

## ‘PURPUREOS SPARGAM FLORES’: A GREEK MOTIF IN THE *AENEID*?

The interplay of Greek and Roman motifs in the Marcellus eulogy at the end of the Sixth Book of the *Aeneid* presents a complicated study in literary history.<sup>1</sup> The association of roses with the dead is more Roman than Greek, but perhaps not so much so as one might imagine.<sup>2</sup> Roses are not entirely absent from the Greek milieu, and in fact Vergil apparently drew on Greek rose motifs for the eulogy. Archaeology reveals that roses were an important symbol on tomb stelai, along with the epigraphical references to roses. In general the rose in Greek inscriptions was reserved for girls, but at least one is for a boy, and another for a youth of twenty-two.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, Vergil may well have been alluding to Bion’s (?) *Lament for Adonis*, where the rose motif has striking importance.

As other parts of the *Aeneid* reflect a movement from Greek to Roman, so the transition from ‘...manibus date lilia plenis’ (6.883), recalling the Dioskorides epigram – where (white) lilies are strewn upon a tomb:

Βάλλεθ’ ὑπὲρ τύμβου πολιά κρίνα, καὶ τὰ συνήθη  
τύμπαν’ ἐπὶ στήλῃ ρήσσειτ’ Ἀλεξιμένους

(AP 7.485)<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See R. G. Austin, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Sextus* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 272–3; R. J. Edgeworth, ‘The Purple Flower Image in the *Aeneid*’, *ZKP* 127 (1983), 143–7; F. E. Brenk, ‘*Aurum Spes et Purpurei Flores*: The Eulogy for Marcellus in *Aeneid* VI’, *AJP* 107 (1986), 218–28; esp. 224 n. 13.

<sup>2</sup> See, in particular, R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana, 1942), pp. 135–41, esp. 138–41. He felt insecure about the origin of the *Rosalia* but supposed its probable origin as Cisalpine Gaul, with it spreading later to Greece (p. 140). He cites (p. 130 and n. 293; p. 131 and n. 297) two Greek epitaphs in which roses appear with other flowers, but they are in the Roman world: G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca e Lapidibus Conlecta* (Berlin, 1878), 548, 3–4 (= W. Peek, *Griechische Grabgedichte* [Berlin, 1960], 341 = W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* i [Berlin, 1955], 1409) (Nîmes, 2nd cent. A.D.?) – roses with *ia* (violets) and *narkissos*, and *EG* 547a 1–6 (= *GG* 463) (Carales in Sardinia, 1st cent. A.D., found with another Greek epigram and 8 Latin ones) – with *ia*, *krina* (lilies), *narkissos*, and *hyakinthos*. The only other appearance of the *rhodon* in Kaibel’s index is 570 = *CIG* 6201 (Rome, no earlier than 2nd cent. A.D.), where a young girl is compared to a budding rose cut down in the spring. R. Seaford, ‘The Tragic Wedding’, *JHS* 107 (1987), 106–30, cites (112) an epitaph from Leontopolis, 1st cent. A.D., for a young girl buried in her wedding attire, ‘like a rose in a garden’ (*GV* 1238; cf. 1162.8, 1801), noting M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge, 1974), p. 195. A.-M. Vêrilhac, *ΠΑΙΔΕΣ ΩΡΟΙ. Poésie funéraire*, i (Athens, 1978), pp. 63–4 n. 39, gives an inscription from Antioch of Pisidia, 2nd–3rd cent. A.D. (*GG* 383 = *GV* 575), where an eight-year-old boy is compared to a rose, ‘the beautiful flower of the Erotes’; and she mentions (ii [Athens, 1982], pp. 343–4) *GG* 341, *GV* i.1238, 1245, 1335, and 1401. Most of these verses relate the rose to untimely death.

<sup>3</sup> See Vêrilhac, ii.344, citing the inscription at Antioch for an eight-year-old boy (*GG* 383 = *GV* i.575), that for a twenty-two-year-old youth in Syria (*GV* i.1335 – 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D.) and (i.64–5 n. 40) that for a four-year-old boy at Rome (= *GV* i.401 – 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D.). She notes, ii.344, that the rose is usually reserved for young girls or women, with no exceptions before the Imperial period, and that the evocation of a precise flower – only in the Imperial period – is always a rose, with only two exceptions, one for a youth named *Hyakinthos* (ii.345).

<sup>4</sup> A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams* i (Cambridge, 1965), p. 89 (Dioskorides 25.1623–1628 = *AP* 7.485); commentary, ii.258–9, with reference to Nikandros, fr. 74.70.

to 'purpureos spargam flores...' (6.884), suggests we are leaving the Greek for the Roman world:

'tu Marcellus eris. manibus date lilia plenīs  
purpureos spargam flores animamque nepotis  
his saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani  
munere.'

(6.883–6)<sup>5</sup>

Classical scholars describe the custom of strewing roses on tombs as characteristically Roman rather than Greek. Many Roman inscriptions record foundations for the annual strewing of roses. Moreover, Romans employed *purpureus* both for the *uiola* and the *rosa*, the principal flowers used in funeral ritual.<sup>6</sup> Finally, the frequent appearance in Roman tombs of showers of red roses on a white ground may reflect this rite and not merely the symbolic expression of the hope of a blessed afterlife.<sup>7</sup>

The rose, a natural symbol for youth, also expresses death. Horace may, in fact, be alluding to this association in *Odes* 3.15, where the 'purple flower of the rose' ('non citharae decent, nec flos purpureus rosae') (14–15) is linked with the girl's proximity to death ('maturo propior...funeri...' 4). Sinister tones were suggested to Greeks in the supposed etymology of 'purple' (*porphyreos*) – interpreted as 'swelling' or 'agitated', and indicating the colour of blood. Popular Greek etymology, in fact, derived the colour from the gushing of blood to the surface of the skin or departing from a wound.<sup>8</sup> Such, apparently, is the *jeu d'esprit*, in Theokritos' *Fifth Idyll* (125), where Komatas, addressing the spring Krathis, implores that she 'gush' – or turn 'purple' – with wine (*porphyrois*).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Austin (p. 204, on line 6.641, and pp. 272–3), has some good observations on this passage. He prefers purple or bright red for *purpureus* at 6.884; see also Edgeworth, 143–7. R. B. Egan, 'Λειριόεις κτλ. in Homer and Elsewhere', *Glotta* 63 (1985), 14–24, argues that since λείριον, originally associated with moisture, later received the meaning 'flower, lily, etc.', it is hazardous to designate it 'white lily' (23–4). Thus, some *lilia* could be regarded as 'purpurei flores'.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Lattimore, p. 136 and n. 334; p. 137 n. 346.

<sup>7</sup> Lattimore, pp. 137–41; J. Toynbee and J. Ward Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter and the Vatican Excavations* (London, 1956), p. 76; J. M. C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (Ithaca, 1971), pp. 62–3. P. L. Thomas, 'Red and White: A Roman Color Symbol', *Rh. Mus.* 122 (1979), 310–16, cites (312 n. 3) Propertius 1.17.21 ('molliter et tenera poneret ossa rosa') and Tibullus 1.3.61–2, where roses growing in the underworld are associated with youth and death.

<sup>8</sup> For scepticism about the etymology, see H. Gippur, 'Purpur. Weg und Leistung eines umstrittenen Farbworts', *Glotta* 42 (1964), 39–69, esp. 41–4 (including, 68, a swatch coloured by the original dye!); C. Rowe, 'Conceptions of Colour and Colour Symbolism in the Ancient World', *Eranos Jahrb.* 41 (1972), 327–64, esp. 336–8; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris, 1968), p. 930; E. Irwin, *Colour Terms in Greek Poetry* (Toronto, 1974), pp. 18–19, esp. n. 31; B. H. Fowler, 'The Archaic Aesthetic', *AJP* 105 (1984), 119–49, esp. 128–9.

*Porphyreos* is a formulaic epithet of death (*thanatos*) in battle – therefore, youthful (*Iliad* 5.82–3; 16.333–4; 20.476–7). The stress on blood suggests that this colour is meant (5.82; 16.333; 20.476).

<sup>9</sup> KO. 'Ἰμέρα ἀνθ' ὕδατος ρείτω γάλα, καὶ τὸ δέ, Κράθι,  
οἶνω πορφύροις, τὰ δέ τοι σία καρπὸν ἐνείκαι. (5.124–5)

A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus* i (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 48–9, translates πορφύροις (line 125) as 'reddens'; see commentary (ii.114) on line 125, referring to *Iliad* 14.16, where the sea turns 'purple' (i.e. dark) with a swelling wave. The archaic meaning might be 'having sheen or iridescence', e.g. at *Iliad* 17.547 (rainbow) and 16.391 (sea). See R. J. Edgeworth, "'Off-Color" Allusions in Roman Poetry', *Glotta* 65 (1987), 134–7; 135–6 – citing (134 n. 1; 135 nn. 4 and 5)

Vergil's literary inspiration in employing *purpureus* with flowers, then, is indispensable for a better understanding of the Marcellus passage. His own precedents, indeed, foreshadow the *Aeneid*. In the lament for Daphnis of the *Fifth Eclogue*, he follows Theokritos very precisely, but the actual effect is the apparent combination of Roman and Greek funereal motifs:

pro molli uiola, pro purpureo narcisso  
carduus et spinis surgit paliurus acutis.

(38–9)

Here Vergil reproduces the two flowers used by Theokritos (1.132–3), the *ion* (violet) and *narkissos*. By chance the *uiola* was a prominent flower in Roman funerals, but even the *litterati* were probably unaware of the identical Indo-European root in *ui-o-la/ῖon*.

Elsewhere, Vergil gratuitously introduces the *purpureus* motif into a traditional scene, as in the *Ninth Eclogue*. Here, recasting the song of the Kyklops for Galateia in Theokritos' *Eleventh Idyll*, he associates *purpureus* with spring:

hic uer purpureum, uarios hic flumina circum  
fundit humus flores,...

(40–1)

Though Theokritos began with mention of laurel, cypress, and grapevine at 45–6, he does in fact offer something of a precedent for Vergil, since the Kyklops attempts to seduce Galateia with the offer of white lilies (*krina*) and the 'scarlet poppy' (*makon*) (11.56–7).

Vergil at times is rather sombre, emphasizing the relationship of *purpureus* to sacrifice or blood. In the Fifth Book of the *Aeneid*, where the hero performs postponed rites for his deceased father, Vergil suddenly imbues the haunting words of the *Ninth Eclogue* with a ritualistic quality:

hic duo rite mero libans carchesia Baccho  
fundit humi, duo lacte nouo, dum sanguine sacro,  
purpureosque iacit flores ac talia fatur:  
'salue, sancte parens, iterum; saluete, recepti  
nequiquam cineres animaeque umbraeque paternae.  
...'

(5.77–81)

Vergil hints faintly at 'swelling' and blood in the *Eclogue* ('uer purpureum ... fundit humus flores'), but in *Aeneid* 5 he almost revels in the associations: 'fundit humi ... sanguine sacro ... purpureos ... flores.'

Similarly, in the Eighth Book where Euryalus' death is modelled on Gorgythion's in *Iliad* 8.306–8, Vergil added the images of blood and 'purpureus flos' to Homeric and Catullan themes. The first compares the drooping head of a warrior, burdened by his casque, to a poppy drenched with rain in the springtime:

μήκων δ' ὥς ἐτέρωσε κάρη βάλεν, ἥ τ' ἐνὶ κήπῳ,  
καρπῷ βριθομένη νοτίησί τε εἰαρινῇσιν,  
ὥς ἐτέρωσ' ἤμυσε κάρη πύληκι βαρυνθέν.

(8.306–8)

his own article, 'Does "Purpureus" Mean "Bright"?'', *Glotta* 57 (1979), 281–91; Irwin, 18, 103–10, 201; Gippur; and H. Dürbeck, *Zur Charakteristik der griechischen Farbenbezeichnungen* (Bonn, 1977), pp. 129–37, 175–7.

Austin, citing parallels in Greek poetry, would understand 'uer purpureum' (*Eclogues* 9.40) as 'bright' or 'dazzling' (p. 204, on *Aeneid* 6.641).

Catullus spoke mysteriously of an anonymous flower – presumably also in the springtime:

qui illius culpa cecidit uelut prati  
ultimi flos, praetereunte postquam  
tactus aratro est.

(11.22–4)<sup>10</sup>

Catullus' anonymous flower becomes the 'purpureus flos' – now drooping like the Homeric poppy, and the image of surging blood, absent from Vergil's predecessors, appears:

it cruor inque umeros ceruix conlapsa recumbit:  
purpureus ueluti cum flos succisus aratro  
languescit moriens, lassoue papauera collo  
demisere caput pluuiā cum forte grauantur.

(9.434–7)

Moreover, the close proximity and initial positions of 'it cruor' and 'purpureus' suggest that Vergil, like Theokritos, intended to exploit the ('purple') πορφύρεος – πορφύρω (swell, gush) etymology. Vergil's allusion in the *Ninth Eclogue* to the 'scarlet poppy' of Theokritos' *Eleventh Idyll* may represent the missing link between Homer's poppy image and Vergil's 'purpureus flos succisus'. The ritualistic tendency in Vergil emerges clearly from these passages. Taking images from Roman daily life, religion, and literature, he refined them to exploit the emotional rapport and tension between roses and youth, blood, the rites of the dead, and finally, the life beyond the grave.

However, since Vergil's horizons were hardly limited to Homer and Catullus, we should search for other poetic veins. He loved to draw inspiration simultaneously from all periods of Greek literature – the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic. And, in fact, precedent for his rose images can be found in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, a fragment of Pindar (129 Snell), and Bion's *Lament for Adonis*.

In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* among the other flowers (crocuses, violets, irises, lilies, hyacinths, and narcissus) that Persephone was picking at the time of her abduction, were roses:

ἄνθεά τ' αἰνυμένην ῥόδα καὶ κρόκον ἦδ' ἰα καλὰ

(6)

καὶ ῥοδέας κάλυκας καὶ λείρια, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι,

(427)<sup>11</sup>

In fact, line 6.884 of the *Aeneid* – where roses and lilies appear in conjunction – is particularly close to line 427 of the *Hymn*. The preceding line of the *Hymn* indicates clearly that the lilies (*leiria*) are different from the *narkissos*, and thus correspond to the Vergilian *lilia*. Moreover, in Vergil's own time the Rhodophoria was an important festival of the Hellenistic Isis, often identified with Demeter.<sup>12</sup> The syncretism of Demeter with Isis may have led to associating the Egyptian goddess with roses. Thus,

<sup>10</sup> K. Quinn, *Catullus, the Poems* (London, 1970), p. 129 and H. P. Syndikus, *Catullus* i (Darmstadt, 1984), p. 126, only find one remote Greek parallel – Sappho, fr. 105c LP = LGS 225, the hyacinth in the mountain trampled by the herdsmen.

<sup>11</sup> Text of N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford, 1974); see his comment, pp. 291–2, and that of F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1974), pp. 83–5.

<sup>12</sup> F. Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée*, I: *Le culte d'Isis et les Ptolémées* (Leiden, 1973), p. 224; J. G. Griffiths, *Apuleius of Madauros. The Isis-Book (Metamorphoses, Book XI)* (Leiden, 1975), pp. 159–61.

the rapport between roses and the underworld can be seen as originating in the Greek world, both in ritual and in literature, independently of the Roman phenomenon.<sup>13</sup>

Since the fragment from Pindar is almost certainly a funeral lament (*threnos*), it is very appropriate to Vergil's own eulogy. We find it cited in the *Consolation to Apollonios* (101F–122B), an essay attributed to Plutarch, but rejected by distinguished Plutarchan scholars.<sup>14</sup> Its manner of composition suggests that it drew heavily from a common stock of contemporary consolation themes in the early Empire, which should have been known to Vergil. The Pindaric *threnos*, which probably dealt with youthful death, had particular significance for the death of the young 'Apollonios', the subject of the consolation. Vergil's literary circle could be expected to remember that the meadows of the underworld contained roses and were associated with youthful death, or even that this image was a commonplace in consolatory literature:

τοῖσι λάμπει μὲν μένος αἰλίου  
τὰν ἐνθάδε νύκτα κάτω,  
φοινικορόδοις <δ'> ἐνὶ λειμώνεσσι προάστιον αὐτῶν  
καὶ λιβάνων σκιερὰν < >  
καὶ χρυσοκάρποισιν βέβριθε <δενδρέοις>  
καὶ τοῖ μὲν ἵπποις γυμνασίοις <τε-->  
τοὶ δὲ πεσσοῖς  
τοὶ δὲ φορμίγγεσσι τέρπονται, παρὰ δὲ σφισιν  
εὐανθὴς ἅπας τέθλαεν ὄλβος·  
ὁδμὰ δ' ἐρατὸν κατὰ ἴχνη κίδνυται  
ταῖεῖ... ὑμάτα μειγνύντων πύρι τηλεφανεῖ

(1–11)<sup>15</sup>

In Bion's *Lament for Adonis*, the rose, which had already been related to youth, love, blood, and death in earlier masterpieces, becomes closely associated with Aphrodite. In this poem, which should have been well known to Vergil and his circle, we find the following touches: Adonis' blood turning crimson the flowers it touches (35), flowers springing forth from it (65), and the hero being laid to rest in 'purple' robes (79):

κέκλιται ἄβρὸς Ἀδωνις ἐν εἵμασι πορφυρέοισιν,

<sup>13</sup> For rosettes on Attic tombstones, see, for example, H. Riemann, *Kerameikos. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen, ii: Die Skulpturen vom 5. Jahrhundert bis in römische Zeit* (Berlin, 1940), p. 40, fig. 36 (c. 350 B.C.), p. 41, fig. 37 (c. 340/330 B.C.), p. 54, fig. 52 (end of 1st cent. A.D.); A. Brueckner, *Der Friedhof am Eridanos bei der Hagia Triada zu Athen* (Berlin, 1909), p. 71, fig. 43 (4th cent. B.C.), p. 105, fig. 60 (4th cent. B.C.) 108, fig. 68 and pp. 110–11, fig. 71 (4th cent. B.C.). The first is reproduced as well in G. Karo, *An Attic Cemetery. Excavations in the Kerameikos at Athens* (Philadelphia, 1943), p. 32 and plate 32. All these stelai are of males. See also U. Vedder, *Untersuchungen zur plastischen Ausstattung attischer Grabanlagen des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Frankfurt, 1985), p. 332, figs. 25, 26. Reviewing Vedder's book in *Gnomon* 59 (1987), 345–9, B. Schmalz remarks (348) that the rosettes were first predominant in the second half of the 4th cent. B.C., and apparently were in competition with Sirens as a symbol for youthful death.

<sup>14</sup> The authenticity is defended by J. Hani in the Budé edition of J. Defradas, J. Hani, R. Klaerr, eds., *Plutarque. Oeuvres Morales ii* (Paris, 1985), pp. 3–12; but rejected by F. H. Sandbach, 'Rhythm and Authenticity in Plutarch's *Moralia*', *CQ* 33 (1939), 194–203 – see esp. 197–8, K. Ziegler, *Plutarchos von Chaironeia* (Stuttgart, 1964), pp. 158–61 (= *RE* xxi [1951] cols. 636–962), and R. Flacelière, rev. of Hani, *Plutarque. Consolation à Apollonios* (Paris, 1972), *AC* 42 (1973), 251–3.

For the Pindaric *threnos* in Plutarch see B. Einarson and P. H. De Lacy, *Plutarch's Moralia xiv* (Cambridge, MA, 1967), pp. 338–9; and more generally, H. Lloyd-Jones, 'Pindar and the After-Life', in A. Hurst, ed., *Pindare. Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique* 31 (Vandoeuvres-Genève, 1985), pp. 245–79; pp. 255–6; and C. Brillante, 'La rappresentazione del sogno nel frammento di un *threnos* pindarico', *QUCC* 25 (1987), 35–51.

<sup>15</sup> Text of B. Snell, rev. H. Maehler, *Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis ii* (Leipzig, 1989), p. 118. Ps.-Plutarch, *Moralia* 120c has: φοινικορόδιαί τε λειμώνες; Plutarch, *Moralia* 1130c: φοινικορόδοις ἐν λειμώνεσσι.

but even more explicitly, his blood may be aetiologically linked to the origin of the rose:

αἶμα ῥόδον τίκτει, τὰ δὲ δάκρυα τὰν ἀνεμώναν.

(66)<sup>16</sup>

Perhaps the Adonis passage influenced Servius, who writes on *Aeneid* 6.884: 'purpureos flores...propter sanguinis similitudinem'.<sup>17</sup> Pausanias, in fact, explains that the myrtle and rose were sacred to Aphrodite (6.24.6–7) and belong to the myth of Adonis.<sup>18</sup> The marble statue known as the Esquiline Venus, which seems related to the statue of Venus Genetrix, employed the rose motif, probably as the flower of Aphrodite–Venus.<sup>19</sup>

If the flowers in Bion 75 are roses:

βάλλε δέ νιν στεφάνοισι καὶ ἄνθεσι πάντα σὺν αὐτῷ·

then there is some similarity between this line and *Aeneid* 6.883–4:

...manibus date lilia plenis  
purpureos spargam flores...

An allusion to Bion's *Lament* would be a splendid touch. It would idealize the youthful beauty of Marcellus by placing the tragic loss of Venus' descendant in the context of her earlier sorrow for the Adonis of myth, as transmitted through a masterpiece of Hellenistic literature. Moreover, it would agree with the prominence of roses in Roman funerary ritual. Youthful beauty and tragedy are idealized through the mythological paradigm in a generic way, but also, more particularly, the divine origin of the *gens Iulia* through the love of Aphrodite–Venus for Anchises is hinted at. Vergil thus alludes to Venus' remote presence, as Aeneas and Anchises gaze on their descendant. Aeneas himself, as so often indicated in the *Aeneid*, was the fruit of Venus' love for Anchises – depicted in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* as problematic. The rose motif – with Anchises, the distant ancestor of Marcellus asking his son to strew the flower of Venus, the goddess of love – thus ironically leads one back to Aphrodite and Greece.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> In verses on Hyacinthos by Euphorion, well-known to Roman poets, the 'purple' hyacinthos 'wailing letters' springs up in the sand where Aias had fallen (fr. 40 Powell):

Πορφυρέη ὑάκινθε, σὲ μὲν μία φῆμις ἀοιδῶν  
'Ροιτεῖς ἀμάθοισι δεδοπότης Αἰακίδαο  
εἶαρος ἀντέλλειν γεγραμμένα κωκύουσιν.

No doubt Euphorion then related the aetiological myth of the flower's origin from the blood of the boy slain inadvertently by Apollo. The author is grateful to the Editors for this reference.

<sup>17</sup> G. Thilo and H. Hagen, eds., *Servii Grammatici qui Feruntur in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii* ii (Leipzig, 1884), p. 122: 884. PVRPVREOS FLORES ut saepe <V 79> diximus, propter sanguinis similitudinem, quia aut anima est, aut animae sedes.

<sup>18</sup> See M. H. Rocha-Pereira, *Pausanias. Graeciae Descriptio* ii (Leipzig, 1977), p. 139.

<sup>19</sup> The support consists of a small chest decorated with rose-like blossoms and a uraeus snake twisting round a vase. See B. Andreae et al., eds., W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*. ii (4th edn, Tübingen, 1966), pp. 304–5 no. 1484; J. Charbonneaux, *La sculpture grecque classique* ii (Paris, 1954), p. 69, pl. 45; G. M. A. Richter, *Ancient Italy* (Ann Arbor, 1955), pp. 49–50, figs. 168–71. Richter dates the original to c. 460 B.C.; Charbonneaux to c. 440 B.C.; 'Helbig' sees a reworking of a 5th cent. B.C. statue under late Hellenistic influence to suggest Aphrodite–Isis, and notes the relationship to Venus Genetrix.

<sup>20</sup> The writer is grateful to Professor M. C. J. Putnam of Brown University for reading the manuscript and making several helpful suggestions.