

Visualizing the *Aeneid* in Roman Décor

By

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Abstract

This thesis investigates visual imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* in Roman décor, grouping the evidence diachronically. The ancient and modern theory of mimesis provides a framework to interpret how the imagery evokes the text; the imagery was not intended as an illustration. I discuss regional patterns and variations in relation to diachronic patterns. Artisans used *Aeneid* imagery which matched with Roman tastes for mythological imagery in art, such as scenes of couples and heroes. In Late Antiquity, patrons in the eastern empire preferred more general scenes, while patrons in the western empire chose to portray narrative episodes. Artisans and patrons used copybooks to transmit imagery during the imperial period, but in Late Antiquity imagery was inspired by theatrical performances, copybooks, or other popular imagery. Despite the *Aeneid*'s popularity as a text, the evidence herein confirms earlier suggestions that the visual and textual trajectories of the *Aeneid* were separate.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Statement of the problem

Despite Macrobius' statement "that painters and sculptors and...actors..." (*Sat.* 5.17.5) reproduced the story of Dido and Aeneas frequently, and despite the well-attested literary popularity of the *Aeneid*, Romans did not often employ imagery of the *Aeneid* in their décor. Perhaps the public usage of this imagery overshadowed or impacted how people used this imagery in as citizens. Since Romans utilized Greek mythology in décor frequently, the paucity of *Aeneid* imagery, reflecting a mythical, pseudo-historical account of Rome's epic past, is surprising.¹ This thesis investigates the reception of imagery related to the *Aeneid* in Roman décor, grouping the evidence diachronically, to understand the patterns of where and when this imagery was popular, how the imagery spread, and whether the imagery was truly inspired by the *Aeneid* as a text.

Theoretical Framework

One question that arises in the study of mythological imagery in art is the relationship, if any, between literary versions of the myth and visual renderings. While some scholars explore motivations for employing specific mythological imagery,² other scholars are skeptical that any images from Roman art illustrate scenes from specific literary sources.³ One method of interpreting the relationship between art and text is mimesis, or imitative reproduction;⁴ after investigating other methods of discussing art and text in Roman décor, mimesis offered the best interpretative framework. Mimesis has only been more recently employed in Roman art to

¹ Wallace-Hadrill 1983; Anderson 2006, 157; For discussion of Roman historical narratives in art, see Jones 1910, Koeppl 1983, 1985, Peirce 1989, Holliday 2002, and Beckmann 2011, 130–2.

² Newby 2010, 2016; Valladares 2011.

³ Leach 1988.

⁴ Dalwood et al. 2013, 203.

describe the relationship between art and text, however, because scholars originally started with ideas of ekphrasis and illustration.⁵ Scholars mostly utilized ekphrasis for discussing the artistic depictions of art in textual narratives, and others used illustration to interpret textual relationships to art. For example, Leach argues that images said to illustrate a text are rarely faithful representations of a textual source.⁶ Leach rightfully cautions that there are few examples of true illustration of text when illustration is defined as involving “a close correspondence between literary images and graphic representation.”⁷

Illustration, according to Leach, requires either the physical presence of text and imagery or the direct and accurate reproduction of a story by an artisan who consults the text itself. Although scenes may be inspired by works of literature, where inspiration means that some elements of the story are present, while other elements may be mixed or deleted, Leach argues that “the images inevitably dis sever themselves from [the literary text] and assume characteristics of their own”.⁸ Leach’s definition of illustration is narrow, however, and perhaps ancient audiences did not think in such terms. Based on this definition, it would be difficult to discuss any relationship between art and text, and so this model of interpretation is unhelpful.

There is no tradition of illustration, as defined by Leach, in classical antiquity for literary texts until the 4th or 5th centuries CE when the Vatican Vergil was created; this manuscript is the earliest surviving illustrated manuscript of the *Aeneid*.⁹ However, some second century CE papyri provide technical illustrations which correlate with Leach’s strict definition of illustration

⁵ See Leach 1988; Elsner 1996; Small 1999; Benediktson 2000; Elsner 2007.

⁶ Leach 1988, 9.

⁷ Leach 1988, 9; Small (1999, 1) goes to the extreme by declaring that there is “...no physical evidence...that the pictures [in wall paintings, mosaics, etc.] we have are illustrations of texts...”.

⁸ Leach 1988, 9.

⁹ Wright 1991, 12; Cameron 2004, 518.

- a depiction that faithfully represents the story and is, in these cases, associated with text.¹⁰

Finding imagery from the *Aeneid* which scholars associate directly with a text, however, is rare in Roman décor. However, one possible case of true illustration is from the second century CE where fragments of a wall painting provide a possible *Aeneid* quote and illustration, discussed in chapter three.¹¹ This is the only known case of imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* which is linked directly to lines of the *Aeneid*. Other instances of mosaics and a wall painting in which figures are labeled might be construed as illustration, but the labels often clarify generic imagery rather than illustrate source material.¹² Since depictions are rarely faithful to a text and there are few ‘true’ examples of illustration according to Leach, illustration fails as an interpretative framework to investigate the relationship between art and text.

For elite Roman audiences who could afford décor, Elsner points out that the ability to see relationships between text and art, no matter how fanciful, was prized.¹³ The closeness and accuracy of these connections depended on artisans and their knowledge or ignorance of the text, patrons and their knowledge or ignorance of the text or the story from other sources, and viewers who interpreted it according to their knowledge of its contents.¹⁴ Since the concept of illustration does not allow for interpretation and changes by patron, artisan, and viewer, a new framework is needed to understand those interpretations and changes in the relationship between art and text. Thus, if elite audiences viewed Roman art with the intention of drawing erudite connections,

¹⁰ Leach 1988, 9; Small 1999, 1-3, 118-29.

¹¹ Toynbee 1964, 220.

¹² See Galinsky 1969, 30; Poulsen 1995; Papaioannou 2018, 349–50. See Galinsky 1969, 30; Poulsen 1995a; Papaioannou 2018, 349–50.

¹³ Elsner 1995 24-28; 35.

¹⁴ Dunbabin 2015, 39–41.

perhaps to literary works, then depictions inspired by textual sources may be thought of as evoking or recalling that particular work through mimesis.

The framework that is implemented for the understanding of imagery inspired from the *Aeneid* and its relationship to the *Aeneid* as a literary work is the ancient theory of mimesis, as introduced by Plato and Aristotle.¹⁵ Sörbom defines mimesis “in an active sense...as the production (*poiesis*) of objects intended to create mental images in the minds of the perceivers.”¹⁶ Plato used the term inconsistently throughout his corpora, but mostly employed it as a means to connect literature and the visual arts, despite the flaws he perceived within visual culture.¹⁷ Benediktson argues that Roman “ekphrastic ...art and literature [were] attempts to transcend the limitations on their arts.”¹⁸ Jiménez suggests that mimesis in Roman art is the idea of reproducing something, although not exactly since mimesis actively translates an idea into another idea.¹⁹ Elsner posits that this active translation allowed for multiple interpretations of reproductions because one’s knowledge of the original affected the inferences from the reproduction.²⁰

Mimesis solves one problem of the debate surrounding illustration: it allows for difference between the textual source and the art produced.²¹ Mimesis is translated into Latin as *imitatio*, and poorly rendered into English as ‘imitation’, because mimesis is an imitation of something, and not a direct reproduction.²² As Jiménez remarks, “imitation is always translation

¹⁵ For a fuller understanding of mimesis and art, see Sörbom 1966; Benediktson 2000; Sörbom 2002; Coleman 2015, Lorenz 2016.

¹⁶ Sörbom 2002, 24.

¹⁷ Benediktson 2000, 49-50.

¹⁸ Benediktson 2000, 191.

¹⁹ Jiménez 2010, 50.

²⁰ Elsner 1996, 48.

²¹ Jiménez 2010, 57.

²² Sörbom 2002, 19.

and interpretation...implying the existence of a necessary empty space between ‘original’ and ‘copy.’”²³ Thus, when considering whether art depicts scenes inspired by the *Aeneid*, the criteria for ‘inspired by/from’ is much looser than that of ‘illustration of.’ One example where Valladares applied the interpretive framework of mimesis is the décor at the House of Octavius Quartio in Pompeii. In a study of the garden’s wall paintings, Valladares related the wall paintings to the architectural features in the garden to show how an audience was immersed in a mimetic experience in reflection; audiences both reflected on the texts from which the paintings were inspired, the *Metamorphoses*, and had multiple water features wherein they could literally see their own reflection and that of the paintings.²⁴ Thus, mimesis is the framework in which the evidence will be explored to examine the relationship between the art inspired by the *Aeneid* and the *Aeneid* as a text.

Situating research in existing studies

When thinking about the imagery potentially inspired by the *Aeneid*, the section of this imagery which scholars have investigated the most is that of the Augustan imagery of the *Aeneid*.²⁵ From the depictions of the *Aeneid*, one scene emerges as the most common depiction, particularly in public, political imagery: Aeneas fleeing Troy as he carries his father Anchises on his back, either with or without his son Ascanius who holds his hand.²⁶ One could question whether the depictions of the flight from Troy are truly indicative of the *Aeneid* when used for decoration or if they invoke more general connotations of Augustus and the Roman imperial family.²⁷ Another question to investigate was whether the imagery of the *Aeneid* triad was utilized outside of public spaces. If so, then those instances are examined to determine when this

²³ Jiménez 2010, 57.

²⁴ Valladares 2011, 381.

²⁵ See Zanker 1988 and Dardenay 2012.

²⁶ Henceforth the “*Aeneid* triad”.

²⁷ Dardenay 2012, 10–11.

imagery was popular and if that chronology matches with the frequency of public usage in the first century CE. Thus, each chapter began with a discussion of public art of the *Aeneid*.

Because the evidence discussed is much broader and more varied than just the public imagery of the *Aeneid*, I employ a thematic approach to the imagery from the *Aeneid* in Roman décor. When analyzing the imagery of Aeneas from archaic Greek art to Roman art, Galinsky created a loose framework to categorize these representations of Aeneas.²⁸ His categories divided images of Aeneas into three sets: 1) politically-imbued representations of Aeneas as a pious or dutiful son, 2) representations of Aeneas as a warrior or a hero, 3) or imagery of Aeneas as a lover.²⁹ Particularly in Roman art, the category of a pious son represented Augustus' choice to display Aeneas carrying his father Anchises, who holds the *penates*, while Aeneas is holding the hand of his son, Ascanius.³⁰ By utilizing the categories of warriors or heroes, lovers, or political representation, I compare imagery from the *Aeneid* to other mythological imagery to understand whether there were major thematic differences between *Aeneid* and non-*Aeneid* art. Finally, the thematic approach aids in understanding any differences or preferences in how political imagery of the *Aeneid* was used in décor compared to other imagery of the *Aeneid*.

Since scholars routinely study regional patterns in Roman art, the evidence within this thesis is also analyzed for evidence of regional patterns. One question that relates to regionalism in art is whether those similarities reflect the use of a copybook to create similar imagery inspired by the *Aeneid*, or at least shared interests in the same scene based on regional features. Another important question is whether imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* corresponds to other mythological imagery in surrounding areas. Investigating the imagery potentially inspired by the

²⁸ Galinsky 1969, 10-1; 22-3; 30.

²⁹ Galinsky 1969, 10-1; 22-3; 30.

³⁰ Galinsky 1969, 1-11.

Aeneid in comparison to nearby imagery aids in understanding whether people treated imagery from the *Aeneid* differently in different regions, potentially because of the ties to Augustan uses of the imagery or Roman origins.

Further, the chronological patterns are analyzed to understand the local and regional changes in imagery inspired from the *Aeneid*. Since the imagery in the first century CE is close in time to Augustus' public utilization of imagery of the *Aeneid* triad, one question is whether the public imagery impacted the use in décor. In later periods, the evidence is examined to understand whether the imagery had changed since the first century CE. Were these changes a reflection of overall changes in how mythological imagery was presented, or were the changes specific to imagery inspired by the *Aeneid*? Finally, the chronological changes are compared to and integrated with regional patterns to better understand the use of imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* in the Roman empire during the first to sixth centuries CE.

Another question to address is how imagery from the *Aeneid* spread, particularly given regional and chronological patterns in this imagery. Possible methods include copybooks, theatrical performances, and imitation of public imagery. Scholars currently think that copybooks are responsible for the diffusion of imagery, because copybooks circulated amongst different workshops and artisans. These copybooks were collections of images that a workshop of painters or mosaicists or sculptors would show to their clientele.³¹ The clients would then select an image or images from the copybook for their décor, making a conscious choice from the workshop's repertoire. Thus, although the workshop determined the range of possible choices

³¹ Dunbabin 1999; Newby 2016.

of images, the owner who was decorating his home still actively chose a specific image from the collection for a wall painting or a mosaic.

As shall be seen, however, the model of transmission through copybooks fits better in some periods than others. Evidence of copybooks is found in similarities of patterns and figural scenes, both in basic outlines and in specific shared details.³² Dunbabin argued that a particular pattern, such as the Triumph of Dionysus, occurring over large geographical and chronological spans also indicated the presence of a copybook.³³ For example, the Triumph of Dionysus appears in nine North African mosaics over two hundred years and in provinces from Mauretania to Africa Proconsularis, with remarkable consistency in the basic scheme and common features.³⁴ Workshops, established or travelling, are more likely the means for transmitting imagery via craftsmen or a workshop copybook when the imagery spreads rapidly within a small region during a shorter period of time.³⁵ If imagery inspired from the *Aeneid* shares many similarities or normally depicts a small number of scenes, then copybooks may explain this correspondence. If different imagery appears in the same regions or during the same period, however, then copybooks may not have been the vehicle of transmission of imagery inspired by the *Aeneid*. Perhaps there was also a decline in use of copybooks by workshops or a desire for more unique scenes on the part of the patron. Other sources besides copybooks may also have been the inspiration for imagery from the *Aeneid*.

An alternate source for imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* is theatrical performances of episodes from the *Aeneid*. Dunbabin emphasizes that in the first century CE, Augustus

³² Dunbabin 1999, 302-3.

³³ Dunbabin 1971, 52-3, 55, 65.

³⁴ Dunbabin 1971, 52-3.

³⁵ Dunbabin 1971, 55, 58.

encouraged and even supported pantomime, a theatrical performance which normally focused on a mythological story.³⁶ In the fourth century CE, Augustine lamented that his followers were familiar with the story of Aeneas' descent into the underworld from theatrical performances (*Serm.* 241.5). These theatrical performances were a disseminator of mythological stories, and the story of the *Aeneid* was apparently no exception. Thus, I investigate the potential role of theatrical performances in spreading imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* across the empire.

Some imagery from the *Aeneid* may have been familiar to a Roman audience due to public artistic depictions of the epic, commonly known from political or monumental sites such as the Forum of Augustus at Rome or the Forum at *Emerita Augusta* in Spain.³⁷ In the Forum of Augustus at Rome, two *exedrae* near the Temple of Mars Ultor contained Augustus' familial references to his mythological past: a statue of Aeneas, carrying his father Anchises on his shoulder and holding the hand of his son, was the central focus of the *exedra* on the left side of the forum.³⁸ The *Aeneid* triad was utilized in other public spaces across the empire; the image was utilized on the Gens Augusta altar in Carthage (Augustan) and the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias (Julio-Claudian).³⁹ In everyday life, the image was printed on coinage and stamped on lamps from the first century CE on.⁴⁰

Importance of study in Roman art

Since the text of the *Aeneid* was so popular, the paucity of surviving visual imagery seems odd.⁴¹ Horsfall details the ancient sources that refer to Virgil's popularity both in his own

³⁶ Dunbabin 2016, 87.

³⁷ See Jiménez 2010, 44–5; Zanker 1988, 201–10.

³⁸ Pandey 2014, 85–6; henceforth named as the “*Aeneid* triad”.

³⁹ Smith 1987, 97; Jiménez 2010, 44–5; Dardenay 2012, 225–6, no. E28.

⁴⁰ See Dardenay 2012, 211–15, nos. 1–17, 231–6, E78–86.

⁴¹ Zanker 1988, 102; “...ut pictores fictioresque et qui figmentis liciorum contextas imitantur effigies...” *Macr. Sat.* 5.17.5.

day and shortly thereafter (Oros.1.18.1, Quint. *Inst.* 1.8.5), and into Late Antiquity (August. *De vi. D.* 1.3; Macr. *Sat.* 1.24.5).⁴² The scarcity of visual evidence is perhaps why scholars have not investigated imagery of the *Aeneid* in décor very extensively. Zanker's landmark book set forth his interpretation of the public usage of imagery from the *Aeneid*, while other scholars such as Dardenay and Croisille have studied certain scenes or characters from the *Aeneid*.⁴³ Still, little scholarship exists on the usage of depictions from the *Aeneid* in décor. Existing studies primarily focus either on specific homes where the imagery occurs or on specific media such as wall paintings or mosaics, but do not engage in the diachronic and empire-wide investigation conducted here.⁴⁴

Sometimes, scholars contest whether certain depictions from this thesis depict a scene which reflects an episode from the *Aeneid*. Thus, I address the important methodological problem of identifying mythological scenes with particular written texts. Specifically, I address how scholars can be confident that visual imagery is linked to specific passages/lines from the *Aeneid*, rather than depicting the myth in a more general fashion. For this purpose, I explore the imagery and the *Aeneid* passages which the scenes presumably represent to determine an opinion on the possible identification of each scene. Further investigation into similar scenes in Latin literature aid in narrowing down possible source material for scenes once they are identified as literary - something directly related to or inspired by a literary account.

⁴² Horsfall, 249–52.

⁴³ Cameron 1966, 25; Wallace-Hadrill 1983, 181; Anderson 2006, 157.

⁴⁴ Zanker 1988; Croisille 1994; Dardenay 2012.

When patrons chose imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* for décor, some scholars question whether the art's inspiration was truly the text of the *Aeneid*.⁴⁵ Arguably, the *Aeneid* is a special case when considering its connection to art, given that the much of the story was original and created at a much later date compared to mythological stories stemming from the *Homeric Hymns* or the *Theogony*. The originality of the *Aeneid* narrows down the number of different sources that relate similar stories, and thus the number of sources from which imagery could be inspired. Thus, a definitive link between imagery inspired from the *Aeneid* may be easier to establish than whether imagery is inspired by Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis* rather than the *Iliad*. Other scholars have also investigated why mythological images from literature are chosen for decoration on sarcophagi, and similar questions apply to the media in this thesis.⁴⁶

Evidence

Wall paintings and mosaics are the primary media for imagery of the *Aeneid* in Roman décor; these media allow for large-scale depictions of figural scenes inspired by the *Aeneid*. Wall paintings which are inspired by the *Aeneid* are unknown after the second century CE, perhaps in large part due to their fragile nature and the ravages of time. Mosaics are the primary source for imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* after the first century CE, comprising all but two examples from the second century CE and onward. In the first century CE, lead urns from Pompeii also portray scenes inspired by the *Aeneid*. These urns were very large, heavy objects found in rooms such as the peristyle so the decorations on the urns were meant to decorate these semi-permanent

⁴⁵ Dunbabin (2015) cautions this line of thinking, because of other possible sources for literary texts such as theater and copybooks; see also Leach (1988) and Small (1999); other scholars see specific influences of other literary sources in Roman art, such as Valladares (2011) discussion of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in Pompeian wall paintings. Other examples include Lavagne 1994; Elsner 1996, 2007; Lancha 1997; Small 2005; Squire 2009. Dunbabin (2015) cautions this line of thinking, because of other possible sources for literary texts such as theater and copybooks; see also Leach (1988) and Small (1999).

⁴⁶ See Ewald and Zanker 2012, Valladares 2011, and Swetnam-Burland 2015; sarcophagi are excluded in the present study as they are not traditionally included in discussions of décor.

objects.⁴⁷ These decorative features comprise the evidence which is included in the analysis of imagery inspired by the *Aeneid*.

There are 53 graffiti which quote the *Aeneid* at Pompeii. While the *Aeneid* graffiti from Pompeii do not constitute décor, the second chapter includes a discussion of these graffiti to investigate whether the text of the *Aeneid* is treated differently from the décor. The inclusion of the *Aeneid* graffiti at Pompeii provides the opportunity to study how people employed both the imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* and the actual text of the *Aeneid*. Spatial analysis of the graffiti investigates which lines from the *Aeneid* were most popular in which parts of the city and private spaces. Additional analysis examines whether the imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* was often located near *Aeneid* graffiti and what that might mean regarding people's interactions with texts and images in first century CE Pompeii. Spatial analysis of the *Aeneid* graffiti is performed using ArcGIS software, graffiti data from Milnor, and information about Pompeii's layout from Poehler.⁴⁸

Since the material is restricted to décor, material such as coins, statuary, and sarcophagi or other funerary architecture are excluded except as comparanda. While few funerary statues and sarcophagi depicted figures from the *Aeneid*, they did not function as items of decoration.⁴⁹ Sarcophagi or funerary statues were public, semi-monumental edifices which relate more to public monuments like the Forum of Augustus than to a wall painting. Coinage was publicly circulated by the government, and imagery was carefully selected to convey particular messages, so coinage depicting imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* is excluded as well, except as comparanda.

⁴⁷ Adamo Muscettola 1979.

⁴⁸ Milnor 2014; ArcGIS 10.6; Poehler. "ArcGIS. Search: owner:epoehler_UMass_Amherst".

⁴⁹ Croisille 1994, 176, no. 9; Dardenay 2012, 224–6, nos. E53-5, E57, E59; few examples of Roman mythological sarcophagi exist and Newby (2010) has studied them to understand use of Roman mythology rather than the more common Greek mythology.

Lamps were also excluded since they were primarily functional items, although they [can be?] used for a comparison to everyday objects in private and public settings which portrayed imagery inspired by the *Aeneid*. Finally, there was a decorated silver plate from Late Antiquity that portrayed scenes inspired by the *Aeneid*; the plate served as a comparandum for understanding which images were popular in Late Antiquity. As needed, all excluded items may be used as a means to elucidate similar depictions of the *Aeneid*.

Final Thoughts

The chronological and geographical analyses attempt to fill in the lacuna in the literature by examining imagery of the *Aeneid* across a broader spectrum of time and from a greater range of classes of artifacts. Thus, the evidence is grouped into chronological categories of first century CE, second and early third centuries CE, and Late Antiquity (fourth to approximately sixth centuries CE). Within those chronological groups, geographical groupings in each chapter are also investigated to provide a fuller understanding of any patterns across the Roman empire in imagery inspired by the *Aeneid*. Finally, the conclusion synthesizes the conclusions from each chapter to understand patterns over the full geographical and chronological extent of the thesis (See Fig. 1.1).

A final question is why patrons did not choose to utilize more imagery inspired by the *Aeneid*. [active voice?] While scholars have occasionally expressed this surprise, Newby explored reasons why the lack of Roman mythological imagery might not be surprising.⁵⁰ She argues that Romans preferred Greek myth to Roman literature as source material for Roman art and is unsurprised by a lack of imagery surrounding the myths of Romulus and Remus or Aeneas

⁵⁰ Newby 2010; 2016, 330, 346–7.

in décor.⁵¹ Perhaps imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* appealed to Roman patrons less because they preferred older mythological exempla for their décor. Another possible reason is that the Augustan imagery may have made Roman patrons wary of utilizing this imagery because of the imperial connotations; one way to investigate this avenue of thinking is to determine whether imagery of the *Aeneid* triad is employed in décor after the first century CE. This question is investigated throughout the chapters in an effort to provide potential reasons for the lack of imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* throughout Roman art in the Roman empire.

⁵¹ Wallace-Hadrill 1983.

Chapter 2: Pompeii and the first century CE

Introduction

Pompeii has been the focus of innumerable studies over the past four hundred years, including studies on the material finds such as statuary, wall paintings, pottery, coins, and other objects.⁵² Although archaeologists no longer accept the ‘Pompeii premise’, “a term used to describe the ideal archaeological context,” Pompeii remains one of the best opportunities for a comprehensive understanding of a Roman city.⁵³ Various wall paintings, decorated lead urns, and statuettes depicted scenes from the *Aeneid*, and numerous graffiti also quoted lines from the *Aeneid* itself. A wall painting from Argenteratum, modern-day Strasbourg, provided the only non-Italian example from the first century CE (Fig. 2.1). This chapter analyzes these artifacts in terms of their connections to public decor and the possible transmission of images throughout the city. Discussion of evidence from outside of Pompeii during the first century CE is discussed for transmission of imagery throughout the first century CE.

The large number of *Aeneid* graffiti – 53 examples – were high in number at Pompeii due to the unusual circumstances of preservation in the city. They provided a source of evidence for considering exposure to the *Aeneid* in the first century CE. Spatial and contextual analyses of the *Aeneid* graffiti from Pompeii highlight connections to certain locations, artworks, or similarities and differences from other graffiti habits. Thus, this chapter gathers and interprets usages of *Aeneid* imagery and incorporates *Aeneid* graffiti from Pompeii as a case study to understand the potential connections between the text and imagery, the text and authors or readers, how images were copied and transmitted over time, and the differences between public and private décor.

⁵² See Benefiel 2010; Severy-Hoven 2012; Tuori 2015; Welch 2015; Ball and Dobbins 2017 for a small sample.

⁵³ See Allison 1992, 49; 2004.

Thematic approaches to imagery inspired by the *Aeneid*

Because the depictions of *Aeneid* imagery are so varied and seem relatively unrelated, I employ Galinsky's thematic approach to interpret any imagery from the *Aeneid*.⁵⁴ Particularly in Roman art from the first century CE, the category of a pious son represented Augustus' choice to display Aeneas carrying his father Anchises, who holds the *penates*, while Aeneas is holding the hand of his son, Ascanius.⁵⁵ Utilizing the categories of warriors or heroes, lovers, or political representation, I compare imagery from the *Aeneid* to other imagery in Pompeii to understand whether there were major thematic differences between *Aeneid* and non-*Aeneid* art. Finally, the thematic approach aids in understanding any differences or preferences in how patrons employed the political imagery of the *Aeneid* compared to other imagery of the *Aeneid*.

First, I consider the potential public sources for the imagery from the *Aeneid*. One important depiction from the *Aeneid* was often employed by Augustus on statues, the *Ara Pacis*, and coinage: the *Aeneid* triad. The three fleeing figures were a staple of Augustus' propagandistic artworks because they represented Augustus' familial link to Venus and the heroic past as written by Virgil (*Aen.* 2.707-29).⁵⁶ The Augustan forum in Rome contained statues of *summi viri* in the porticoes, and specifically, contained depictions of the *Aeneid* triad and Romulus carrying his *spolia opima* in opposite exedrae, according to literary and epigraphic sources.⁵⁷ This model was copied in places such as the forum at Merida and outside of the building of Eumachia at Pompeii, where both hosted statues of the *Aeneid* triad and Romulus, known from statue fragments and epigraphic evidence at Emerita and Pompeii.⁵⁸ Beard even claimed that visitors who saw paintings of the *Aeneid* triad in Pompeii may have inferred

⁵⁴ Galinsky 1969, 10-1; 22-3; 30.

⁵⁵ Galinsky 1969, 1-11.

⁵⁶ Zanker 1988, 201-2; Shaya 2013, 92-5.

⁵⁷ Shaya 2013, 92-3; 85, n. 17-18; Zanker 1988, 201.

⁵⁸ Beard 2010, 52; Jiménez 2010, 44. Beard 2008, 52; Jiménez 2010, 44.

connections to the *Aeneid* triad statues either in the Augustan forum or outside of the building of Eumachia at Pompeii; that claim was perhaps conjecture, but a patron could have chosen to emulate the building of Eumachia, and thereby its importance, via reproducing the painting of the *Aeneid* triad and Romulus carrying the spolia.⁵⁹ Other public examples of *Aeneid* triad imagery included coinage from Augustus and other emperors in the first century CE.⁶⁰ Four lamps which dated from the first century CE also portrayed the *Aeneid* triad; they provided another type of medium of imagery from the *Aeneid* which might be widely disseminated amongst the public.⁶¹ Thus, imagery of the *Aeneid* triad might be well-known to first century CE Pompeii, albeit from a public and political context relating to Augustus and *pietas*.

Imagery of the *Aeneid* triad

Three wall paintings and three statuettes at Pompeii depicted the *Aeneid* triad and represent politically-imbued portrayals of *Aeneid* imagery;⁶² only the paintings are discussed here as they portrayed the scene types of the other two categories – lover and warrior – of *Aeneid* imagery found at Pompeii. One painting of the *Aeneid* triad was similar to the *Aeneid* triad in the Augustan forum and presumably also the example from the building of Eumachia.⁶³ This painting was paired with a depiction of Romulus carrying spolia, which Galinsky argued was a “reflection of the imperial ideology” in conjunction with the presence of a painting of the *Aeneid* triad.⁶⁴ Milnor and Galinsky both attribute this painting and its pairing with the Romulus painting to a desire to emulate the statue pairing outside of Eumachia’s building and perhaps the Augustan forum pairing.⁶⁵ Even if, however, the painting was only meant to emulate the wealth

⁵⁹ Beard 201080, 51–2. Beard 2008, 51–2.

⁶⁰ Dardenay 2012, 213-4, nos. E10-13.

⁶¹ Dardenay 2012, 231, no. E78; 233, nos. E79-80.

⁶² Dardenay (2012, 34-5) discussed the statuettes further.

⁶³ Spinazzola 1953, fig. 183.

⁶⁴ Galinsky 1969, 31.

⁶⁵ Galinsky 1969, 31; Milnor 2014, 238–9.

and prestige of Eumachia by reproducing the statue pairing in painted form, the *Aeneid* triad painting still carries political connotations of Augustan *pietas* and power.

The third painting of the *Aeneid* triad was not strictly a representation of Aeneas, Anchises, and Ascanius, but rather a parody of the account. While the context is not securely known, newer scholarship suggested a probable location somewhere from a house in Regio VI of Pompeii.⁶⁶ Depicted in the painting were three ape or dog-headed figures, one of which holds the hand of the smallest figure while carrying the other figure on his shoulder; both standing figures have large phalli.⁶⁷ Although the details are a bit unclear, the carried figure appears to be holding a box that Galinsky identified as a dice box in a dig at Julius Caesar's penchant for gambling.⁶⁸ Maiuri, however, argued that the dog or ape-heads and tails, as well as the enlarged phalli indicated a reference to parodic performances of the *Aeneid* on stage.⁶⁹ Scholars hotly debated both explanations, but the nearby presence of a Romulus parody seemed to indicate a parody of the statues in the building of Eumachia; Shaya suggested that it could have been a mockery of Eumachia, rather than the imperial forum she emulated.⁷⁰ Thus, the parody was less an interaction with the text itself and more likely an interaction with other visual depictions from the *Aeneid* found in the public realm of Pompeii.

Another instance of *Aeneid* imagery were five lead urns which depicted the *Aeneid* triad.⁷¹ While the function of the lead urns was unknown, archaeologists have speculated that

⁶⁶ Galinsky 1969, 32; Dardenay 2012, 230, no. E74; Milnor 2014, 238; De Vos 1991, 115; Cebe 1966, 369, n. 1.

⁶⁷ Galinsky 1969, pl. 30.

⁶⁸ Galinsky 1969, 32.

⁶⁹ Galinsky 1969, 32; 32 n. 61.

⁷⁰ De Vos 1991, 115; Shaya 2013, 96.

⁷¹ Dardenay 2005, 167-8.

they were used as vessels for making perfumes or for storing reserves of water.⁷² Regardless, the large, heavy lead cylinders are only known from the Vesuvian area and were most often discovered in peristyles, with 35 extant specimens.⁷³ Archaeologists have struggled to date the urns because while they displayed an abundance of Augustan iconography, they could have dated as late as the Vespasianic period.⁷⁴ The urns which displayed particularly Augustan iconography showed images of Roman foundation myths.⁷⁵ Adamo Muscettola suggested that these urns, due to their Roman imagery, could have been a display piece in a peristyle, a decorative choice which demonstrated political allegiance to Augustus or current emperor.⁷⁶

A fourth wall painting of the *Aeneid* triad found in Argentoratum, modern-day Strasbourg, provided an important parallel for use of *Aeneid* imagery outside of Italy in the first century CE.⁷⁷ The wall painting depicted the traditional flight of Aeneas with his father, son, and Penates against the backdrop of a city wall.⁷⁸ Near to the painting was another wall painting which shows Hercules and Hippolyta; the combination displayed both a Greek and a Roman hero.⁷⁹ Both wall paintings were discovered in what archaeologists deemed a possible inn which could have hosted important guests due to its lavish décor.⁸⁰ Dardenay interpreted the *Aeneid* triad painting as a symbol of Roman rule to guests from near and afar in Germania during the Flavian era, standing as a representation of the emperor and his power.⁸¹ Still, the epic and its political connotations could have been unknown in Germania at this time, particularly to a wider,

⁷² Adamo Muscettola 1979, 704–5.

⁷³ Adamo Muscettola 1979, 702.

⁷⁴ Adamo Muscettola 1979, 705, 719–22.

⁷⁵ Adamo Muscettola 1979, 714.

⁷⁶ Adamo Muscettola 1979, 731.

⁷⁷ Dardenay 2001, 41-2.

⁷⁸ Dardenay 2012, 31, Fig. 21.

⁷⁹ Dardenay 2012, 201.

⁸⁰ Dardenay 20122010, 201-2.

⁸¹ Dardenay 20122010, 202.

non-elite audience. The presence of the imagery on coinage and items such as lamps, however, perhaps indicated that knowledge of the *Aeneid* triad's connection to the Julian *gens* and Augustan power was prevalent enough to reach Argentoratum by the end of the 1st century CE.

While the *Aeneid* triad imagery was less common at Pompeii than other imagery, the political and public nature of this imagery explains why it might have been chosen more rarely. The use of the *Aeneid* imagery on first century CE coinage provided a widely-circulated source for the imagery.⁸² Locally, the *Aeneid* triad was presumably the subject of a statue outside of the building of Eumachia in the forum of Pompeii.⁸³ Thus, though the imagery was rare, it was not unknown or inaccessible to the population of Pompeii. When the *Aeneid* triad appeared outside of monumental public spaces such as the forum, it telegraphed the message either of support or respect for the new Roman order brought in under Augustus and his family, or it telegraphed the desire to emulate local elites such as Eumachia in their display of wealth.

Imagery inspired by the *Aeneid*: Warrior type

Galinsky categorized images of Aeneas apart from the *Aeneid* triad in Pompeii into two characterizations: depictions of the warrior or the lover, specifically focusing on Aeneas himself. In ancient art, Aeneas was well-known and depicted as a warrior; in fact, a painting of Aeneas and Diomedes fighting, illustrating an event from the *Iliad* 5.295-317, was also known from Pompeii and depictions on Greek vases.⁸⁴ This category specifically referred to scenes wherein Aeneas wore armor or scenes that depicted moments of conflict in the *Aeneid*. Although the imagery did not strictly represent *pietas*, Galinsky argued that the representations of Aeneas as a warrior in the *Aeneid* were not opposed to representations of Aeneas as a pious son. Pompeiians

⁸² Dardenay 2012, 213–4, nos. E10-E13.

⁸³ Shaya 2013, 95–6.

⁸⁴ Galinsky 1969, 33; Carratelli 1990, 204.

employed both categories of imagery at almost equal rates, although the sample size of the two types combined (n=5) prevented any attribution of significance.⁸⁵ The depictions of Aeneas as a warrior could have resulted from the desire for mythological portrayals of heroes and warriors in Roman wall paintings at Pompeii.⁸⁶

One example of Aeneas as a warrior or hero figure was a painting from Pompeii which appears to be inspired by Book 12 of the *Aeneid*.⁸⁷ The painting portrayed a figure standing, leaning on a spear, with a wound in his right thigh, with a young boy under his left arm and a man treating his wound kneeling on his right side (Fig. 2.2).⁸⁸ Galinsky identified this painting as inspired by *Aen.* 12.383-444, where two comrades and Ascanius carried Aeneas off the battlefield so that Iapyx could try to heal him; after he fails, Venus invisibly intervened and aided Iapyx in healing her son's wound.⁸⁹ The presence of an ethereal female figure in the background, a physician, a small child, a wounded man, and two battle-ready comrades closely matched the narrative of the *Aeneid*.⁹⁰ Aeneas' spear, his sword, and the presence of his two comrades underscored the battle that Aeneas has recently exited. Unlike the paintings of the *Aeneid* triad, the depiction of a wounded Aeneas reminded the viewers that he actively fought in the *Aeneid* and was under Venus' protection, providing a heroic tinge to his character while perhaps invoking Venus Pompeiana's protection of the house or Venus' connection to Augustus.⁹¹

⁸⁵ Galinsky 1969, 34–6.

⁸⁶ Galinsky 1969, 35; Newby 2016, 320-1; 333-8.

⁸⁷ Galinsky 1969, 28.

⁸⁸ Museo Nazionale, Naples, no. 9009.

⁸⁹ Galinsky 1969, 28–9.

⁹⁰ See Bulas (1950, 116) for comparandum from the Domus Transitoria.

⁹¹ Galinsky 1969, 29.

In the Casa del Centauro (VI.9.3-5), a wall painting depicted Aeneas' acceptance of his armor from Venus, showcasing his role as a warrior. Although the painting no longer exists, a sketch by Marsigli showed a woman identified by Helbig as Venus in the background leaning on a pillar, a Cupid with his bow and arrow, and two men gazing in awe at armor.⁹² Helbig and Galinsky confidently identified this painting as Aeneas receiving armor from Venus in *Aen.* 8.608-25, where Aeneas admired each piece of armor that Venus has given him.⁹³ Aeneas was not alone when Venus gives him his armor in this painting, although he was in Virgil's narration of the scene (*Aen.* 8.607). Venus' patronage of both Aeneas and the city could have been highlighted given her prominent role in the scene from the Aeneid and the painting, as in the Iapyx episode painting. Furthermore, the scene highlighted Aeneas in his role as a warrior, reminding viewers of his physical prowess in battle, while simultaneously reminding viewers of his connection to Venus.⁹⁴

Aeneas' depiction as a warrior was consistent with the depictions of other heroes and warriors in Pompeian wall paintings. Phillips discussed the rise in popularity of Perseus and Andromeda in Pompeian wall paintings; all five typical scenes in the Campanian region showed Perseus as a warrior and hero rescuing Andromeda.⁹⁵ Another shared trait amongst warrior or hero paintings in Pompeii was the presence of divinities or their symbols; for example, Perseus often wore Hermes' winged sandals in paintings.⁹⁶ Similarly, Venus was present in two of the paintings where artisans portrayed Aeneas as a warrior.⁹⁷ The last similarity was the presence of

⁹² Helbig 1868, 311, no. 1382.

⁹³ Galinsky 1969, 28; Helbig 1868, 311, no. 1382.

⁹⁴ Galinsky 1969, 28.

⁹⁵ Phillips 1968, 12-3.

⁹⁶ See Helbig 1868, 247-8, no. 1186; 249, nos. 1191-2; Dawson 1944, pl. IV.

⁹⁷ Helbig 1868, 311, no. 1382; 312, no. 1383.

an extra person in depictions of Aeneas as a warrior. One example was the painting where Venus gives armor to Aeneas while another man looks on, despite Virgil's narrative in the *Aeneid* that Aeneas is alone when given the armor (*Aen.*8.607). In paintings where Theseus abandoned Ariadne, and Athena was included in the scene unnecessarily, scholars have postulated that the extra person – Athena, here – acted as a representative for the viewer.⁹⁸ Thus, scholars have suggested that the inclusion of a companion for Aeneas could be interpreted as a placeholder for the viewer. Imagery of Aeneas as a warrior provided opportunities to include other figures in depictions of the *Aeneid*, just as artisans included extra figures in other scenes where they depicted warriors; thus, Pompeians saw something familiar when they chose images of Aeneas as a warrior because it was imagery that reflected popular images throughout the rest of the city of other warriors.

Imagery inspired by the *Aeneid*: Lover type

Galinsky provided a final category for depictions of Aeneas at Pompeii and beyond: that of a lover. In discussing artwork related to the *Aeneid* more broadly (and not just to Aeneas), one may expand this category to include depictions of Dido even without Aeneas present, either as his current lover or as his abandoned lover. Both categories correlated with other subjects of mythological wall paintings at Pompeii, such as paintings of Ariadne abandoned by Theseus or Adonis and Venus embracing.⁹⁹ Thus, the extension of Galinsky's framework to include scenes without Aeneas for the category of lovers encompassed the remaining depictions of the *Aeneid* from Pompeii.

⁹⁸ Elsner 2007, 30.

⁹⁹ See McNally (1985), Fredrick (1995), and Elsner (2007) for Ariadne and Theseus paintings and Helbig 1868, 86-89, nos. 329-45 for Venus and Adonis.

One painting in Pompeii portrayed Dido with Aeneas, showing Aeneas in the role of a lover rather than a pious son.¹⁰⁰ In the remaining portion of the fresco, only two pairs of feet were visible, separated by two spears pointed towards the ground, and are labeled below as “DIDO” and “AENEAS”.¹⁰¹ The rest of the scene is unidentifiable; the painted labels, however, indicated the desire to securely identify Dido and Aeneas and link the painting to their story, known from the *Aeneid*. Two upside-down spears shown in the painting provided the potential context of Dido and Aeneas on the hunt, as described in *Aen.* 4.129-172. Rather than solely portraying Aeneas as a symbol of Augustan *pietas* or a warrior, this painting depicted Aeneas and Dido during their ill-fated love affair; this represented the use of *Aeneid* imagery in the category of lover at Pompeii.

Representations of Dido with or without Aeneas were popular as this category was the subject of five wall paintings in Pompeii.¹⁰² Three paintings in Pompeii depicted Dido after Aeneas abandoned her which means that Dido filled the role of the lover, albeit a tragically abandoned one. In the Casa di Meleagro (VI.9.2), Dido sits on her throne with a sword sheath and mourns Aeneas’ departure as he sails away in a ship background (Fig. 2.3).¹⁰³ The sword sheath on her lap foreshadows her chosen method of suicide, as written in *Aen.* 4.663-4. In the three scenes, Dido’s abandonment in *Aeneid* 4 illustrated the heartbreak of Dido and the piety of Aeneas as he continued his destined journey, showing that the categories could overlap in some cases; while Dido’s situation was tragic, Aeneas’ obedience in resuming his destined journey also demonstrated his piety towards the gods. At the same time, however, Aeneas’ abandonment

¹⁰⁰ Varone and Stefani 2009, 381; see *CIL* 4.3722 for inscription.

¹⁰¹ Sogliano 1879, 123, n. 602.

¹⁰² Galinsky 1969, 30; See Croisille’s (1994) catalog containing seven representations of Dido from Pompeii.

¹⁰³ Croisille 1994, 170–2.

of Dido was reminiscent of other heroes who abandoned their lovers, such as Theseus abandoning Ariadne.¹⁰⁴

Since lovers were a frequent subject of wall paintings in Pompeii, the portrayal of imagery from the *Aeneid* in the category of lovers rather than the political imagery of the *Aeneid* triad fits well in the landscape of Pompeian wall paintings. Romantic pairs such as Venus and Mars, Narcissus, Selene and Endymion, Theseus and Ariadne, Leda and the swan (Zeus) were shown frequently in Pompeian wall paintings.¹⁰⁵ Hunting or courting scenes which depicted Dido and Aeneas would be familiar for Pompeians who were well-accustomed to mythological love stories in wall paintings. Still, while the motif of hunting and courting might have been familiar, Dido and Aeneas were not normally the couple that these wall paintings portrayed. For example, tragic love stories such as Pyramis and Thisbe and the abandonment of Ariadne by Theseus paralleled imagery of Dido abandoned at the hands of Aeneas.¹⁰⁶ In the case of Ariadne and Dido, both women were unaware at the time of their abandonment, as often portrayed by Ariadne's sleeping figure.¹⁰⁷ Dido's sadness as she gazed at the ship which carried Aeneas away in the distance could have reminded the viewer that Aeneas sailed away without bidding her a last farewell (*Aen.* 4.584-96). Thus, the popularity of images from the *Aeneid* which displayed lovers, whether together or abandoned, could be understood in the context of the numerous other mythological love scenes in Pompeian wall paintings.

¹⁰⁴ Some versions of the tale state that Dionysus saw Ariadne and forced Theseus to abandon her on Naxos so that he could claim her as his own, which would make Theseus pious for listening to the god and abandoning her (Diod. Sic. 4.61.5, 5.51.4; Paus. 1.20.3; Serv. 1.222).

¹⁰⁵ McNally 1985; Fredrick 1995; Valladares 2011; Peters 1963, 142; Helbig 1868, 41-44, nos. 140-52; 187-90, nos. 950-62.

¹⁰⁶ See McNally (1985) for imagery of sleeping Ariadne and Valladares (2011) for discussion of a Pyramis and Thisbe painting at Pompeii.

¹⁰⁷ McNally 1985; Croisille 1994.

Textual interactions in Pompeii through *Aeneid* graffiti – methods

Another aspect of visual interaction with the *Aeneid* was the graffiti which copy lines of the *Aeneid*, often in corrupted or unfinished form, onto the walls of Pompeii. Graffiti in this thesis refers to “writings or drawings that have been incised into a surface,” veering away from the modern understanding of the term ‘graffito’.¹⁰⁸ Milnor further distinguished graffiti from the *Aeneid* and other literary sources as literary graffiti, meaning “fragments whose form, diction, or sentiment point to the influence of...Latin literature...[and] those texts containing direct literary quotations.”¹⁰⁹ Citing 53 examples of *Aeneid* graffiti, either in incomplete or complete quotations, parodies, or opening lines, Milnor connected the popularity of *Aeneid* quotes at Pompeii to the popularity of the textual *Aeneid* during Virgil’s lifetime and the first century CE.¹¹⁰ The density of examples at Pompeii, however, could have been a result of the preservation at Pompeii. Indeed, Milnor cautioned against relying on the prevalence of *Aeneid* graffiti at Pompeii to draw conclusions about the general populace’s knowledge of the epic.¹¹¹ For instance, the opening lines from *Aeneid* 1 and 2, which constituted most of the graffiti written, could simply have been known from a child’s education.¹¹² Despite the two phrases’ popularity or familiarity from education, graffiti authors still chose to utilize lines from the *Aeneid* rather than other one-liners, such as phrases from a popular Pompeian poem.¹¹³ Given the exposure to political imagery from the *Aeneid* through statues and coinage, graffiti authors who chose lines from the *Aeneid* still may have recognized and understood the connection to the Augustan family and political values.

¹⁰⁸ Benefiel 2011, 20; see Milnor (2014, 1-6) for the distinctions between modern and ancient graffiti.

¹⁰⁹ Milnor 2014, 6.

¹¹⁰ Milnor 2014, 236–37; the amount of graffiti, however, is most likely due to the preservation of Pompeii.

¹¹¹ Milnor 2014, 236.

¹¹² Milnor 2014, 255.

¹¹³ Milnor 2014, 255, 301–2.

The *Aeneid* quotes apart from the opening lines of books 1 and 2 constitute a better indicator of knowledge of the *Aeneid* at Pompeii. While Milnor's argument that people could have known the opening lines of books 1 and 2 out of context was reasonable, the argument was not quite as convincing with other phrases from the *Aeneid*. For example, Milnor claimed that a graffito such as "*Entelle Heroum*" was a witty but meaningless vocative form, meant to provide a dialogue starter via a graffito.¹¹⁴ Knowledge of such a minor figure in mythology and an equally minor phrase from the *Aeneid*, however, would seem to prove further knowledge of the text rather than less. Despite Milnor's protestations that the Pompeian populace may have known some of the *Aeneid* from theatrical performances or general knowledge, some of the specific quotes that she identified as originating from the *Aeneid* would be difficult to reproduce without greater exposure to the epic.¹¹⁵

Mapping the location of the *Aeneid* graffiti via ArcMap 10.6 in Pompeii – something which has never been done – made spatial analysis possible for the 53 examples from Milnor's appendix.¹¹⁶ The base map, regio blocks, insula blocks, and door numbers were obtained from the Pompeii Bibliography and Mapping Project (PBMP) online data files, accessed through ArcGIS.¹¹⁷ The base map and PompeiiinPictures website plans and photographs provided further information to verify locations in instances where the PBMP's data were incomplete or unclear. The resulting map, Fig. 2.4, displays the approximate location of Milnor's 53 examples of *Aeneid* graffiti across Pompeii.

¹¹⁴ Milnor 2014, 255.

¹¹⁵ Milnor 2014, 255; 261-2.

¹¹⁶ Milnor 2014, 263–70; see entire Appendix 5.1 for full list of graffiti correlating to Virgilian corpora.

¹¹⁷ Poehler. "ArcGIS. Search: owner:epoehler_UMass_Amherst". Note that some information is missing from excavated portions of Pompeii. Where information was missing, I used the World Imagery base map (ESRI), plans, and photos from Dunn and Dunn ("PompeiiinPictures.com") to determine the approximate location of the graffiti.

Textual interactions in Pompeii through *Aeneid* graffiti – results

As displayed in Fig. 2.4, the *Aeneid* graffiti were not grouped densely in particular areas or regions of Pompeii. No building or insula had more than four *Aeneid* graffiti; only insula IX.2, I.10, and the palaestra (II.7) contained four references each. In particular, none of the buildings or areas which Garcia identified as potential schools corresponded to the insulae which contained concentrations of *Aeneid* graffiti.¹¹⁸ Only the palaestra, which contained the most graffiti in a single building, was identified by scholars as a possible location for a school.¹¹⁹ Still, the quotes there were spread out on four different columns, and interspersed with other graffiti.¹²⁰ The distribution of *Aeneid* quotes matched that of other graffiti because the only clusters appeared in the more public, open spaces, such as the palaestra in Pompeii.¹²¹ Other than the palaestra and the two insulae, there was no significant grouping of the grouping of *Aeneid* graffiti as the other exempla were scattered about the city. Additionally, *Aeneid* graffiti only interacted with imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* in one location (Fig. 2.5): next to the door of the shop of Fabius Ululitremulus, where a depiction of the *Aeneid* triad was painted above a parody of *Aen.* 1.1.¹²²

When analyzing the location of *Aeneid* graffiti within spaces, two major patterns emerged (Fig. 2.6). Firstly, 17 of 53 graffiti were not within a building, but were outside on the street wall (Fig. 2.7). Within this category of outdoor graffiti, nine of the 17 examples were near to the doorway of a building (Fig. 2.6). The proximity to doorways could have indicated that they were written by people with some degree of association to the building; Benefiel noted that graffiti

¹¹⁸ Garcia y Garcia 2005, 57–86; Garcia (2005 57-8) identified public schools by either frescoes and graffiti present or porticoed spaces and private schools by graffiti.

¹¹⁹ Garcia y Garcia 2005, 57–86; Laurence 2017, 38.

¹²⁰ Milnor 2014, 263, no. 7; 265, no. 18; 267, no. 31; 268, no. 41.

¹²¹ Benefiel 2011, 31.

¹²² Milnor 2014, 234-52.

should “be understood as being in dialogue with their surroundings,” and in this instance, the graffiti’s surroundings included an entrance that leads from the street and into defined space.¹²³ Seven of these graffiti were from the first lines of books 1, 2, or 7 of the *Aeneid*, while three were quotes or direct addresses to characters within the *Aeneid*.¹²⁴ Similarly, only two of eight outside graffiti were not from the first two books of the *Aeneid*.¹²⁵ Overall, only five of the 17 graffiti were more obscure quotes from the *Aeneid* that indicated a greater degree of knowledge than a schoolboy may have learned in his education.¹²⁶ Thus, almost a third of graffitied *Aeneid* quotes were found outside along walls or close to doors and reflected more commonly known quotes such as opening lines from *Aeneid* 1 and 2.

Another interesting pattern which emerged in analyzing the location of the other lines from the *Aeneid* graffiti was that they appeared almost evenly in interior and exterior spaces, with 10 examples in exterior spaces and 9 examples in interior spaces (Fig. 2.5). This comparison was particularly evident when compared to the split of the graffiti that were opening lines from the *Aeneid*, 13 lines in exterior spaces and 20 lines in interior spaces. Based on the concentration of opening lines of *Aeneid* graffiti in interior spaces, Pompeians interacted more with the text of the *Aeneid* in private spaces than in exterior spaces. Thus, although only one overlap occurs between *Aeneid* graffiti and imagery inspired by the *Aeneid*, Pompeians interacted more deeply with the *Aeneid* as imagery and as text in interior spaces.

Most *Aeneid* graffiti in Pompeii, 34 of 53 examples, were found inside buildings, as demonstrated in Fig. 2.6. The five examples from the basilica and *palaestra* were unusual

¹²³ Benefiel 2011, 24.

¹²⁴ See Milnor 2014, 263-70, nos. 2, 10, 12, 13, 15, 38, 47, 52, 53.

¹²⁵ See Milnor 2014, 263-70, nos. 3, 8, 11, 27, 29, 35, 46, 51.

¹²⁶ Milnor 2014, 261.

compared to the remaining graffiti because they were in public buildings. Of the remaining 31 examples from private contexts, 11 were located near the entrance of the house in atria, fauces, or on the door post. Further within the houses, in the exedrae, garden, hallway, peristyle, porticoes, tablinum, and on inside walls were the other 20 examples of *Aeneid* graffiti. Of the 11 graffiti near the house entrances, only three were not opening lines of books 1, 2, or 7 of the *Aeneid*.¹²⁷ Similarly, only six of the 20 graffiti examples from the center or back of the house were not opening lines from books 1, 2, or 7 of the *Aeneid*. Based on Milnor's theory that these non-opening lines were used as witty communicative devices and Benefiel's claim that graffiti engaging in dialogue were more often found within Pompeian houses, the higher number of other lines of *Aeneid* graffiti inside Pompeian homes matched the patterns of other graffiti.

Conclusions

Within Pompeii, the imagery of the *Aeneid* and the *Aeneid* graffiti indicated that the treatment of the *Aeneid* in text and imagery was vastly different. The wall paintings, statuettes, and other media which reflected episodes from the *Aeneid* were scenes that most often told a narrative of a warrior or a love story, and only occasionally reflected political, public imagery. The themes in the *Aeneid* wall paintings matched the basic thematic categories found within the corpora of Pompeian wall paintings. The scenes did not correlate with the bulk of the graffiti evidence, however, as they did not tend to depict scenes from the first two books or the beginning of books in the *Aeneid*.

Since the bulk of *Aeneid* graffiti were from the opening lines of books 1 and 2, however, the graffiti did not necessarily reflect engagement with the actual text. Based on the coinage, lamps, and political imagery of the *Aeneid*, the act of quoting the *Aeneid* in graffiti could still

¹²⁷ Milnor 2014, 268-9, nos. 41, 44-5.

have indicated a conscious and knowledgeable choice when copying down the first lines from an opening book of the *Aeneid*. Furthermore, the other fourteen quotations from various books of the *Aeneid*, which were most likely not known via school, indicated a more specific knowledge of the *Aeneid* as a whole. Regardless of the obscurity of the quotes or wall paintings, the graffiti and imagery implied a difference between public and private imagery in the first century CE for the *Aeneid*. Relatively few examples of the *Aeneid* triad, the image utilized by Augustus and later emperors, were found in Pompeii and the graffiti seemed to combine both the meaning of its original words and newfound urban connotations of dialogue attached.

Chapter 3: Imagery from the *Aeneid* in the second and early third centuries CE - to the provinces

Introduction

Although only one instance of *Aeneid* imagery in décor existed from the provinces in the first century CE, in the second and early third centuries CE, all the examples were from locations outside of Italy (Fig. 3.1).¹²⁸ Public usage of imagery from the *Aeneid* by Augustus influenced some choices for décor in the first century CE, but public usage of this imagery had dwindled considerably by the second century CE.¹²⁹ Coinage from Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius are some of the few examples of the *Aeneid* triad or other imperial uses of imagery in the second and third centuries CE.¹³⁰ As mentioned in chapter one, in the first century CE, there are four instances of *Aeneid* triad imagery which most likely reproduce Augustus' public imagery of the *Aeneid* triad, but in private buildings. I intend to investigate whether that trend continues into the second and early third centuries CE or if imagery from the *Aeneid* communicates a different message.

The examples arose from Gallia Narbonensis, southeast Britain, and in the Peloponnese of Greece. Thus, imagery from the *Aeneid* became more widespread in décor; the possible sources of this imagery and how imagery spread in the second and early third centuries CE are explored through the lenses of copybooks, workshops, illustration and influences from theatrical performances. Additionally, I investigate the context of the imagery to determine if there were reasons why certain themes or scenes which appeared in the examples of *Aeneid* imagery might have resonated more in certain locations or with familiar imagery from other mythological art. Comparanda from other contexts, such as public or funerary art, is also be employed, and art

¹²⁸ See Belis 2016, Davey and Ling 1982, Lavagne 1994, and Tomlinson 1996.

¹²⁹ Zanker 1988, 278.

¹³⁰ Dardenay 2011, 211-15, nos. E1, E2, E5, E6, E9, and E14-17.

which reflects the basic type or theme from the scene with *Aeneid* imagery, such as boxing matches, mythological scenes, hunting scenes, etc.

Evidence from Gallia Narbonensis – Description

The first pieces of evidence in the second and early third centuries CE in Gallia Narbonensis are five mosaics with a central panel that scholars have argued represented a boxing match between Dares and Entellus in the *Aeneid* (5.362-384).¹³¹ Of these five mosaics, four were found in domestic contexts while the fifth was from a public building. Virgilian literary scholars have studied the boxing match extensively, as they argue that Book 5 is a microcosm of the entire *Aeneid* and therefore provides vital intratextual comparisons;¹³² depictions of the fight, however, were abnormal subjects for artistic representations of the *Aeneid*, as they have only appeared in these five mosaics.¹³³ Since these five mosaics were closely related by geography and content, the owners potentially shared similar motives for choosing Dares and Entellus' boxing match such as regional interest in games, the desire to depict moral and literary exempla, and they had access to a shared mosaic workshop or copybook which created the pavements.

Three of the five mosaics which contained the central panel depicting Dares and Entellus' boxing match were from Aix-en-Provence, or ancient Aquae Sextiae (Fig. 3.1).¹³⁴ The first mosaic depicting Dares and Entellus' boxing match was from the rue des Magnans in Aix.¹³⁵ The central panel depicts two men standing on either side of a bull, one facing the viewer while one gazes frontwards over his shoulder. Both men are nude and wear straps, identified as boxing equipment; both have well-developed physiques and are depicted realistically with detailed

¹³¹ Lavagne 1994, 211–215.

¹³² See Galinsky 1968, Feldharr 2002, and Papanghelis 2009.

¹³³ While Lavagne (1994, 214-5) identifies two other possible representations of this scene on funerary reliefs Gallia Belgica, neither identification is conclusive.

¹³⁴ Lavagne 1994, 205, fig. 2.

¹³⁵ Henceforth called the “Aix-Magnans mosaic”; Lavagne 1994, 205, fig. 2.”.

shading. The man with his back to the bull has red detailing throughout his torso and arms, indicating wounds from a fight, and is bearded. His companion on the right, however, is clean-shaven, has drops of blood falling from his brow, and red detailing that indicates he has just finished a fight. The bull, who lies between the two figures, is in the act of falling forward onto his front legs as blood flows from a head wound.

In 1790, builders discovered another depiction of Dares and Entellus' fight along with four other mythological mosaics; the *domus* in which these mosaics were discovered was part of the city wall underneath the modern hospital.¹³⁶ The whole Aix-l'hôpital mosaic was smaller compared to the Aix-Magnans mosaic, and also differed in that the artisan centered the central panel inside in the mosaic, unlike the composition of the Aix-Magnans mosaic.¹³⁷ The third and final example of a mosaic depicting Dares and Entellus' boxing match at Aix-en-Provence is a mosaic found in the Enclos des Chartreux – Maison 1, or the Aix-Chartreux mosaic.¹³⁸ Using stylistic analysis, Lavagne placed the mosaic in the second half of the second century CE.¹³⁹ Unlike the other two mosaics, the bull lies wholly on the ground, and not just on his two front legs; like the other two mosaics, he appears to bleed from his head. Despite the slight differences, the basic elements of the Aix-Chartreux mosaic are identical to the Aix-Magnans and Aix-l'hôpital mosaics.

The fourth mosaic was discovered at modern Villelaure in a villa.¹⁴⁰ Although excavators only partially excavated the villa in the 19th century, they found a suite of four rooms with individual mosaic pavements. Unlike the previous three mosaics, the right-hand figure stands in

¹³⁶ Lavagne 2000, 238-9, no. 789; henceforth called "Aix-l'hôpital mosaic"

¹³⁷ Lavagne 2000, 246, no. 789.

¹³⁸ Lavagne 2000, 276, no. 840.

¹³⁹ Lavagne 2000, 278, no. 839.

¹⁴⁰ Lavagne 2000, 306, no. 913-916; henceforth called the "Villelaure mosaic".

front of the dying bull, albeit in the same position as the other mosaics.¹⁴¹ The detailing of this mosaic is more dramatic than the previous three; the bull's horns are composed of blue glass tesserae, which contrast sharply with the other stone tesserae, and the bull bleeds from its temple. Scholars have postulated that the villa owners could have been connected to Aix-en-Provence, approximately 20 miles south of Villedaure, since they commissioned this scene which was otherwise only known in domestic contexts from three locations in Aix.¹⁴² Artisans most likely installed the villa's mosaics at the end of the second century CE, although the villa's occupation continued until the fifth century CE.¹⁴³ Thus, the Villedaure mosaic is the fourth example of a mosaic depicting two men standing near or on either side of a bull in the region of Gallia Narbonensis.

While those four examples of Dares and Entellus' boxing match came from domestic contexts, a fifth example exists at Nîmes, approximately 58 miles northwest of Aix-en-Provence.¹⁴⁴ This mosaic post-dated the four mosaics by half a century; it dated to the end of the second to the beginning of the third century CE.¹⁴⁵ The mosaic itself was found in a public building which was constructed sometime around the second century CE and occupied until the sixth century CE.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, an inscription in black tesserae against a white background reads:]AN[---/---]C[---]IB. F.CLAVDI[-/--]PAVIMENT[---]EMA•S•P[---].¹⁴⁷ The few lines which remain of the inscription indicate that a son or daughter of a Claudius/Claudia had the pavement installed at their own expense. This inscription also suggested that the mosaic is

¹⁴¹ Balmelle and Darmon 2017, 158–9.

¹⁴² Lavagne 2000, 307, no. 913-916.

¹⁴³ Lavagne 2000, 305-6, nos. 913-916; Belis 2016, 24.

¹⁴⁴ Henceforth called the “Nîmes mosaic”.

¹⁴⁵ Lancha 1997, 103, no. 50.

¹⁴⁶ Lancha 1997, 103, no. 50.

¹⁴⁷ Lancha 1997, 102, no. 50.

located in a public building where the inscription might be visible and demonstrate wealth; Dunbabin noted that donors who commissioned a mosaic floor with a dedicatory inscription were often high-ranking members within the community who wanted to demonstrate their influence.¹⁴⁸

Interestingly, Aeneas himself appeared in the central panel of this mosaic, along with the typical two male figures and the bull;¹⁴⁹ this was the only instance where Aeneas is included, but otherwise this mosaic shared the same basic aspects of the other mosaics' figural central panel.¹⁵⁰ Like the past three mosaics, the Nîmes mosaic featured two figures standing on either side of a bull which was collapsing to the ground. To the left of the two fighters, a third dressed figure stands with his right hand upraised, presumably to stop whatever action is taking place. This figure stares intently at the two other figures and is depicted in profile with wavy hair, a clean-shaven face, and a muscled upper body. The two figures to the right are poorly preserved, but visible features indicate that both are probably nude, have developed musculature, and are wearing straps on their arms; the straps are probably boxing gloves. Finally, the bull in between the two men lies on its front legs, in mid-collapse, as it bleeds from the head area. Although the remainder of the mosaic is heavily degraded, the layout indicates that this figural scene provided a focal point for the room based on location and presence of a dedicatory inscription.

Evidence from Gallia Narbonensis – Discussion

While Lavagne identified the mosaics as portraying the fight between Dares and Entellus in *Aeneid* (5.362-484), he provided little justification as to his identification of this scene apart from

¹⁴⁸ Dunbabin 1999, 317; Lancha 1997, 102-3, no. 50.

¹⁴⁹ Lancha (1997, 101, no. 50) identifies Aeneas as the third figure because the mosaic's subject still appears to depict the fight of Dares and Entellus, and so the rational third person in this scene would be Aeneas, who adjudicates the match.

¹⁵⁰ Lancha 1997, 102-3, no. 50.

correlating the figures to the text of the *Aeneid*.¹⁵¹ When evaluating the possible identity of these mosaics, they should first be compared to other comparable fighting scenes to determine if they depict normal boxing matches or something which a literary source might have inspired; in other words, whether these mosaics' figural scenes appear similar to other depictions of athletes in Roman mosaics. Roman boxers are normally identified via wearing boxing gloves, or *caesti*, which are occasionally spiked.¹⁵² Such depictions are evident at Ostia and in the Baths of Caracalla at Rome, where athletes wore *caesti*; these appeared as leather straps which sometimes contained metal inserts.¹⁵³ Since all the figures in the scenes wear boxing gloves, these figures can be securely identified as boxers. The difference, however, between these five boxing scenes and other boxing mosaics is the presence of the collapsing bull either between in or behind the two fighters.

Since the five mosaics of the two boxers and a bull were unique in mosaics which portray boxing, the next step to potential identification is to examine literary accounts which might correlate with the details of the five mosaics. Most notable in Greco-Roman literature were boxing matches which take place as part of either *parentalia* or funeral games.¹⁵⁴ One epic account of a boxing match came from the *Aeneid*, when Aeneas hosted a *parentalia* on the one-year anniversary of his father Anchises' death (5.42-71). The Trojan Dares fought against the Sicilian Entellus, both fighting nude and wearing boxing gloves (*Aen.* 5.368, 421-425). After winning the fight, Entellus sacrificed a bull to his mentor Eryx by striking a deadly blow on the bull's head (*Aen.* 5.477-484). Since the boxing match in the *Aeneid* is the only fight which

¹⁵¹ See Lavagne 1994, 211-5 for discussion of identification.

¹⁵² Newby 2005, 54.

¹⁵³ Newby 2005, 67; Poliakoff 1985, 229 n. 6.

¹⁵⁴ Lovatt 2005, 13; see Hom *Il.* 23.669-699, Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.67-97, V. Fl. *Argon.* 4.222-314, and St. *Theb.* 6.721-825 for other accounts of boxing matches in Roman epic.

included a bull in epic, the fight between Entellus and Dares is the most likely source if the mosaics are inspired from literature. Furthermore, since the figural scene in the five mosaics is different from any other boxing mosaic and mostly matched the Dares and Entellus story, it is likely that the fight between Entellus and Dares inspired these mosaics.

In the *Aeneid*, the boxing match between Dares and Entellus represented the clash between the epic, heroic past and the human future of Aeneas and his Trojan followers.¹⁵⁵ Once Entellus refrains from killing Dares, albeit at Aeneas' request, he moves beyond the rashness and barbarism of Amycus in Apollonius' *Argonautica* to rationality and civilized sacrifice.¹⁵⁶ This transition was important in the *Aeneid*, especially because Aeneas himself seemingly chooses rashness over rationality by killing Turnus at the close of the *Aeneid* (12.938-52). Scholars have argued that the boxing match between Dares and Entellus served as a microcosm of the conflict between Aeneas and Turnus, except that Aeneas killed Turnus as his sacrifice.¹⁵⁷ The five mosaics which portray the episode simultaneously captured the moment after Entellus sacrificed the bull to his mentor Eryx's spirit and the moment after the fight before Dares' companions led him off the field (*Aen.* 5.468-84); the Nîmes mosaic also portrays Aeneas' intervention which prevented Dares' death (*Aen.* 5.465-67). Thus, the mosaics highlighted the choice of rationality over rashness and the momentary triumph of the heroic past over the human future.

Although the popularity of the *Aeneid* as a text in antiquity was not contested, this depiction of the *Aeneid* was unknown outside of Gallia Narbonensis in any medium.¹⁵⁸ Since the boxing match of Dares and Entellus was a unique scene, scholars have questioned why this scene

¹⁵⁵ Papanghelis 2009, 331.

¹⁵⁶ Feldharr 2002, 68.

¹⁵⁷ See Galinsky 1968, Stegen 1971, Galinsky 1968/1988, and Feldharr 2002 for comparisons between Dares and Entellus' boxing match and Aeneas and Turnus' final fight.

¹⁵⁸ Anderson 2006, 157.

appeared in Gallia Narbonensis alone and five different times. The most obvious explanation for the repeated presence of mosaics depicting the boxing match of Dares and Entellus was the presence of a workshop in Gallia Narbonensis who produced this mosaic multiple times in multiple cities. Lavagne posited that the style and content are similar enough that one could suppose that artists utilized copy-books, into which they might have copied the basic content and not detailed renderings, to produce the five mosaics in Villelaure, Nîmes, and Aix-en-Provence.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, he noted the similarities on the torsos of Entellus and Dares in the Aix-Chartreux mosaic and the Theseus and the Minotaur mosaic from Aix-en-Provence. This shared torso detail may have indicated that these mosaics were a product of one workshop, further tying together the creation of the Aix-Chartreux and the Aix-l'hôpital mosaics.¹⁶⁰ Thus, if a mosaic workshop in the region created and spread the Dares and Entellus boxing match scene, then the presence of mosaic workshops partially explained the regionalized distribution of the motif.

Darmon advanced another explanation for the presence of these five *Aeneid* mosaics by arguing that they represented a desire to denote “Roman-ness” due to the length of time that Gallia Narbonensis was a Roman colony. Darmon offered this explanation in conjunction with the possibility that the mosaic appeared five times due to a shared workshop in the region.¹⁶¹ Since Gallia Narbonensis was one of the oldest Roman provinces, he argued that its élites could be particularly desirous to display their age through displays of Roman literature.¹⁶² While the argument is interesting, other provinces in the Roman empire (such as Sicily) approached or surpassed the region regarding length of time as a province; these mosaics, however, or similar

¹⁵⁹ Lavagne 1994, 214.

¹⁶⁰ Lavagne 2000, 297, no. 857.

¹⁶¹ Darmon 1995, 63.

¹⁶² Lavagne 1994, 214; Darmon 1995, 63.

depictions of specifically Roman literary scenes were unknown in Sicily. Thus, a desire to exhibit their strong Roman connection most likely was not a defining feature in choosing to display the fight between Dares and Entellus in a mosaic. Darmon's suggestion that one workshop created all the mosaics, however, is probable in view of the shared characteristics and the short time in which the mosaics are all crafted, approximately 50 to 75 years.¹⁶³

Scholars also explained the presence of this unique *Aeneid* scene as representing both a "...double fonction pédagogique d'une référence littéraire précise et d'une leçon de morale..."¹⁶⁴ Darmon noted that there are many mythological mosaics which feature Eros, Endymion, Pan, Apollo, Athena and others as exempla of moral lessons and pedagogical examples from literature because they could provide proof of education and moral awareness.¹⁶⁵ Lavagne also added that the scene taught *pietas* because Entellus sacrificed the bull to his mentor and acted with deference to Aeneas.¹⁶⁶ Thus, the story of Dares and Entellus correlated well with other mythological examples because these mosaics also illustrated a moral and literary case: Dares met his downfall through *hubris* while Entellus gained his glory through perseverance and *pietas*.¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, since at least two of the four mosaics could be *triclinia* mosaics, due to the central panel's position in the mosaic, the boxing match might have fostered discussion of these morals amongst visitors and residents.¹⁶⁸

Furthermore, the mosaics of Dares and Entellus' boxing match could have reflected a regional interest in agonistic games which is reported in literature and in material culture

¹⁶³ Belis 2016, 28; Lavagne 1994, 214.

¹⁶⁴ Darmon 1995, 63.

¹⁶⁵ Darmon 1995, 66-7.

¹⁶⁶ Lavagne 1994, 215.

¹⁶⁷ Lavagne 1994, 215; Darmon 1995, 62.

¹⁶⁸ Lavagne 1994, 204; Belis 2016, 27.

throughout Gallia Narbonensis. Pliny the Younger wrote to one of his friends praising the abolition of an agonistic festival at Vienne, a festival which he likened to those at Rome; his disdain for Greek games preserved a record of Gallia Narbonensis's interest (*Ep.* 4.22). Even after the abolition of the agonistic games, however, a wall painting and mosaic which depicted Greek athletic contests at Vienne from the early third century CE demonstrated that enthusiasm for games did not decline.¹⁶⁹ Since there was a renewed interest in Greek culture, albeit particularly in the Roman East, the interest in Greek games may have jointly stemmed from this renewed interest in Greek cultural events such as games and the Greek heritage of Massilia.¹⁷⁰ Thus, owners could have chosen Dares and Entellus' boxing match for a mosaic since it presented an athletic contest.

Throughout Gallia Narbonensis, the unique depiction of Dares and Entellus' boxing match most likely occurred due to a regional interest in Greek games, a desire to display moral and literary exempla, and spread of the iconography through a regional mosaicist. While the presence of a regional workshop offering this scene to customers is a reasonable explanation, it does not wholly explain why this scene was present in their copybooks or why customers chose it relatively frequently. The preference for agonistic games, however, provided a reason as to why people might have desired a mosaic of the boxing match of Dares and Entellus. Furthermore, the mosaics provided not only a moral lesson on the positive attribute of *pietas* and the negative trait of *hubris*, but also illustrated a pedagogical lesson by depicting a scene from the popular school text, the *Aeneid*. Although no definitive explanation as to the unique scene's presence can be provided, the combination of factors in Gallia Narbonensis offers possibilities as to the presence

¹⁶⁹ Newby 2005, 79.

¹⁷⁰ Newby 2005, 83.

the art of *Aeneid* book five. The theory of a workshop in Gallia Narbonensis explained the availability of the scene, and the provision of a moral and literary example and regional interest in Greek agonistic games provided an explanation for the scene's popularity.

Evidence from Britannia

Turning to the province of Britannia, one fragmentary wall painting from a villa in Otford, Kent, England depicts a figure and a quote from the *Aeneid* (Fig. 3.1, 3.4).¹⁷¹ The figure's side is depicted as muscular and nude, with a raised arm holding a yellow spear.¹⁷² Joining fragments include capital Latin letters which read "BINA MANU" legibly and a downstroke of another letter which scholars presume is an "L" (Fig. 3.4).¹⁷³ Based on the quotation and the figure, scholars have identified the quote as *Aen.* 1.313 or 12.165;¹⁷⁴ both lines begin with "bina manu lato" and narrate Aeneas in book 1 or Turnus in book 12 as he holds a spear. Davey and Ling dated the painting stylistically to the second century CE, although the villa was occupied until the 4th century.¹⁷⁵

Scholars presume that the painted words indicated a connection to the *Aeneid*. There are no known visual comparanda for imagery of either *Aen.* 1.313 or 12.165, so the identifications were based on the painted text, which depicts Aeneas and Achates or Turnus, respectively. While the small extant portion of the painting depicts half of the torso, head, and one arm of a figure who carried a golden spear, the imagery is not enough to speculate about its possible source or

¹⁷¹ Ling 2007, 76.

¹⁷² Davey and Ling 1982, 147, pl. LXII No. 30 (A).

¹⁷³ Davey and Ling 1982, 146; Ling 2007, 76.

¹⁷⁴ Barrett 1978, 309; Davey and Ling 1982, 146–8; Ling 2007, 76.

¹⁷⁵ Davey and Ling 1982, 148; Another wall painting fragment with the potential letters "B" or "R" and either "M", "N", "U", or "V" was recorded in July 2017 excavations by the West Kent Archaeological Society and the Discover Roman Otford Project (<http://archaeologywkas.com/projects/>), although the fragments are from a nearby villa called "Church Fields" which was occupied in the 4th and 5th centuries CE (pers. comm. Kevin Fromings, 2018).

comparanda. While the spear could note the presence of hunters or warriors, the painted words pointed audiences to the direction of warriors, most likely either Turnus or Aeneas and Achates.

¹⁷⁶ Although the figure and the spear did not provide much help in identifying the scene or the painted phrase, the heroic nudity of the figure indicated that the figure and the words are connected to an epic hero. Since the words are in Latin and match two separate instances in the *Aeneid* where a figure carried a spear, the connection between the plaster fragments and the *Aeneid* is plausible from both the text and the iconography.

The most unusual aspect of the Otford wall painting is the existence of painted Latin lines in verse. Wall paintings with painted lines of verse were rare in any era or region; indeed, the only other example of literary – or literary-inspired – inscriptions in Britain is the mosaic at Lullingston with an Ovidian style couplet and Virgilian allusion which dated to the fourth century CE.¹⁷⁷ In contrast, the only second century CE parallel to wall paintings with phrases in verse is the example of lines above the philosophers in the Baths of the Seven Sages at Ostia.¹⁷⁸ Various crude sayings in Latin iambic *senarii* graced the painted walls above the figures in the room and provided the closest parallel in the second century CE for painted lines in verse in Roman wall paintings.¹⁷⁹ At the House of M. Lucretius Fronto at Pompeii, in the first century CE, an artisan painted the words of a Latin poem on a painting about Micon and Pero.¹⁸⁰ Milnor discussed further examples found in the House of the Epigrams and the Caupona of Euxinus at Pompeii; both contained poetry written on paintings, dated to the first century CE.¹⁸¹ None of

¹⁷⁶ Galinsky 1969, 30.

¹⁷⁷ Ling 2007, 84-5.

¹⁷⁸ Davey and Ling 1982, 148.

¹⁷⁹ Koloski-Ostrow and Moormann and Koloski-Ostrow 2011, 178–81. Moormann and Koloski-Ostrow 2011, 178–81.

¹⁸⁰ Ling 2007, 84; Milnor 2014, 109–110.

¹⁸¹ Milnor 2014, 85-90.

these Pompeian comparanda, however, displayed lines of poetry from well-known literary sources, such as the *Aeneid*. These few and inexact parallels underscore the uniqueness of the Otford example.

Further fragments of painted plaster discovered in the 1927-8 excavations at Otford contain painted letters and etched letters. However, none of the fragments clearly match with the others to form lines or phrases.¹⁸² Two sets of letters can be distinguished in these fragments: painted letters (four fragments) and etched letters (two fragments). None of the fragments with painted letters has the same background as Fig. 3.4, but both fragments which have etched letters appear to have a background similar to that seen in Fig. 3.4. The assumption that these painted fragments contain lettering which would also be from the *Aeneid* is prevalent in the scholarship on Otford; Ling assumed that there would be other scenes which illustrated or further elucidated lines from the *Aeneid*, lines which might be written above the scenes.¹⁸³ While these five fragments offer no further conclusive evidence for the existence of additional scenes or lines from the *Aeneid*, they do indicate that further painted lines existed at Otford during the second century CE. The etched letters imply that viewers were perhaps interacting with these images and quotations by inscribing their own thoughts.

¹⁸² Of the 211 other fragments, only four show signs of painted letters while a fifth depicts an arm reaching out to touch an unknown object. One fragment has a reddish-brown background, lighter than in Figure 7, and displays the letters “MR” which are followed by a downstroke. While the downstroke could be the beginning of several letters, the combination of “MR” would most likely be followed by a vowel, either “I” or “E”. However, the letter combination “MR” is not found in the surrounding 40 lines of either *Aen.* 1.313 or 12.165. The other three fragments do not display easily identifiable letter groupings, but their backgrounds appear to the same reddish-brown color of the “MR” fragment (pers. comm. Pernille Richards, 2018); Maidstone Museum, inv., MNEMG.TEMP.2017.430, MNEMG.TEMP.2017.429, MNEMG.TEMP.2017.127.

¹⁸³ Davey and Ling 1982, 148; Ling 2007, 77.

Evidence from Achaea

Another second century CE example of *Aeneid* imagery is in the Villa of Herodes Atticus at Eua Loukou (Fig. 3.1). Here a mosaic portrays Dido and Aeneas on the hunt (*Aen.* 4.129). Greek letters which spell “ΔΕΙΔΟ” and “ΑΙΝΕΑΣ” label the figures and provided secure identification.¹⁸⁴ Papaioannou noted that the labeling of this mosaic and others in the villa was the earliest example of what became a late second and early third century CE fashion in the Roman East.¹⁸⁵ This mosaic is the only known example of *Aeneid* imagery in décor during the second and early third centuries CE in the Roman East, but this may be explained by the Roman and imperial connections of Herodes Atticus.¹⁸⁶

Since this mosaic does not directly copy a previous example, questions arise as to the origin of this imagery and why it might have existed at Herodes Atticus’ villa in Eua Loukou. Although Herodes Atticus may have included the scene to highlight his Roman connections, he could easily have chosen to depict the *Aeneid* triad as a less subtle display of his Romanness. One possible explanation for the choice of the scene of Dido and Aeneas, a Roman mythological scene from the *Aeneid*, was a desire on the part of Herodes Atticus to demonstrate his paideia and Roman connections while also emphasizing the eastern origins of the Roman myth. A potential parallel is the Herakles Farnese statue-type, which normally appears with the Hesperian apples. A sub-type of the statue was known where Herakles appears with the Hesperian apple but instead with his son Telephos, whom he discovered at Pergamon.¹⁸⁷ This statue type was often found in the East and was selected from the plethora of myths about Herakles to display a local

¹⁸⁴ Tomlinson 1996, 12.

¹⁸⁵ Papaioannou 2018, 349.

¹⁸⁶ Papaioannou 2018, 339, 350.

¹⁸⁷ Stirling 2006, 97.

connection to the hero. In the same way, Herodes Atticus may have selected a depiction of Aeneas' exploits before reaching Italy to remind and reimagine the myth in the minds of Greek audiences as an eastern story.¹⁸⁸ Still, the scene's Roman mythological subjects allowed Herodes Atticus to display his Roman and imperial connections. Thus, the Dido and Aeneas mosaic was not such an oddity in the villa as it first appeared.¹⁸⁹ Furthermore, as Papaioannou noted, the entirety of the villa's décor seems personalized to all aspects of Herodes Atticus' multifaceted identity as a Roman Greek with connections to the imperial family and court, and influence as a philosopher;¹⁹⁰ thus, the presence of a scene from a Roman foundation myth emphasized Herodes Atticus' paideia and his imperial connections.

Comparandum from North Africa

A mosaic of Virgil and two Muses found at Hadrumetum (modern-day Sousse) constitutes a different type of imagery related to the Aeneid in that it depicts a scroll of the poem.¹⁹¹ Scholars dated the mosaic to the beginning of the third century CE and have argued that it most likely resided in the tablinum.¹⁹² The mosaic portrays a seated figure writing on a scroll and flanked by two standing women. The words on the scroll identify the seated figure as Virgil, since the scroll contains *Aen.* 1.8 written in Latin letters.¹⁹³ One woman holds a scroll, while the other holds a theater mask; scholars have agreed that these two women are the Muses, although there was some debate about whether the figure to Virgil's right was Clio, the Muse of history,

¹⁸⁸ Stirling 2006, 96-7.

¹⁸⁹ Papaioannou 2018, 349.

¹⁹⁰ Papaioannou 2018, 350.

¹⁹¹ Zehnacker 2000, 44, 1. Zehnacker 2000, 44, 1.

¹⁹² See Gauckler 1897, Schoder 1967, and Zehnacker 2000.

¹⁹³ Zehnacker 2000, 48.

or Calliope, the Muse of epic.¹⁹⁴ Regardless of their exact identities, the artisan used these two Muses to show Virgil's divine inspiration for the *Aeneid*.¹⁹⁵

Although the mosaic depicts Virgil and lines from the *Aeneid* directly rather than the *Aeneid* as a story, this mosaic provides an example of art and text combined. Zehnacker noted that the presentation of Virgil and the Muses implied a literary connection for the patron who ordered this mosaic to be created in his villa. The presence of Virgil and the *Aeneid*, rather than the *Eclogues* or the *Georgics*, perhaps indicated that the patron desired a strong connection to the Romanness of both since Virgil was revered as the Roman version of Homer and the *Aeneid* narrated the epic story of Rome's foundation via Aeneas.¹⁹⁶ While the mosaic does not portray a story from the *Aeneid* directly, it provides a comparandum for the depiction of the *Aeneid* as a text in art during the third century CE.

Conclusion

The six different examples of *Aeneid* imagery in décor depicted scenes that were episodic and thematic for viewers across the empire in the second and early third centuries CE. Apart from the mosaic from Eua Loukou, the other five examples depicted scenes from the *Aeneid* which could be classified in Galinsky's warrior category.¹⁹⁷ Conversely, the mosaic which depicted the hunt of Dido and Aeneas in *Aen.* 4.129 at Eua Loukou would be classified as in the Galinsky's category of lovers.¹⁹⁸ In this sense, the imagery of the second and early third centuries was familiar to viewers who may have seen other mythological scenes which depicted

¹⁹⁴ Zehnacker 2000, 47-8.

¹⁹⁵ Schoder 1967, 12.

¹⁹⁶ Zehnacker 2000, 55.

¹⁹⁷ Galinsky 1969, 22-3.

lovers and warriors or fighting. Furthermore, both the mosaic of Dares and Entellus' boxing match and the mosaic of Dido and Aeneas at Eua Loukou were additionally tied to their contexts. The four mosaics from Gallia Narbonensis could have been chosen because of the enthusiasm in the region for agnostic games, and the rising interest in literature. Likewise, the mosaic of Dido and Aeneas from Herodes Atticus' villa at Eua Loukou may have represented a distinctly Roman myth in the "other" setting of Carthage to showcase the otherness and non-Roman roots of the myth, Aeneas, and the setting itself. Thus, while the scenes which were chosen from the *Aeneid* as the subjects of these mosaics were unusual, the general settings and types of scenes might have been familiar to the audience.

While the labels at Eua Loukou were the beginning of a trend in the Roman East towards labeling figures, the painting at Otford was potentially a unique instance of illustration of the *Aeneid*. Illustration, in the case of the Otford fragments, could mean a pictorial representation of *Aeneid* text, although this cannot be proven definitively. Additional fragments from Otford indicated that there may have been other illustrated lines from the *Aeneid* at this site.¹⁹⁹ These fragments could have represented the only instance of illustrated text in *Aeneid* imagery before the Late Antique manuscripts. Regardless of how closely the figural scenes represented the text, if at all, the "BINA MANU L[ATO]" fragment from Otford was the only known Latin epic, poetic line which a patron commissioned in Roman décor.

Thus, by the end of the second and third centuries CE, imagery from the *Aeneid* had changed somewhat in its representations and spatial locations from the first century CE. In décor, there were no known examples of the *Aeneid* triad depicted, unlike the four examples in the first

¹⁹⁹ Pers. comm. Pernille Richards, 2018; Maidstone Museum, inv., MNEMG.TEMP.2017.430, MNEMG.TEMP.2017.429, MNEMG.TEMP.2017.127.

century CE. The first example of *Aeneid* imagery in the East arose at Herodes' Atticus' villa in Eua Loukou; it depicted a somewhat generic scene of a mythological couple hunting, but the couple was securely identified through name-labels.²⁰⁰ This was the first instance of generic imagery inspired by the *Aeneid*, outside of the Augustan imagery, and it continued the trend of labeling depictions of Dido and Aeneas.²⁰¹ By comparison, the five examples from the West in Gallia Narbonensis and Otford narrated specific episodes from the *Aeneid* in the second and early third centuries CE. In the second and third centuries CE, then, the imagery began to develop a divide between which scenes were depicted in the East and in the West. Copybooks, regional choice, and influence from theatrical performances could also have explained the spread of some of the imagery inspired by the *Aeneid*, although the Otford wall plaster fragments remained unique in the quotation of an epic, poetic line.

²⁰⁰ Papaioannou 2018, 349-50.

²⁰¹ See Varone and Stefani (2009, 381) for the only first century CE example of a depiction of Dido and Aeneas which is labeled.

Chapter 4: Aeneid in imagery - diversity in Late Antiquity

Introduction

In Late Antiquity, only one text documented a potential example of public usage of *Aeneid* imagery: Christodorus, writing about the Zeuxippos Baths, detailed how a statue group of Dares and Entellus fighting joined the sculptural program set out by Constantine.²⁰² For imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* within Roman décor, however, the examples were more abundant. The patterns which began to emerge in the second and early third centuries CE became clearer and more defined. Geographical diversity manifested through narrative scenes and more generic scenes which are inspired from the *Aeneid*. The evidence from Late Antiquity comprised six figural mosaics from England, Portugal, Turkey, and Syria; other *Aeneid*-inspired imagery and Virgilian-inspired items include decorated and inscribed silver from the East (Fig. 4.1).²⁰³ Given the diversity of *Aeneid*-related images which appeared in Late Antiquity, this divergence between narrative and generic scenes invites investigation of modes of dissemination besides copybooks. Earlier scholarship has suggested that artisans adapted imagery of the *Aeneid* in Late Antiquity from illustrated manuscripts, such as the Vergilius Vaticanus and the Vergilius Romanus.²⁰⁴ Scholars dated the manuscripts to the fourth and fifth centuries CE, respectively, although those dates are now in question and few scholars now attempt to relate imagery to these manuscripts.²⁰⁵ If those manuscript dates are incorrect and the manuscripts are now rarely regarded as sources of imagery for décor, however, then one can question where imagery might have arisen from and how that imagery spread.

²⁰² Bassett 2007, 503, n. 63; Since there are no remnants of the statue group, scholars such as Kaldellis (2007) question whether this ekphrastic passage actually represented statues which once decorated the baths.

²⁰³ Balty 1987; Mango and Bennett 1994, 140–2; Poulsen 1995, 202; Cosh and Neal 2005, 130–2, no. 168.1, 254–5, no. 207.1; Stefanou 2006, 25; Caetano and Mourão 2011; Garipzanov (2018, 158) discusses several spoons on which lines from Virgil's *Eclogues* are inscribed, dating to the sixth or seventh centuries CE.

²⁰⁴ See Toynbee 1964, 245; Barrett 1977, 313.

²⁰⁵ Wright 1993; 2001; Cameron 2004.

Another question surrounding imagery from the *Aeneid* in Late Antiquity was whether the variety of scenes depicted indicated a larger interest in episodic rather than generic imagery. Examples such as the Low Ham mosaic, depicting the narrative of Dido and Aeneas in a group of panels, seemed to narrate an episode rather than show a more generic scene. However, interest in mythological, hunting, games, and theatrical scenes increased in Late Antiquity; this interest may have prompted a desire for more generic imagery in décor, as was seen in eastern examples of *Aeneid* imagery. The *Aeneid* included scenes from the first three categories mentioned above, and it was depicted on the stage, so imagery which depicted narratives from the *Aeneid* could have easily matched the scene type desired by a patron. Thus, generic imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* could have been popular as well. The six mosaics which depicted imagery from the *Aeneid* across the empire are analyzed within these two categories to determine what Late Antique patrons might have preferred in decor.

Evidence from the Roman West: Britannia

Two examples dated to the early to mid-fourth century CE in Roman Britain and depicted scenes from the *Aeneid* in villa spaces. Both mosaics are in south-west Britain, one in Frampton, Dorset and the other in Low Ham, Somerset (Fig. 4.1). At Frampton, a mosaic known only from watercolor sketches depicted different mythological characters in nine squares.²⁰⁶ Five of those squares contained circular medallions, while the central circle of the nine-square grid potentially showed Bacchus (Fig. 4.2). The four squares depicted Perseus or Neptune, two other hotly contested scenes, and a figure in military garb wearing a Phrygian cap. Although originally scholars identified the figure as Mars, they now accept that the figure in military clothing with a

²⁰⁶ Cosh and Neal 2005, 130-2, no. 168.1.

Phrygian hat is actually Aeneas.²⁰⁷ In the square, Aeneas stood beside a tree with a spear in one hand while he clutched a branch from the tree in the other (Fig. 4.2); Barrett interpreted this as Aeneas plucking the golden bough to gain entrance into the Underworld in *Aen.* 6.210-11.²⁰⁸ The scene is unique in artistic representation, although in ancient literary sources, Ovid repeats this episode from the *Aeneid* in his *Met.* 14.113-15. Thus, Cosh and Neal interpreted this scene as part of the suite of scenes in the Frampton mosaic that were inspired from the *Metamorphoses*.²⁰⁹ Still, Virgil's tale of Aeneas' descent into the underworld was the source for Ovid's retelling, so viewers may have recalled both accounts upon viewing the scene.

In a villa to the southwest of Frampton, another example of *Aeneid* imagery is in the frigidarium of the villa of Low Ham.²¹⁰ Cosh and Neal provided a terminus post quem of 340 CE, although Toynbee argued for the slightly later date of 350 CE; both of these dates are based on archaeological investigation of the building phases of the frigidarium.²¹¹ The frigidarium mosaic consisted of two panels that are figured and geometric, respectively, and the figured panel abut the *piscina*, or cold-water plunge pool. Within the figured panel are an octagonal scene set inside a central square, two square scenes above and below the octagonal scene, and two longer rectangular scenes which finish out the figural parts of the mosaic (Fig. 4.3). The octagonal scene contains Venus and two cupids, while the rectangular scene to the left of Venus represents the hunt scene of *Aen.* 4.129-59. Oddly, Aeneas' son Anchises appears to be the third figure who rides in front of both Aeneas and Dido (Fig. 4.3).²¹² The second and opposite

²⁰⁷ Barrett 1977, 312-4; Cosh and Neal 2005, 130-2, no. 168.1.

²⁰⁸ Barrett 1977, 312-4; Cosh and Neal 2005, 132, no. 168.1.

²⁰⁹ Cosh and Neal 2005, 136.

²¹⁰ Toynbee 1964, 241.

²¹¹ Toynbee 1964, 242; Cosh and Neal 2005, 256, no. 207.1.

²¹² Cosh and Neal 2005, 255, no. 207.1.

rectangular scene depicts three galleys which contains bare-headed and Phrygian-capped sailors; one sailor whom Cosh and Neal identified as Achates accepts a diadem from a figure identified as Dido (Fig. 4.3).²¹³ Below Venus' feet, a square scene depicts Dido and Aeneas as they embrace between two trees (Fig. 4.3).²¹⁴ Finally, above Venus the square portrays Aeneas, Ascanius, Venus, and Dido standing next to one another (Fig. 4.3).²¹⁵ Thus, the entire mosaic narrated the story of Aeneas and Dido in books 1 and 4 of the *Aeneid*.²¹⁶

Because of the mosaic's unique cyclical composition and subject matter, scholars have widely debated the design's origin in discussions of the mosaic. Toynbee noted similarities in the rendering of Venus' chain and Dido's curl to a mosaic in Sabratha which depicted the Three Graces.²¹⁷ Further, Toynbee compared the horses which Aeneas, Dido, and Ascanius/Cupid ride in the left panel to horses in Algerian and Tunisian mosaics.²¹⁸ Based on these parallels, Toynbee suggested that the design, and possibly the mosaicist, were imported to Britain from North Africa.²¹⁹ Further support for this suggestion came from a mosaic at Nabeul, Tunisia which portrayed a narrative cycle of scenes from the *Iliad*, corresponding to the design of the Low Ham mosaic and the epic content therein.²²⁰ Still, a design featuring Dido and Aeneas in multiple scenes is unknown elsewhere; other depictions of the couple depict isolated scenes of the hunt (*Aen.* 4.129-59 and 4.160-72).²²¹ Toynbee also noted that the Low Ham mosaic is unique in the depiction of a narrative cycle; no other mosaic depicting a narrative cycle was known from

²¹³ Cosh and Neal 2005, 255, no. 207.1.

²¹⁴ Cosh and Neal 2005, 256, no. 207.1.

²¹⁵ Cosh and Neal 2005, 255-6, no. 207.1.

²¹⁶ Cosh and Neal 2005, 254, no. 207.1.

²¹⁷ Toynbee 1964, 246.

²¹⁸ Toynbee 1964, 246.

²¹⁹ Toynbee 1964, 246.

²²⁰ Dunbabin 1978, 40-1.

²²¹ See Poulsen 1995, 202; Varone and Stefani 2009, 381.

Roman Britain.²²² The mosaic, then, showed signs of North African influence but was also unique as a narrative cycle and depiction of Dido and Aeneas in Roman Britain.

Evidence from the Roman West: Lusitania

In Alter do Chão, ancient Abelterium in Lusitania on the Iberian Peninsula, a mosaic at the House of the Medusa depicted a battle scene where a victorious leader stands next to a vanquished general.²²³ The mosaic was thought to be located in the triclinium of the House of the Medusa, dated to the fourth century CE, and consisted of five panels, including the figural panel depicting the battle scene.²²⁴ Identification of this figural scene was contested; Antonio argues that the battle represents Alexander the Great at the Battle of the Hydaspes while Caetano and Mourão identify the scene as the end of the *Aeneid* before Aeneas kills Turnus (*Aen.* 12.926-50).²²⁵

Caetano and Mourão interpreted the figural mosaic as the final scene from *Aen.* 12.926-51 where Aeneas kills Turnus on the battlefield. The Phrygian hats of the three soldiers in the left of the scene identified the soldiers as Trojan for Caetano and Mourão.²²⁶ Despite the central, victorious figure's lack of a Phrygian hat, however, they argued that this figure represents Aeneas standing over the defeated Turnus.²²⁷ The figure wears greaves, a tunic, a breastplate, a *balteus*, and a unique helmet.²²⁸ Venus gave those pieces of armor to Aeneas in *Aen.* 8.377-418 and 8.600-643; Virgil described the helmet "...spewing flames..." and sported tall plumes in the

²²² Toynbee 1964, 245-6.

²²³ Caetano and Mourão 2011, 205, 207.

²²⁴ Caetano and Mourão 2011, 206.

²²⁵ See Caetano and Mourão 2011; António 2015.

²²⁶ Caetano and Mourão 2011, 209; see Cosh and Neal (2005, 132, no. 168.1) for Aeneas wearing a Phrygian hat while wearing military dress in a Frampton mosaic.

²²⁷ Caetano and Mourão 2011, 208-9; Since the Phrygian cap is not part of standard military dress, the helmet more accurately indicates the surroundings as a battlefield than a portrayal of Aeneas with a Phrygian cap might (Dosh and Neal 2005, no. 168.1, 132).

²²⁸ Caetano and Mourão 2011, 208.

mosaic (*Aen.* 8.620).²²⁹ While Aeneas' shield in this mosaic depicts Medusa and not the future of Rome, as famously described in *Aen.* 8.615-731, they argued that Medusa was employed as an apotropaic symbol to terrify the enemy.²³⁰ Small noted that artisans rarely depicted famous shields, such as the shield of Achilles or the seven shields in *The Seven Against Thebes*, as described in texts; in fact, Achilles' shield was often depicted with a gorgoneion, as Aeneas' shield is in this mosaic.²³¹ Despite the armor and shield which were depicted differently from the description in the *Aeneid*, the mosaic did appear to represent the ending of the *Aeneid* and the final moments of Turnus.

Although Caetano and Mourão's interpretation of the scene as from the *Aeneid* lacked an explanation of some features, the overall argument matched the depiction in the mosaic more than Antonio's argument.²³² Antonio employed evidence from as early as the fourth century BCE as comparanda while he failed to incorporate more contemporaneous Roman evidence.²³³ Furthermore, the spears carry by figures whom Antonio identified as Alexander and his men do not appear to be the Macedonian *sarissa*, and so provided no distinctive evidence for Antonio's theory. Antonio's argument that the "Alexander" figure wears a Medusa-head on his breastplate similar to the breastplate of Alexander in the House of the Faun mosaic is also questionable.²³⁴

²²⁹ Caetano and Mourão 2011, 207; "...[galeam] flammasque vomentem..."; Dunbabin (2015, 51 n. 48) argues that, although none of the armor worn by Aeneas in the mosaic exactly matches the Virgil's description, it replicates Imperial-era armor.

²³⁰ Caetano and Mourão 2011, 208.

²³¹ Dunbabin 2015, 52; Small (2003, 26-7) also notes the difficulty in producing ekphrastic shields which are very detailed in a small scale within a mosaic.

²³² While Caetano and Mourão (2011, 208) identify, contextualize, and discuss the Medusa shield, they only state that it "...served the apotropaic function of intimidating the enemy..." and fail to solidly explain any connections Medusa might have to the *Aeneid* or characters in the *Aeneid*.

²³³ Antonio (2015) includes a fourth century BCE coin depicting Porus (57), the fourth century BCE Alexander sarcophagus (56), and a fourth century BCE wall painting from Thessalonica (57); the most contemporary evidence Antonio (2015, 56-7) provides is the Alexander mosaic from the House of the Faun dating to the first century BCE.

²³⁴ Antonio 2015, 58.

Caetano and Mourão's interpretation was overall a better fit for the figural scene at the House of the Medusa.

No other mosaic depicting this scene is known in the Roman world, nor are there any other mosaics which depicted imagery from the *Aeneid* known in the Iberian Peninsula in the Roman period. Only a few wall paintings from Pompeii - such as the Iapyx episode, or Venus' gifting of armor to Aeneas, both discussed in chapter 2 – portray scenes from the last half of the *Aeneid*; the other Late Antique examples either depicted Dido and Aeneas from books 1-4 or Aeneas from book 6.²³⁵ Mosaics which depicted other literary scenes, however, are known in Late Roman *Hispaniae*. Dunbabin noted that mythological stories were popular in Late Antique *Hispaniae*, including depictions of Achilles on Skyros, Achilles and Briseis, Hylas and the Nymphs, and Diana and Actaeon.²³⁶ A Homeric portrayal of Diomedes and Glaukos, depicting the figures as they fight and then subsequently shake hands, is at Cabezón de Pisuerga, in central Spain.²³⁷ In this mosaic, both Latin and Greek quotations from the *Iliad* identified the figures and their context.²³⁸ The mosaic from Alter do Chão is similar because it also portray a battle scene, albeit on a larger scale and concentrating on the surrender of an enemy. Still, there is no comparative Roman artwork which portrays the final battle between Turnus and Aeneas, and so the source material for this iconography is difficult to determine.²³⁹

²³⁵ Helbig 1868, 311, no. 1382; Sogliano 1879, 123, 601.; Cosh and Neal 2005, 130-2, no. 168.1; Dunbabin 2015, 53.

²³⁶ Dunbabin 1999, 154.

²³⁷ Dunbabin 2015, 47; Dunbabin (2015, 48) also mentions that another now destroyed mosaic of the same theme is preserved in an engraving from Rielves, Spain.

²³⁸ Dunbabin 2015, 47-8.

²³⁹ Dunbabin 2015, 53.

Evidence from the Roman East: Halicarnassos

In the eastern Mediterranean world, two labelled mosaics portrayed scenes of Dido and Aeneas hunting. The first mosaic which depicted Dido and Aeneas was from a villa in Halicarnassos in the fifth century CE.²⁴⁰ While the mosaic was no longer extant, photographs and descriptions from Newton's 1856 excavations detailed the existence of this mosaic.²⁴¹ Newton described two figures in the mosaic who are "galloping towards each other from opposite directions".²⁴² The figure labeled "ΔΕΙΔΩ", or Dido, brandished a spear at the animal in between herself and the other figure labeled "ΑΙΝΕΑ[Σ]".²⁴³ Aeneas rode his horse towards Dido and also carried a spear, while a dog ran alongside his horse.²⁴⁴ Although Newton dated this mosaic to the late second century or early third century CE, Poulsen convincingly argued for a much later date based on stylistic and archaeological evidence, making a case for a mid-late fifth century CE date.²⁴⁵ Excavations in the 1990s uncovered more areas of the house that Newton had investigated in the 1850s, including further lavish mosaics of the mid fifth century CE, a dedication to the owner Chrysodemos, and statuary that corresponded to mosaic themes in the house.²⁴⁶

Contextually, the artisan paired the mosaic of Dido and Aeneas on the hunt with another hunting couple: Meleager and Atalanta (Fig. 4.4).²⁴⁷ The two figures, facing each other, hunt animals which are opposite them; one figure is labeled "ΑΤΑΛΑΝΘΗ" and one is labeled

²⁴⁰ The other mosaic depicts Dido, identified by her name, on the hunt; Aeneas is missing from the scene, although presumably was originally depicted. The mosaic is preserved at the museum at Hama, Syria, and is unpublished (Stefanou 2006, 25 n.103).

²⁴¹ Newton 1862, 284.

²⁴² Newton 1862, 284.

²⁴³ Newton 1862, 284.

²⁴⁴ Newton 1862, 284-5.

²⁴⁵ Newton 1862, 310; Poulsen 1995b, 202. Newton 1862, 310; Poulsen 1995b, 202.

²⁴⁶ Poulsen 1995.

²⁴⁷ Newton 1862, 283.

“ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ” (Fig. 4.4). This mosaic is similar in basic composition to the Dido and Aeneas mosaic; both scenes portrayed mythological couples hunting, both scenes identified the figures with labels, and both pairs rode horses. According to Newton, the style of the Aeneas and Dido mosaic was “the same style as the opposite hunting scene [of Meleager and Atalanta]” which provided further evidence for the intended pairing of these scenes via stylistic analysis.²⁴⁸

Although the artisan labeled Dido and Aeneas with Greek letters, the choice of a Roman subject for the mosaic amongst the other Greek mythological or philosophical decor may have seemed strange. As mentioned above, however, the Dido and Aeneas mosaic found an easy parallel to the Meleager and Atalanta mosaic nearby. Furthermore, the popularity of hunting scenes as subjects for mosaics also rose in Late Antiquity, particularly in North Africa.²⁴⁹

Hunting scenes were popular across the empire in Late Antiquity, so the specific story of Dido and Aeneas fit well within the hunting theme present throughout most of the villa’s mosaics.²⁵⁰

Other mythological mosaics which featured Pan, Venus/Aphrodite, Eros, Dionysus, and Meleager and Atalanta suggested that the villa’s owner wanted to display both his wealth and knowledge to visitors.²⁵¹ Poulsen also posited that the mythological figures, especially the two heroic couples of Atalanta and Meleager and Dido and Aeneas, offered the villa’s elite owner an opportunity to present himself with heroic qualities.²⁵² Thus, while the mosaic of Dido and Aeneas in Late Antique Halicarnassos may have seemed unexpected, the mosaic’s familiar hunting theme and heroic content corresponded to overall trends in Late Antique mosaics.

²⁴⁸ Newton 1862, 285.

²⁴⁹ Dunbabin 1978, 44, 46.

²⁵⁰ Poulsen 2009, 402.

²⁵¹ Poulsen 1995, 204.

²⁵² Poulsen 1995, 204-5.

Evidence from the Roman East: Syria

In another example of imagery from the *Aeneid*, a labeled Dido appears in a fragmentary mosaic thought to be from northern Syria.²⁵³ The artisan portrayed her attired for hunting as she rides a horse who tramples a lioness under its feet. Unfortunately, nothing of the context or the provenance is known beyond a general location – northern Syria – and a general stylistic date of Late Antiquity.²⁵⁴ The label “ΔΙΔΩ” indicates the riding woman’s identity clearly; presumably, the now-missing figure who rode the horse seen behind her would have been Aeneas, who typically accompanied Dido in Late Antique depictions.²⁵⁵ While labeling was an uncommon practice among images from the *Aeneid*, artisans labelled two of the four depictions of Dido and Aeneas from Late Antiquity with Greek letters, including this example from northern Syria.²⁵⁶

A third probable example of imagery of the *Aeneid* in the Roman East during Late Antiquity is the mosaic at Sarrin in the province of Osroene. Although little is known of the mosaic’s context, stylistic dating placed the mosaic’s construction around the early sixth or late fifth centuries CE.²⁵⁷ Of the six scenes which decorated the mosaics of a peristyle, one depicts a couple perched on a rock which is covered by an animal skin. A horse on either side of the couple frames the scene while the figures sit, clothed for a hunt and grasping spears.²⁵⁸ Balty identified these figures as Meleager and Atalanta on the hunt, and ultimately dismissed Simon and Lavagne’s argument that the couple could in fact be Dido and Aeneas.²⁵⁹ Still, Balty acknowledged three problems within the iconography: Atalanta is armed with a spear instead of

²⁵³ Mango 1995, pl.IV.13.

²⁵⁴ Stefanou 2006, 25; the mosaic is not labeled on any of the maps within the thesis since the findspot is unknown.

²⁵⁵ See Stefanou 2006 (15-25), Poulsen 1995 (202), Lavagne 1993 (264-5), and Mango and Bennett 1999 (140-2).

²⁵⁶ Poulsen 1995, 202.

²⁵⁷ Balty 1987, 251.

²⁵⁸ Balty 1987, pl. VII.2.

²⁵⁹ Balty 1987, 259-61, n. 59; Lavagne 1993, 264.

her typical bow and arrow, the male figure wears a Phrygian cap, which was strange headwear for Meleager, and the skin was a lion or tiger skin rather than the boar which is often associated with Meleager and Atalanta.²⁶⁰ Despite these iconographic inconsistencies with Meleager and Atalanta, Balty still argued that because a scene of Artemis hunting a boar borders the hunting couple mosaic, the iconography might be mixed in an effort to create a seamless flow; the boar which Meleager and Atalanta normally pursued is the same boar seen in the panel of Artemis nearby.²⁶¹

An alternate identification of the hunting couple at Sarrin is Aeneas and Dido. Balty's main objection to the proposal of Dido and Aeneas was that the skin of a tiger or lion which covers the rock has no textual parallel in Virgil's *Aeneid*.²⁶² Lavagne, however, refuted this idea and argued that in the regions around Carthage there might surely be lions and tigers available to hunt. Further, Virgil identified Aeneas in *Aen.* 4.104 as Phrygian, an identification which matches the Phrygian cap sitting atop the head of the male hunter in the mosaic.²⁶³ Finally, while artisans normally portrayed Atalanta with a bow and arrows, the normal weapons for Aeneas and Dido are spears, as seen in the two known parallels to this mosaic at Eua Loukou and Halicarnassos.²⁶⁴ Overall, the spears, the Phrygian cap, and the presence of the feline skin rather than a boar skin led Lavagne to claim that the mythological couple here was Dido and Aeneas.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁰ Balty 1987, 260.

²⁶¹ Balty 1987, 261.

²⁶² Balty 1987, 260.

²⁶³ Lavagne, 1993, 264-5.

²⁶⁴ Balty 1987, 260; Dunbabin 1999, 243; see Poulsen (1995, 202, 204-5) and Papaioannou (2018, 349-50) for the other two examples, and a third example may exist in the Nile Festival Building at Sepphoris, although Dunbabin (2014, 243 n.25) states that Weiss and Talgam agree that the secure identification of the couple was not a priority for the mosaicist.

²⁶⁵ Lavagne 1993, 265.

Lavagne's argument, based on Simon's suggestion, was persuasive and accounted best for the iconography in the scene.²⁶⁶

Comparandum in Silver

The Meleager Plate from the Sevso treasure provides a Late Antique comparandum in another medium for this imagery. On the Meleager Plate, there are two figural sections: a medallion in the middle of the silver plate, and figural scenes around the edge of the plate.²⁶⁷ Mango suggested that male and female couple, dressed for a hunt in the third section of the outer frieze on the Meleager Plate, were Paris and Helen; the male figure wears a Phrygian hat and carries a spear and a shield while standing with one foot on a lion, while the female figure wears a short tunic and carries a spear as well.²⁶⁸ While the identification with Paris was reasonable, given a representation of the Judgement of Paris in the a section of the outer frieze on the Meleager Plate wherein Paris also wears a Phrygian cap, the identification of the female figure as Helen is questionable.²⁶⁹ The scene portrays the woman, as stated above, as a huntress wearing a short tunic and wielding a spear; other than holding a spear, the iconography appeared similar to depictions of Artemis/Diana.

As an alternative, Watson suggested that the couple would be better understood as Dido and Aeneas on the hunt, a suggestion that would explain the woman's hunting attire. Further, Watson pointed out that the woman was grabbing the shoulder of the man, a gesture Weitzmann argued was seductive in Late Antique iconography;²⁷⁰ this could have represented Dido's romantic interest in and pursuit of Aeneas in *Aeneid* 4. The Phrygian hat worn by the man in this

²⁶⁶ Balty 1987, 268 n. 59.

²⁶⁷ Watson 2013, 73.

²⁶⁸ Watson 2013, 82.

²⁶⁹ Mango and Bennett 1994, 128, 140–2; Watson 2013, 80–4.

²⁷⁰ Weitzmann 2006, 54; Watson 2013, 82.

scene could have indicated Aeneas as easily as Paris. Moreover, the other depiction of Paris on the Meleager Plate showed him wearing more richly decorated clothes and a cloak.²⁷¹ If the Meleager Plate showed Dido and Aeneas, this would be another instance of imagery inspired from the *Aeneid* which fulfilled generic scene requirements, such as a mythological couple on the hunt.²⁷²

Sources of Imagery

Scholars seek to understand the source of imagery in almost every discussion of decor created in Late Antiquity. The dominant proposal for imagery transmission in earlier centuries was the theory of copybooks.²⁷³ Because imagery was so varied and unique in Late Antiquity, however, copybooks may no longer provide a logical answer. Broader sources for imagery from the *Aeneid* might have included the text itself, the illustrated manuscripts of the *Aeneid*, theatrical performances, and other hypothesized illustrated texts.²⁷⁴ Dunbabin argued strongly that depicting myth was intended less to inform audiences of the specific sources of that imagery and more about an overall impression that the artist is seeking to create about the story.²⁷⁵ Rather than creating a direct, illustrative version of the story, art which was inspired by literature such as the *Aeneid* often reflected the story's key elements.

One of the main sources assumed for the imagery of the *Aeneid* in Late Antiquity was the presumed imagery tradition of the two known illustrated Virgilian manuscripts, the Vergilius Romanus and the Vergilius Vaticanus. These two manuscripts are some of the earliest illustrated

²⁷¹ Mango and Bennett 1994, 142.

²⁷² Garipzanov (2018, 156-8) discusses a set of silver spoons, produced in the sixth or seventh centuries CE and discovered in Lampsakos, Turkey, which have inscriptions from Virgil's *Eclogues*. These spoons, while not referring to the *Aeneid*, provide some evidence for the continued tradition of Virgil and his works in the paideia of the eastern elite.

²⁷³ Dunbabin 1999, 302-3.

²⁷⁴ Dunbabin 2015, 39-41.

²⁷⁵ Dunbabin 2014, 231 n. 8; 234.

literary codices which are still extant.²⁷⁶ The main reason for these comparisons was the dating of the manuscripts, put forward by Wright and Rosenthal, to around the beginning of the fifth century CE for the Vergilius Vaticanus and around 500 CE for the Vergilius Romanus.²⁷⁷ Some scholars have argued that these manuscripts are a part of a long-standing tradition of imagery from the *Aeneid* in illustrated texts, despite the lack of earlier surviving examples. Many scholarly discussions of imagery of the *Aeneid* in Late Antiquity discussed the similarities of the imagery found to the imagery in the illustrations of both manuscripts.²⁷⁸ In Toynbee's early discussion about the Low Ham mosaics, she noted the similarities of the mosaic's figures to those illustrated in the scenes of Dido and Aeneas from the Vergilius Vaticanus.²⁷⁹ When discussing the appearance of Aeneas in the Frampton mosaic, Barrett also observed that Aeneas wears the same costume in the mosaic as in the Vergilius Vaticanus, albeit in a folio which illustrates Aeneas in a different episode.²⁸⁰ More recently, Watson connected the hunt scene depicting Dido and Aeneas at Sarrin to the same hunt scene in the Vergilius Romanus, stating that the two were stylistically similar.²⁸¹ Thus, on the traditional dating of the two manuscripts, they provide roughly contemporary comparanda or even a potential source for imagery of the mosaics of Halicarnassos and Sarrin, and the Sevso Meleager plate.

Cameron, however, argued that the conventional dates of both manuscripts are too early, and thus they could not have provided a source for imagery of the *Aeneid*. Wright based the early 5th-c. date for the Vergilius Vaticanus on paleographical arguments and artistic comparanda for

²⁷⁶ Weitzmann 1970, 8.

²⁷⁷ Rosenthal 1972, 9; Wright 1993, 89.

²⁷⁸ See Toynbee 1964, Barrett 1978, Cosh and Neal 2005, Watson 2013, and Dunbabin 2015.

²⁷⁹ Toynbee 1964, 245.

²⁸⁰ Barrett 1978, 313.

²⁸¹ Watson 2013, 84.

the illustrations; Cameron contends that both these dating arguments are faulty. In fact, Cameron claimed that most of Wright's comparatively dated parallels (including the consular diptychs of Basilius and Boethius) were incorrectly dated themselves and thus did not constitute a reliable basis for dating the manuscripts.²⁸² In fact, Cameron proposed, based on new stylistic dates for the comparanda, that the manuscripts could be dated approximately 50-100 years later than Wright's proposed dates, namely 450-500 CE for the *Vergilius Vaticanus* and 530-580 CE for the *Vergilius Romanus*.²⁸³ On Cameron's reading, the manuscripts became too late to be used as comparanda for the Low Ham and Frampton mosaics, although they could have been useful to the Halicarnassos and Sarrin mosaics of Dido and Aeneas on the hunt.²⁸⁴ Production of the manuscripts, however, was thought to be somewhere in Italy, so it is still unknown whether the manuscripts' illustrations had any direct impact on the iconography of the two eastern mosaics.²⁸⁵ Still, the illustrations in the manuscripts provided contemporaneous iconography for the same scenes in the fifth and sixth centuries CE. It is possible that further manuscripts of the *Aeneid* with imagery in the same tradition as that of the two surviving MSS once existed and spread the iconography further afield. [vel sim

The mosaic at Alter do Chão depicting the final lines of *Aeneid* 12, for example, had no artistic precedent in any media, so it was unlikely that the design was taken from a copybook. Only the *Vergilius Romanus* manuscript illustrated the final scenes of the *Aeneid*, but the iconography was dissimilar to this mosaic. Perhaps theatrical performances inspired the patron or the mosaicist. One could argue that the discrepancies between *Aen.* 12.921-51 and the mosaic

²⁸² Cameron 2004, 503.

²⁸³ Cameron 2004, 502-3; 517-9.

²⁸⁴ Lavagne 1993; Poulsen 1995.

²⁸⁵ Cameron 2004, 519.

were a result of the mosaicist's lack of literary knowledge, but Dunbabin argued that the discrepancies were secondary to the mosaicist's intention of showing Turnus asking Aeneas to spare his life.²⁸⁶ Thus, when Aeneas' shield portrayed Medusa rather than the future of Rome, as detailed in Virgil's lengthy ekphrasis (*Aen.* 8.608-29), it was not necessarily implying an ignorance of the *Aeneid* in text but rather an emphasis on portraying the main elements of the story.²⁸⁷ Thus, illustration, in the modern sense of depicting accurately a text in pictorial form, was not the goal of Roman mosaicists or patrons, whatever the source of this imagery may have been.

Conclusion

There were different patterns in the Roman East and West in Late Antiquity. In the Roman East during Late Antiquity, the examples from Hama, Sarrin, and Halicarnassos all portrayed Dido and Aeneas hunting or on their hunting trip. Since this single episode from the *Aeneid* was the only scene shown, patrons or artists may have favored this story because it aligned with the popularity of depictions of hunting and mythological couples in Roman art of the East.²⁸⁸ Also, in the two labeled examples, the labels spelled out Dido and Aeneas using Greek letters, perhaps to ensure recognition of the couple and also to integrate the Roman mythological story into an Eastern setting.²⁸⁹ Thus, in the Roman East, imagery from the *Aeneid* was utilized in generic hunting scenes and was sometimes labeled with Greek letters.

In the western empire during Late Antiquity, the three examples of imagery from the *Aeneid* focused more on retelling a narrative than did the more generic scenes found in the East. The eastern examples of *Aeneid* imagery followed patterns of other mythological art by

²⁸⁶ Dunbabin 2015, 52.

²⁸⁷ Dunbabin 2015, 52.

²⁸⁸ Dunbabin 1978, 44-8.

²⁸⁹ Poulsen 1995, 202-5; Stefanou 2006, 25.

portraying generic scenes and motifs such as hunting scenes. On the other hand, the Low Ham mosaic displayed a narrative typical of western *Aeneid* imagery, because it depicts the story of Dido and Aeneas in multiple panels within a single mosaic.²⁹⁰ This is the only example of a cyclical narrative in *Aeneid* imagery; the emphasis for the mosaic lies in the story within the panels and within the *Aeneid*. Similarly, the mosaic depicting Aeneas as he plucks the golden bough, at Frampton, is highlighting a previously undepicted scene and focusing on a specific portion of the *Aeneid*'s narrative.²⁹¹ Finally, the mosaic at Alter do Chão also narrates a specific episode from the *Aeneid*, encapsulating Aeneas' immediate defeat of Turnus and the Rutulians and the end of the epic.²⁹² In the Roman West, then, there was an emphasis on narrative scenes in decor for patrons who desired imagery from the *Aeneid*.

A clear geographic pattern arose regarding the imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* in Late Antiquity. In the western half of the empire, mosaics portrayed imagery from the *Aeneid* that narrated an event or portion of the epic poem, such as the depiction of the final lines from *Aeneid* 12 at Alter do Chão. More generic imagery from the *Aeneid*, such as the mosaic of Dido and Aeneas at Halicarnassos, was more popular in the eastern half of the Roman empire. While several of the mosaics from the western Roman empire showed similarities to the imagery within the two surviving illustrated manuscripts of the *Aeneid*, those manuscripts are most likely not the source for imagery from the *Aeneid* during Late Antiquity. Rather, imagery most likely came from the text itself or from theatrical performances. Macrobius and Augustine - both Late Antique authors - recounted how their readers were familiar with stories from the *Aeneid* via theatrical or musical performances (*Sat.* 5.17.5; *Serm.* 241.5). A theatrical source for imagery

²⁹⁰ Cosh and Neal 2005, no. 207.1.

²⁹¹ Cosh and Neal 2005, 254-6, no. 207.1.

²⁹² Dunbabin 2015, 231.

from the *Aeneid* may explain both the emphasis on narrative scenes in decor such as the Low Ham mosaic and the more generic imagery of Dido and Aeneas in the Roman East, since there may have been an established generic depiction of Dido and Aeneas and theatrical performances produced narrative content. Thus, imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* in Late Antiquity paralleled other decoration in Late Antiquity in the East and West, representing either the ambiguity or specificity of mythological scenes.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Synthesis

Introduction

Scholars have previously approached imagery from the *Aeneid* as part of an investigation of individual motifs, such as Dido and Aeneas, or at specific places, such as Pompeii, or within a broader discussion of a region's artistic traditions, such as the mosaic of Dares and Entellus boxing in Gallia Narbonensis. This thesis has sought to build upon these studies by investigating imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* chronologically and geographically to understand the imagery's reception in décor. Chronological and geographical analysis reveals patterns not only about regional preferences, but also about the potential methods for transmission of the imagery. Finally, using the theory of mimesis has allowed for clarification about the relationship of the art and text of the *Aeneid* for Roman artists and patrons. These conclusions and clarifications lead to hypotheses about the paucity of imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* in Roman décor.

Imagery inspired from the *Aeneid* within Roman mythological art

Situating the imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* in the framework of mimesis provided a helpful overview of how that text was adapted into the larger context of Roman mythological art. While mimesis serves as the interpretative vehicle within this thesis to understand the relationship of art and text of the *Aeneid*, it also served as a creative tool for Roman artisans and patrons to reimagine the story of the *Aeneid* in art.²⁹³ Mimetic interpretations of the narratives in the *Aeneid* allowed artisans to incorporate stories and characters from the *Aeneid* into familiar scene types for Roman décor, such as scenes of couples or warriors. Using mimesis as a framework allowed for fuller understanding of how artisans and patrons alike may have

²⁹³ See interpretations of mimesis in Dalwood et al. 2013.

interacted with the ideas from the text of the *Aeneid* without intending to create a direct and detailed illustration.

While artisans and patrons employed imagery from the *Aeneid* to fit within more common scene types, it was still an uncommon source for décor. Even considering the bias of preservation, far more images of other mythological figures existed throughout the Roman empire at any given time.²⁹⁴ For example, in the Campanian region during the first century CE, Valladares counted 40 frescoes which depicted the myth of Narcissus.²⁹⁵ Other mythological exempla included 21 examples of the myth of Diana and Actaeon, 10 paintings of Daedalus and Icarus in the third style, 14 paintings of Ariadne as Theseus abandoned her, 13 others of Ariadne alone, and 21 examples of the Judgement of Paris.²⁹⁶ These were some of the more popular mythological scenes represented in Campanian wall paintings during the first century CE.

By comparison, only 11 representations of scenes from the *Aeneid* appeared at Pompeii and Herculaneum.²⁹⁷ The number of scenes from the *Aeneid* represented in Campanian wall painting was slightly more than the number of scenes of Daedalus and Icarus; however, the imagery from the *Aeneid* depicted at least six different scenes from within the *Aeneid* such as the *Aeneid* triad and Dido abandoned by Aeneas. Artisans did not portray any of the images from the *Aeneid* in Campanian wall paintings in high numbers, nor was the collective number of images high compared to other mythological scenes. The number of scenes depicting Dido abandoned by Aeneas - three - was perhaps a truer comparison to the 11 scenes of Daedalus and Icarus in

²⁹⁴ See Lancha 1997, Muth 1998, Lavagne 2000, and Lorenz 2008 for a sample of mythological subjects in Roman art.

²⁹⁵ Valladares 2011, 378.

²⁹⁶ Blanckenhagen 1968, 107; Leach 1981, 307; McNally 1985, 177–8; Doherty 2012, 528.

²⁹⁷ Helbig 1868, 310–2, nos. 1380, 1381b, 1382, 1383; Sogliano 1879, 123, no. 603; Galinsky 1969, 31-2; Varone and Stefani 2009, 381; although Croisille (1994) identifies two more examples, these identifications are unconvincing.

Campanian wall painting because it compared the numbers of particular scenes rather than the number of a set of scenes to one particular scene.²⁹⁸ Thus, imagery from the *Aeneid* was an infrequent choice for figural wall paintings in Campania during the first century CE. Moreover, the number of images from the *Aeneid* did not increase in the second and early third centuries CE or Late Antiquity; six examples depicting three episodes from the *Aeneid* dated to the second and early third centuries CE while seven examples depicting four episodes from the *Aeneid* were created in Late Antiquity.²⁹⁹ Thus, images related to the *Aeneid* constitute only a very small proportion of surviving mythological images from any era.

While imagery from the *Aeneid* was uncommon, the evidence suggests that the scenes chosen by patrons and artisans were the same basic scene types of other mythological imagery often utilized in Roman décor, such as scenes of heroic deeds or mythological pairings. These scene types align well with the three categories recognized by Galinsky in his study: couple, hero or warrior, and pious man.³⁰⁰ The last category was perhaps the most familiar since Aeneas' depiction as a pious son was popularized by Augustus' imagery on coinage and in sculpture displayed in the forum of Augustus.³⁰¹ Although there were four instances of decor which represented Aeneas as a pious son in the first century CE, there were no known examples of this imagery within décor after the beginning of the second century CE.³⁰² This category was perhaps a reflection of iconography at the forum of Augustus, iconography which emphasized Aeneas' piety, and thus Augustus' piety as well.

²⁹⁸ Blanckenhagen 1968, 107.

²⁹⁹ Poulsen 1995a, 204; Cosh and Neal 2005, 130-2, no. 168.1; Ling 2007, 76; Caetano and Mourão 2011; Belis 2016, 28; Lavagne 1993, 264; Mango and Bennett 1999, 140-2.

³⁰⁰ Galinsky 1969, 10-1; 22-3; 30.

³⁰¹ Dardenay 2012, 211-5, nos. E1-E17.

³⁰² Galinsky 1969, 31-2; Dardenay 2001, 45-7.

All other representations after the second century CE fell into Galinsky's two other categories: scenes with a couple, or warrior or hero scenes. Within these remaining two categories, specific scenes were chosen from the *Aeneid* for depiction because they then fit into a certain category of normal and popular scenes. Depictions of Dido and Aeneas or Dido abandoned by Aeneas, then, matched well with other examples of tragic mythological couples in wall paintings. For instance, scenes of Ariadne alone or after Theseus deserted her were popular depictions in Campanian wall paintings during the first century CE, and these scenes were examples of other scenes with couples - albeit tragic ones.³⁰³ In the second and third centuries CE, the boxing match of Dares and Entellus, depicted on five mosaics from contexts in Gallia Narbonensis, offered an example of heroic scene wherein two figures from heroic backgrounds participate in the *parentalia* for Anchises.³⁰⁴ The Low Ham mosaic, dated to the mid-fourth century CE or later, portrayed the love story of Dido and Aeneas and exemplified a depiction of imagery of the *Aeneid* in the lover/couple category.³⁰⁵ Those categories remained the basic framework for depictions from the *Aeneid* throughout time and place in the Roman empire.

Chronological and geographic patterns – the West

Over time, there was a transition in the way artisans represented imagery from the *Aeneid*. This geographical diversification was also a chronological change, as discussed further below. The trends for imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* used in décor began during the first century CE in the western empire, and then geographically diverged into a different pattern in the eastern empire with the first instance of *Aeneid* imagery in décor during the second century CE.

³⁰³ McNally 1985; Elsner 2007; Newby 2012.

³⁰⁴ Belis 2016, 28; see Galinsky 1968, Stegen 1971, Traill 2001, and Feldharr 2002 for heroic background of Dares and Entellus.

³⁰⁵ Cosh and Neal 2005, 254-5, nos. 207.1-8.

In the first century CE, there are only examples from the western empire, and these scenes are more readily identifiable as inspired specifically by the text of the *Aeneid*. The Iapyx episode shown at Pompeii dated to the first century CE, and clearly depicted *Aen.* 12.391-429 where Iapyx attempts to heal Aeneas' arrow wound with Venus and Ascanius amongst the onlookers.³⁰⁶ During the second and third centuries CE, the scenes remained fairly episodic, such as the five mosaics in Gallia Narbonensis which depicted the boxing match between Dares and Entellus in *Aen.* 5. 362-484.³⁰⁷ The episodic nature of this imagery correlated to the narrative focus of Gallic mosaics overall in the second century CE. The contemporaneous fragments of wall plaster from Otford, Kent, England utilize a direct quotation from the *Aeneid* to create a connection between text and image when narrating a scene from the *Aeneid*.³⁰⁸ Thus, scenes in Italy and the western half of the Roman empire depicted narrative scenes from the *Aeneid* that were meant to evoke a particular story, such as the boxing match of Dares and Entellus.

In the western Roman empire, artisans labeled figures in décor less frequently than in the eastern empire, perhaps because the imagery was normally episodic and viewers needed less help to identify the scene. Indeed, only one of the examples from the first century to Late Antiquity in the Roman West was labelled: a fragmentary painting of Dido and Aeneas at Pompeii where little more than the feet of both figures remained and the feet were labeled “DIDO” and “AENEAS.”³⁰⁹ However, this instance of name-labels was perhaps more indicative of a general trend in labeling depictions of Dido and Aeneas, rather than a propensity for labeling imagery from the *Aeneid* in the Roman West. The other depiction of Dido and Aeneas in the Roman West

³⁰⁶ Helbig 1868, 312, no. 1383.

³⁰⁷ Belis 2016, 28.

³⁰⁸ Ling 2007, 76-7.

³⁰⁹ Varone and Stefani 2009, 381.

at Low Ham in the fourth century CE was unlabeled.³¹⁰ For the Pompeian wall paintings, patrons in the first century may have relied on the assumption that people would recognize Dido and Aeneas due to a greater familiarity with the *Aeneid* in this period.³¹¹ Because the mosaic at Low Ham depicted a narrative cycle, the patron may have assumed that the extra scenes provided more clues to assist viewers in identifying the narrative of Dido and Aeneas' tragic love.³¹² Overall, name-labels appear less frequently in the western half of the Roman empire, in contrast to their more prolific usage in imagery from the *Aeneid* in the East. This trend aligned with the more specific and narrative imagery depicted in the West.

Chronological and geographic patterns – the East

Over time, however, particularly in the eastern half of the empire, the depictions of imagery from the *Aeneid* became more generic and less episodically focused. This pattern of generic imagery of the *Aeneid* began in the second century CE at Eua Loukou, Greece, where a mosaic at Herodes Atticus' villa depicted Dido and Aeneas on the hunt; the figures were identified mostly by name-labels and Aeneas' Phrygian cap.³¹³ In the Roman East, the more generic imagery which portrayed characters from the *Aeneid* was identifiable either by defining characteristics, such as Aeneas' Phrygian cap, or by name-labels. In Late Antiquity, for example, the mosaic of Dido and Aeneas from Sarrin was also recognizable in large part because of Aeneas' Phrygian cap.³¹⁴

Since the visual depictions from the *Aeneid* were more generic in the Roman East, labeling the figures offered audiences a definitive identity for stock figures. For instance, a Late

³¹⁰ Cosh and Neal 2005, 254–5, 207.1-8.

³¹¹ See Anderson (2006, 157) and Wallace-Hadrill (1983, 181) for popularity of the *Aeneid* in the first century CE.

³¹² Cosh and Neal 2005, 254–5, 207.1-8.

³¹³ Tomlinson 1996, 11–2.

³¹⁴ Lavagne 1993, 265.

Antique example of name-labels is the mosaic of Dido and Aeneas on the hunt at Halicarnassos, dating to the fifth century CE. Other mosaics within the villa where this mosaic was found were also labeled.³¹⁵ Although Leader-Newby rightly stated that name-labels were more likely to be employed for depictions that personified abstract ideas, artisans also utilized them for depictions which contained unusual imagery.³¹⁶ Artisans and patrons implemented this practice of labeling more and more throughout Late Antiquity, particularly through the third to the fifth centuries CE.³¹⁷ Leader-Newby argued that inscriptions on mosaics “turn the general into the particular.” In the case of Dido and Aeneas, name-labels identified figures which would otherwise have been generic mythological hunters.³¹⁸

In the eastern half of the Roman empire, particularly during Late Antiquity, the representations of Dido and Aeneas seem more divorced from the text of the *Aeneid*. The depictions were less easily identifiable because they appear as a generic mythological couple who were hunting, aside from a few specific features which identified them, such as the Phrygian cap which represented the origin of Aeneas and his followers.³¹⁹ Several factors may have influenced the eastern trend toward more generic depictions of Dido and Aeneas hunting as time progressed. Writing about North African mosaics dating to the second to fifth centuries CE, Dunbabin observed that mythological representations became more stereotypical as time

³¹⁵ Poulsen 1995a, 200–2, 204–5.

³¹⁶ Leader-Newby 2007, 181.

³¹⁷ Leader-Newby 2007, 180.

³¹⁸ Leader-Newby 2007, 198.

³¹⁹ For example, the word “Phrygian” and its declined forms appear five times in *Aen.* Book 7 alone (*Aen.* 7.135, 192, 341, 406, 572). The Phrygian cap also represented some other mythological men other than Aeneas and the Trojans, such as Ganymede, Paris, and Mithras (Bartman 2002, 259 n. 42), which could have caused some uncertainty in identification of figures wearing the cap. Still, this clothing article, when not utilized in conjunction with the other attributes of the other three mythological figures, directed the audience’s thoughts to the *Aeneid* as a starting place for identification of a scene (Bull 1974, 187).

progressed; this observation also applies to the eastern Roman empire.³²⁰ At the same time, as mythological representations became more generic and their popularity declined, the popularity of hunting scenes in mosaics also increased; they were particularly popular in Late Antiquity.³²¹ This increase in popularity for hunting scenes in mosaics correlated to a rise in representations of Dido and Aeneas hunting (*Aen.* 4.129-159), although the scenes of Dido and Aeneas were generic. Stefanou rightly pointed out that depictions of Dido and Aeneas hunting did not seem to be shown for their own sake; instead, they appeared amongst other generic mythological imagery or with other hunting scenes nearby.³²² Since hunting was a popular aristocratic activity, Dunbabin argued that patrons chose to depict hunting scenes in mosaics more frequently in Late Antiquity because they reflected their own activities; perhaps the inclusion of mythological hunting scenes provided an opportunity for patrons both to reproduce their hobbies and display their erudition.³²³

Thus, while imagery from the *Aeneid* may not have directly illustrated the text of the *Aeneid*, the imagery could still have been inspired by the text of the *Aeneid*. In fact, Dunbabin argues that scholars should not seek specific textual sources for mythological imagery when discussing art because art and mythology are so intertwined.³²⁴ She further discussed this point surrounding Euripides' plays and possible depictions of them on vases, wall paintings, and mosaics. She states that while some imagery was not "an exact illustration of a specific scene in Euripides' play, still less a rendering of it as performed by tragic actors on stage...its choice as domestic decoration might still act primarily as an assertion of literary culture, the product of the

³²⁰ Dunbabin 1978, 44.

³²¹ Dunbabin 1978, 46, 48; Stefanou 2006, 17.

³²² Stefanou 2006, 47-8.

³²³ Dunbabin 1978, 48; Stefanou 2006, 19.

³²⁴ Dunbabin 2014, 234.

patrons' education and reading...".³²⁵ The presence of a scene or representation from the *Aeneid* was not intended to be an illustration of the text, but was meant to evoke the *Aeneid* through mimesis for the patron or intended audience.³²⁶ Thus, imperfections and inconsistencies with the text in depictions of the *Aeneid* were part of the mimetic process, which did not ever exactly reproduce its source.³²⁷ Since there were so few sources for the myth of Aeneas, Dido, or other characters before the *Aeneid*, any literary invocation via imagery in mosaics, wall paintings, or statues most likely referred to the *Aeneid*.

Transmission of imagery from other sources

Virgil's masterpiece, composed in the late 1st c BCE, created a rich source of imagery, detail and new narrative that in turn must have inspired or enriched artisanal copybooks, and manuscripts in their depiction of the myth. Since performances of the *Aeneid* began shortly after publication, there was a longstanding imagery of the *Aeneid* as performed on stage.³²⁸ A performance of the *Aeneid* was itself an example of active mimesis according to Sörbom; imagery depicting the performance of the *Aeneid* would be another step removed from the *Aeneid* as a text. Still, a play would still have invoked the mental image of the *Aeneid*, and so would any imagery based on a performance of the story of the *Aeneid*, while it could simultaneously remind audiences of the play itself. Imagery more directly tied to the text of the *Aeneid* in the form of illustrated manuscripts did not arise until Late Antiquity, although earlier illustrations were found on papyri for technical subjects.³²⁹

³²⁵ Dunbabin 2014, 230.

³²⁶ Milnor 2011, 288–90.

³²⁷ Jimenez 2010, 48.

³²⁸ Dunbabin 2016, 110.

³²⁹ Earlier illustrations for technical subjects exist on papyri, but no illustrated literary papyri are known (Horsfall 1983, 201–2).

Another possible form for transmission of imagery related to the *Aeneid* could be a copybook, wherein groups of artisans in workshops may have kept a collection of basic images that would be offered to patrons as suggestions for imagery.³³⁰ Instances of very specific or unusual elements of *Aeneid* imagery in décor, such as the five mosaics in Gallia Narbonensis during the second and early third centuries CE, likely circulated due to a shared copybook within a workshop.³³¹ The scene in Gallia Narbonensis of Dares and Entellus in a boxing match was virtually the same in all five mosaics and appeared in a reasonably small geographical area over a relative short period of time, perhaps as short an interval as 50 years.³³² Multiple iterations of Dido abandoned by Aeneas appear at Pompeii, albeit with more variation in design, and these could also have been the result of a copybook with this design which circulated throughout Pompeii.³³³ After the third century CE in the Roman West, however, imagery from the *Aeneid* was much less formulaic and more narrative, without any repetition in theme for any of the *Aeneid* imagery;³³⁴ thus, copybooks were most likely no longer the mode of transmission for *Aeneid* imagery in Late Antiquity in the western half of the empire. In the Roman East, imagery from the *Aeneid* was much more repetitive from the second century CE on, comprising depictions of Dido and Aeneas on the hunt.³³⁵ Thus, copybooks with generic representations of mythological couples hunting could have resulted in the repetition in imagery across time and space.

³³⁰ Dunbabin 1999, 302.

³³¹ Lavagne 1994, 210-4.

³³² Belis 2016, 28.

³³³ Lavagne 1994, 214; 2000, 291, no. 857.

³³⁴ Cosh and Neal 2005, 254-5, nos. 207.1-8, 130-2, no. 168.1; Caetano and Mourão 2011.

³³⁵ Lavagne 1993, 264; Mango and Bennett 1994, 140-2; Poulsen 1995, 204-5; Papaioannou 2018, 349-50.

One potential explanation for the narrative scenes in the western empire is the possibility that artisans were reproducing imagery from theatrical performances of the *Aeneid* rather than directly from ideas in the text. Dunbabin remarks that there is early evidence for performances of Virgil's *Aeneid*, on the stage and so there was a possibility that depictions of imagery from the *Aeneid* reflected theatrical performances rather than the text itself.³³⁶ Two Late Antique authors mention the performance of episodes from the *Aeneid*. In the fourth century CE, Augustine referred to his parishioners' knowledge of Aeneas' trip to the underworld from theatrical performances (*Serm.* 241.5.5).³³⁷ The one depiction of Aeneas preparing to descend to the Underworld appeared at a Late Antique villa at Frampton, in the western province of Britannia.³³⁸ Macrobius noted that the story of Dido's tragic passion for Aeneas was well-known via "painters and sculptors and weavers...[and] in both songs and gestures of pantomimers..." (*Sat.* 5.17.5). The narrative cycle of Dido and Aeneas from Low Ham could potentially have been inspired by a theatrical narrative of Dido and Aeneas' story from the *Aeneid*.³³⁹ Through the framework of mimesis, then, mosaics inspired by theatrical performances of stories from the *Aeneid* could have evoked the epic itself, even if the inspiration for artisans or patrons came from the performances.

Conclusions

A lingering question throughout this thesis has been arises from the recurring statements about the scarcity of imagery from the *Aeneid*. Bluntly, why was imagery from the *Aeneid* not utilized more often in décor? Other media, particularly media which might have greater public consumption such as coinage, lamps, and funerary sculpture, depicted scenes from the *Aeneid*,

³³⁶ Dunbabin 2016, 110.

³³⁷ Dunbabin 2016, 109.

³³⁸ Cosh and Neal 2005, 130-2, no. 168.1.

³³⁹ Cosh and Neal 2005, 254-5, nos. 207.1-8.

particularly the *Aeneid* triad.³⁴⁰ As a proportion of the total, however, *Aeneid* imagery in coinage, lamps, and funerary sculpture were just as infrequent as this imagery in décor.

The study of the *Aeneid* graffiti at Pompeii provided no further assistance, since the *Aeneid* graffiti and imagery rarely overlap. The bulk of the *Aeneid* graffiti quoted the opening lines of books 1, 2, and 7, but only one of the 11 paintings which were inspired by the *Aeneid* at Pompeii depicts a scene from those books, and it did not depict book 7's opening lines.³⁴¹ Not only did the *Aeneid* graffiti and imagery not overlap thematically, but they also rarely overlapped physically. Only one instance occurred where a depiction of the *Aeneid* triad was painted above a parody of the opening line of the *Aeneid*; otherwise the paintings and lead urns were not found in the same buildings as the graffiti (see Fig. 2.5).³⁴² Thus, although *Aeneid* straddled the boundaries of art and text at Pompeii, the lack of correspondence between the imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* and the graffiti indicated that they were separate modes of interacting with the *Aeneid*.

When Wallace-Hadrill noted the lack of imagery from the *Aeneid* in Campanian wall paintings, he concluded that the lack of imagery was due to the Romans' disinterest in the Roman past or controversial topics.³⁴³ Another possible explanation for the lack of imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* may lie in the age of the epic; relative to the *Iliad*, plays by Euripides and his contemporaries, and myths dating back to the *Theogony* and the *Homeric Hymns*, the *Aeneid* was a recent font of source material for Roman patrons. Some scholars have argued that décor was supposed to spark conversation and impart exempla of acceptable or unacceptable

³⁴⁰ See Dardenay 2012, 211-38, nos. E1-E91.

³⁴¹ Helbig 1868, 311, no. 1382.

³⁴² *CIL* 4.9131.

³⁴³ Wallace-Hadrill 1983, 181-2.

behavior.³⁴⁴ In this case, imagery inspired by the *Aeneid* could be not only too recent for Roman patrons to truly embrace, but it might also not provide the normal exempla with which patrons were familiar. Perhaps the moral exempla provided in the *Aeneid*, such as Aeneas' example of piety, felt too closely linked to the Augustan imagery of the *Aeneid*. This apparent disinterest provided one important conclusion: the textual and visual trajectories of the *Aeneid* were divorced from one another.

³⁴⁴ Newby 2010; 2016, 330, 346-47.

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2000: 43–62.

Appendix of Figures

Fig. 1.1. Map of sites with décor using imagery from the Aeneid. Sarah Legendre.

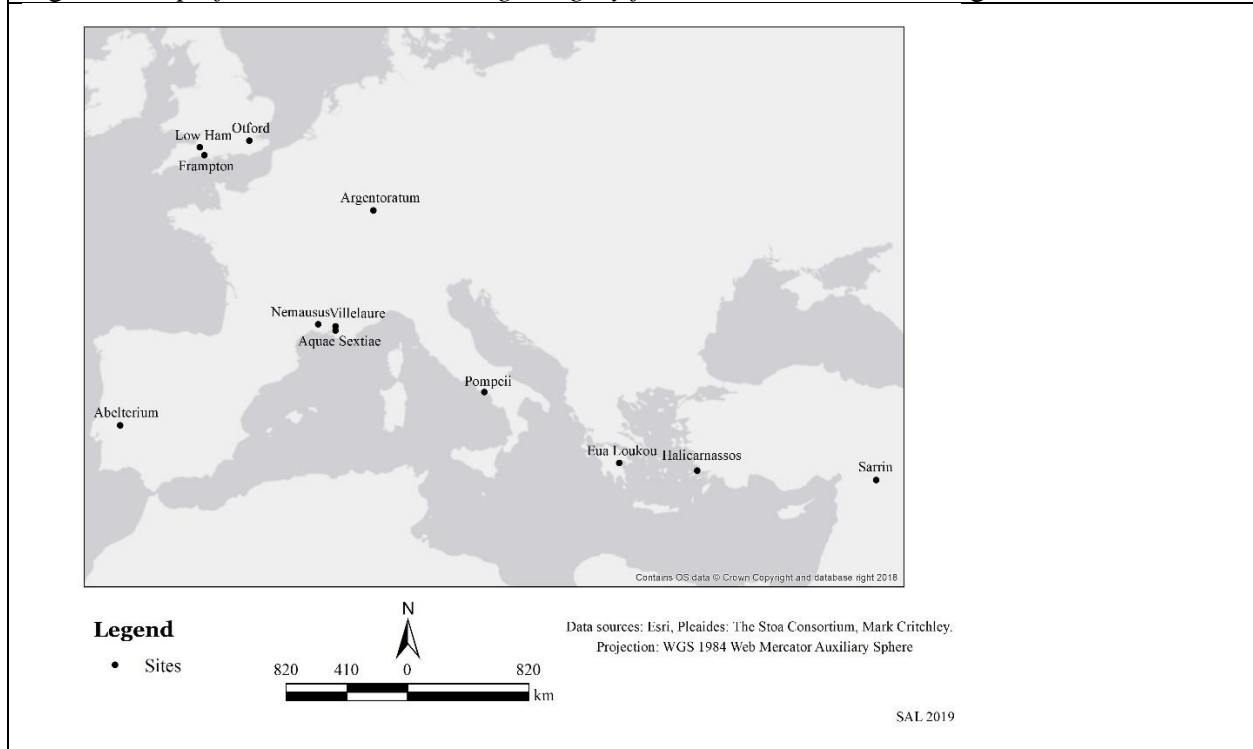


Fig. 2.1. Map of sites with décor using imagery from the Aeneid from chapter 2. Sarah Legendre.

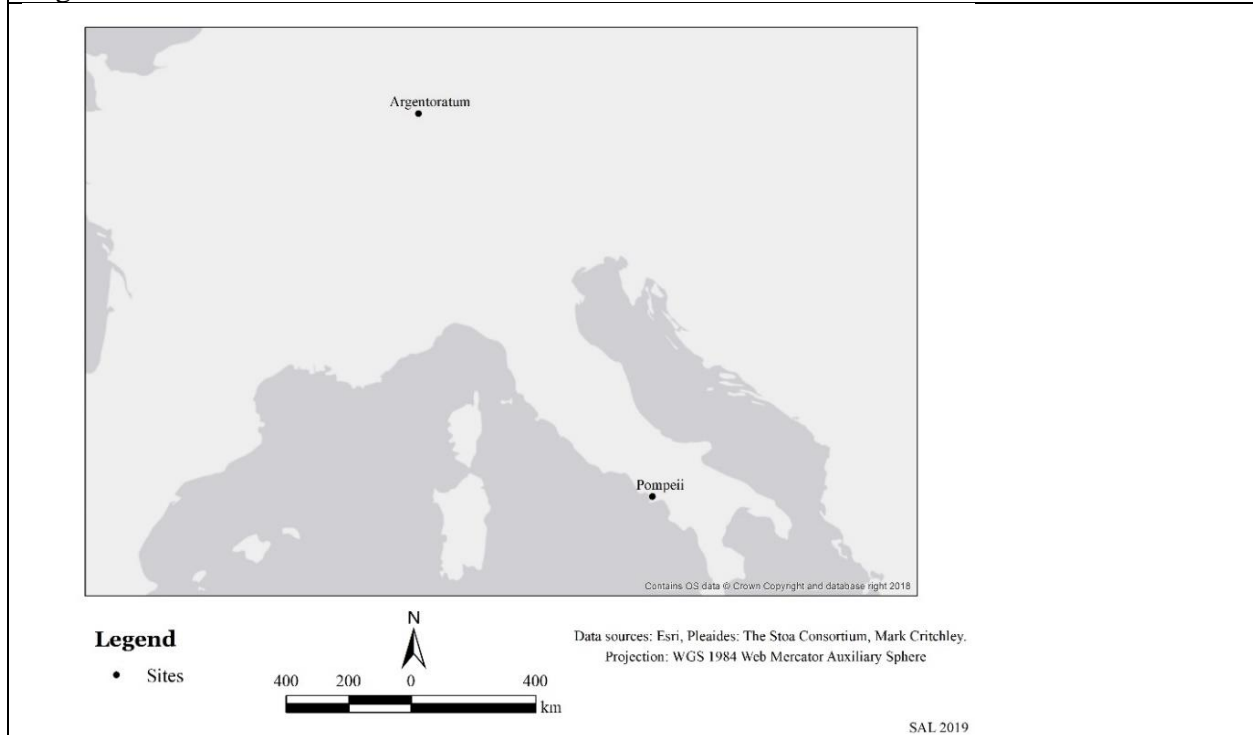


Fig. 2.2. *Wall painting of Iapyx attempting to heal Aeneas' arrow wound from Pompeii.* Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (inv. no. 9009; image © Bridgeman Images, used with permission).

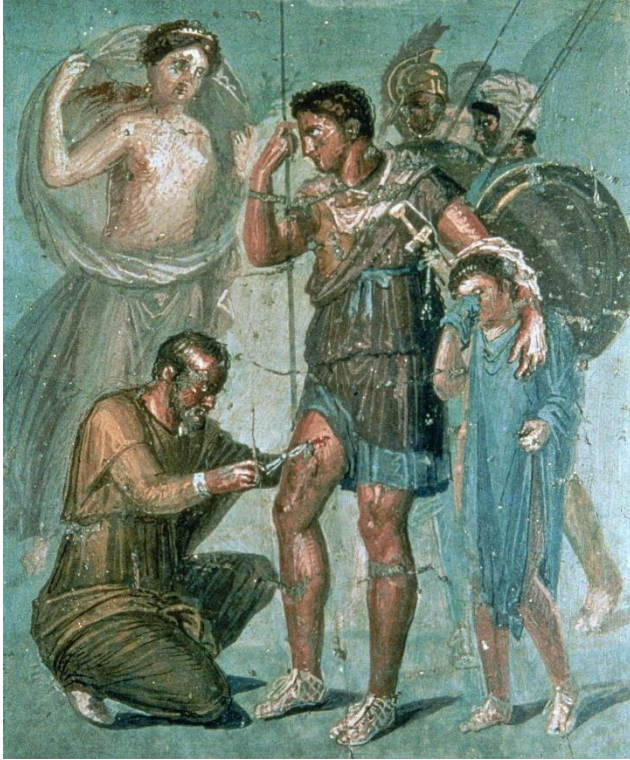
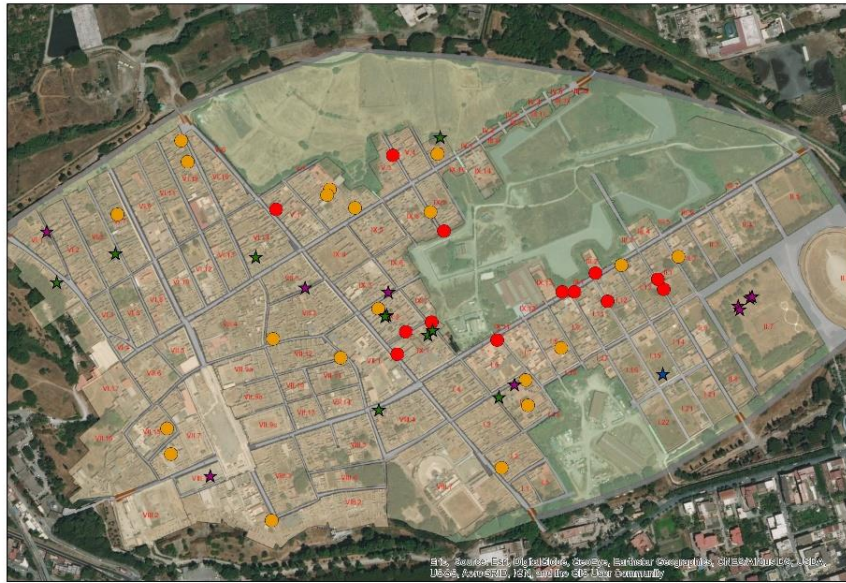


Fig. 2.3. *Dido Abandoned*, by unknown artist, 62-79, 1st Century A.D., ripped fresco. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (inv. no. 8898; image © Mondadori Portfolio/Electa/Luigi Spina/Bridgeman Images, used with permission).

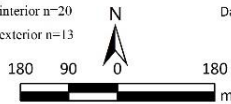


Fig. 2.4. Map with locations of Aeneid graffiti in Pompeii, divided into two categories (other and opening lines) and subdivided into three categories (interior, exterior, and unknown). Sarah Legendre.



Legend

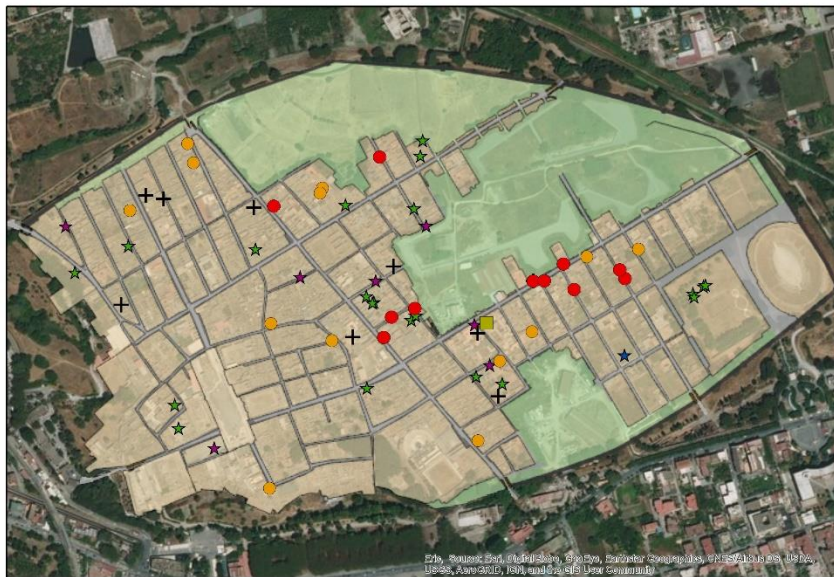
- ★ Other lines, unknown n=1
- ★ Other lines, interior n=10
- ★ Other lines, exterior n=9
- Opening lines, interior n=20
- Opening lines, exterior n=13



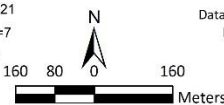
Data sources: Eric Poehler, Ancient Graffiti Mapping Project, Esri, Milnor 2014.
Projection: WGS 1984 Web Mercator Auxiliary Sphere

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Fig. 2.5. Map with locations of Aeneid graffiti and decor in Pompeii. Sarah Legendre.



- Lead urn n=1
- Opening lines (ext.) n=13
- Opening lines (int.) n=11
- ★ Other lines (unknown) n=1
- ★ Other lines (int.) n=21
- ★ Other lines (ext.) n=7
- ✚ Wall paintings n=11



Data sources: Eric Poehler, Ancient Graffiti Mapping Project, Esri, Milnor 2014, Galinsky 1969, Helbig 1868, Sogliano 1879.
Projection: WGS 1984 Web Mercator Auxiliary Sphere

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Fig. 2.6. Table of locations of Aeneid graffiti in Pompeii, by room type or general location. Sarah Legendre.

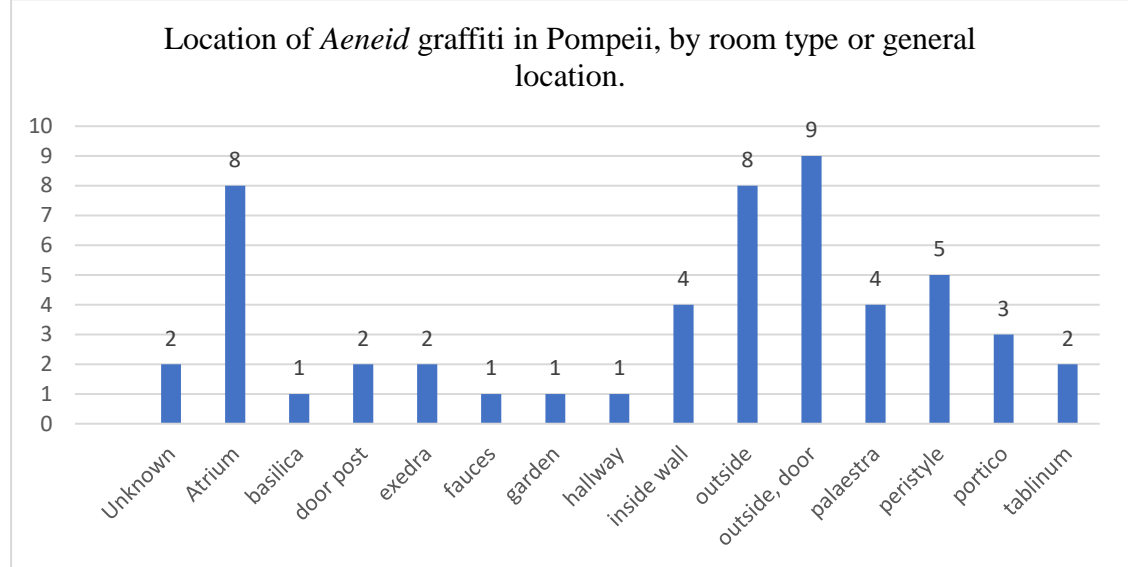


Fig. 2.7. Map of Aeneid graffiti inside buildings, divided into opening lines and other lines. Sarah Legendre.

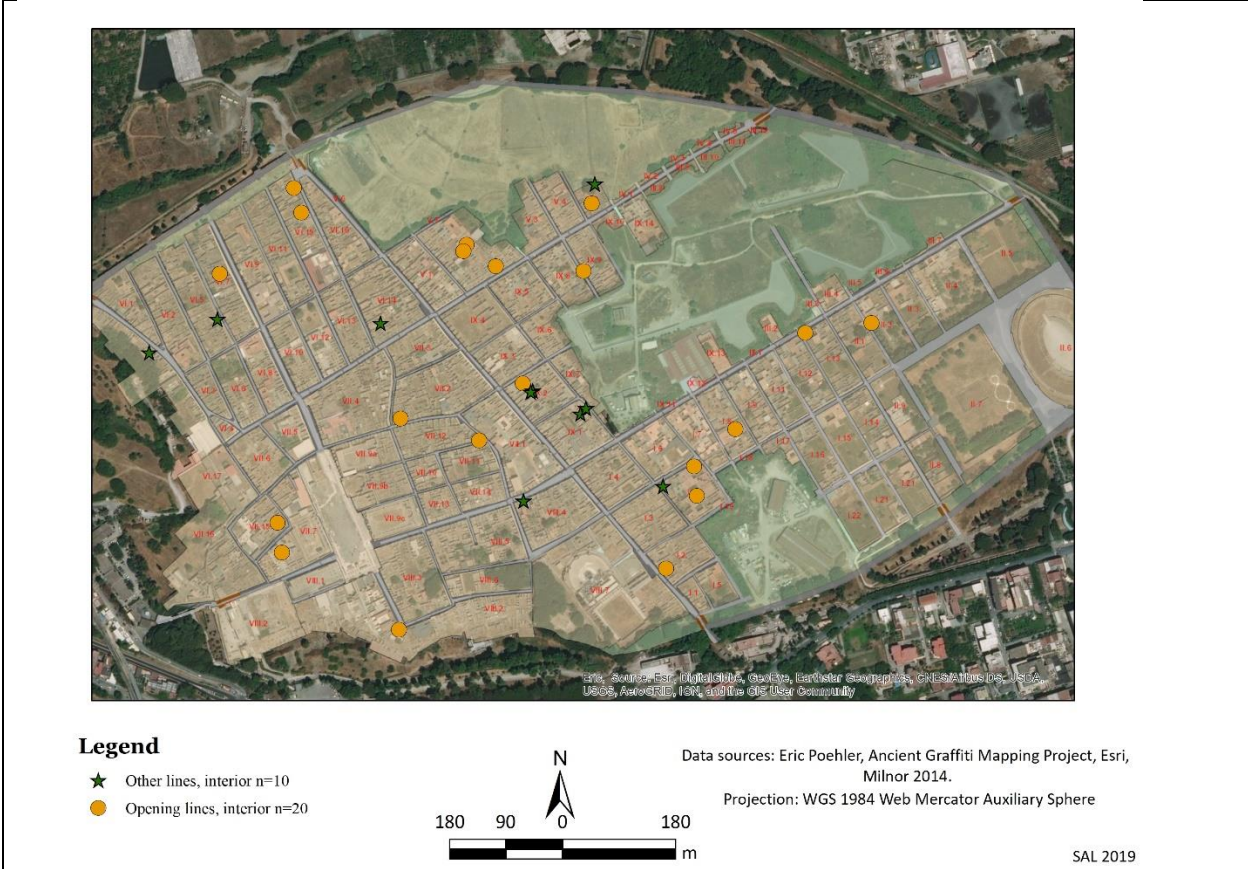


Fig. 3.1. Map of sites with *décor* using imagery from the *Aeneid* from chapter 3. Sarah Legendre.

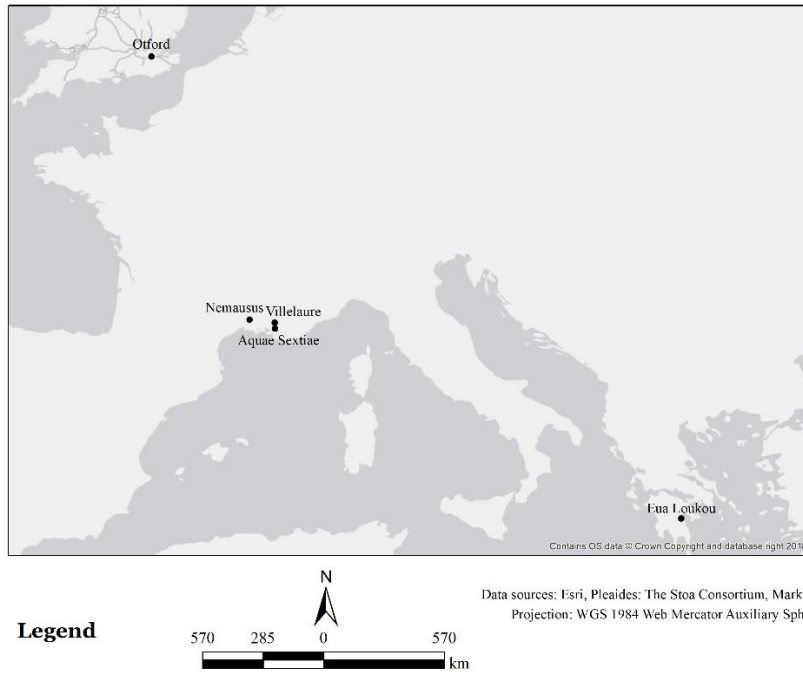


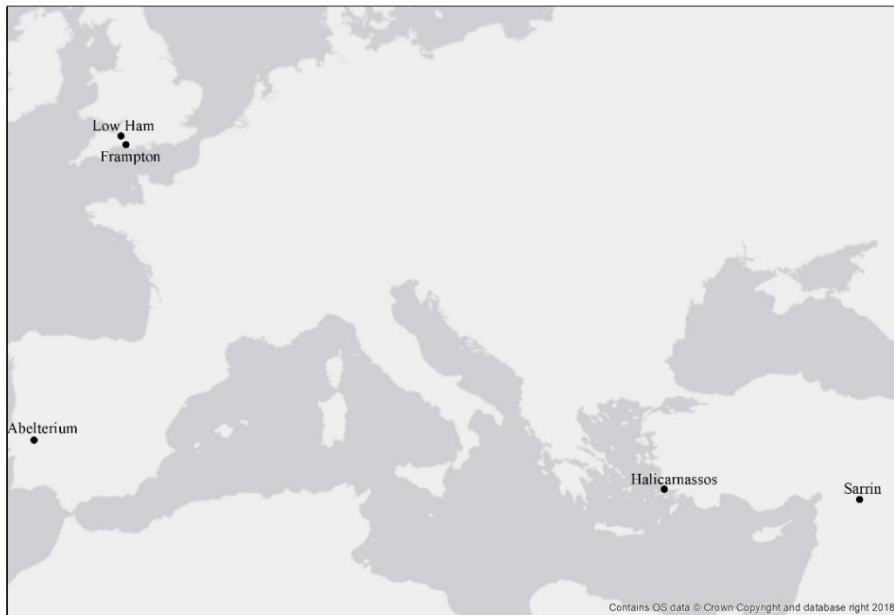
Fig. 3.2. Mosaic of boxing match of Dares and Entellus from Villelaure. Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum at the Getty Villa (inv. no. 71.AH.106; image © courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program).



Fig. 3.3. Wall painting fragment from Otford, Kent, England, with painted Latin letters. London, The British Museum (inv. no. 1928, 1011.2; image © Trustees of the British Museum).

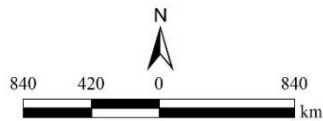


Fig. 4.1. Map of sites with décor using imagery from the Aeneid from chapter 4. Sarah Legendre.



Legend

- Sites



Data sources: Esri, Pleiades; The Stoa Consortium, Mark Critchley.
Projection: WGS 1984 Web Mercator Auxiliary Sphere

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Fig. 4.2. Watercolour painting of Frampton mosaic by James Engleheart. After Lysons 1813, pl. IV.



Fig. 4.3. Mosaic pavement from the Roman villa at Low Ham, illustrating the story of Dido and Aeneas from Virgil's Aeneid, c.350 AD (mosaic), Roman, (4th century AD). Taunton, Somerset County Museum (inv. no. TTNCM : 75/1991; image © Bridgeman Images).



Fig. 4.4. *Detail of Meleager from mosaic of Meleager and Atalanta found in Halicarnassos.* London, The British Museum (inv. No. 1857,1220.440; image © Trustees of the British Museum).

