

A Roman Sarcophagus and Its Patron

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THE FUNERARY ART of ancient Rome is remarkable for its variety of styles and subjects and also for the insight it provides into the thoughts and emotions of private individuals. The marble sarcophagi that came into widespread use in the second century A.D. are among the most artistically impressive sepulchral monuments, for their large surfaces are often elaborately carved with scenes from Greek mythology. Scholars have searched the episodes portrayed for allegorical meanings and signs acknowledging a life after death. This line of inquiry has illuminated various systems of belief but rarely addressed the persons who made, commissioned, and selected sarcophagi. Since the death of a loved one and the task of consigning him or her from experience into memory are personal responsibilities only partly circumscribed by custom, every Roman sarcophagus represents an individual confrontation with tradition and conventional practice. With this in mind, it seems wise to heed Hellmut Sichtermann's warning not to seek universal or official meanings for Roman sepulchral imagery.¹ Close analysis of specific examples can reveal personal concerns that might have influenced ancient choices. When something is known about the actual buyer, occupant, or context of a sarcophagus, it is possible to consider what particular myths might have meant to an otherwise undocumented personage in antiquity.² Scholars have used funerary inscriptions in several useful studies of Roman society, but often the focus on epigraphy excludes analysis of the images that accompany the texts.³ As Guntram Koch points out, inscribed sarcophagi have much to impart about private patronage, social structures, and personal relationships among the Romans.⁴

A Roman sarcophagus of the early third century in The Metropolitan Museum of Art is particularly promising for a study of this kind, for it bears an inscription identifying both the deceased and the patron (Figures 1, 2).⁵ On the lid is a portrait of the deceased with a coiffure made fashionable by the empress Julia

Domna, beside which these lines appear: ANINIA HILARA / CL · ARRIAE MARI / · INCONPARABILE / FECIT · VIXIT · / ANN · L · MEN / · X.⁶ The inscription is conventional, yet it distinguishes the sarcophagus—one of very few known to have been dedicated by a daughter of the deceased—as a case of unusual patronage and a rare document of such a familial relationship.⁷ Commemorative inscriptions appear infrequently on Roman sarcophagi with mythological decoration, where the panels prepared for them are often left blank. On other types of grave monuments where inscriptions are more abundant, grieving parents, husbands, and wives are the usual dedicants.⁸ In standard fashion, the inscription here gives the names of the dedicant and of the deceased, as well as the latter's age at death. The word MARI is generally read as a dative for mother, *matri*, in the same case as the name of the deceased.⁹ The spelling of the word is irregular and represents a scribal error not without parallel in Latin epigraphy.¹⁰ Modifying MARI is the word INCONPARABILE, one of several flattering adjectives routinely applied to the dead in Latin epitaphs; some others are *dulcissimo* (sweetest), *carissimo* (dearest), and *piissimo* (most faithful). Again, the orthography deviates from the standard with the substitution of *N* for *M*, but the variant is common and seems to reflect contemporary pronunciation.¹¹ The form resembles the accusative, but there are examples in epigraphy of datives that end in *E*, and the conventional application of the adjective to the deceased suggests that third-century Roman readers would not have understood the monument itself as the incomparable object of the verb *fecit*.¹²

Aninia Hilara, the dedicant, may have been able to read both her own name and her mother's in the inscription. The CL beside ARRIA stands for "Claudia," an imperial name more commonly abbreviated than spelled out by the second century A.D.; the name of the deceased woman was Claudia Arria. Aninia Hilara, the daughter, is the subject of the verb FECIT, which embraces a range of meanings including "to make," "to do," and "to have made." Although the word sometimes identifies the artist who created the work, in this case, as in other funerary dedications, it designates

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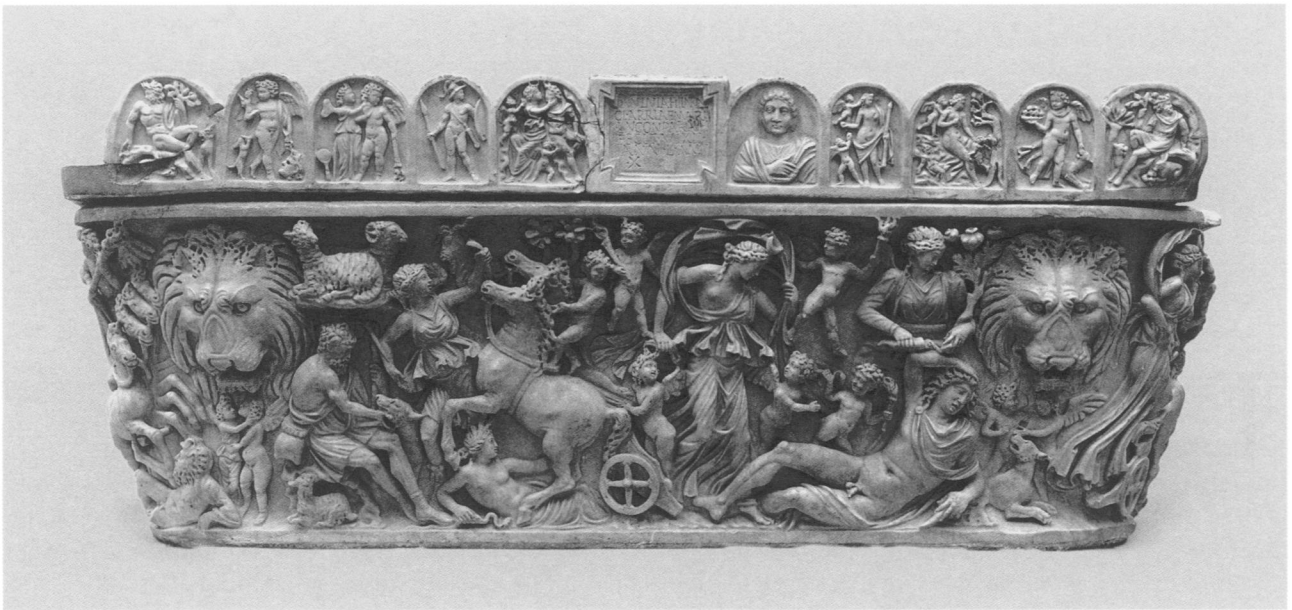


Figure 1. Marble sarcophagus of Claudia Arria. Roman, ca. A.D. 220, from Ostia. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1947 (47.100.4a, b)



Figure 2. Center front of the sarcophagus in Figure 1



Figure 3. Left end of the sarcophagus in Figure 1



Figure 4. Right end of the sarcophagus in Figure 1

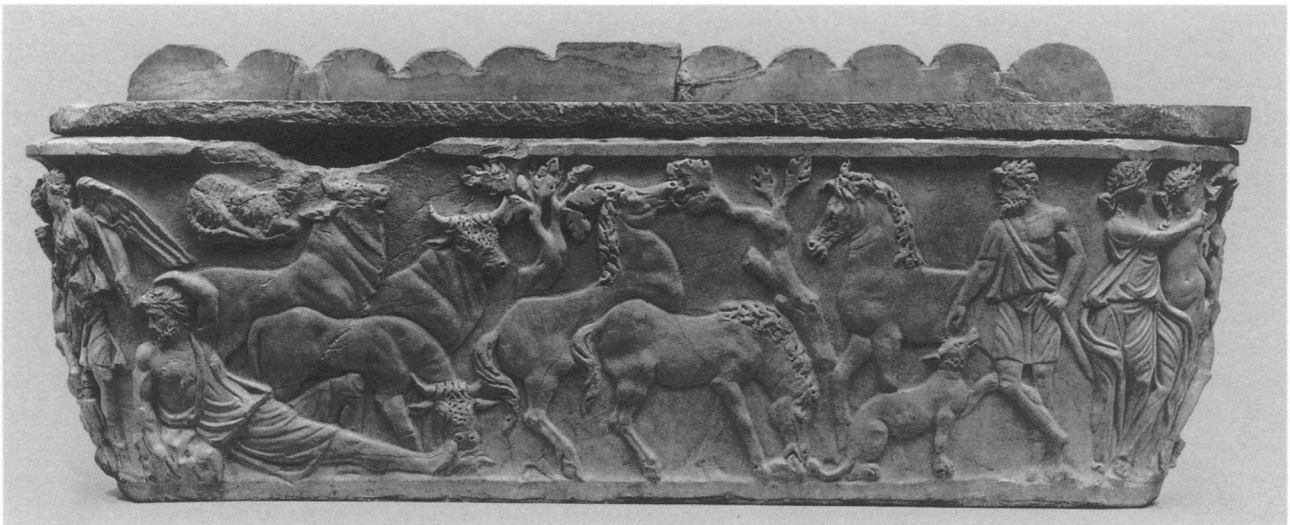


Figure 5. Back of the sarcophagus in Figure 1

Aninia Hilara as the one who paid for the monument, the inscription, and other aspects of the burial. In the fourth line of the inscription, the daughter's action, *FECIT*, is juxtaposed with the mother's, *VIXIT*—that is, that she lived for fifty years and ten months. The wording has a conventional grace in contrast to the awkward spacing of the letters and the irregular forms of the words, which show the hand of a carver less skilled than the one or ones who executed the relief decoration. The difference in quality between the ornament and the inscription may indicate that to the dedicant

the first mattered more than the second, yet she made a deliberate choice not to leave the monument uninscribed. There is nothing to suggest the social class of mother and daughter except the magnificence of the sarcophagus itself, which may have cost Aninia Hilara the best part of her fortune. The source of her wealth is unknown, and her existence unattested in other Ostian inscriptions—unless she is to be identified with a freedwoman commemorated simply as “Aninia” on a modest funerary plaque set up by her husband and master.¹³ The fact that she alone is named as responsible

for her mother's memorial may suggest that Claudia Arria's husband died before she did or that Aninia Hilara was her sole heir or that the daughter had other reasons for preferring to act alone.¹⁴

The sarcophagus, which is in excellent condition, was intact when recovered from a chamber tomb in Ostia in 1825.¹⁵ It was believed to have burned in a fire at Warwick Castle in 1871; Carl Robert included it in his corpus as a lost work known only from old engravings. The sarcophagus appeared on the art market in London in 1913 and entered the Museum's collection in 1947.¹⁶

Remarkable for the refinement of its sculptural decoration, the sarcophagus shows numerous figures, animals, and landscape elements carved in high relief, examples of the daring and sophistication of the Severan style in Roman sculpture. The *lenos* form of the box, which approximates a wine trough complete with lions' heads where spouts would be, allows the movement and action of the frieze to extend from the front around the curved ends and even to cover the back, where there is a pastoral scene in low relief (Figures 3–5). The decoration overall presents an outstanding richness of subject matter. The box depicts the tale of Endymion and Selene, other myths are illustrated in the small panels on the lid, and a host of figures spread throughout personify Sun, Moon, Earth, Ocean, and various other elements of the atmosphere.

No complete retelling of Endymion's tale survives in classical literature, and scattered textual references vary in their details.¹⁷ The images, however, relate a largely consistent version of the story. Endymion was a hunter or shepherd who spent his time outdoors on Mount Latmus in Caria. His beauty attracted Selene, the goddess of the Moon, as she drove her chariot across the sky. Eager to make him her lover, she acted only after granting him eternal sleep. Like other depictions of the myth on sarcophagi, Claudia Arria's monument shows the moment just before Selene takes Endymion for herself. He reclines on the right, nude but for the cloak typical of a huntsman, with his right arm bent above his head in a pose that is associated with sleep in Greek art.¹⁸ Selene steps from her heavenly chariot onto the Earth, a personification of which lies beneath the horses, while a winged female figure wearing boots and a short garment holds their bridles.¹⁹ Another female figure with a kindly face, a variation of Selene's own, appears above Endymion with a stalk of poppies and pours a potion on him that probably relates to his immortal slumber.

The story of Endymion is found on some 120 sarcophagi made in Roman workshops.²⁰ Robert first outlined the typology and chronology of the corpus, and subsequent scholars have refined his categories

and his conclusions.²¹ The earliest examples, dated to about A.D. 130, have spare compositions animated by the movement of Selene, who is often depicted walking from right to left. In representations of the theme by the next generation of carvers, Selene is portrayed walking from left to right, a change some have associated with the direction in which Greek and Latin text is written and read.²² Some sarcophagi show a single episode, the arrival of Selene before her sleeping lover, and others include the next scene, when she drives away in her chariot. In the early third century, the single scene becomes most common, and a multitude of cupids, personifications, and pastoral characters join the protagonists.

There is a great deal of dispute about the meaning of the Endymion myth and the judgment of the second- and third-century Romans who considered depictions of it suitable for sarcophagi. The appropriateness of the theme for funerary monuments seems, perhaps, immediately apparent, for the myth distilled to its essence describes the elimination of barriers between mortality and divinity and proposes sleep and love as alternatives to death. The analogy between sleep and death was a commonplace in classical literature as early as the Homeric epics, in which Hypnos and Thanatos, Sleep and Death, are described as twin brothers.²³ Disagreement persists, however, as to whether the comparison permits a wishful equation between everyday waking life and life after death. The early Christians referred to their dead as asleep and awaiting certain resurrection, yet R. A. Lattimore regarded the parallel as drawn in poetry and epitaphs as a descriptive metaphor without reference to belief.²⁴ Ancient thinkers themselves confronted Endymion as a paradox of possible existential significance. The everlasting sleep that he is meant to enjoy seems to exclude the possibility of both death and waking, yet in the *Phaedo*, a discourse on the relevance of death to life, Plato has Socrates say, "But what if there were such a thing as falling asleep without the waking up to answer it in kind. You know, in the end, that would show up Endymion as a lot of silly talk, and he would seem to be nowhere through his sleeping, and everything else would seem to be in the same state, sound asleep."²⁵ Franz Cumont associated the myth of Endymion in Roman sepulchral art with Pythagorean and Stoic ideas about the moon as a resting place for the dead and as an Elysian haven for their souls.²⁶ A. D. Nock countered that allegorical interpretations of mythology vary among ancient commentators and cited the dream book of Artemidorus, in which coupling with the moon can portend a consequence as banal as dropsy.²⁷

Scholars have also explained the myths depicted on

Roman sarcophagi as glosses on the manner of death and the character of the deceased.²⁸ Thus, Persephone violently abducted by Hades might be chosen to decorate the tomb of a girl who died before her prime, and Adonis killed while hunting and mourned by Venus perhaps suggests a parallel with the death of a handsome young man. Comparing the deceased with appropriate mythological figures seems to have been common practice at Roman funerals, and it is not unlikely that surviving family members made and recalled such comparisons.²⁹ In both Greek and Latin, “to sleep Endymion’s sleep” was an idiom meaning to sleep well and long, literally or metaphorically in death, and a family might think of a dead relative in such terms.³⁰ If such ideas influenced those who selected sarcophagi, the sex of the deceased seems not to have mattered, since women as well as men, children, and married couples were buried in coffins decorated with scenes of Endymion and Selene.

There are those who explain the prevalence of the Endymion myth as a simple matter of decoration without allegorical significance. Robert Turcan points out that this view presumes the existence of art for art’s sake in antiquity and reminds us how little in Greek or Roman art was completely devoid of meaning.³¹ A further shortcoming of the idea is the difficulty of accounting for the tremendous expense and effort Roman craftsmen and patrons lavished on scenes with clear narrative value. Sculptors in workshops in and near Rome were carving sarcophagi with the myth of Endymion for more than five generations, from about A.D. 130 well into the fourth century, yet the later examples show a continuing understanding of the story and not a reduction to mere pattern. Indeed, the imagery of the tale of Endymion persisted into the Early Christian period, when it furnished a model for the portrayal of Jonah in art.³² At least part of Endymion’s appeal to the buyers of sarcophagi seems to have been his story.

The search for what Endymion might have meant to ordinary Romans of the second and third centuries hinges largely on the interpretation of texts. Ovid and Apollodorus omitted the tale from their mythological compendia of the first centuries B.C. and A.D., which might suggest that the tale had been forgotten by then. Michael Koortbojian imagines ancient artists attempting to reconstruct a little-known myth from the casual and incomplete references to Endymion in classical literature, which offered them “scarcely more than the bare remnants of a myth from which to work.”³³ One wonders, however, how a forgotten story could have captivated so many Roman patrons, or why workshops would have focused on an arcane myth when there were so many well-documented ones that

do, indeed, appear on sarcophagi. It is important to remember that no story needs an author to enshrine it in tradition and that in antiquity Ovid and Apollodorus did not have the authoritative status they now possess. High rates of illiteracy among the Romans seem to rule out the possibility that many individuals knew of mythological tales from having read them.³⁴ The lack of literary versions of Endymion’s story cannot be interpreted to mean that it was unknown to the ancients.

The numerous sarcophagi with mythological ornament made near Rome in the second and third centuries suggest instead a widespread awareness of Greek myths. It has been proposed that the theater exposed a broad audience to the themes represented on sarcophagi, yet the story of Endymion appears not to have furnished material for the contemporary stage.³⁵ Educated people had occasion to encounter Greek myths at school, in exercises that required the composition of speeches for familiar characters.³⁶ Lucian’s dialogue between Aphrodite and Selene, composed about A.D. 160, has the flavor of such an assignment, as well as a touch of irreverent humor:

To me, indeed, he seems, Aphrodite, beautiful in every way, and most of all when he sleeps on a rock with his cape thrown under him, holding his javelins in his left hand and just now slipping out of his grasp, and his right arm bent up around his head, placed around his passing fair face, and he breathes that ambrosial breath, held fast in sleep. Then, let me tell you, I noiselessly step down, treading on the tips of my toes so that he isn’t thrown into a fright should he wake—you understand. Why tell you then the things that happen after? For you know I’m all but dying of love.³⁷

Some of Lucian’s other writings tell of his training in a sculptor’s workshop, and his description of Endymion conforms to the figure types depicted on sarcophagi. Although the majority of marble carvers cannot have possessed Lucian’s level of erudition, there is reason to believe that they might have been just as familiar with Endymion’s tale as the well-to-do Romans who bought sarcophagi.

The elliptical references in classical literature imply that the myth was so familiar as not to need retelling—the sort of tale that one might even have heard in childhood. The Sophist Philostratus, writing about A.D. 230, reminds a ten-year-old listener that the myth of Ariadne is one he “heard even from your nurse, perhaps, for those women are wise about such things and cry about them when they wish.”³⁸ Plutarch, writing about A.D. 110, shortly before the first Endymion sarcophagi, reports the tale of Numa, Rome’s first king, consorting with the nymph Egeria and so gaining

wisdom and happiness. "It is most certain," he continues, "that these things resemble many of the very ancient tales which the Phrygians hand down and love to tell of Attis, the Bithynians of Herodotus, the Arcadians of Endymion, and others of other fortunate souls who seemed to have become gods' lovers."³⁹ Plutarch implies that the story is a common matter of popular tradition, whatever the names of the characters. Cicero, writing nearly two centuries earlier, offers further insight into the transmission of Endymion's myth. Mourning his grown daughter Tullia, he writes, in an argument against fearing death:

If we wish to hear fairy tales, Endymion, indeed, fell asleep I know not when on Latmus, which is a mountain in Caria, and, I think, he has not yet awakened. You don't think then that he worries when the Moon is in travail, the Moon who is thought to have made him sleep, that she might kiss him while he slept? Why then should he worry, who, indeed, has no sensation? You have sleep, the image of death, which you put on every day, and still you doubt that there is no sensation in death, although you see in its counterfeit that there is none?⁴⁰

The words have the colloquial quality of a remembered anecdote, even of a bedtime story meant to calm a child. The implicit parallel between bedtime ritual and mortal concern suggests the affinities between death and sleep and the solace that being dead might be no more fearful than being asleep. At the same time, the passage casts Cicero as a storytelling parent, comforting himself in his grief even as he once might have soothed his daughter when she was young. Another reference in Cicero's writings presents Endymion as an incarnation of the inactivity human beings repudiate all through their lives, even in babyhood; it is tempting to imagine the sleepless child and the unsuccessful bedtime story that might lie behind the association.⁴¹ Greek mythology and its trappings have figured so frequently in the learned traditions and high culture of the West that it is easy to forget the fundamental simplicity of many of the tales and the spontaneous entertainment they offered to listeners and storytellers in any setting in antiquity.⁴²

The elements of Endymion's tale—sleep, night, a tranquil landscape, and perpetual romance—could have been variously embellished by countless occasional storytellers, including the craftsmen who made sarcophagi, those buried in them, and the families who visited the tombs of their relatives in remembrance. The one essential scene all the sarcophagi include features the goddess arriving and the youth asleep. The details vary within the formula over time and from object to object, however, so that each presents a slightly different version. The similarities have

prompted statements about possible prototypes. Some scholars trace the source of the Endymion figure to monumental sculpture and compare the lifesize marbles in Saint Petersburg and in Stockholm, which date to the second century A.D. but may reproduce compositions of the second century B.C.⁴³ The large sleeping youths bear some resemblance to the Endymions on sarcophagi, but the poses are not identical, and the figure of Selene is lacking. The weightless shimmer of her moonlight is a better theme for painting, and scholars accordingly have proposed a connection between the sarcophagi and a lost picture like the one from which Campanian wall paintings are thought to derive.⁴⁴ Although these, too, differ in their details, most of them fit within a square frame, and include Endymion and Selene, if not alone then accompanied only by Endymion's dog and a cupid or two.⁴⁵ The illusionistic rendering of space seems to give them room to breathe, and a single rock or tree suggests the landscape.

The latest Campanian paintings were executed at least fifty years before the first representations of Endymion on sarcophagi, and no painted examples survive from the second or third centuries A.D. A child-sized coffin carved about A.D. 135 and now in the Museo Capitolino, Rome, bears an early adaptation of the scene (Figure 6). If, in fact, the sculptor was working from a square composition, he added considerable detail to fill the oblong format. At the left, a tree extends into the scene, and a dog with its ears pinned back sits before a rocky ledge. A bearded, bare-chested male figure—the personification of Sleep—holds the recumbent Endymion on his lap and lifts his drapery as though to peer underneath. The effect perhaps results from the horizontal position of Endymion, modified for the narrow band of the relief. Selene, in the middle of the scene, approaches Endymion, with her skirt billowing behind her and a single cupid preceding her, while, on the right-hand side, two horses draw her chariot toward an arch. The hypothetical prototype for the image is less apparent than the way in which the sculptor has altered it for his own medium, as nearly contemporary mosaicists were also doing, but with different results.⁴⁶ Plastic details abound in the textures of the bark, cloth, and rock, the representations of relief decoration on the chariot and arch, the little herm that protrudes from the tree, and the snake that coils on the ground. The figures are surrounded by space as in paintings, but here it is the shallower space appropriate to a frieze. Although the sarcophagus probably was enhanced with paint in antiquity, the marble carvers naturally brought their own craft to the design.⁴⁷ The various versions of the story on later sarcophagi probably



Figure 6. Marble sarcophagus. Roman, ca. A.D. 135, from Rome. Museo Capitolino, Rome, 325 (photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome)



Figure 7. Marble sarcophagus. Roman, ca. A.D. 160. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1924 (24.97.13)

represent the innovations of individual workshops within the limits of the standard formula.⁴⁸

The adaptation of the scene to a horizontal format raises both formal and narrative considerations. On the Capitoline sarcophagus, for example, Selene is smaller than Endymion, perhaps because she stands upright in the narrow space. Here, Endymion is more voluptuous than in other portrayals, with his arched back, spread legs, soft chest, and slight smile. His right arm hangs down in the relaxation of sleep, and his left arm is bent above his head in a gesture that the two cupids with the chariot are imitating. Selene, before him, looks small and childlike, endowed with a round belly, small breasts, and chubby legs. Her pose, with her shoulders behind her hips, suggests some reluctance, as though she were pulling back from the cupid leading her. The depiction is unusual, for Selene normally appears with more maidenly proportions and often leans forward so as to fit into a restricted space without a reduction in size. Here, the cupid seems to hurry her toward an erotic encounter she is too young to seek for herself; one thinks of the many ancient epitaphs that express sadness at the prospects of adulthood unattained and marriage denied by death. The

sarcophagus itself is child sized, and at some time subsequent to its initial carving, it contained the body of a little girl; her name, Gerontia, appears in the inscription, which is dated to the fourth century.⁴⁹

Differences in the depiction of Endymion and Selene change the story within the limits imposed by the form of the sarcophagus and the elasticity of the myth itself. An example in the Metropolitan Museum, made about A.D. 160, heightens the pastoral aspects of the story and alters the attitudes of the participants (Figure 7). Selene leans slightly forward toward Endymion, her dress slips from her right shoulder to bare her right breast, and the mantle she holds above her forms a crescent-shaped billow appropriate to her identity as the personification of the Moon. Endymion's body is almost completely exposed, revealed by a cupid who lifts his cloak. His head leans back so that he faces up toward Selene, his long hair falls over his neck, and his legs are crossed. The personification of Sleep is a less sensuous and less obtrusive character than his counterpart on the Capitoline sarcophagus. He is represented smaller than the lovers, bearded, draped, and equipped with the butterfly wings typical of images of Psyche in ancient art,

and he hovers or stands above Endymion without touching him. Selene is walking from left to right, but this is not the only direction of the movement in the scene, for her horses face left and so does the shepherd asleep on a rock, who rests his head in his hand; his flock, seen on a ledge above him, perhaps is meant to occupy the space behind him. A pair of cupids, sleeping upright as they lean on inverted torches—common types in Roman sepulchral art—frame the narrative without taking part in the scene, conveying a mood of quiet melancholy.⁵⁰ They seem to belong to a foreground nearer to the observer, and the tale of Endymion and Selene unfolds between them like a romantic shadow play. Whereas the Capitoline carving implies childhood and maturity denied, the New York example suggests a more intimate bond between Selene and Endymion and a pastoral atmosphere rather than merely an out-of-doors setting. The differences likely reflect not only changes in compositional style but also distinct perspectives on the story.

In comparison with earlier examples, Claudia Arria's sarcophagus presents a more populous scene, remarkable for its greater movement, drama, and eroticism (see Figures 1, 2). Variations in style and workmanship help create this new effect. In a manner typical of Severan sculpture, extensive use of undercutting and the drill increase the depth of the relief, while the densely figured composition leaves no space empty. One horse's leg is physically in front of the female figure holding the bridle, and the personification of Earth places her elbow literally beside the foot of the seated shepherd to the left. The scene is filled with motion of all kinds: the horses rear, their guide lunges forward and twists her head back, and the shepherd reaches out to stroke his dog's neck. The wheel of the chariot, a perfect circle nearly centered on the scene's groundline, seems to serve as the fulcrum for the motion surrounding it. Selene herself performs the most significant action. In a rush of breezes that press her skirt against her legs, lift the overfold of her chiton, and blow her mantle overhead, she has descended from the chariot and places her foot between Endymion's crossed legs. Her movement determines the direction and focus of the entire scene, for all the other participants face right as she does, including the figure in front of the horses, Endymion himself, and the cupids who turn to look back while their bodies press forward.

The heightened activity and the increased population of the scene on the sarcophagus again transform the mood and the impact of the story. An air of prenuptial festivity and pastoral abundance replaces the intimate quiet of earlier versions of the subject. The tree in fruit above the horses' heads, the bearded

and muscular shepherd, and the ram and the ewe nestled against each other, above him, all belong to the idyllic landscape, as represented in ancient painting, poetry, and romantic prose.⁵¹ A flock of cupids, who seem to radiate directly from Selene, fills her surroundings with suggestions of love and lights her way with torches, as wedding parties did for Roman brides. She is shown, as erotic figures commonly are in Greco-Roman art, with her right breast bared, and the bit of fabric across Endymion's thigh heightens his sensuality. Although his pose is typical of that seen on sarcophagi, it is unknown in three-dimensional sculpture and would be difficult to maintain in sleep. Perhaps the artist rotated the body from a recumbent posture in order to offer the viewer the perspective that Selene would have enjoyed.

In addition to the primary scene, the sarcophagus features several others, all with themes of love. One of the ten arched panels on the lid, just to the left of the inscription, depicts a later moment in the romance of Endymion and Selene, shown seated together on a rock: Endymion turns his body away from Selene, who twists his face toward her as though to kiss him. The subject is unique on Roman sarcophagi, but as Sichtermann has demonstrated, it is adapted from images of Venus and her wounded and dying mortal lover Adonis.⁵² The young man's air of refusal in each case seems to acknowledge a divide between mortality and divinity, and the goddess's gesture is an effort to nullify it. The scene has less narrative and more symbolic value than the one on the coffin itself and is like a moral to the tale illustrated below.

Another panel on the lid shows a second couple, Cupid and Psyche, in a visually comparable but existentially opposed image. Psyche reaches for Cupid's chin while he turns away, but here he is the god and she is the mortal. The most extensive literary version of the myth dates to the second century and occurs in Apuleius's novel *Metamorphoses*, where an old woman tells the story to calm a girl roused by a bad dream.⁵³ Unlike the tales of Endymion and Adonis, which end ambiguously, Psyche's has a happy ending, for the gods allow her to awake from a magic sleep and welcome her into their midst forever as Cupid's bride. Cupid and Psyche appear again in an embrace under the left lion-head spout, presumably having surmounted the impediments intimated in the scene above (Figure 8).

The division of the various narratives into scenes on the box and lid moves the focus of the storytelling in various directions. To trace the myth of Endymion and Selene, the sequence reads from the right, and then up; for Cupid and Psyche, the order of the scenes is from top to bottom. Three other panels on



Figure 8. Detail of Cupid and Psyche on the sarcophagus in Figure 1

the lid depict events involving Venus: in one, she stands, partly draped, among cupids, with a staff and an apple in hand; in the next scene, to the right, she is nude and sits beneath a tree on rocky ground while cupids frolic around her. The missing but implied protagonist of these narratives is the male figure, who occupies his own frame to the left; nude but for a helmet, he carries a spear and a sword and gazes toward the two images of Venus. He may represent the god Mars, who often appears as Venus's paramour in Roman art, as on a terracotta antefix in the Metropolitan Museum's collection (Figure 9). The intention might have been for the viewer of the sarcophagus to associate him with Venus in a straightforward love affair, but the apple that Venus holds suggests another possibility, proposed by Sichtermann, that the man is the Trojan prince Paris, who judged the beauty contest among Juno, Minerva, and Venus.⁵⁴ In that case, the scene of Venus seated on the rocks would show her preparing for the contest, and the one beside it depicts her as the winner with the golden apple as her prize. J. Engemann reminds us that the ancients probably could interpret iconographic signs that are indiscernible to us, yet the possibility exists that different viewers in antiquity understood the male figure on the sarcophagus as either Mars or Paris and completed the story according to their various interpretations.⁵⁵



Figure 9. Terracotta antefix. Roman, 27 B.C.–A.D. 14. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1896 (96.18.162)

The rest of the figures on the sarcophagus signify natural phenomena and aspects of the settings for the stories. The panels on the extreme right and left of the lid show male figures seated in landscapes, extensions of the pastoral scenery of the box and personifications of the place—perhaps Latmus—where Endymion is supposed to have lived.⁵⁶ In the panels one in from each end, cupids appear with fruits and animals—attributes apposite to the seasons or to Dionysus, god of wine.⁵⁷ Whatever their intended identity, they personify the abundance and fecundity of the earth. Helios, the Sun, drives his four-horse chariot over the personification of the Ocean on the right end (Figure 4), and Selene proceeds in the same direction on the left end, riding over the recumbent Earth (Figure 3). As though chasing each other around an oval track, they personify the movement of the cosmos and place the myths on the sarcophagus within the circuit of time. The decoration continues around to the back, where horses and cattle are shown grazing beneath the trees and male and female figures



Figure 10. Marble sarcophagus. Roman, ca. A.D. 220, from Saint Médard d'Eyrac, near Bordeaux. Musée du Louvre, Paris, Ma 1346 (photo: Alinari/Art Resource, NY)



Figure 11. Marble sarcophagus. Roman, ca. A.D. 230, from Saint Médard d'Eyrac, near Bordeaux. Musée du Louvre, Paris, Ma 1335 (photo: Alinari/Art Resource, NY)

assume relaxed poses in their midst (Figure 5). Although the back was probably not visible when the sarcophagus was placed in the chamber tomb, its ornamentation shares the spirit of idyllic romance prevalent on all sides.

The bust-length portrait of Claudia Arria seems to depict her at a window, as a witness to the many tales of love; her expression is stern but need not imply an unwillingness to countenance them. Indeed, her

daughter Aninia Hilara, the dedicant specified in the inscription, probably chose the sarcophagus from among several adorned with different subjects. The market for sarcophagi in antiquity is incompletely understood, but there is reason to presume that workshops did not specialize in single subjects, although individual craftsmen might have done so.⁵⁸ F. Matz found stylistic grounds to associate Arria's monument with five others decorated with scenes depicting the



Figure 12. Marble sarcophagus. Roman, ca. A.D. 310. Palazzo Doria Pamphilj, Rome (photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome)

Judgment of Paris, the Indian triumph of Dionysus, a battle, a grape harvest (*vindemia*), and episodes from a child's life, respectively.⁵⁹ As A. M. McCann has observed, stylistic inconsistencies obtain within the group, which may be the product of different workshops.⁶⁰ Ostia was probably home to some skilled marble carvers, and many more would have worked in Rome, slightly farther afield.⁶¹ Aninia Hilara could have visited several of these workshops until she found what she wanted. In all likelihood, she bought the sarcophagus in a nearly finished state, since the effort required to carve it completely to order would not have allowed for a timely burial. Claudia Arria's conventional gesture and generalized costume seem made to suit any sitter, and tool marks around the head indicate the roughed-out form from which the portrait later was cut.⁶² The completion of Claudia Arria's portrait indicates a choice, for several comparable sarcophagi include unfinished portraits; one appears, for example, on the vertical face of the lid of a sarcophagus carved about 220 and now in the Louvre (Figure 10). The addition of Claudia Arria's facial features probably made her monument more expensive and may have been understood by her daughter as a means of recording her appearance and, like the inscription, of guaranteeing her identity against anonymity and obscurity.⁶³

Nothing about Claudia Arria's sarcophagus makes explicit reference to a belief in any particular god or philosophy. In the early second century A.D., Ostia was a cosmopolitan port city where numerous religions and philosophies flourished, among them Christianity and the eastern cults of Cybele, Isis, and Mithras, which all promise life after death.⁶⁴ Cumont argued that the proliferation of these faiths and their propen-

sity to teach by allegorical interpretation of visual images helped invest myths like Endymion's with eschatological significance.⁶⁵ To the modern observer, the complexity and vitality of the carvings on the sarcophagus may suggest a mood closer to anxiety than to faith. Indeed, the riot of personifications, cupids, and animals detracts from the impact of the two main characters and dilutes their symbolic potential.

The decoration on the sarcophagus does not attribute immortality to Claudia Arria or associate her with any specific character. It departs from a trend common on other monuments, where a portrait likeness of the deceased often completes the image of a divinity or a hero.⁶⁶ On a sarcophagus found near Bordeaux in 1805 and now in the Louvre, the faces of both Endymion and Selene have been left incomplete along with the space reserved for the inscription (Figure 11). Selene carries her own torch, and Endymion sleeps fully clothed in a naturalistic pose unusual on sarcophagi. The shape of Selene's head as preserved seems to have allowed for a hairstyle like those popular about A.D. 230—that is, for a particular coiffure rather than the Greek-inspired one seen on the Metropolitan's sarcophagus.⁶⁷ A much-restored sarcophagus carved about A.D. 310 and now in the Palazzo Doria Pamphilj, Rome, displays the impact of portraiture on a mythological scene destined for the tomb (Figure 12).⁶⁸ Endymion's "bowl" haircut and cowlick and Selene's distinctive face, with full lips and dimples at the corners of her mouth, identify the figures in the story with specific individuals; the myth could have inspired personal retellings, including the concept of a marriage to last through eternity. When only a single figure bears a portrait likeness, it is usually Endymion, as on a sarcophagus of A.D. 150–70 in the Museo

Capitolino, and on another, in Copenhagen, with an inscription identifying the deceased as a young man and the dedicants as his parents.⁶⁹ The analogy between Endymion and the dead youth seems obvious, and the portrayal of Selene without individualized features appears to have been an attempt to substitute the goddess herself to comfort the young man in place of the earthly wife he never had.

The straightforward resemblance between Endymion and a particular male figure does not obtain on Claudia Arria's sarcophagus. Had the dedicant desired to make such a comparison between her mother and a sleeping female figure, she might have chosen a sarcophagus decorated with the myth of Dionysus and Ariadne, another subject popular in Roman funerary art. The Louvre sarcophagus discussed displays the many compositional similarities between scenes of Endymion and Ariadne (see Figure 10). The sleeping figure reclines on the right, the god alights from a chariot near the center, and an abundance of figures creates an atmosphere both festive and tranquil, a setting for both the maenad with her cymbals and the centauress with her child. The story is in some respects parallel to the tale of Endymion, for Ariadne was a mortal princess who fell asleep on the island of Naxos and Dionysus was the god who married her. The two myths do not have the same existential value, however, for Endymion's sleep may be endless, and Ariadne's culminates in waking. Visitors to the tomb in which the Ariadne sarcophagus was deposited could readily have observed the similarity between the two stories—a comparison that may have been intended by the carvers as well as the dedicants, for the Louvre's Endymion sarcophagus occupied the same chamber (see Figure 11). It has been suggested that the young woman whose body the coffin contained was the wife of the man buried in the Endymion sarcophagus.⁷⁰ Since his monument post-dates hers by about ten years, he may have outlived her and selected both sarcophagi.⁷¹ If so, he might have been inclined to imagine himself as his wife's Endymion but not as her Dionysus, for the images of both protagonists on the Endymion sarcophagus are prepared for the addition of portrait likenesses, while on the other example this is true only of Ariadne. The god appears with a finished, idealized head, but the features of the husband—who is portrayed on the lid above, outside the scene like a spectator or listener—might have been deliberately left incomplete, to be added later, in order to personalize the portrait bust.

In mythological scenes that do not include portraits, the narrative itself may confer immortality on the dead in the certainty that the story will be retold repeatedly as the dead themselves are remembered.

On Claudia Arria's sarcophagus, her likeness and her name, along with the depiction of stories that Aninia Hilara may first have heard from her mother, preserve her memory. The images associate her with scenes of Venus, Cupid and Psyche, and Endymion and Selene, which appear not as metaphysical fables but as romances ripe for retelling in the light of personal recollection. When those who mourned Claudia Arria visited the tomb on holidays and anniversaries, they also encountered these myths in the flickering light.⁷² By observing the sarcophagus and retelling the stories depicted, they perpetuated her memory and that of her daughter, the dedicant. The sarcophagus and its decoration forged an enduring bond between mother and daughter—one of reflection and active remembrance.

Epitaphs for and by women, which give some indication of what the Romans saw fit to commemorate and to remember, often compare the deceased to mythological figures and combine reflection on personal traits, sometimes idealized, with wishes for comfort and love.⁷³ A Greek inscription found in Rome refers to a dead woman as "this dark-eyed muse," and a funerary altar for a woman named Laberia Daphne bears an image of Daphne, beloved of Apollo, being transformed into a laurel tree.⁷⁴ A remarkable epitaph for the freedwoman Allia Potestas credits her with legs lovelier than Atalanta's and a steady routine: "First she was to leave her bed in the morning, and she again was the last to bring herself to bed to rest once she had put things in order."⁷⁵ A second-century Greek inscription found in Rome praises the dead and comforts the living: "Say that Popilia is asleep, sir; for it would be wrong for the good to die; rather, they sleep sweetly."⁷⁶ A Latin epitaph from a young wife for her husband affirms a wish for love in the hereafter: "So I beseech you, most holy shades, take my dear husband whom I commit to your care; and desire to prove most indulgent to me, that I may see him in the hours of night; he also wishes that I may sway fate and come to him sweetly and quickly."⁷⁷ The emphasis on the continuing alternation of sleeping and waking, as in life, seems to express a popular belief in timeless repetition, which is a theme implicit in the myth of Endymion. When the story is actually depicted, as on Claudia Arria's monument, the invitation to retell it over and over heightens the calming thought of an unending routine.

As John Boardman and Donna Kurtz note in their study of Greek burial customs, "When man disposes of his dead he is usually trying to satisfy the emotional and even physical needs of the living, faced by a puzzling sense of loss or even danger, haunted by memories or dreams of the dead as still alive."⁷⁸ The

psychologist Simon Grolnick extends this idea when he states, “A complex continuum exists between the bedtime rituals of infants and children and the rituals and art of a culture’s burial practices.”⁷⁹ A child craves reassurance before he will fall asleep, and the grieving need to be soothed in order to face death. In either situation, a story is a ritual instrument of solace, a series of known events to replace a threatening void. The myths of Endymion and Selene and of Cupid and Psyche end happily and feature the themes of sleep and love. Classic bedtime stories, they offered comfort to Roman patrons in childhood and in mourning, and calmed the dead before their final sleep.

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NOTES

1. H. Sichtermann, *Die mythologischen Sarkophage*, vol. 2, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs* 12 (Berlin: G. Mann, 1992), p. 52.
2. For a brief but exemplary consideration of a sarcophagus and its patron, see the analysis of the Alcestis sarcophagus from Ostia, now in the Vatican, by K. Fittschen, “Über Sarkophage mit Porträts verschiedener Personen,” in B. Andreae, ed., *Symposium über die antiken Sarkophage* (Marburg: Verlag des kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars, 1984), pp. 141–43.
3. For example, T. Frank, “Race Mixture in the Roman Empire,” *American Historical Review* 21 (1916), pp. 689–708; L. R. Taylor, “Freedmen and Freeborn in the Epitaphs of Imperial Rome,” *American Journal of Philology* 82 (1961), pp. 113–32; R. P. Saller and B. D. Shaw, “Tombstones and Roman Family Relations in the Principate: Civilians, Soldiers, and Slaves,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 74 (1984), pp. 124–56.
4. G. Koch, *Sarkophage der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1993), p. 4.

5. I thank John Bodel for generously helping to interpret the inscription.
6. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 14.565.
7. Dedications by mothers to children outnumber those by children to mothers by a margin of about five to three, according to S. Dixon, *The Roman Mother* (London: Croom Helm, 1988), pp. 214, 229. Funerary inscriptions recording dedications by daughters to mothers amount to only 3 percent of the examples from Rome and Latium examined by Saller and Shaw, “Roman Family Relations,” pp. 147–48.
8. Saller and Shaw, “Roman Family Relations,” pp. 133–39.
9. J. Bodel and S. Tracy, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the USA: A Checklist* (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1997), p. 196.
10. Dessau lists examples of the omission of the *T* in the middle and at the end of words. See H. Dessau, ed., *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1916), vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 833.
11. For examples, see Dessau, *Inscriptiones*, vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 827.
12. For examples in inscriptions of an *E* as a dative singular ending for nouns and adjectives of the third declension, see Dessau, *Inscriptiones*, vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 848.
13. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 14.564; H. Thylander, *Inscriptions du port d'Ostie* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1952), p. 238, B 14, and pl. 95, 1.
14. On the obligation of relatives to pay for a burial, see Saller and Shaw, “Roman Family Relations,” p. 126. On daughters’ responsibilities to their mothers, see Dixon, *The Roman Mother*, pp. 221–23.
15. On the few restorations, see A. M. McCann, *Roman Sarcophagi in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: MMA, 1978), p. 39.
16. C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, vol. 3, *Einzelmythen*, pt. 1 (Berlin: G. Grote, 1897), no. 83, pp. 103–6, pl. 26; F. Matz, “An Endymion Sarcophagus Rediscovered,” *MMAB* 15 (1956–57), p. 128.
17. For the variants, see H. Gabelmann, “Endymion,” *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. 3, pt. 1 (Zürich: Artemis, 1986), pp. 726–28; M. Koortbojian, *Myth, Meaning, and Memory on Roman Sarcophagi* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 63–64.
18. On the origins and meaning of the gesture, see P. J. Connor, “Dead Hero and the Sleeping Giant by the Nikosthenes Painter: At the Beginnings of a Motif,” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1984), pp. 387–94; E. J. Milleker, “The Statue of Apollo Lykeios in Athens,” Ph.D. diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1986, pp. 58–69.
19. The female figure was identified as Aura, the personification of Breeze, by Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 54–60, and many scholars have followed him, including G. M. A. Richter, “A Roman Sarcophagus,” *MMAB* 20 (1925), p. 78, and McCann, *Roman Sarcophagi*, p. 42. Without identifying the figure otherwise, Sichtermann, *Sarkophage*, vol. 2, pp. 36–38, casts doubt on the identification and points out that a similar figure appears with the chariot of Hades on the Persephone sarcophagi. There is reason to associate the female figure more with darkness than with air, a point that I will address in a forthcoming paper.
20. For the count, see Koch, *Sarkophage der römischen Kaiserzeit*, p. 74.
21. Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 53–59.
22. Koortbojian, *Myth, Meaning, and Memory*, p. 68.
23. For more on the comparison between sleep and death in poetry, see P. Boyancé, “Le sommeil et l’immortalité,” *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire* 45 (1928), pp. 97–105; M. Ogle, “The Sleep of Death,” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 11 (1933), pp. 81–117; Jean-Claude Eger, *Le sommeil et la mort dans*

- la Grèce antique (Paris: Éditions Sicard, 1966); E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979); C. Mainoldi, "Sonno e morte in Grecia antica," in *Rappresentazioni della morte*, ed. R. Raffaelli (Urbino: Quattro Venti, 1987), pp. 9–46.
24. P. Ariès, *L'homme devant la mort* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1977), pp. 30–32; R. A. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1942), pp. 164–65.
 25. Plato *Phaedo* 72b–c: "ἀλλ' οἷον εἰ τὸ καταδαρθάνειν μὲν εἶη, τὸ δ' ἀνεγείρεσθαι μὴ ἀνταποδοίσει γιγνόμενον ἐκ τοῦ καθεύδοντος, οἷσθ' ὅτι τελευτῶντα πάντ' ἂν λῆρον τὸν Ἐνδυμίωνα ἀποδείξειεν καὶ οὐδαμοῦ ἂν φαίνοιτο διὰ τὸ καὶ τὰλλα πάντα ταυτὸν ἐκεῖν' πεπονθέναι, καθεύδειν."
 26. F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des romains* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1942), pp. 246–50.
 27. A. D. Nock, "Sarcophagi and Symbolism," *American Journal of Archaeology* 50 (1946), pp. 150–52, 159–61; Artemidorus *Interpretation of Dreams* 1.80.
 28. R. Turcan, "Les sarcophages romains et le problème du symbolisme funéraire," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, vol. 2, no. 16, pt. 2 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1978), pp. 1728–29; R. Brilliant, *Visual Narratives* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), p. 150.
 29. F. G. J. M. Müller, *The So-Called Peleus and Thetis Sarcophagus in the Villa Albani* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1994), pp. 145–46.
 30. The idiom in Greek is Ἐνδυμίωνος ὕπνον καθεύδειν. For citations, see Gabelmann, "Endymion," p. 727. On the Latin idiom *Endymionis somnum dormire*, see Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, J. E. King, trans. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 110, n. 3.
 31. Turcan, "Le problème du symbolisme," p. 1701.
 32. On the iconography of Jonah, see M. Lawrence, "Three Pagan Themes in Christian Art," in M. Meiss, ed., *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky* (New York: New York University Press, 1961), pp. 324–27.
 33. Koortbojian, *Myth, Meaning, and Memory*, pp. 63–65.
 34. W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), pp. 259–67, estimates the average level of literacy in Italy during the Roman Empire at about 15 percent.
 35. Turcan, "Le problème du symbolisme," pp. 1721–26.
 36. Such a speech is actually inscribed on the grave monument of a Roman schoolboy, now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome. See Müller, *Peleus and Thetis*, pp. 150–51; A. E. Gordon, *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 130–33, pl. 33.
 37. Lucian *Dialogues of the Gods* 19: "Ἐμοὶ μὲν καὶ πάνν καλός, ὦ Ἀφροδίτη, δοκεῖ, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ὑποβαλλόμενος ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας τὴν χλαμύδα καθεύδῃ τῇ λαίᾳ μὲν ἔχων τὰ ἀκόντια ἤδη ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ὑπορρέοντα, ἡ δεξιὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὸ ἄνω ἐπικεκλασμένη ἐπιπρέπη τῷ προσώπῳ περικειμένη, ὃ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου λελυμένος ἀναπνέη τὸ ἀμβρόσιον ἐκείνο ἄσθμα. τότε τοῖσιν ἐγὼ ἀσφοπῇ κατιοῦσα ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν δακτύλων βεβηκῦα ὡς ἂν μὴ ἀνεγρόμενος ἐκταραχθεῖ—οἶσθα· τί σὺν ἂν σοι λέγοιμι τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα; πλὴν ἀπόλλυμαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος."
 38. Philostratus *Imagines* 1.1, 15: "τάχα που καὶ τίθης διακῆκοας· σοφαὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖναι τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ δακρύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ὅταν ἐθέλωσιν."
 39. Plutarch *Life of Numa* 4.2: "ὅτι μὲν οὖν ταῦτα πολλοῖς τῶν πάνν παλαιῶν μύθων ἔοικεν, οὓς οἱ Φρύγες τε περὶ Ἄττω καὶ Βιθυνοὶ περὶ Ἡροδότου καὶ περὶ Ἐνδυμίωνος Ἀρκάδες ἄλλοι τε περὶ ἄλλων εὐδαιμόνων δὴ τινων καὶ θεοφιλῶν γενέσθαι δοκούστων παραλαβόντες ἡγάπησαν, οὐκ ἄδηλόν ἐστι."
 40. Cicero *Tusculan Disputations* 1.92: "Endymion vero, si fabulas audire volumus, ut nescio quando in Latmo obdormivit, qui est mons Cariae, nondum, opinor, est expectectus. Num igitur eum curare censes, cum Luna labore, a qua consopitus putatur, ut eum dormientem osculetur? Quid curet autem, qui ne sentit quidem? Habes somnum imaginem mortis eamque cotidie induis, et dubitas quin sensus in morte nullus sit, cum in eius simulacro videas esse nullum sensum?"
 41. Cicero *De Finibus* 5.55: "Itaque nisi iucundissimis quidem nos somniis usuros putemus, Endymionis somnum nobis velimus dari, idque si accadat mortis instar putemus." (And so, even if we thought we might enjoy the most delightful dreams, we should not want the sleep of Endymion to be given us, and would think it if it happened identical to death.)
 42. For a sensitive discussion of storytelling at home in antiquity, see S. C. Humphreys, "Women's Stories," in *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece*, ed. E. D. Reeder (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1995), pp. 102–10.
 43. Sichtermann, *Sarkophage*, vol. 2, p. 34. For the Saint Petersburg and Stockholm types, see Gabelmann, "Endymion," p. 735, nos. 92, 93.
 44. Matz, "An Endymion Sarcophagus," p. 127.
 45. For the list of examples, see Gabelmann, "Endymion," pp. 729–31, nos. 14–27.
 46. The mosaics tend to retain square compositions and to focus on the two protagonists. Third-century polychrome examples include the mosaic from the House of the Laberii in Oudna, now in the Bardo, Tunis, and another from a house in El Jem, now in the archaeological museum there. A similar composition, also in black-and-white mosaic, is in the 2nd-century tomb 87 in the Isola Sacra cemetery at Ostia. See N. Blanchard-Lemée et al., *Sols de la Tunisie romaine* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1995), p. 242; G. Becatti, *Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei*, Scavi di Ostia, vol. 4 (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1961), pp. 307–8, pl. 105.
 47. On the relationship between craftsmen's traditions and their output, see J. B. Ward-Perkins, "The Role of the Craftsman in the Formation of Early Christian Art," in *Atti del IV congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1978), vol. 1, p. 651. On the painting of sarcophagi, see G. Koch and H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage* (Munich: Beck, 1982), pp. 87–88.
 48. Sichtermann, *Sarkophage*, vol. 2, pp. 39–40.
 49. Ibid., p. 104: D M / GERONTIAE / FILIAE KRM.
 50. For more on the type of the sleeping cupid, see J. B. Hartmann, "Die Genien des Lebens und des Todes: Zur Sepulkralikonographie des Klassizismus," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 12 (1969), pp. 11–38; McCann, *Roman Sarcophagi*, pp. 51–52; N. Blanc and F. Gury, "Eros / Amor / Cupido," *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 971–72, 1047.
 51. Compare, for example, Statius's address to Sleep, *Silvae* 5.4.3–6: "Tacit omne pecus volucresque feraeque / et simulant fessos curvata cacumina somnos, / nec trucibus fluviis idem sonus; occidit horror / aequoris, et terris maria adclinata quiescunt." (Every beast lies quiet, and birds and wild animals, / And curved treetops look undone in slumber, / And raging rivers have not the same sound; the rising of the sea / Gives way, and the waters leaning on the earth are still.)
 52. Sichtermann, *Sarkophage*, vol. 2, pp. 135–36. For an example of

- a scene with Venus and Adonis, see the sarcophagus Louvre Ma 347, ex coll. Borghese, in F. Baratte and C. Metzger, *Catalogue des sarcophages en pierre d'époque romaine et paléochrétienne* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1985), no. 16, pp. 55–57.
53. Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 4.28–6.24.
 54. Sichtermann, *Sarkophag*, vol. 2, p. 136.
 55. J. Engemann, *Untersuchungen zur Sepulkralsymbolik der späteren römischen Kaiserzeit* (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1973), p. 30.
 56. Sichtermann, *Sarkophag*, vol. 2, p. 137.
 57. McCann, *Roman Sarcophagi*, p. 43, interprets them as personifications of Spring and Fall; Sichtermann, *Sarkophag*, vol. 2, p. 137, prefers to identify them as Bacchic figures.
 58. On the artisanal tendency to specialize, see Ward-Perkins, "The Role of the Craftsman," p. 368.
 59. F. Matz, *Ein römisches Meisterwerk: Der Jahrzeitensarkophag Badminton–New York* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1958), pp. 166–67.
 60. McCann, *Roman Sarcophagi*, p. 44.
 61. Inscriptions found at Ostia record the existence of numerous trade guilds, and it is likely that there were also more. Among those recorded are the *corpus traiectus marmorariorum* (the marble importers) and the *collegae pingentes* (the painters) (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 14.425; Suppl. 4699). See R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960), pp. 311–36.
 62. The gesture is widespread in Roman Republican funerary portraits. For examples and discussion, see R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art* (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1963), pp. 45–49; D. E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Group Portraiture* (New York: Garland, 1977), pp. 80–83.
 63. On inscriptions and the immortality they may promise, see Ariès, *L'homme devant la mort*, pp. 201–15; Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, pp. 221–22.
 64. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, pp. 354–80.
 65. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme*, pp. 2–16.
 66. The classic study of the phenomenon in Roman art is H. Wrede, *Consecratio in Formam Deorum* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1981).
 67. On the hairstyle and date, see R. Turcan, *Les sarcophages romains à représentations dionysiaques* (Paris: Boccard, 1966), pp. 278–80.
 68. On restorations to the sarcophagus, see Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, vol. 3, pt. 1, no. 77, p. 92; Sichtermann, *Sarkophag*, vol. 2, no. 93, pp. 142–43.
 69. On the Capitoline sarcophagus, no. 725, see Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, vol. 3, pt. 1, no. 61, pp. 76–78, pl. 16; W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, ed. H. Speer, 4th ed. (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1966), vol. 2, no. 1406, pp. 213–14; Sichtermann, *Sarkophag*, vol. 2, no. 51, pp. 114–15. On the Copenhagen example, Ny Carlsberg - Glyptotek 848, see Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 68–69; Sichtermann, *Sarkophag*, vol. 2, no. 35, p. 109. The inscription, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 14.622, reads, "D.M. / AURELIO.LUCANO / GRATUS.CAES.ET / SULPICIA.LASCIBA / PARENTES.FILIO / DULCISIMO."
 70. Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 87.
 71. Turcan, *Sarcophages dionysiaques*, pp. 278–80.
 72. On visits to the tomb, see J. M. C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971), pp. 61–64. For a brief description of the cemeteries of Ostia, see Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, pp. 455–70.
 73. For several samples with commentary, see D. E. E. Kleiner and S. Matheson, eds., *I Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1996), pp. 199–213.
 74. For the epitaph, see Lattimore, *Themes*, p. 175. For the altar, in the Palazzo Ducale in Urbino, see D. E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Imperial Funerary Altars* (Rome: Giorgio di Bretschneider, 1987), no. 75, pl. 42.
 75. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 6.37965. For commentary, see Lattimore, *Themes*, pp. 298–99; Gordon, *Latin Epigraphy*, pp. 145–48.
 76. For the translation, see Lattimore, *Themes*, p. 164; G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca* (Berlin, 1878), p. 559, ll. 7–8: "καὶ λέγε Ποπιλίην εὐδελν, ἄνερ· οὐ θεμιτὸν γὰρ / θνήσκειν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς, ἀλλ' ὕπνον ἡδὺν ἔχειν."
 77. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 6.18817.9–18: "Ita peto vos, manes sanctissimae, / commendatum habeatis / meum carum et vellitis / huic indulgentissimi esse, / horis nocturnis / ut eum videam, / et etiam me fato suadere / vellit, ut et ego possim / dulcius et celerius / apud eum pervenire." For commentary, see Lattimore, *Themes*, p. 277; Koortbojian, *Myth, Meaning, and Memory*, p. 108.
 78. D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), p. 332.
 79. S. Grolnick and A. Lengyel, "Etruscan Burial Symbols and the Transitional Process," in *Between Reality and Fantasy: Transitional Objects and Phenomena*, ed. S. Grolnick and L. Barkin (New York: Jason Aronson, 1978), p. 381.