability of the honor warrants our concluding that Posidippus is talking about a bronze statue of himself. It seems clear from the nature of the desired honor that unless Posidippus suffered from *folie de grandeur*, he must have been a man of great distinction and an important public figure.<sup>15</sup> Were that not the case, he would have had little reason to imagine that a bronze statue of himself would be erected in the agora. Even without considering the potential import for his public standing of the epigrams he wrote celebrating the victories of important persons in the games and commemorating great public monuments, the proxeny degrees from Delphi and Thermum testify to his mark on public life. We may note incidentally that the epigrammatist is the only sufficently important Posidippus to qualify for such a distinction. Any lingering doubts about the identity of the author of the elegaics on the wax tablet and the

<sup>13</sup> See P. Gauthier, Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs (=BCH Suppl. 12 [Paris 1985]) 31-36, 79-92.

<sup>14</sup> A. S. Henry, Honours and Privileges in Athenian Decrees: The Principal Formulae of Athenian Honorary Decrees (Hildesheim 1983) 295.

<sup>15</sup> For a sustained attack on the view that Hellenistic poets were somewhat precious intellectuals and scholars isolated from public life, see Cameron 24–82.

epigrammatist should disappear, once this consideration has been properly weighed.<sup>16</sup>

A bronze statue in the agora, a remarkable but not unparalleled honor for a poet, indicates both that some poets were important public figures and, although some poets might move in the larger international world, that their native cities were anxious to be remembered as the great man's origo. Cameron (45) adduces a further instance of a poet (other than a playwright) accorded a bronze statue by his native city. The Coan Philitas is the last entry in a catalogue of famous poets and their loves by his friend Hermesianax.<sup>17</sup> Hermesianax refers to him as the singer of Bittis, whom the Coan citizens of Eurypylus set up in bronze beneath a plane tree: Philitas, whose words and talk surpassed all others (fr. 7.75ff CA=T8 Nowacki=T1 Kuchenmüller):<sup>18</sup>

> οἶσθα δὲ τὸν ἀοιδόν, ὃν Εὐρυπύλου πολιῆται Κῷοι χάλκειον στῆσαν ὑπὸ πλατάνῳ, Βιττίδα μολπάζοντα θοήν, περὶ πάντα Φιλήταν ῥήματα καὶ πᾶσαν τρυόμενον λαλίην.

Pohlenz thought that the citizens of Cos had portrayed in the statue a scene from the *Bittis* in which Philitas sang under a plane tree.<sup>19</sup> Wilamowitz was harshly critical of the violence done the syntax by this interpretation of the Greek and also of the implausibility of a bronze honorific statue that incorporated

<sup>16</sup> Scholars are curiously hesitant to acknowledge that the author of the elegiacs on old age is the epigrammatist, despite Lloyd-Jones' case (*supra* n.8) for their identity.

<sup>17</sup> An interesting curiosity of scholarship is W. Kuchenmüller's attempt (*Philetae Coi Reliquiae* [diss.Berlin 1928] 25–28) to argue, despite Ov. *Tr.* 1.6.2 (*nec tantum Coo Battis amata suo est*) that Philetas' true love was not a woman but his learned work on glosses. For the friendship of Philitas and Hermesianax:  $\Sigma$ Nic. *Ther.* 3=T 9 Nowacki=T 20a Kuchenmüller.

<sup>18</sup> For Cos as the city of Eurypylus (Κῶς Εὐρυπύλοιο πόλιν): *Il.* 2.677; for the genealogy of Eurypylus: Hes. *Eoiae* fr. 43a.55–60 M.-W.

<sup>19</sup> M. Pohlenz, "Die hellenistische Poesie und die Philosophie," in XAPITE $\Sigma$ Friedrich Leo zum sechzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht (Berlin 1911) 111: "Die Koer haben in ihrem Standbild eine Situation aus der Bittis festgehalten, haben ihn dargestellt, wie er unter einer alten Platane seine Lied singt"; essentially the same understanding of the Greek in S. Sherwin-White, Ancient Cos (=Hypomnemata 51 [Göttingen 1978]) 233, whose translation of the Greek implies that Philitas is represented serenading Bittis, and P. Knox, "Philitas and Roman Poetry," PLILS 7 (1993) 66, whose rendering suggests that the statue was of Philitas singing of Bittis. a plane tree.<sup>20</sup> It is exceedingly unlikely, as Wilamowitz realized, that the statue departed from the conventions of honorific statues for literary figures. Philitas will, accordingly, have been represented sitting or standing holding a papyrus roll. The plane tree, like that beside the statue of Demosthenes in the Athenian agora, will have provided shade in the agora of Cos.

Hermesianax mentioned Philitas in this way in part to put his place of birth on record, but that is not the whole story. Evidently the distinction of being immortalized in bronze by one's fellow-citizens was sufficiently unusual for Hermesianax to work it into his reference to Philitas' Coan origins. Philitas cut, if anything, an even broader swathe than Posidippus in the larger world. His bronze statue testifies to his importance. The chronology of Philitas' life is far from clear, but he would appear to have been born ca 340 B.C.,<sup>21</sup> which would fit well with his having tutored Ptolemy II Philadelphus, born on Cos in 309. His position as tutor will have taken him to Alexandria, but he evidently returned to Cos. His statue will have been erected before that of Posidippus and may have served as something of a precedent for the statue that Posidippus hoped to see set up in the agora of Pella. The statue was placed under a plane tree.<sup>22</sup> As plane trees are not to be found in theaters, it is likely that the statue was located in the other spot in the city in which we know that honorific statues were placed and plane trees were planted for adornment: the agora.

Posidippus hopes that this statue will be placed in the  $\lambda \alpha \circ \phi \circ \rho \circ \varsigma$   $\dot{\alpha} \circ \rho \circ \eta$ .  $\lambda \alpha \circ \phi \circ \rho \circ \varsigma$  is normally predicated of roads and is used as a substantive to mean a road. Is Posidippus using it in a weakened sense to mean "filled with people" or does it retain its original sense and mean "an agora through which people moved in numbers?" We should keep in mind that an agora may be little more than a widening of a road. The

<sup>21</sup> Kuchenmüller (supra n.15) 22; P. M. Fraser, Hellenistic Alexandria (Oxford 1972) II 464 n.19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin 1913) 289 n.4. Similarly, A. Nowacki, *Philitae Coi fragmenta poetica* (diss.Münster 1927) 81: "Statuam igitur poetae aëneam Coi collocaverunt (ut Ararto Solenses et saepe Graeci poetis ac poetriis) sub platano quadam."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> It is impossible to say whether the fragment of Philitas ( $\theta \rho \eta \sigma \sigma \sigma \theta \alpha n \lambda \alpha \tau \alpha \nu \omega \gamma \rho \alpha \eta \eta \eta \sigma n$ , fr. 14 CA), quoted at Ath. 13.192E to illustrate verbs of sitting, has any bearing on Hermesianax's description of the statue or where the statue was placed. Pohlenz (*supra* n.17: 111 n.2) assumes that the fragment came from the *Bittis*. For an account of speculation on that topic see Nowacki (*supra* n.18) 81f.

Panathenaic Way runs through the Athenian agora. Cyrene provides an instance of a wide processional way forming an agora: its founder-hero Battis built a road for processions, which forms the agora where he is buried (Pind. Pyth. 5.90-93).<sup>23</sup> A scholiast ( $\Sigma a Pyth$ . 5.92) says that this road ( $\sigma\kappa\nu\rho\omega\tau\dot{\alpha}$   $\dot{\delta}\delta\dot{\varsigma}$ ) denoted the Skyrote platea in Cyrene and that the temple of Demeter is found there. The agora in Pella may also have functioned as a processional way.

It may be worth quoting in this connection Eustathius' suggestion (ad Il. 18.497:  $\lambda \alpha \circ i \delta' \epsilon i v \dot{\alpha} \gamma \circ \rho \hat{\eta} \check{\epsilon} \sigma \alpha v \dot{\alpha} \theta \rho \circ \circ i$ ) that the homonymy of  $\dot{\alpha} \gamma \circ \rho \dot{\alpha}$  meant that it could stand for both a  $\lambda \alpha \circ \phi \circ \rho \circ \varsigma$  and the place where people met, and as such it both looked back to what had gone before, which is the description of the wedding procession through the city, and looked forward to what was to come, which is the legal dispute.<sup>24</sup> The idea that  $\dot{\alpha} \gamma \circ \rho \dot{\alpha}$  can mean both "thoroughfare" and "gathering place" no doubt reflects that thoroughfare and agora are sometimes identical.

Posidippus' κείμενος, used to characterize his presence in the agora, denotes placing a statue. A brief perusal of Pausanias' usage settles the meaning of the term and makes it quite clear that Posidippus is talking about a statue of himself.<sup>25</sup> The term tells us nothing about how Posidippus will be represented. It certainly does not mean that he will be depicted in a recumbent pose, or that Posidippus expected to be buried in the agora, an honor usually reserved for the founder-hero of a city, which is not the position of Posidippus. There is, as we have noted, a hero-shrine to Battus in the agora at Cyrene and almost certainly a similar shrine in a prominent position in the archaic agora of Megara Hyblaea. Sacrifices to Adrastus were performed at his shrine in the agora of Sicyon; Cleisthenes is supposed to have established in the prytaneum there a hero cult for Melampous intended to replace that for Adrastus (Hdt. 5.67.1-4). The practice persisted into Hellenistic times, as is now known from the hero shrine established for the philosopher

<sup>23</sup> Cf. F. Chamoux, Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades (=BEFAR 177 [Paris 1953]) 131-34.

<sup>24</sup> Eust. Il. 1157.13–17: ἀνύει δὲ τοῦτο ἡ ὑμωνυμία τῆς ἀγορᾶς. εἰ μὲν γὰρ λαοῦ ἀγορὰ ἡ λαοφόφος νοηθείη, συμπληροῦ ὁ λόγος τὴν τοῦ γάμου ἕκφρασιν ... εἰ ἔστιν ἀγορὰ ὁ δημηγορικὸς τόπος, ἄρχεται ἐντεῦθεν ἡ ἑηθησομένη δικανικὴ ἕκφρασις. I have not discovered Eustathius' source, which is certainly not the exegetic bT scholia.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Paus. 1.3.5, 8.2, 9.4, 14.1, 15.3, 16.1, 17.2, 18.3, 7, 8, 21.1f, 24.2 bis, 27.1, 28.6.

Cineas in the agora at Ai Khanoum in northern Afghanistan at the junction of the Kokcha and Oxus Rivers.

Posidippus wishes to be represented unrolling a book roll (βίβλον ἑλίσσων).<sup>26</sup> There are in fact no statues, either sitting or standing, of men unrolling a book roll so as to read it. A painting from the House of Menander in Pompeii depicts the playwright seated on a chair and reading a book held in his left hand, but it is unlikely that this reflects a statue.<sup>27</sup> Both standing and seated statues of literary men represent them holding unrolled scrolls. We should not then take Posidippus too literally. The mere holding of the book roll will have symbolically represented his reading. We may infer that Posidippus knew the statue type in which a man sits or stands holding a book roll. It is after all unlikely that he invented it for himself. As both standing and seated figures hold rolled books, it is really impossible to decide conclusively how Posidippus imagined that he would be represented. Seated statues of literary men holding book rolls are much more common than standing statues of men holding books. The latter would seem to be more appropriate for an orator or for someone wont to declaim in public, but this is only an unsubstantiated impression. Based on available information, it is reasonable to conclude that Posidippus looked forward to seeing a seated bronze statue of himself in the agora at Pella holding a book roll.

The statue of Posidippus in the Vatican could represent the epigrammatist from Pella and could be a copy of the bronze statue that Posidippus hoped would be placed in the agora of Pella. But just because there was in all likelihood a seated bronze statue of Posidippus holding a book roll in the Pellaean agora, it does not follow that the Athenian Posidippus could not have been similarly represented. The chances are, after all, that if there was to be a statue of a literary man, he would be represented as a seated figure holding a scroll in his right hand.

That Greek statues, whether in bronze or in marble, found their way to Rome in large numbers is not in dispute.<sup>28</sup> Bronze statues in particular come to Rome among the booty of victorious generals. In M. Fulvius Nobilior's triumph of 187 B.C.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> For the expression see Pfeiffer ad Call. fr. 468, to which add Anth. Pal.

<sup>9.161;</sup> cf. esp. Rev. 6:13: καὶ ὁ οὐφρανὸς ἀπεχωρίσθη ὡς βιβλίον εἰλισσόμενον.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Richter (*supra* n.1) 228 no. 7, fig. 1515.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> For a catalogue of some factors responsible for the transfer of large collections of sculpture from the Greek world to Rome, see E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (London 1985) 194 n.41.

over the Aetolians and Cephallonia there were 285 bronze statues and 230 of marble (Liv. 39.5.15). Statues are not recorded among the booty displayed in Aemilius Paullus' triumph for his victory of 168 B.C. over Perseus at Pydna (Plut. Aem. 32-33). Twenty years later, however, Q. Metellus Macedonicus brought back from Macedonia a squadron of equestrian statues.<sup>29</sup> They were unquestionably done in bronze. If an occasion needs to be found for the arrival of the statue of the epigrammatist Posidippus in Rome, it could have been in one of these two Macedonian triumphs.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Vell. Pat. 1.11.3: quique hanc turmam statuarum equestrium, quae frontem aedium spectant, hodieque maximum ornamentum eius loci, ex Macedonia detulit.

<sup>30</sup> I am grateful to the German Archaeological Institute in Rome for the photograph of the statue of Posidippus in the Vatican. I am indebted also to James Russell for help in an area that lies far outside my proper field of competence and to Kenneth Lapatin for saving me from several embarrassing misstatements. I owe a further debt of gratitude to Alan Cameron for very generously letting me read the camera-ready copy of his forthcoming *Callimachus and his Critics* and for a number of fruitful discussions that have brought some of my ideas into better focus. None of the above named can be held accountable for the mistakes that remain.