

Hearing Voices: The Herculaneum Papyri and Classical Scholarship

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From the ruins of Herculaneum we turn our anxious eyes to far-distant scenes.

William Drummond and Robert Walpole, *Herculanensia* (1810)

MUCH OF THIS VOLUME addresses itself to the direct glimpse of a recovered antiquity that the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum promised to give the world in the mid-eighteenth century. This response to the past is a natural one and is summed up in a recent account of the discoveries, which proved to be as powerful as they were owing to the opportunities for identification they entailed: “What caught the imagination more than any individual object was the sense that here whole cities lay buried; that here for the first time you could experience how it might feel to look around the ancient world.”¹ What I want to focus on in the present chapter, less by way of contrast than by way of complement, is what happens at the site of contact, when the eye meets its object: Why is it that the object can never be taken in directly in an unmediated form? And why is it that the eye so often recoils before its objects? How does it negotiate its field of vision, framing and filtering what it sees? One of the great virtues of dealing with papyri is that they help us view documents of classical antiquity as objects and not only as texts. As we shall see, the papyri found at Herculaneum are no exception, and if anything they are an object lesson in the identificatory processes of classicism.

It is a remarkable but easily forgotten fact that classical objects do not surface from the ground with little labels attached to them that read, “I am classical,” like the famous eighth-century B.C. cup from Pithecusae inscribed with the seductively misleading tag “I am the cup of Nestor.” The reason they do not is simple: no object

is intrinsically or even formally classical. Classicism—the classical ideology that took shape during Winckelmann’s generation (although there are clear precedents in Greek and Roman antiquity)—is a product of the struggle over what counts as classical, and consensus is rather rarer than our handbooks let on. By *classicism* we may understand the reverence for the value and heritage of the cultures and civilizations of classical Greece and Rome and their prolongation in various forms, whether through imitation, revival, adaptation, enshrinement (most often, in museums), and so on.² Because classicism is bound up with a presumption about what it is to be classical, the coherence of classicism hinges on the coherence of what is claimed as classical—and those claims prove rather fragile. As we shall see, not all antiquity was always considered “classical,” even when it was recognized to be antique. If this is right, then what ought to be of interest to us are the ways in which objects get classified as classical—what permits their classicism to take hold of them, and then of us. Now, it ought to be understood, but it rarely is, that classical antiquity is full of surprises and uncertainties: it never ceases to astonish, to seem strange, and to fall disobediently out of its expected frames of reference and understanding. Is classicism a way of perceiving these surprises or is it a way of preventing them from happening, a way of containing these and other uncertainties? If classicism is the latter, then this raises a troubling prospect. Is an unmediated view of antiquity not only never possible but also something never really desired?

These questions could take us well beyond the confines of the present volume, but they are of special importance for the library of Herculaneum, the discovery and subsequent appropriation of which provide a case study in lofty expectations and their being dashed and reversed.³ The Herculanean library has had this polarizing effect on modern observers for a few different reasons. These have to do with the incoherencies that are native to the classical ideal and with the intractability—the native resistance, if you like—of classical materials, which comes in the first instance simply from their never ceasing to be physical objects (as is true, surprisingly, of the parallel case of the Parthenon marbles and as was also true of the paintings discovered at Herculaneum and at Pompeii) but also, in the case at hand, from the particulars of the library’s unusual contents.⁴ One outstanding peculiarity of the library of Herculaneum is that most of its holdings are stamped by the ancient philosophical school of Epicurus, a tightly controlled sect that was first established in Athens early in the third century B.C. and then later spread its gospel to Rome, where it attracted followers among the educated elite. Epicureanism offered a compelling alternative to the chaos of political turmoil and the stress of urban existence: psychological hedonism and the promise of simple pleasures. It did so on the foundations of an alienating atomistic physical hypothesis: the belief that the universe was in essence composed of atoms and void. Here, eighteenth-century classicism found itself doubly challenged, facing not only strange bits of matter (charred papyrus rolls) but also—what was in ways worse for a world reared on classical idealism—exponents of philosophical materialism.⁵ The question that naturally arises is what happens when the empiricism, but also the materialism, of the archaeological gaze—the classical or classicizing gaze—falls not just on the material remains of antiquity but also on ancient materialism. That, in a nutshell, is what the present paper is about.



“The wreck of Herculanean lore”

FIGURE 1
Herculanum papyrus 732.
Carbonized papyrus rolls.
Biblioteca nazionale di
Napoli, Inv. 108166/721.

Photo: Courtesy Ministero per
i Beni e le Attività Culturali,
Soprintendenza archeologica di
Pompei.

FIGURE 2
Herculanum papyrus 1148.
Epicurus *De natura*
14.2aC.9–10. Biblioteca
nazionale di Napoli, Inv.
108581/1134.

Photo: Courtesy Ministero per
i Beni e le Attività Culturali,
Soprintendenza archeologica di
Pompei.

Let us begin by quoting a contemporary reaction in verse to the discovery of books at Herculaneum:

O ye, who patiently explore
The wreck of Herculanean lore,
What rapture! could ye seize
Some Theban fragment, or unroll
One precious, tender-hearted, scroll
Of pure Simonides.

That were, indeed, a genuine birth
Of poesy; a bursting forth
Of genius from the dust:
What Horace gloried to behold,
What Maro loved, shall we enfold?
Can haughty Time be just!⁶

The expectations voiced by William Wordsworth in 1819 were shared by an entire generation that had been exposed to the discovery and gradual unrolling of the papyri found at Herculaneum between 1752 and 1754. At first tossed aside because of their sorry condition—they were carbonized and resembled lumps of black coal or burnt wood [FIG. 1]—and only later discovered to contain traces of writing [FIG. 2], the papyri were unearthed by Bourbon excavators tunneling at different locations through the buried remains of what became known as the Villa dei Papi, later (with less justification) dubbed the library of Philodemus. Approximately two thousand papyrus rolls were discovered on the site, in different locations and in whatever spot they happened to occupy when the lava of Vesuvius submerged the town in A.D. 79.

Wordsworth’s hopes for recovering pure poets from the Greek and Roman past were thoroughly in line with classical paradigms. But Herculaneum does not appear to obey the rules of classicism, and the poem expresses this fact in the form of an unfulfilled wish that is ambiguously tinged with conditional despair: “What rapture!

could ye seize . . . That were, indeed, a genuine birth of poesy.” The poet’s excitement, his expectations, and his frustration remain as valid today as they were in 1819. No new Theban fragments of Pindar have been found and no Simonides either. In their place something far less satisfying was found: a library of mostly Greek philosophical writings evidently formed by the tastes of an Epicurean but also of a rather unglamorous sort—no lost dialogues of Aristotle, let alone any pre-Socratic treatises, but instead several hundred titles, the bulk of them the writings of an obscure professional philosopher, Philodemus of Gadara, who was active in Italy in the first half of the last century B.C. and whose works tend (like those of many professional academics) to be tedious, polemical, and unstylish in the extreme. As the papyri were gradually and painstakingly unrolled and deciphered over the next centuries, scholars and other enthusiasts of antiquity learned to adjust to a postclassical, if not unclassical, archive. Tremors of excitement were felt whenever a snatch of Ennius or Virgil or, failing that, Lucretius or even Caecilius Statius was detected. The mere mention of some classical great personage, at times forced on the texts by overexcited editors, worked in much the same way to validate the findings that in other respects were anything but glamorous. Today, the fervent hopes of finding another library with a complete run of Latin classics are a symptom of this same desire.⁷

In what follows, I will trace three different aspects of this problem. Let us call these three aspects “objects,” because that is how they come to be reified by the gaze of classical scholarship. First, there are the connections between the villa and Philodemus, which are hardly straightforward. Second, a shift takes place if one turns away from Philodemus as a source of interest in his own right and instead looks at him as an object of philological scrutiny or of philosophical reconstruction and as a source of information about other developments in antiquity (which we can best glean from looking at his opponents). Third, an irony of recuperation happens when Epicureanism oddly becomes embedded again in the classical ideal. These three aspects will all require a certain amount of unfolding in what follows. And because Herculaneum will prove to be an object lesson in how classical scholarship in its very methods negotiates with the unwieldy idea and ideal of the “classical,” my approach will necessarily raise questions with larger implications, such as: what are the aesthetic biases of classical scholarship? and, can scholarship itself be classicizing? The story of the Herculaneum papyri contains many surprises and ironies in this regard. But first a few more details about the process by which the original discoveries were made known and integrated into a hypothetical picture of Herculaneum’s antiquity will be needed.

The first attempt at recuperation sought (and still seeks) to anchor the villa in late Roman republican politics and culture, which is to say the bulk of the last century B.C. down to the reign of Augustus (27 B.C.). The standard view of the villa was already in place in the eighteenth century: L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, who was connected to the family of Julius Caesar and was consul in A.D. 58, owned the villa; and Piso was the patron of Philodemus of Gadara, an Epicurean schooled in Athens but living in Italy and consorting with Roman elites and intellectuals who gathered at the Bay of Naples to indulge their sympathies for Epicureanism (this group would have included Virgil and Horace, who are imagined to have visited with Philodemus in Herculaneum).⁸ Accordingly the library in Herculaneum must represent Philodemus’s private workshop, where he prepared his writings for private circulation and teaching. All aspects of the villa’s finds (architectural, sculptural, and inscriptional) have since been marshaled to flesh out this picture, often ingeniously and sometimes fantastically. And although

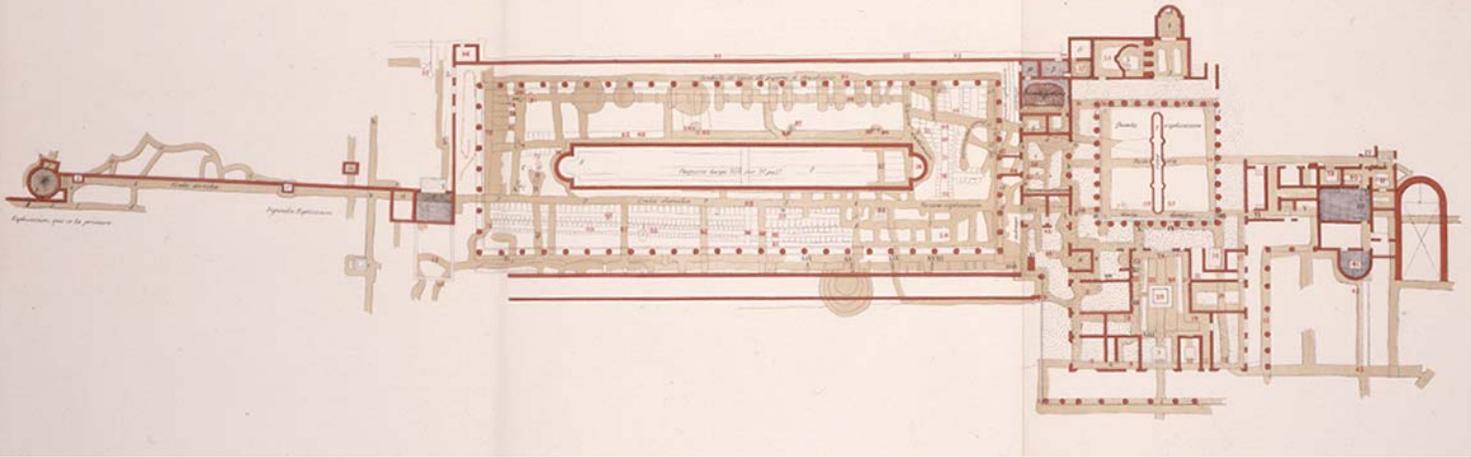
alternative reconstructions of the evidence have been put forward, most scholars have accepted this picture in its outlines as a highly probable interpretation of the villa.⁹

That said, the consensus view is more than simply fragile: it has little to stand on at all. Most of this picture is wishful, and the key evidence is almost entirely circumstantial. Piso's ownership of the villa and his links to Virgil and Horace are a mere speculation. (Some half-dozen candidates have been plausibly put forward as the villa's owner.)¹⁰ A dedication to a certain Piso in one work by Philodemus, *On the Good King according to Homer*, in itself establishes nothing, any more than does Cicero's mention, in his *Against Piso*, of Piso's association with Philodemus.¹¹ When the library was formed, and where, is anybody's guess—and the options for chronology run down to as late as A.D. 79 when Vesuvius erupted. In a word, the library could easily postdate Philodemus's *floruit* by as much as a century. These last points need to be developed.

Philodemus's last preserved work dates from around 40 B.C. While a handful of the papyri date to Epicurus's lifetime, including his opus maximum, *On Nature*, the last hand in the papyri from Herculaneum dates from the end of the first century B.C. or the early part of the next century, which, in one view, attests to later accessions.¹² But no titles postdate Philodemus, and Vesuvius would not erupt for another sixty to a hundred years. Accordingly, the accessions represent either copies of earlier Epicurean writers, including Epicurus, or copies of Philodemus's own writings on the history of his school and the earlier history of philosophy.¹³ In other words, no fewer than eight decades can have passed between the formation of the collection and the eruption of Vesuvius. When was the collection actually formed? It may have existed only at a later date, say at some point after Philodemus's death in around 35 B.C. and until A.D. 79. Or it can have existed during or after Philodemus's lifetime, but in another location, before finding its way to the villa in Herculaneum, a prized possession gleaned from the book market rather than a private heirloom passed down in a family estate, such as that of the gens Calpurnia, from one generation to the next, until passing (possibly) out of its hands.¹⁴ We simply do not know.

Speculations abound. But their status as speculation must be emphasized. Was the library a working library, a collector's gallery, or a storage room? In fact, the papyri were not found in a library at all. They were found in five different locations, some shelved in cabinets and boxes and others massed in heaps. Most were found in a small chamber off to the side of a peristyle. One speculation is that the scene they presented was a snapshot of disaster and thwarted recovery; the papyri must have been caught in a state of rescue. Another is that the villa was undergoing reconstruction at the time of the eruption, which is supported archaeologically, possibly indicating a change of hands in the villa's proprietorship. Consequently, the library's contents had merely been stored in provisional locations.¹⁵ As with most aspects of the villa's history, there is no way of deciding the question. The more romantic option has its attractions, not least of all because it matches the instincts of classicists, for whom the salvaging of the precious library is naturally their foremost concern, and so it surely must have been for the library's owners or keepers as well. Much better to imagine this salvage operation than to picture the equally likely image of a chaos of boxes threatened not by the hazards of nature but by those of remodeling.

As for Philodemus, his sole connection to Herculaneum is the findspot of his writings. He need not have ever set foot there, and there is no evidence that he ever did. Piso's Epicurean leanings and Philodemus's confirmed Epicureanism aside, the notion that the villa was a haven of Epicurean teaching, a college or retreat where acolytes



could meet and discuss Epicurean philosophy and even live out Epicureanism in an idyllic setting, gathered, for example, around the so-called belvedere at the end of the property [FIG. 3] to gaze thoughtfully on the setting sun and glistening sea, free from cares and indulging in the simplest of pleasures (wine, not in overabundance, goat cheese, olives, and loaves of bread), while not strictly impossible or even improbable, nevertheless is based on nothing more than a desire to see things in this way. True, we do have a delightful epigram by Philodemus that points to some such setting:

Tomorrow, friend [φίλτατε] Piso, your musical
 [μονσιφιλής] comrade drags you to his
 modest digs at three in the afternoon,
 feeding you at your annual visit to the Twentieth [in
 honor of Epicurus]. If you will miss udders
 and Bromian wine *mis en bouteilles* in
 Chios,
 yet you will see faithful comrades, yet you will hear
 things far sweeter than the land of the
 Phaeacians.
 And if you ever turn an eye to us too, Piso, instead
 of a modest feast we shall lead a richer one.

Philodemus *Epigram* 27 Sider [= AP 11.44]

But nothing guarantees that the villa in Herculaneum provided the physical setting for this versified banquet, and indeed the poem itself suggests the contrary.¹⁶ Future excavations might help solve many of these puzzles by bringing to light fresh details about the ground plan and layout of the library and the villa or by revealing further chambers containing new papyrus rolls (for instance, a separate collection of Latin books or a collection of non-Epicurean Greek texts)—if these exist to be found at all. Or we may never discover the answers to these puzzles. Time is haughty indeed!

In sum, the villa is for us the Villa dei Papiri, which was devoted to preserving the heritage of a Greek philosophical sect that was transmitted (and in cases physically

FIGURE 3
 Karl Weber (Swiss, 1712–1764), Plan of the Villa dei Papiri, Herculaneum. Plate 24 from Domenico Comparetti and Giulio de Petra, *La Villa ercolanese dei Pisoni: I suoi monumenti e la sua biblioteca* (1883). Los Angeles, Research Library, Getty Research Institute, 85-B13214.

transported) from Athens. But seeing things in this way is a modern fantasy, and the picture it represents remains to be proved. In fact, the villa need not have been any more than a place of retreat for a wealthy Hellenizing Roman with a collector's yen for Epicurean writings or simply for pretty and impressive-looking books. Our picture of the villa is a romanticized one.

Hearing Voices

The library of Herculaneum presents a unique opportunity to recover voices from the past. But whose voices do we hear? The question has plagued the study of the papyri from the start. Wordsworth's hopes will have been raised by the publication of transcriptions of the papyri, a tedious process that began immediately upon their unrolling in nearby Naples.¹⁷ Nor were conditions exactly propitious to the texts that were found. The papyri have existed in a fragile and disintegrative condition since their discovery, and they suffered a bumpy early history. I have already mentioned how some unspecified number of rolls were thrown away, being mistaken for lumps of charcoal. Later, the papyri were removed to Palermo when the court fled the Parthenopean revolution in 1798, taking its treasures with it. The papyri returned to Portici in 1802, although a large number (around eighty) appear to have been broken in transit.¹⁸ But even earlier, the papyri suffered the damages of impatience once it was determined that they contained writing and were not mere rubbish to be tossed aside: countless precious books were destroyed when the briquettes were initially sliced open, their outer husks peeled away to reveal the more legible "tender-hearted" or better-preserved middles (*midolli*, literally, "marrows"). Even then, once unrolled, the papyri had to be deciphered. Transcription had its own perils. Graphic artists (*disegnatori*) were hired for the job. For the most part illiterate in ancient Greek and therefore more faithful witnesses than their supervisors, who occasionally sought to improve upon and correct the diplomatic transcripts made for them, the *disegnatori* would trace in pencil whatever they could see on sturdy paper sheets, allotting one sheet per column of text [FIG. 4]. These drawings were then published as engravings, which were copied freely onto copper plates (but with a certain fidelity to the original *disegni*, or apographs, which mimicked, as best they could, the peculiarities of scripts and hands) in two editions (*Herculanesium voluminum quae supersunt collectio*), the first from 1793 to 1855, the second from 1862 to 1876, each in eleven volumes.

The original *disegni*, now housed in the Biblioteca nazionale in Naples and the Bodleian Library in Oxford, are a priceless witness to papyri that were either destroyed during the unrolling process or lost during the various dislocations of the treasures or that have since deteriorated, owing to their exceedingly fragile condition. The papyri themselves (see FIG. 2), once peeled away from their briquettes, were mounted on cardboard backings and stored in wooden and later metal trays. These originals are with few exceptions archived in Naples, and, although in some cases visible to the naked eye, they typically have to be read with prosthetic devices, whether magnifying glasses, binocular microscopes, or (most recently) digital multispectral imaging scanners. The result is that today one can read both more and less than those who first laid eyes on the papyri. The current techniques of reading reveal much that went unnoticed previously, but nothing can restore what is no longer there to be seen.

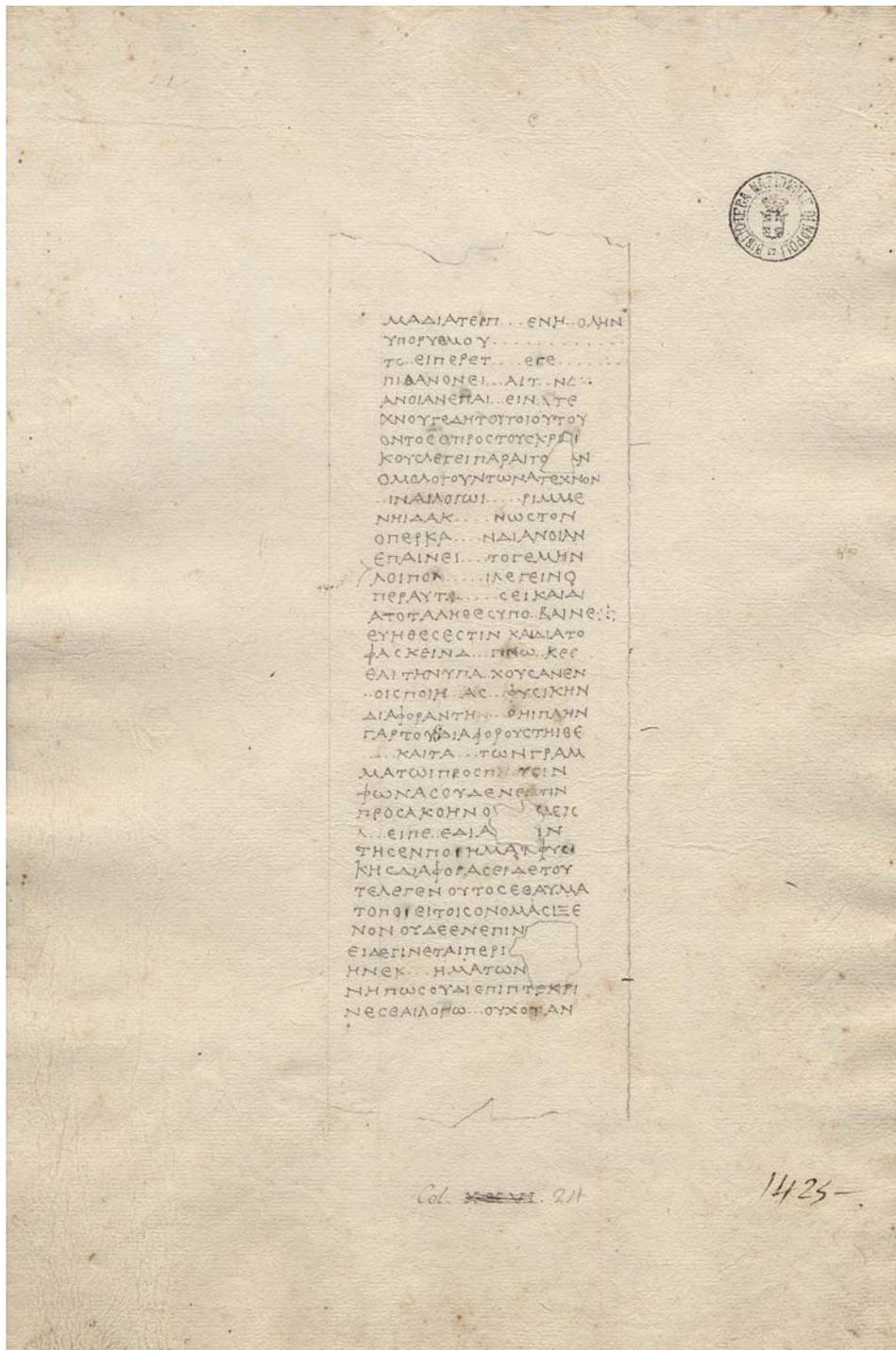


FIGURE 4 Apograph of original disegno of Herculaneum papyrus 1425 (De poem. 5 col. 24N) drawn by Giuseppe Casanova (1733–1844), ca. 1807. Biblioteca Nazionale “Vittorio Emanuele III” di Napoli.

Photo: © Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli and Brigham Young University, Provo, UT. All rights reserved.

Wordsworth's wistfulness in 1819 was already strangely anachronistic and possibly ill-informed (the harsh truth about the contents of the papyri had been more or less known for several decades already). It is conceivable that he took his inspiration from *Herculanensia* (1810), a published report to Prince George by William Drummond and Robert Walpole as part of a bid to secure financing and political support for a renewed investigation of the papyri, which the Prince of Wales had been underwriting and which eventually resulted in a set of *disegni* made under the supervision of John Hayter (the series that is now kept at Oxford).¹⁹ In their preface Drummond and Walpole share an entire generation's expectations of discovery:

The lost books of Livy, and the Comedies of Menander, presented themselves to the imagination of almost every scholar. Each indeed anticipated, according to his taste, the mental pleasures, and the literary labours, which awaited him. Some connected the broken series of historical details; some restored to the light those specimens of eloquence, which, perhaps, their authors believed incapable of being ever concealed from it; and others opened new springs, which should augment the fountains of Parnassus. Varius again took his seat by the side of Virgil; Simonides stood again with Sophocles and Pindar by the throne of Homer; and the lyre of the Theban was struck to themes and to measures, that are remembered no more. (ix–x)

The authors here are plainly anticipating Wordsworth's rapturous exclamations over "some Theban fragment" and "scroll of pure Simonides" surfacing from the wreckage and "tender-hearted" scrolls of Herculaneum.²⁰ But they also bear witness to his disillusionment: "These enthusiastic hopes were perhaps too suddenly repressed, as they had been too easily excited." They go on to explain:

When we walk among the remains of temples and palaces, we must not expect to meet only with fragments of sculpture, with the polished column, or the decorated capital. Where the ruin has been great, the rubbish is likely to be abundant. The first *papyrus* which was opened, contained a treatise upon music by Philodemus the Epicurean. It was in vain that Mazzochi and Rosini wrote their learned comments on this dull performance: the sedative was too strong; and the curiosity which had been so hastily awakened was as quickly lulled to repose. A few men of letters, indeed, lamented that no further search was made for some happier subject, on which learned industry might be employed; but the time, the difficulty, and the expense, which such an enterprise required, and the uncertainty of producing any thing valuable, had apparently discouraged and disgusted the Academicians of Portici. (x)

At first, scholars were dazed by what they found. Unused to papyrus formats and reduced to utter desperation, they turned to the oddest of hypotheses. One of these was advanced by Giacomo Martorelli, a Neapolitan scholar who claims to have been the first "to see and touch" the papyri (an empiricist archaeological impulse if there ever was one) when they were originally unearthed. Despite his admiration for what he saw, Martorelli found himself puzzled beyond belief. He denied they were books at all (because they were not in codex form): they must be documents of a mundane kind (contracts, testaments, and the like), and the villa must have been the official public archive of Herculaneum. For support, he turned, now like a literal-minded philologist, to the silence of the lexica: precisely because the Greeks lacked a word for papyrus roll

(*volumen* in Latin) they cannot have known what a papyrus roll was. And anyway, the ancients were far too clever to have submitted to a system as awkward as the book roll; a codex was so much simpler to use.²¹ Puzzled, a second time, by the strange appearance of the writing (most likely due to the distortions in the papyri and to the clinging of overlapping layers when these were imperfectly separated), Martorelli advanced the thesis that beyond texts in Greek and Latin one could find a form of writing that was hitherto unknown: Sabine.²² He was soon joined by Alessio Simmaco Mazzocchi, a local erudite from Ercolano, who professed to be able to detect in the least legible of the papyrus finds the Ur-language of Campania, Oscan.²³ The desperations of these earliest responses to the papyri are symptomatic of a larger anxiety, one that anticipated Wordsworth by more than half a century.

In this context a new player entered the stage, Johann Joachim Winckelmann, who visited the royal museum in Portici in February and March 1758 and again four years later in February 1762 and then a final time in March 1764, where he saw the collection after the first unrolling of the papyri had taken place and as the unrolling process progressed. Winckelmann's descriptions, in two open letters, published after his second and third visits (1762 and 1764), helped bring knowledge of the discoveries at Herculaneum to a wider European public.²⁴ In the first report he gives a picture of the current state of play. Four books had been unrolled and transcribed:

Until now, and first off, four rolls of writing have been completely unrolled, and the remarkable fact was that all four are by one and the same author. His name is Philodemus, and he was from Gadara in Syria and a member of the sect of Epicurus: both Cicero, in whose time he lived, and Horace mention him. The first writing is known to be a treatise against music, in which the author wants to show how music is harmful to moral conduct and to the State. The second writing to be unrolled was the second book of his *Rhetorica*. . . I've been assured by somebody who was able to study this text bit by bit as it was unrolled [bit by bit (*nach und nach*) is an understatement, seeing how slowly the unrolling process proceeded, at about a millimeter or so an hour, on the ingenious *macchina* devised by Padre Antonio Piaggio delle Scuole Pie (FIG. 5)], that in this book . . . Philodemus quotes the *Politica* of Epicurus and Hermarchus. The third writing . . . is the first book of a work on the considered art of rhetoric [in fact, this is another book from the same work, the *Rhetorica*], and the fourth writing is about virtues and vices.²⁵

Already at the time it was suspected that one of these works was an autograph in draft by Philodemus,²⁶ "and this [assumption]," Winckelmann writes, "leads to the suspicion that the villa in which the writings were found possibly belonged to this same philosopher"—to which he adds in the next breath, "but this [in turn] would give rise to the *fear that nothing but Philodemean writings are to be found*, given that the first four pieces of writing to have turned up, in a purely random selection, are from his pen" or his workshop (*italics added*).²⁷ Winckelmann lays out the grounds for this fear a few pages later with a remarkable confession (especially for those who tend to see him as an ahistorically minded idealizer of antiquity): "One would have wished to find historians, such as the lost books of Diodorus, the history of Theopompus and that of Ephorus." But a moment later, the more familiar side of Winckelmann emerges clearly: "and [one would also have wished to find] other writings, such as Aristotle's criticisms of the dramatic poets [doubtless, the lost dialogue *On Poets*], the

All in all, the disappointment was great: “there is not much to hope for here.”³⁰ And the feeling was shared. One plan contemplated by those in charge was to unroll and examine only the initial columns of a great number of papyri “until they could find a few with useful contents” and to continue the work on these and to lay the others aside until this work was completed.³¹ Luckily for the papyri, no such plan was ever undertaken. Even so, Winckelmann’s worst fears and suspicions would be borne out only over the next century of unrolling, deciphering, and transcription: the library was a philosophical one and almost exclusively Epicurean.

Here, the empiricism driving classicism and classical scholarship arrived at an impasse: classicism was forced to confront its own sources in the form of an impediment, in the sheer inert materiality of its objects. (Winckelmann’s despairing description begins on this same note: “so much for the formal side [*dem Förmlichen*] of the writing; the material side of the writing [*das Materialische derselben*] is . . .”)³² But worse still, classicism had no choice but to face the realities of an ancient school of materialism, an uneasy prospect. Ancient atomism has never been a staple of classicism, for obvious reasons. Presenting the rebarbative spectacle of atoms jostling in a cosmic void, undirected by divinity, reason, or teleology, atomism is anathema to worshippers of form, beauty, or ideals of any kind. It goes against the Platonic grain of classical idealism, and its official study by classicists was retarded for a century or more for identical reasons.³³ Likewise, the aestheticizing tendency of classical scholarship was stymied in the face of the Herculanean writings. In search of new music from the classical past, nobody could comprehend how antiquity could have produced such a complete rejection of music. It turns out that in addition to his works on music and rhetoric, Philodemus also wrote a work in five books on poetry called *On Poems*, but this text was not identified until later in the nineteenth century. Once identified, the work drew intense interest and rekindled the waning hopes of scholars, who had all but given up on discovering some salvageable bit of classical antiquity in the papyri, which had languished in neglect for more than half a century. Whence the heady fervor of Theodor Gomperz in 1865, who felt that here, in the poetic writings of Philodemus, one could finally point to “*the—until now—fully unknown aesthetics of the Epicurean school*” (italics in original).³⁴ Does the hope express a desire to bring Epicurus back into the fold of classical culture (*paideia*), which Epicurus was known to have repudiated?

“That were, indeed, a genuine birth of poesy”

How ever alluring Gomperz’s hope may be—and it is still shared by most scholars in the field today—Philodemus brings us no closer to an Epicurean poetics than did Epicurus himself (Epicurus was notoriously hostile not just to music but to poetry and its study). Instead, the writings of Philodemus contain a wealth of information about developments in aesthetic theory outside the Epicurean school and especially after Aristotle, many of which are attested nowhere else. Philodemus reports the teachings of mainly anonymous sources, apparently filtered through either his teacher from Athens, Zeno, or the Pergamene grammarian Crates of Mallos, who flourished in the early to mid-second century B.C. and who is known to us elsewhere principally for his bold and often bizarre allegories of Homer. The theories assembled and passed under critical review by Philodemus seem to be largely Hellenistic in origin but with

roots that can be traced to the fifth century and possibly earlier—indeed, they are rooted in the very character of early Greek poetry as oral literature. As it happens, mystifyingly and somewhat uncannily, these developments are for the most part taken up with the question of the voice (*φωνή*)—of the sound and aural surface of music, poetry, and rhetoric. In the writings on poetics in particular, the emphasis of these non-Epicurean sources, while apparently aimed at a theory of euphony (an analysis of how poems sound), is in fact focused on how texts from the remote postclassical era, when read out loud, resurrect the voices of classical authors in a powerfully immediate, sensuous, and pleasurable way.

On both intellectual and moral grounds, scholars today remain baffled by these teachings, for the critics opposed by Philodemus appear to offer a theory according to which what counts in a poem is not what it means but only how it sounds. Poetic excellence is determined solely by the sound, which is appreciated by the irrational sense of hearing and not by the mind (although the mind can appreciate the artfulness by which poetic sounds are arranged and so produced). This reductive euphonism is an affront to most things precious to ancient literary criticism and to conventional sensibilities today. Genre boundaries, the appropriateness of thought to expression, content, moral utility, and even the specific relevance of meaning are sacrificed; euphony and pleasure are made into the irrational criteria of rational meaning; and nature begins to look like the convention it, in fact, was in classical antiquity.

The introduction to Richard Janko's magnificent edition of the remains of Philodemus's *On Poems*, book 1, closes with the forbidding thought (which would surely have been shared by a more prescient Philodemus): "The theories of the euphonists . . . did much to reverse the progress of human rationality for many centuries, until at last enlightened thinkers like Giambattista Vico came to reject [such a view], first as applied to Homer and then to more 'sacred' texts. In their own times Lucretius, Philodemus, Horace, Seneca, and Plutarch did well to resist it. Theories of language and interpretation have a profound importance for civilization as a whole; we get them wrong at our peril."³⁵ But this concern is merely the latest revulsion of modernity in the face of an antiquity it cannot ever completely assimilate. In the brief space that remains, I want to indicate two final ironies of the Herculaneum papyri and their reception among classical scholars.

The rejection of the euphonists over the centuries completely misgauges the thrust of their undertaking, which is, in fact, multifaceted. The purpose of these critics is both critical (destructive of literary critical commonplaces) and uncritical (conservative and classicizing). On the one hand, euphonist criticism is bound up with the culturally critical and ideological aspects of aesthetic criticism in antiquity, an aspect of ancient aesthetics that tends to be neglected—wrongly.³⁶ Presumed theoretical analyses often turn out to have wider conceptual and critical implications, as here. An aesthetics such as that of the euphonists contrasts with the formalism and the moralism of mainstream criticism familiar from Plato and Aristotle. Materialism in aesthetics highlights problems of conventional value in striking ways. If literary criticism implies a discussion of cultural biases, norms, and values (from morals to meaning), criticism in a materialistic vein—criticism centered on the phenomenal experience of art as registered through the pleasures of the body (as disseminated through the ear or eye)—can be intensely critical of conventional values and especially of the conventions of nature that underpin them. Appearances notwithstanding, a sensuous aesthetics such as the euphonists' need not be grounded in naturalism or even in the

senses. On the contrary, it can make strategic use of the postulates of naturalism in order to loosen the grip of deeply seated (and naturalized) conventions of aesthetic perception and criticism. And indeed, their provocative counteraesthetics sharply call into question these latter conventions (for instance, the difficult problem of how to reconcile aesthetic pleasure with poetic and cultural value). Here the euphonists are good candidates for representing a form of anticlassicism.

But a more immediate motivation for their theory is to be found in the very situation of ancient literary criticism. The focus on the voice as a substance that is simultaneously an abstract and fleeting entity (a *spiritus* or *πνεῦμα*) recalls the perpetual problem of postclassical Greek literary culture: how to breathe life into the lifeless matter of a canonical text. Readers, Longinus writes, are “possessed by a spirit [*πνεῦμα*: breath or voice] not their own” (13.2). Sublimity makes “a kind of lustre bloom upon our words as upon beautiful statues; it gives things life [*ψυχήν*] and makes them speak [*φωνητικῆν*]” (30.1; trans. Russell). “Books,” Cicero writes, recalling a theme dating to the fourth century, “lack that breath of life [*spiritu illo*] which usually makes . . . passages seem more impressive [*maiora*] when spoken [*aguntur*] than when read [*leguntur*]” (*Orator* 130; trans. Hubbell). And it is probably Pausimachus, one of Philodemus’s euphonist sources and otherwise an unknown entity, who says, “When Homer’s verses are read out [*ἀναγινώσκ[ητ]αι*], they all appear greater and more beautiful [*πάντα μ[ε]ρίζω|καὶ καλλίω φ[αίνε]ται*].”³⁷ Seen in this light, the euphonists offer us, among other things, a theory of reading, a way of reading the voice buried in the voiceless script of Greek texts from the distant past.

If this way of reading their program is right, then these exponents of poetic sensualism and materialism are not questioning classical values but are only reinforcing them.³⁸ The sheer seductiveness of what is classical about classical literature, never previously named as such, is here being, in fact, named—as sweet sound, transport, and sublimity. Classical seductions, always irrational (a matter of feeling rather than of reason), are not being dismissed. On the contrary, they are being shown to be sublime. What remains, on this critical reduction of sense to sound, is thus not only sound but also the feeling that the sound both evokes and represents. What remains, in other words, is a pure ideological effect, absent any meaning or content, namely, the ideological effect of classicism itself. That the euphonist critics are also highlighting the contingency of this value, by directing attention in the first instance to its material coordinates (in sound, in its existence in and for “the ear”) and then to its convention-bound nature and to its sheer imaginary value (it is no more than a *phainomenon* or sensuous experience), is a possibility that cannot be foreclosed.³⁹ But if that is the case, then their apparent conservatism has a hidden critical edge: they are laying bare the phenomenology of ancient classical values and exposing to view the sheer fragility and the material foundation of those values. For how, exactly, does a *written* text *sound*? What remains, on this critical reduction of sense to sound, is thus not only sound but also, or rather above all, the *feeling* that the sound evokes and represents. The euphonists isolate without naming this quality of classical literature. “Euphony,” “pleasure,” and occasionally “ecstasy” compete with one another without providing a focused concept that would correspond to all these terms. Perhaps the modern term *classical* captures it best of all. But then, it captures just a movement of breath.

And so, although the writers in aesthetics described by Philodemus are not classical authors in the narrow sense (they date from the age of the Alexandrian library, from the third to first centuries B.C., although their intellectual roots can be traced back to

such fifth-century B.C. thinkers as Democritus and Prodicus and to the earliest musical and philological traditions), they do represent, or else lay bare, a strongly classicizing tendency of postclassical antiquity and not only of ancient literary, musical, and rhetorical theory. What they give us is an aesthetics of classicism in the guise of a theory of sensuous perception (of sound, hearing, euphony, and so on). And while they might therefore be said to justify classicism and reinforce its structures of feeling through their advocacy of an extreme and irrational aesthetic hedonism, what they are in fact doing is pointing out the foundational beliefs of literary classicism, which is, after all, rooted in the pleasure of the text and which reinforces its values through a regime of pleasure. This last insight is what drew the ire of the Epicureans, and it accounts for the preservation of these theorists by Philodemus—unlike their earlier atomist forebears, Epicureans, being the moral hedonists that they are, are rationalists at bottom as well as non-reductive materialists—but it does not yet account for their complete lack of attestation elsewhere in our ancient sources.⁴⁰ Classicism, after all, is itself a pleasurable practice. Thus, the Herculaneum papyri ironically do bring us back to classicism again, albeit via a most unexpected route.

Now for the second irony, which this time has to do with classicism in its modern form. We have seen how the Herculaneum papyri repulsed Winckelmann, who found them to be narrowly sectarian and unaesthetic in the extreme. Yet by the strangest of reversals, even Winckelmann found a way of fully recuperating the recovered antiquity of Herculaneum in all its Epicurean splendor, for as surprising as it may seem to us, Winckelmann's foundational concept of the classical ideal—noble simplicity and tranquil grandeur—is, in fact, a calque on Epicurus's idealization of divinity. Winckelmann's ideal of flesh rendered transparent and finally unseen (a prerequisite of idealization) is explicitly supported by a reference to Epicurus's account of the gods, as we have it from Cicero:

But if the human figure is superior to all other shapes of animate beings, and god is animate, he certainly possesses that figure which is most beautiful of all. And since the gods are agreed to be supremely blessed, and since no one can be blessed without virtue, and virtue is impossible without reason, and reason can exist only in the human form, it must be admitted that the gods are of human appearance. However, that appearance is not body [*nec tamen ea species corpus est*] but quasi-body [*sed quasi corpus*], and it does not have blood [*nec habet sanguinem*] but quasi-blood [*sed quasi sanguinem*]. (Although these discoveries of Epicurus's are too acute, and his words too subtle, to be appreciated by just anyone, I am relying on your powers of understanding. . . .) Epicurus, who not only sees hidden and profoundly obscure things with his mind but even handles them as if they were at his fingertips, teaches that the force and nature of the gods is of such a kind that it is, primarily, viewed not by sensation but by the mind, possessing neither the kind of solidity nor the numerical distinctness of those things which . . . Epicurus calls *steremnia* [solid bodies]; but that we apprehend images by their similarity and by a process of transition [through *simulacra* and by mental focusing].⁴¹

What stands out is not only the gods' human form ("for nature supplies us all, whatever our race, with no other view of the gods than as human in form") but also the evanescence of that form when it is invested with divinity: God "possesses that figure which is most beautiful of all," even more beautiful than humanity, because it is

the quintessence of humanity—but also, by the same token, no longer quite human: in Epicurus’s words, their “appearance is not body but quasi-body, and it does not have blood but quasi-blood.” The same thoughts are repeated verbatim in Winckelmann’s *History of Art*, published in 1764, the same year as the second of his accounts of Herculaneum:

The beauty of the gods in their virile age consists in the quintessence of strength that comes with mature years and the joyfulness of youth—and this consists *in the lack of nerves and sinews*, which are little in evidence in the full flowering of life. Herein lies at the same time an expression of divine self-sufficiency, which has no need of certain parts of the body such as we need for the nurture of our own. And that explains Epicurus’s view of the form of the gods, upon whom he bestows a body, *albeit a quasi-body*, and blood, *albeit quasi-blood*, a view that Cicero finds obscure and incomprehensible.⁴² (italics added)

Winckelmann’s classical ideal of beauty is generally felt to be Neoplatonic. But it is, in fact, suffused with Epicurean features. The gods of Epicurus preeminently display grandeur in their tranquility (*ataraxia*) and in their blissfulness (*voluptas*): they are ideals of human happiness—despite, or just because of, their essential inhumanity.⁴³ How Winckelmann could ever reconcile his two attitudes regarding Epicureanism—his distaste for Epicurean aesthetics and its implied aesthetics of divinity or, more concretely, his distaste for Epicurean philosophy when encountered in the flesh, as it were, and his attachment to its (classicized) idealizations—is another story, which would lead us into the thickets of the classical ideal, which, I believe, thrives on just this kind of incoherence. But it is no understatement to suggest that Winckelmann owed at least some of his theory of Greek beauty to his contact with Herculaneum and that he manifestly sublimated that contact into his theory of classical beauty.



The history of Herculanean philology makes vivid a widespread tension within classical scholarship: the desire of scholarship to recover voices from the past and the unexpected and sometimes unwanted voices that the past can at times return. One of the great ironies of the library of Herculaneum, at least concerning the writings on poetry, is that what it contains are not so much products of the high classical era that stretches from Homer to Plato as perspectives as wistful as our own on that vanished past. The voices we can recover from Herculaneum at times mirror our own aestheticizing and classicizing desire to recover the voices of the classical past. This is a disconcerting prospect—for what we hear, and then refuse, is a distant echo of ourselves.

Notes

My sense of the issues surrounding the library at Herculaneum has been greatly sharpened thanks to informal discussions over the years with David Blank, Richard Janko, and Dirk Obbink, whom I wish to thank here but who in no way should be assumed to bear responsibility for any of my conclusions. Thanks, too, go to Robert Connor and David Sider for helping me

improve a version of this chapter and to Victoria Coates and Jon Seydl for their encouragement and keen editorial insights. This essay was written while I was a fellow of the Council of the Humanities at Princeton University in the fall of 2004.

- ¹ Mary Beard and John Henderson, *Classical Art: From Greece to Rome* (Oxford, 2001), 11.
- ² For a survey of eighteenth-century classicism, often called “neoclassicism,” see Hugh Honour, *Neo-classicism* (Harmondsworth, 1968), an introduction that remains unsurpassed.
- ³ For new approaches to the categories of the classical and classicism in relation to the conduct of classical studies, ancient and modern, see the essays collected in *Classical Pasts: The Classical Traditions of Greece and Rome*, ed. James I. Porter (Princeton, 2006); and Salvatore Settis, *Futuro del classico* (Turin, 2004).
- ⁴ On the checkered history of the Elgin marbles and especially the initial resistance to their acceptance as classical works of art, see Mary Beard, *The Parthenon* (London, 2002); and Timothy Webb, “Appropriating the Stones: The ‘Elgin Marbles’ and English National Taste,” in *Claiming the Stones/Naming the Bones: Cultural Property and the Negotiation of National and Ethnic Identity*, ed. Elazar Barkan and Ronald Bush (Los Angeles, 2002), 51–96. On the equally mixed reaction to the paintings discovered at the Bay of Naples in the eighteenth century, see Agnès Rouveret, *Histoire et imaginaire de la peinture ancienne: V^e siècle av. J.-C.–I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C.* (Rome, 1989), 5–6.
- ⁵ On the resistance in classical studies to the materiality of its own objects, see James I. Porter, “The Materiality of Classical Studies,” *Parallax* 29, no. 4 (2003): 64–74.
- ⁶ William Wordsworth, “Upon the Same Occasion” (September 1819), in *Shorter Poems, 1807–1820*, by William Wordsworth, ed. Carl H. Ketcham (Ithaca, 1989), 286 (vv. 50–60).
- ⁷ See Robert Fowler, “Herculean Task for Modern Scholars,” *London Times*, April 5, 2002, 42. A veritable war has been waged over the past half decade between philologists, keen to inaugurate a new excavation of the villa in the hope of uncovering a second Latin library and further Greek volumes, and archaeologists, equally keen to maintain and preserve the site as it currently stands, given the limited funds available (and pessimistic about the prospects for recovering new books). See further the open letter signed by eight leading classicists in the *London Times*, March 13, 2002, 23, pleading the case for reopening the excavations.
- ⁸ For a social history of this milieu, see John D’Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples and Other Essays on Roman Campania* (Bari, 2003).
- ⁹ See Marcello Gigante, *Philodemus in Italy: The Books from Herculaneum*, trans. Dirk Obbink (Ann Arbor, 1995), 1–13.
- ¹⁰ Mario Capasso, “Congedo,” in *Manuale di papirologia ercolanese* (Lecce, 1991), 53.
- ¹¹ Cicero does not mention Philodemus by name here, but the identification is given by an intermediary source, Asconius, in a commentary on Cicero’s *In Pisonem* 68.
- ¹² Guglielmo Cavallo, *Libri scritte scribi a Ercolano: Introduzione allo studio dei materiali greci* (Naples, 1983), 60–61, 65 (refuting an earlier view, such as that of Walter Scott, *Fragmenta herculanensia: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oxford Copies of the Herculanean Rolls Together with the Texts of Several Papyri, Accompanied by Facsimiles* [Oxford, 1885], 11–12: “not a single Greek roll has been found which can be shown to be of later date than Philodemus”).
- ¹³ Cavallo 1983 (note 12), 65.
- ¹⁴ For a similar thought, see *The Epigrams of Philodemos*, ed. David Sider (New York, 1997), 15, who, however, insists on the connection between Philodemus, Piso, and the villa (passim, with the exceptions mentioned in note 16). See now, too, idem, *The Library of the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum* (Los Angeles, 2005), 5–8. For a different set of arguments, likewise severing the connection, see Phillip De Lacy, “Review of Mario Capasso, *Manuale di papirologia ercolanese* (1991),” *American Journal of Philology* 114 (1993): 178–80.

- ¹⁵ Maria Rita Wojcik, *La Villa dei Papiri ad Ercolano: Contributo alla ricostruzione dell'ideologia della nobilitas tardo repubblicana* (Rome, 1986), 36–37, 151–56; Capasso 1991 (note 10), 53–54, 81–82.
- ¹⁶ See De Lacy 1993 (note 14), 179, who points out that it is Philodemus who invites Piso to Philodemus's "modest digs," not the other way around; and that there are several possible "Pisones" who could serve as the addressee. See further, Cicero, *In L. Calpurnium Pisonem oratio*, ed. R. G. M. Nisbet (Oxford, 1961), 187–88; Sider 1997 (note 14), 14n. 7, 154 (ad 1).
- ¹⁷ On this process, see especially David L. Blank, "Reflections on Re-reading Piaggio and the Early History of the Herculaneum Papyri," *Cronache ercolanesi* 29 (1999): 55–82 (for the techniques); Capasso 1991 (note 10), chap. 4; and Franco Strazzullo, *P. Antonio Piaggio e lo svolgimento dei papiri ercolanesi* (Naples, 2002).
- ¹⁸ The record is confusing and often misrepresented. I owe this information to David Blank. See further Mario Capasso and Francesca Longo Auricchio, "John Hayter nella Officina dei papiri ercolanesi," in *Contributi alla storia della Officina dei papiri ercolanesi*, 2 vols. (Naples, 1980), 1:164n. 16; Capasso 1991 (note 10), 100–101.
- ¹⁹ William Drummond and Robert Walpole, *Herculanensia, or Archeological and Philological Dissertations, Containing a Manuscript Found among the Ruins of Herculaneum* (London, 1810).
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, ix–x. They lay all their cards on the table early in the dedication: "We certainly know of no period since the revival of letters, when, if classical acquirements be of any value, it has been so necessary to ascertain what that value is, as at present. Among the many extraordinary features of the revolutionary system, which is rapidly changing the state of Europe, the neglect of ancient literature is not the least remarkable" (v). L. Varius Rufus was a friend of Virgil's (he published the *Aeneid* upon Virgil's death) and dwelt in the same circle of influence as did Horace. Quintilian compared his Theban plays to Sophocles' (10.1.98); he also wrote a didactic poem, *De morte*, in the Epicurean vein (Quintilian 6.3.78). The "lyre of the Theban" may be an allusion to Thomas Gray's ode "The Progress of Poesy: A Pindaric Ode" (1757), vv. 111–17:
- But ah! 'tis heard no more—
Oh! lyre divine, what daring spirit
Wakes thee now? Though he inherit
Nor the pride, nor ample pinion,
That the Theban Eagle bear
Sailing with supreme dominion
Through the azure deep of air.
- ²¹ Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Herkulanische Schriften Winckelmanns*, vol. 1, *Sendschreiben von den herkulanischen Entdeckungen* (Mainz, 1997), 1:114–15; Capasso 1991 (note 10), 70.
- ²² Winckelmann 1997 (note 21), 1:119.
- ²³ *Ibid.* Winckelmann calls this hypothesis *lächerlich* (risible).
- ²⁴ Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Lettre de M. l'Abbé Winckelmann, antiquaire de Sa Sainteté, à Monsieur le Comte de Brühl, chambellan du roi de Pologne, electeur de Saxe, sur les découvertes d'Herculanum* (Dresden, 1764); *idem, Critical Account of the Situation and Destruction by the First Eruptions of Mount Vesuvius of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabia: The Late Discovery of Their Remains, the Subterraneous Works Carried On in Them... in a Letter (Originally in German) to Count Bruhl, of Saxony, from the Celebrated Abbé Winckelmann...; Illustrated with Notes Taken from the French Translation* (London, 1771). There were translations in French and English; the English version from 1771 was based on the French translation from 1764.
- ²⁵ Winckelmann 1997 (note 21), 1:125–27; cf. Strazzullo 2002 (note 17), 5–13.
- ²⁶ The notion is refuted by Gigante 1995 (note 9), 17.
- ²⁷ Winckelmann 1997 (note 21), 1:123.

- ²⁸ Ibid., 1:127.
- ²⁹ Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Herkulanische Schriften Winckelmanns*, vol. 2, *Nachrichten von den neuesten herculanischen Entdeckungen* (Mainz, 1997), 2:38.
- ³⁰ Winckelmann 1997 (note 21), 1:127.
- ³¹ Ibid.
- ³² Ibid., 1:123.
- ³³ On the resuscitation of ancient atomism and its history by F. A. Lange and Friedrich Nietzsche in the mid-nineteenth century, in conscious opposition to the legacy of Plato and the idealism of contemporary philosophy, see James I. Porter, *Nietzsche and the Philology of the Future* (Stanford, 2000), esp. chaps. 1–2.
- ³⁴ Theodor Gomperz, “Die herculanischen Rollen I,” *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien* 16 (1865): 724.
- ³⁵ *On Poems: Philodemus*, ed. Richard Janko (Oxford, 2000), 189.
- ³⁶ See James I. Porter, “Content and Form in Philodemus: The History of an Evasion,” in *Philodemus and Poetry: Poetic Theory and Practice in Lucretius, Philodemus, and Horace*, ed. Dirk Obbink (New York, 1995), 136; idem, “Feeling Classical: Classicism and Ancient Literary Criticism,” in Porter 2006 (note 3).
- ³⁷ Herculaneum papyrus 466 fr. 5.9–12 = col. 43.9–12 Janko.
- ³⁸ For an argument to this effect, see Porter 2006 (note 36).
- ³⁹ James I. Porter, “Des sons qu’on ne peut entendre: Cicéron, les ‘kritikoi’ et la tradition du sublime dans la critique littéraire,” in *Cicéron et Philodème: La polémique en philosophie*, ed. Clara Auvray-Assayas and Daniel Delattre (Paris, 2001), 315–41.
- ⁴⁰ Although the euphonists named by Philodemus appear nowhere else in surviving sources, the literary writings of Dionysius of Halicarnassus constitute a major exception, being closely affined (but betraying no lineages or dependencies). And although brief smatterings of euphonist criticism appear in various ancient writings, they never materialize in such concentrated doses, nor, again, do they lead us directly back to the Philodemean evidence.
- ⁴¹ Cicero *De natura deorum* 1.47–49; trans. Long and Sedley.
- ⁴² “Die Schönheit der Gottheiten im männlichen Alter besteht in einem Inbegriffe der Stärke gestezter Jahre, und der Fröhlichkeit der Jugend, und diese besteht hier *in dem Mangel der Nerven und Sehnen*, welche sich in der Blüthe der Jahre wenig äußern. Hierinn aber liegt zugleich ein Ausdruck der göttlichen Genugsamkeit, welche die zur Nahrung unseres Körpers bestimmten Theile nicht von nöten hat; und dieses erläutert *des Epicurus Meynung* von der Gestalt der Götter, denen er einen Körper, *aber gleichsam einen Körper*; und Blut, *aber gleichsam Blut*, giebt, welches Cicero dunkel und unbegreiflich gesagt findet” (Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Herkulanische Schriften Winckelmanns*, vol. 4, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* [Mainz, 2002], 4:274–76; italics added).
- ⁴³ Compare also *ibid.*, 4:250–53. For the argument, see Hans Zeller, *Winckelmanns Beschreibung des Apollo im Belvedere* (Zurich, 1955), 227–35, who insists, more so than Walther Rehm (*Götterstille und Göttertrauer: Aufsätze zur deutsch-antiken Begegnung* [Bern, 1951]), on the specifically Epicurean hue of the Winckelmannian ideal.