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The role of lamp workshops in the iconographic dissemination of Aeneas' flight

The Role of Lampmakers' Shops in the Spread of the Iconography of the Flight of Aeneas

El papel de los talleres de lámparas in the iconographic broadcast of the huida de Eneas

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Abstracts

French English Español
The study of a group of misfires and other waste of terracotta lamps from a workshop in Mérida gave rise to a reflection on the methods of disseminating the production of a lamp workshop in the capital of Roman Lusitania. The chosen set presents a homogeneous character not only because of its period of production - the Flavian era - but also for the motif adorning the medallion of the lamp, which depicts the flight of Aeneas, a motif famous in the Ro -maine for its political implications in connection with the mythical origins of the *Iulia people* . The analysis revealed that the production of Merida workshop was, in reality, the recreation of a prototype made in Rome in the second half of the 1 stcentury AD In addition, the question of the limits of the diffusion zone of the terracotta lamps manufactured in Mérida is considered. Hypotheses are eventually made as to the relationship between the lamps depicting the flight of Aeneas and the popular expression of imperial worship.

The study of a collection of baking detritus and other waste from terracotta lamps from a workshop in Merida prompts a discussion of the modes of circulation of the produce of a lampmaker's shop in the capital of Roman Lusitania. The chosen group is homogeneous in character, not only in terms of the period of production (the Flavian era) but also in terms of the decoration on the lamp's medallion, which depicts the flight of Aeneas - a motif popular in Roman times because of its political implications regarding the mythical origins of the *gens Iulia*. Analysis has shown that the product of the Merida workshop was in fact a recreation of a prototype made in Rome in the second half of the First Century

AD. The article also examines the question of the limits of the area in which these lamps circulated and finally looks at some hypotheses regarding the relationship between lamps depicting the flight of Aeneas and popular expression of the imperial cult.

El estudio de un grupo de desechos de cocción y de otros residuos de lámparas de terracota procedentes de un taller de Mérida ha aroused a sober reflexión las modalidades de diffusion de la producción de lámparas of the capital of Lusitania romana. El conjunto escogido presenta un carácter homogéneo no sólo debido a su período de producción (la época flavia) sino también por la ornamentación del medallón de la lámpara, which represents the huida de Eneas, motivo célebre en la época romana por sus implicaciones polión a los orígenes míticos de la *gens Iulia* . El análisis ha revelado que la producción del taller de Mérida era, en realidad, the recreación de un prototipo fabricado en Roma en la segunda mitad del siglo I dC Por otro lado is analized la cuestión de los límites de la zone de diffusion de dichas lámparas y admiten, por último, algunas hipótesis sobre la relación entre las lámparas that representan la huida de Eneas y la expresión popular del culto imperial.

Index terms

Keywords : Workshop , Imperial worship , Flavian period , Iconography , Roman lamps
Keywords: Flavian era , Imperial cult , Iconography , Roman lamps , Workshop , Culto imperial , Época flavia , Iconografía , Lámparas romanas , Taller

Full text

1 The reason for Aeneas' flight is characterized by the importance of its political dimension during the imperial era. The Trojan ancestry of the Roman people (ancient theme of the legend of the origins of Rome) was exploited by Julius Caesar for the purposes of gentile exaltation with the posterity that we know, thus making this national myth a family legend [1] . The characters of Aeneas and Romulus crystallize the essential qualities of the founding hero (the *pietas* for Aeneas, the *virtus*for Romulus) so that their images become the incarnation of the two pendants of the figure of the archegete and, by sliding, of that of the emperor who, too, is the holder of these qualities. This explains why the figure of Aeneas is disseminated continuously on iconographic supports, within the public sphere, throughout the imperial period and well after the extinction of the Julio-Claudian line. Moreover, the presence of Ascanius alongside Aeneas was not without evoking the hereditary nature of the transmission of imperial power: this trait could support the designs of certain emperors in order to promote dynastic legitimacy [2] .

2 The study presented here arose from the examination of a set of “misfire” lamps depicting the escape of Aeneas, kept in the reserves of the Museo Nacional de Arte Romano de Mérida [3] . The comparison of this material with lamps of the same type unearthed in the Iberian Peninsula served as the starting point for an analysis aimed, first of all, at finding the prototype of these lamps and the iconographic diagram that adorns their medallion. These “Hispano-Roman” specimens, being the product of an overmolding and an adaptation of this prototype, we will then have to propose an explanation concerning the modalities of their production, then their distribution in the Iberian Peninsula.

3 The terracotta lamp is an artefact, the study of which is proving to be most enriching because it allows a better understanding of the modalities of the dissemination of iconographic schemes in the Roman Empire. This type of object indeed has a double advantage: a relatively well established chronology and the presence, on many copies, of workshop marks which provide various types of clues. Thus, although it is necessary to handle the information provided by mint marks with infinite precautions, the latter nevertheless allow a large number of lamps to be classified under a manufacturer's name and, sometimes even, when the activity of a workshop is well known, to provide elements of dating, even a chronological range which allows to specify the typological dating.

4 If global studies on the lamps of a region or a site abound, much rarer are those centered on a precise iconographic type. However, the transversal nature of the latter makes it possible to approach the study of terracotta lamps from a new angle, in particular shedding light on the distribution of iconographic patterns from one workshop to another. The lamps in the flight of Aeneas have survived in sufficient numbers to allow a meaningful study [4].

5 For greater clarity, we have divided the lamps studied here into two groups: those directly derived from the prototype are grouped together under the name “type I”; as for the specimens of the Iberian peninsula, one will find them here under the name of "type II".

Type I and its iconographic diagram

6 Type I is represented by eight specimens kept in Hanover (Rome) [5] [fig. 1], London (Asia Minor) [fig. 2], Barcelona [6] (Rome), Aquileia (fig. 3, p. 164), Cyprus, Carthage, Tunis and Sfax. Thus, three copies come from Tunisia, three from Italy (including two from Rome), one from Asia Minor and one from Cyprus. This set is therefore characterized by a large geographical dispersion. The lamps are of Loeschke IV form in seven cases, that of Sfax being of Loeschke VIII form. Only two workshop marks have been identified: *I.NI.IX / I* on the Sfax lamp and a double *planta pedis* on that of Cyprus.

Fig. 1. - Hanover Lamp (Rome)



(Galinsky , 1969, fig. 5).

Fig. 2. - Lamp from the British Museum [Asia Minor]



(Photography: Alexandra Dardenay)

Fig. 3. - Aquileia lamp



Di Filippo Balestrazzi,

7 As for the decorative elements, they are controversial. The group of Aeneas, Ascanius and Anchises moves to the right, in front of a background made up of a circular building adjoining a palm tree and, to the right of the group, a cippus serving as the base of the Palladium.

8 The interpretation of this decoration is usually associated by researchers with that of another group of objects: medallions issued at the beginning of the reign of Antoninus Pius and representing the group of the flight of Aeneas in a setting where the 'we find the motif of the circular building (let's name it *tholos*) [7] . But this association seems abusive to us because the elements of decoration, apart from the presence of a *tholos* , are completely different.

9 The palm tree appearing on the medallion of the lamp carries - because of its polysemy - a strong symbolic charge [8] . He is notably associated with four prodigies: one concerning Romulus, the other three Augustus. The first is reported by Ovid, it is the dream of Rhéa Silvia:

Ignibus Iliacis aderam, cum lapsa capillis
Dedicit ante sacros lanea uitta focos.
India duae pariter, uisu mirabile, palmae
Surgunt; ex illis altera maior erat
Et grauibus ramis totum protexerat orbem
Contigeratque sua sidera summa coma.

Ecce meus ferrum patruus molitur in illas:
Terreor admonitu corque timore micat
Martia picus auis gemino pro stipite pugnant
Et lupa: tuta per hos utraque palma fuit [9].

10 Two others are reported by Suetonius:

Sed et ostensis praecipue mouebatur. Enatam inter iuncturas lapidum ante domum suam palmam in compluuium deorum Penatium transtulit, utque coalesceret magno opere curauit [10].

Apud Mundam Diuus Iulius castris locum capiens cum siluam caederet, arborem palmae repertam conseruari ut omen uictoriae iussit; ex ea continuo enata suboles adeo in paucis diebus adoleuit, ut non aequiperaret modo matricem, uerum et obtegeret frequentareturque columbarum nidis, quamuis id auium genus duram and asperam frondem maxime uitet. Illo et praecipue ostento motum Caesarem ferunt, ne quem alium sibi succeeds quam sororis nepotem uellet [11].

11 And, finally, Quintilian relates a last miracle whose setting is Tarragona. On the altar dedicated to the emperor Augustus grew a palm tree, a miracle illustrated on coins from Tarragona from the reign of Tiberius [12]. The city council sent messengers to inform the emperor of this event but he snapped: *"apparet, inquit, quam saepe accendatis* [13]. "

12 We believe that it is in this sense that we must interpret the presence of the palm tree in the decoration of the medallion of the lamps in question [14]. The palm tree associated with Aeneas foreshadows the grandeur of the imperial *domus* . But it could also, as an element of an exotic landscape, be interpreted as a topical element allowing the scene to be located in Asia Minor.

13 The iconographic interpretation of this decoration is closely linked to that of the medallions adorning lead cistus unearthed in several Pompeian *domus* [15] (fig. 4). Five copies are decorated with medallions depicting the flight of Aeneas, the iconography of which is practically similar to that of the type I medallions, with one detail ready, of great importance: "fire" escapes from the roof. This "fire" can have only two explanations which reduce the field of interpretations: if it is indeed fire, the temple is in flames and, in this case, this *tholos*is a Trojan temple illustrating the destruction of the city; if it is not a question of fire but of smoke (the detail is not clear because the medallions are very oxidized) this monument must be the temple of Vesta whose roof was pierced with an orifice allowing smoke from the sacred fire to escape [16].

Fig. 4. - Medallion of cistus from Pompeii



(Photography: Nicolas Monteix)

14 Now, Virgil writes in the *Aeneid that* Aeneas brought from Troy not only the Penates but also the sacred fire of Vesta. When he appears in a dream to Aeneas, Hector commands him:

Sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia penatis;
hos cape fatorum comites, his moenia quaere
magna, pererrato statues quae denique ponto
Sic ait et manibus uittas Vestamque potentem
aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem [17] .

15 Thus, in Virgil, Aeneas carries the Penates in the same way as the fire of Vesta. Later, the testimonies of Macrobe and Servius attest the community of the rites of Vesta and the Penates at Lavinium [18] . They note, in fact, in almost similar terms: *"eodem nominum Appelauit et Vestam, quam de numero Penatium certe comitem eorum manifestum est* [19] *"*, and: *"hic ergo quaeritur, utrum Vesta etiam de numero Penatium sit, an comes eorum accipiatur* [20] *. "* Let's add the metaphor of Ovid in the passage quoted above: it means the fire of Vesta as the" fire of Ilium. " In other words, the *tholos* is treated as an element of archaic decoration, of the type*casa Romuli* or temple of Vesta, contemporaries of the founding of Rome [21] . The *tholos* is, according to some, the representation of the temple of the Penates of Troy [22] . In short, since the Penates, Vesta and the Palladium shared the same sanctuary on the forum of Rome [23] and that the cult of the Penates and that of Vesta were associated with Lavinium, it is probable that, on these lamps, the appearance of the temple de Vesta was chosen to represent the temple from which Aeneas had removed "the holy things of Troy." The association of the *pignora imperii* cults in the Roman environment led to a retrospective assimilation of these same cults, in the vision that we had then in heroic times. [24] . Once surrounded the Penates, the temple of Vesta and the Palladium, which was returned to him by Diomedes in circumstances on which versions diverge [25] , Aeneas, founder of the Roman people, is featured in the midst of objects of worship guarantors of sustainability of Rome.

Dating and the problem of overmolding

16 What are the chronological criteria at our disposal to date this set of lamps? Basically, the shape of these lamps and the workshop marks. The high quality of two copies - those from Hanover and Barcelona - excludes them from being overmolded, rather reminiscent of originals. On the other hand, the overmolding is not to be excluded for the lamps of Asia Minor, Cyprus, Carthage, Tunis and Sfax, and it was in all certainty at the origin of the lamp of Aquileia.

17 Let us return briefly to the technique of manufacturing lamps in order to better perceive the link which links the examples studied. Roman lamps are produced from two molds (lower and upper) themselves taken from a prototype [26]. The latter is a full tank, in raw clay, to which are added the spout and possibly the handle, shaped by hand. The decoration was worn either on the prototype, by printing or by gluing a medallion, or on the mold by punching. At the same time, another technique was developed which takes an already existing lamp as a prototype: it is then a copy and the technique used is called overmolding. This is an extremely widespread phenomenon in the Roman Empire and some workshops mainly worked in this way, as was demonstrated for that of Montans (Tarn) [27].

18 Overmolding is a manufacturing process which makes it possible, by making a clay or plaster mold from a terracotta lamp, available on the market, to manufacture new copies of this same lamp [28]. You can overmold an entire lamp, the lower or upper cover, or just the decoration of the medallion. Overmolding has the major drawback of causing a loss of quality. The copy (s) obtained are smaller in size (with a greater loss of material for the lamps obtained from clay molds than those from plaster molds) and often have small manufacturing defects in the reliefs; bubbles or impasto [29]. We consider that a decoration is the overmolding of another if their size difference is about 10% [30].

19 An overmolded specimen can also be the source of a new mold, thus giving rise to secondary overmoldings: the degradation of the decoration and the silhouette of the lamp, as well as the reduction in size of the specimens, increasing in size. result. We will also add that if the overmolding allowed the reproduction of the decorations, it also entailed the reproduction of the mark that the potters kept in most cases [31]. Note, on the other hand, that a large part of the lamps were not signed. In addition, the use of affixing a mark on the back of the lamp appeared quite late [32].

20 The dating elements available to us for type I are of various kinds. The shape Loeschke IV, in which they all belong to the exception of Sfax lamp (VIII Loeschke form), is located in a relatively wide time range: from Augustus in the first third of the II th century [33]. But, according to C. Bémont, most lamps of this type are datable to the second half of the I st century [34]. This set is characterized by the absence of a mark on the copies from Rome (Hanover, Barcelona) and by marks on two of the provincial copies.

21 When we know that it is possible to overmold only the upper part of a lamp and adapt it to a lower tank from another prototype, this should come as no surprise. The typological dating places the period of creation of such lamps probably in the second half of the I st century. The marks present on two of the copies (a double *planta pedis* for that of Cyprus and an *I.NI.IX / I mark* for that of Sfax) do not allow us to refine the chronology [35].

22 But, while waiting for a clarification provided by the study of the second type of lamp, it will be noted that the Flavian monetary emissions representing a palm tree as a symbol of victory were certainly not without influence on the design of the iconographic scheme [36]. It should be added that this dating makes it possible to bring a new argument in favor of the independence of the iconography of this type of lamp from those of the medallions of Antoninus Pius: they are not contemporary.

23 The comparative study of the inscriptions engraved on the cippus can bring elements allowing to determine the place of creation of the prototype. These inscriptions take different forms:

- *AIIN / ANC / ASC / RIIX / PIII* on the Hanover and Barcelona copies and on the Asia Minor lamp [37] (fig. 1 and 2, p. 163);
- *AENE / ASCA / NEUSI / ETAN / CHISI* [38] on the Carthage copy;
- False registration for the Cyprus lamp? ;
- No inscription in Aquileia (fig. 3, p. 164);
- Undetermined for Sfax and Tunis [39] .

24 We will notice an epigraphic peculiarity: on the Hanover lamp and that of Barcelona the "E" are noted "II", while they are noted "E" on the Carthage lamp [40]. In addition, the inscriptions are different on at least two copies (Barcelona and Hanover on the one hand, Carthage on the other). Given that the spelling of the inscriptions on the Barcelona and Hanover lamps is absolutely identical, it cannot be assumed that the cippe was smooth and that the inscription was added after demoulding and before firing. It must necessarily be admitted that the inscription appeared on the original hallmark. If we consider that the lamps from Hanover and Barcelona present the best technical quality and exceptional rendering of details, and that they are the only ones of this type to come from Rome, we can reasonably hypothesize that these two copies come directly from the prototype. The other lamps offer a more subdued relief and less clear details, [41] . Overmolding is therefore to be excluded, but the use of a worn mold for these latter examples could explain the inferior quality and the erasure of the inscription [42] . The craftsman would then have traced on the cippus an inscription according to his inspiration, or what he guessed from the vestiges of the original inscription: that of the Carthage lamp inscribed the names of the protagonists. Cyprus lamp poses a particularly difficult problem because Th. Oziol said about it guesses the existence of registration, but unable not to read due to terrain too rough of the lamp [43]. The most likely is that the craftsman did not trace an inscription on this copy and that only a few traces of the original inscription can be seen. As for the lamp from the Near East, its small dimensions speak in favor of an overmolding which is also at the origin of the erasure of the inscription.

25 The inscriptions, which differ from one copy to another, seem fairly consistent with the place of origin of the lamp they decorate. For example, only lamps from Rome bear the inscription *AEN ANC ASC REX PIE* , in which Aeneas - or Ascanius - is referred to as a pious king. If, in the Roman Empire, Aeneas and Ascanius were known above all as the founders of Rome and as the ancestors of the *people Iulia* , then of all the emperors in Lazio, Aeneas was also revered as king of the Latins, it is moreover from this title that it was designated on its *eulogium* of the forum of Augustus in Rome [44]. When the punch was reused on the Carthage lamp, the craftsman retraced the cippus which has a more rectangular shape than on the other copies, as well as a double rim groove, and he reinterpreted the inscription of a more neutral way *(AENE ASCA NEUSI ETAN CHISI)* without alluding to the title of king of Aeneas.

26 Be that as it may, the inscription of the Roman copies and the decorative elements chosen (the most characteristic symbols of antiquity and legitimacy) attest that this figurative scene was conceived as a testimony of allegiance to the imperial power.

27 These different elements allow us to put forward the hypothesis of a production of the prototype of these lamps in Rome itself. They were undoubtedly exported to certain provinces, in particular in North Africa and in Asia Minor. Recall that D. Bailey has shown that: *"during the first century AD, very few places within the Empire were immune from the massive importation of Italian lamps* [45] *"*.

28 The Aquileia lamp is a special case because it presents an altered version of the decoration (fig. 3, p. 164). The group of the flight of Aeneas presents two peculiarities: Ascanius holds its *pedum* in the other direction, end turned outwards; and Anchises no longer appears as a figure tight in his dress but in an attitude more marked with dignity, the hem of his coat unfurled behind his shoulders, and the

right arm of Aeneas which holds Anchises' wrist is stretched out. The landscape also has notable differences. The palm tree and the Palladium no longer appear on the lamp of Aquileia, the cippus is blank of inscription and is only partially represented, while the *tholos*presents four columns instead of three: the outstretched position of Aeneas' arm freed up the space necessary for this addition. The relationship between this lamp and those of type I is obvious. It remains to be seen whether it derives from it from a technical point of view and, if so, how. The small size of the lamp (L.: 7.14 cm; D.: 7.12 cm) evokes the overmolding, which would also explain the transformations and the repeats on the decoration. But the cramped nature of the scene within the medallion (the *tholos* is of a larger proportion, the cippus is only half represented) can be explained rather by the use of the “decorative punch”:

- Either this “decoration punch” was overmolded from a type I lamp and applied to an undecorated archetype of smaller dimensions, which would explain in particular that the cippus does not appear entirely in the medallion. The landscape elements not being able to all fit in the medallion of the lamp, the craftsman will have decided to sacrifice the palm tree, to enlarge the *tholos* and to remove the Palladium which did not have the place to fit at the top of the cippus [46] ;
- Or it is about a different punch to which one would have added, in the background, by hand, elements of decoration imitating the known type of the Hanover lamp.

29 It is very difficult to take sides between these two hypotheses. Be that as it may, the copy of Aquileia attests to the popularity of the theme, which was not exactly copied, but taken up and adapted.

30 The sought-after treatment of the landscape, on this set of documents, makes us imagine a pictorial original, a painting that would have depicted Aeneas fleeing his city in flames, whose palm tree, a topographical index, made it possible to evoke eastern vegetation.

From type I to type II "Hispano-Roman"

31 A careful comparison, point by point, made it possible to ensure that the iconography of Aeneas *profugus* of the lamps of type I and that of the lamps of type II (Hispano-Roman) are absolutely identical, *except* for detail. The only difference is the total disappearance of the landscape to keep only the three characters. We thus observe the same spatial organization of the group as well as identical interactions between the figures. The same goes for the treatment of fabrics in small hatching and certain particularly characteristic details such as the figuration of Anchises or the design of the coat of Aeneas whose folds meet at a right angle between her legs.

32 The set of Hispano-Roman lamps depicting the flight of Aeneas is the most important of our corpus since it is composed, to date, of ten copies: one in Badajoz [47] , one in Lugo de Llanera (Asturias) [48] , one in Herpes (Charente, France) [49] , one preserved in Madrid (whose place of discovery is unknown, but which comes from the Iberian Peninsula [50]), and six were discovered during excavations in Mérida [51] . The iconographic type is identical, but it is necessary to note some slight variations concerning the dimensions which never exceed however a centimeter difference, apart from the Oviedo copy and that of Herpes which are much smaller. Due to the fragmentary state of conservation of most of the lamps, only three marks are preserved: it is a double *planta pedis* [52] .

33 All the Hispano-Roman lamps are therefore characterized by perfect homogeneity. All the examples are identical, even as regards the type of lamp chosen (Loeschke IV, as for most lamps of type I). The technical quality is similar from one copy to another and presents all the characteristics of the overmolding: small dimensions of the lamps; decoration erased and taken with a stylus by the craftsman. One observes in particular on the lamp of Madrid a very strong clipping. Finally, these lamps are of very poor quality.

34 The measurements taken in order to compare two typical examples of types I and II, the Hanover lamp (Cat. 1, fig. 1, p. 163) and that of Madrid (Cat. 9, fig. 5, p. 174), gave an unexpected result: the dimensions of the diameter of the medallion and the length of the lamp are much smaller on the Madrid lamp, as one would expect from an overmolding, but the Aeneas group completely fills the medallion without leave the slightest place for the cippus supporting Palladium in particular. However, if we observe the Asia Minor lamp of type I, we notice that the overmolding resulted in a proportional decrease in the dimensions of the lamp and the decoration. This can only have one explanation: the Madrid lamp is the overmolding of a recreation of the Type I lamp without its landscape.[53] . After applying the punch, all he had to do was remove the landscape. Such a process has already been attested to on other lamps [54] . The lamp of Aquileia is moreover a milestone in the suppression of the landscape - since the cippus is truncated by half -, but it is undoubtedly not a link between the two types of lamps; in fact, compared to the copies of type I, the group of the escape of Aeneas is of a significantly different treatment on the lamp of Aquileia, which is not the case of the copies of type II.

Fig. 5. - Madrid lamp



(Photography: Alexandra Dardenay)

35 We may know the identity of a contemporary workshop of this recreation thanks to the mark affixed to the back of the Madrid lamp: a double *planta pedis* bearing the *PVF / PVF* overmolded inscription . Several copies from this workshop have been discovered in Italy [55] , Rome and Campania, Pompeii and Herculaneum [56] . It is generally agreed to situate the period of activity of the workshop between the reign of Nero and the end of the Flavian age [57] . Its location is subject to debate: if A. Balil, followed by F. Moreno Jiménez, suggests locating it in North Africa [58], D. Bailey prefers a location in Campania, taking into consideration the many discoveries on Italian soil. D. Bailey's arguments seem more convincing. J. Bussiere [59] think also that this workshop was active in Italy between the middle and the last quarter of the I st century. But it also points out that some workshops italics settled branch in North Africa since the time Flavian [60] . However, we do not have the shadow of a clue concerning the existence of a branch of the *PVF / PVF* workshop in North Africa.

36 If we accept the hypothesis that the *PVF / PVF* workshop carried out a recreation of the Type I lamp - or was in operation at that time -, this gives us an *ante quem terminus* for the creation of the prototype: Flavian era at the latest.

37 We know of other overmoldings of lamps from this workshop in the Iberian Peninsula, in particular a copy of the Museo Nacional de Arte Romano de Mérida depicting a Victory holding a shield and bearing shapeless signs imitating an inscription [61]. The mint mark is so lightly *raised* that the *PVF / PVF* inscription is hardly perceptible, although assured. The shield held by the Victory can be identified with the *clipeus virtutis* which was offered to Augustus by the Senate. We note that this workshop produced at least two types of lamps whose iconography went in the direction of the cult of the person of the emperor. Another copy, kept in the Archaeological Museum of Madrid, comes from Baelo Claudia, and three from Andalusia, kept in Cadiz and Seville [62], are productions of this workshop. A few specimens have also been discovered in North Africa [63].

38 The presence of two misfiring among the lamps discovered at Mérida attests with certainty that lamps representing the flight of Aeneas were made on site (fig. 6 and 7, p. 176). In addition, the existence of three medallions of broken lamps, presenting the same iconographic diagram, bears witness to the same direction (fig. 8, 9 and 10, pp. 177 and 178). G. Rodríguez Martín's study made it possible to locate several lamp workshops in Mérida. He was able to relate the lamp from the collection of Dr. Hernández to the material unearthed during the excavations of Atarazana Street (Mérida), a dumping ground belonging to a workshop in activity between the time of Nero-Vespasian and the middle of the 2ND century. century [64]. Our study found that another fragment preserved at the Museo Nacional de Arte Romano Merida (n º inv 8342.), Was discovered by chance next door (46, Oviedo street Cat 15 d.). As for the missed cooking (n º inv. 27810) it was unearthed near the "casa del anfiteatro" another point of the city (Cat. 15 b). It is therefore probable that several workshops in Mérida produced this type of lamp.

Fig. 6. - Mérida lamp, Cat. 15 a



(Photography: Alexandra Dardenay)

Fig. 7. - Mérida lamp, Cat. 15 b



(Photography: Alexandra Dardenay)

Fig. 8. - Mérida lamp, Cat. 15 d



(Photography: Alexandra Dardenay)

Fig. 9. - Mérida lamp, Cat. 11



(Photography: Alexandra Dardenay)

Fig. 10. - Mérida lamp, Cat. 15 c



(Photography: Alexandra Dardenay)

39 If we can say with almost certainty that the six lamps unearthed at Mérida were made on the spot, as well as in all probability the one coming from Badajoz and kept in Seville (fig. 11), it is more delicate to speak out for others; that of Madrid whose provenance is unknown although Hispanic (fig. 5, p. 174), and those discovered at Lugo de Llanera and Herpes [Charente, France] (fig. 12, p. 180). The workshop marks are not of much help to us since the Mérida workshops overmolded lamps with different kinds of marks. Thus, if the double *planta pedis mark* is attested in Mérida on a lamp representing the flight of Aeneas, the *PVF / PVF mark*is also but with another iconographic type, that of the Victory holding a *clipeus virtutis* . The lamps discovered in the territory of the Iberian Peninsula, as well as that of Herpes, are all similar, but this only proves one thing: that they were all made from the same prototype of which they are overmoldings to a more or less distant degree in the "genealogy" of the lamp. This does not mean that they were all made in the same place; even if, as we demonstrated a little above, more than half in reality was.

Fig. 11. - Seville lamp [Badajoz]



(Photography: Alexandra Dardenay)

Fig. 12. - Lamp from the British Museum [Herpes, Charente]



(Photography: Alexandra Dardenay)

40 Thus, these elements allow us to conclude that the Mérida workshop had a fairly large distribution area, but of which we can at least measure certain geographical limits. The lamps discovered in or around Mérida all have the same dimensions and probably come from the same workshop in Mérida, while those discovered at a fairly large distance are smaller and have obviously been made by overmolding in workshops located a distance from intermediate distance [65]. Indeed, the lamp by Lugo de Llanera, which is an overmolding of a copy of Mérida, proves that, in this region of the Iberian Peninsula (Asturias), the production of Mérida was not marketed, but that there manufactured the material for local consumption. Finally, given that the lamps from Mérida measure 10.7 cm in length and 7.5 cm in diameter, the Herpes lamp, which measures 9.7 cm in length and 6.7 cm in diameter, should be considered as a degree two of the genealogy, and Lugo de Llanera's lamp, which measures 8.7 cm in length and 5.7 cm in diameter, should be considered as a degree three.

Synthesis and conclusion

41 The lamps representing the flight of Aeneas - of which we have just studied two sets - do not fail to strike by the extreme typological and iconographic coherence of the groups released, as well as by their chronological and geographical dispersion.

42 The diffusion scheme of these lamps can be synthesized as follows. During the Neronian or Flavian era, a prototype depicting the group of Aeneas as part of a landscape juxtaposing symbolic elements of the origins of Rome was developed in the capital of the Empire. This type of lamp is widely exported to the provinces: molds, or punches, are sold to workshops as evidenced by the appearance of marks on the lamps of Cyprus and Sfax [66]. In other geographical areas, these lamps are diffused by overmolding as attested by the Carthage copy. At the same time, or soon after, but at the latest under the Flavians, the scene is simplified, perhaps from a copy of the *PVF / PVF* workshop. This reworking eliminates the landscape elements to keep only the group of three characters. This new type will, in any case, be widely distributed in the Iberian Peninsula from the Mérida workshop, which manufactures overmoldings. It is also the only type of lamp representing the flight of Aeneas that has been unearthed in the Iberian Peninsula.

43 Then, in the current state of documentation, no more lamps depicting the escape of Aeneas are manufactured before the end of the Antonine period. At that time, a new type was created - probably in Rome - by the *C IVL PHI* workshop or by the *L.CAE.SAE* workshop and, in any case, used by the two workshops which were in operation until at the beginning of the Severan era [67]. The distribution of this type was perhaps limited to the city of Rome since that is where the four known copies come from. However, lamps signed *L.CAE.SAE*have been discovered in various places in Italy and even in Narbonne and in the region of Carthage. It cannot therefore be ruled out that this type of lamp depicting the flight of Aeneas was more widely distributed in the Mediterranean basin [68]. Finally, this same stamp appears at the same time in the production of a Greek dispensary which applied it to a new model of lamp [69].

44 In the course of this study, two major production sites for terracotta lamps depicting Aeneas' flight into the Roman West emerged: Rome and Mérida. There were probably others, but it is interesting to note that this production was concentrated in particular in the capital of the Empire and in that of a province which, moreover, is known for its forum imitating the forum of Augustus. in Rome and presenting, like the latter and within its statuary program, a sculpture in the round of the flight of Aeneas [70]. This coincidence allows us to question the influence of iconographic programs in the public sphere, on those in the private sphere and, in this case, in the context of artisanal production. It appears, in fact, that terracotta lamps were frequently used as a support for images belonging to the body of representations of a political nature, such as the Victory wearing the *clipeus virtutis* for example [71]. The latter are also an interesting case of reinterpreting a propagandist-type image, since these lamps will become carriers of a greeting message for the new year - generally *ANNVM NOVVM FAVSTVM FELICEM MIHI*-, inscribed on the shield, at the place where the virtues of the emperor are engraved on the original [72].

45 For P. Zanker, when ordinary people bought a lamp bearing the image of a *corona civica* , of a Victory standing on a globe, or of the flight of Aeneas - rather than a specimen depicting a chariot race or an erotic scene - he made a deliberate choice [73]. This does not necessarily mean that there was a political intention in his gesture. But it is possible that this type of lamp was more particularly intended for use during ceremonies in honor of the imperial house, on the occasion in particular of the *dies natalis* of an emperor or of the city of Rome [74]. Thus, like the lamps depicting the Victory holding the *clipeus virtutis*had been reinterpreted as "new year" lamps, those adorned with the flight of Aeneas could very well have received a new attribution in connection with the festivities of the *natalis divi Augusti* for example, which we know was always celebrated in the THIRD th century AD AD [75].

These lamps would then be part of the public manifestations of loyalty to Rome and the emperor, as part of the imperial cult.

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Appendix

Catalog

Type I

Description: Escape of Aeneas, palm tree, round temple, cippus, Palladium. On the cippe appears an inscription, which varies from one copy to another.

Dating: Flavian period.

1. - Hanover, Kestner Museum, n ° inv. : 1170 (fig. 1)
Origin: Rome.
D: 9.5cm, W: 8.8cm, l. : 5, 8 cm. *Lettering*
: *AIIN / ANC / ASC / RIIX / PIII (Aeneas Anchises Ascanius rex pie).*
Bibliography: *CIL* XV 6236; Mlasowsky 1993, n ° 127; Schauenburg , 1960, p. 176 *ff* ., N ° 83, pl. XVIII, fig. 2; Galinsky , 1969, pp. 7 and 9, fig. 5; Castagnoli , 1972, p. 79, fig. 83; Aichholzer 1983, n ° 21; *LIMC* , sv "Aineas" n ° 123;Spannagel, 1999, n ° A 40.

2. - Barcelona, Museo Arqueológico, currently missing
Provenance: probably Italy.
Inscription: The same as that of the Hanover lamp.
Bibliography: Balil, 1969, p. 151, n ° 10; *LIMC* , s. v. "Aineas" n ° 123; Spannagel, 1999 n ° A 37.

3. - Carthage Antiquarium, n ° inv. : 46.183
Origin: Carthage.
H: 2.8cm; D.: 9.5 cm; W .: 12.6 cm. *Lettering*
: *AENE / ASCA / NEUSI / ETAN / CHISI (Aeneas Ascaneusi and Anchisi).*
Bibliography: Deneauve, 1969, p. 131, n ° 441, fig. 441, pl. XLVII; *LIMC* , s. v. "Aineas" n ° 126 a; Spannagel, 1999 n ° A 41.

4. - Sfax, Archaeological Museum, without inventory number
Provenance: Sfax (Tunisia).
D.: 7.5 cm.
Known only from the description of Massigli , 1992: no photograph available.
Bibliography: Massigli , 1912, p. 32, n ° 35; Cahn-Klaiber , 1977, p. 117; Aichholzer 1983, n ° 23; *LIMC* , s. v. "Aineas" n ° 124; Spannagel , 1999, catalog A 53.

5. - Aquileia, Museo Archeologico, n ° inv. : 7580 (fig. 3)
Provenance: Aquileia.
H.: 3.5cm; D: 7.12 cm; W: 7.14 cm.
Description: Imitation of type I. Absence of palm tree and Palladium. No registration.
Bibliography: Castagnoli , 1972, p. 79, fig. 84; Di Filippo Balestrazzi , 1988, t. I , n ° 824, t. II , pl. 127 and p. 54; *LIMC* , s. v. "Aineas" n ° 120; Spannagel, 1999 n ° A 34.

6. - Tunis, National Museum of Bardo, without inventory number
Provenance: Lamta (Lepti Minus).
Known only from the description in the Alaoui Museum catalog: no photograph

available.
Bibliography: Merlin , 1915, p. 322, n ° 54; Aichholzer 1983, n ° 22; Spannagel, 1999 n ° A 55.

7. - Nicosia, National Archaeological Museum of Cyprus, n ° inv. : Nic. 1950 / XII
Provenance: Salamis from Cyprus.
H.: 2.9 cm; D: 9.1 cm; W .: 12.6 cm.
Inscription: imitation of writing.
Bibliography: Oziol , 1977, n ° 438, p. 150, pl. 23, fig. 438; Spannagel, 1999 n ° A 47.

8. - London, British Museum, n ° inv .: 1978.6-3.1 (fig. 2)
Origin: Asia Minor.
H.: 2.7 cm; D: 8.3 cm; W.: 11.5 cm.
Inscription: imitation of writing.
Bibliography: Bailey, 1980-1988, vol. 3, n ° Q 3287, pl. 120, fig. 45; Spannagel, 1999, n ° A 44.

Type II "Hispano-Roman"

Description: Escape from Aeneas without landscape elements.

Dating: Flavian period

9. - Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, n ° inv. : 8663/9 (fig. 5)
Origin: Spain. Madrid Smuggling Court, 1965.
H .: 2.8 cm; D: 7.3 cm; W. 10.7 cm. *Mintmark* : *PVF / PVF* .
Bibliography: Unpublished. Photo of the museum: 267-23 neg., File 23 of the archives of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid.

10. - Seville, Museo Arqueológico Provincial n ° inv. : 2760 (fig. 11)
Provenance: Badajoz (Spain).
H.: 2.9 cm; W. 10.7 cm.
Bibliography: Moreno Jiménez , 1991, n ° 2713, p. 793, pl. DXIX, motif 343; *LIMC* , s. v. "Askanios" n ° 8; Spannagel, 1999, n ° A 52.

11. - Merida, Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, n ° inv. : 2451 (fig. 9)
Origin: Mérida (Spain).
H: 2.3cm; D: 6.7 cm; W.: 8 cm.
Bibliography: Rodríguez Martín , 2002, n ° 4-1, fig. X, n ° 130 and 131, pl. XXVI, n ° 128; *LIMC* , s. v. "Askanios" n ° 9; Spannagel, 1999, n ° A 45.

12. - London, British Museum, n ° inv .: 1905.5-20.160 (Fig. 12)
Source: Herpes, Charente.
H.: 2 cm; D: 6.6 cm; W .: 9.7 cm.
Double mark *planta pedis* .
Bibliography: Bailey, 1980-1988, vol. 3, n ° Q 1531; Spannagel, 1999, n ° A 43.

13. - Oviedo, Museo Arqueológico Provincial n ° inv. : 176
Origin: Lugo de Llanera (Spain).
H: 2.2cm; D.: 5.7 cm.
Bibliography: Morillo Cerdán, 1999, p. 352: LU 2, p. 194, n ° 46, fig. 140.

14. - Private collection: Dr. Julián Hernández
Provenance: Mérida, Atarazana street.
Double mark *planta pedis* .
Bibliography: Rodríguez Martín, 1996, n ° 14 and 2002, pp. 203-204.

Bibliography: Unpublished, except mention of inventory numbers in Rodríguez Martín, 2002, n ° 4-1, p. 90.

15 a . - n ° inv. : 15250 (fig. 6)
Provenance: Mérida.
D: 6.7 cm; W .: 6.9 cm.

15 b . - n ° inv. : 27810 (fig. 7)
Provenance: Mérida, next to the "casa del anfiteatro".
D. 7.4 cm.

15 c . - n ° inv. : 19836 (fig. 10)
Provenance: Mérida.
W.: 4.5 cm.

15 d . - n° inv. : 8342 (fig. 8)
Provenance: Mérida, calle Oviedo, 46.
W.: 6 cm; l. : 4.6 cm.

Abbreviations

CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.

LIMC Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae , Zurich, 1981-1999.

RIC Roman Imperial Coinage , Harold Mattingly , Edward A. Sydenham , Carol Humphrey Vivian Sutherland *et al* . (ed.), London, 1923-

RPC *Roman Provincial Coinage* , Andrew M. Burnett , Michel Amandry and Pere Pau Ripollès (eds.), London, 1992-

Notes

1 Martin, 1994, pp. 275-278 and pp. 300-402 as well as Spannagel, 1999, pp. 162-205 and Poucet , 1989.

2 The problem arose in an acute way, in particular during the Flavian era: see Girard, 1987.

3 We had knowledge of the existence of these artifacts by the mention of their number inventory in Merida lamps catalog (Rodríguez Martín, 2002 N° 4.1, p. 90 and Cat. 14). We extend our warmest thanks to Trinidad Nogales Basarrate for her welcome at the Museo Nacional de Arte Romano de Mérida and the access she gave us to the requested collections.

4 However, for the sake of brevity, we will consider only two of these types here. For the others we refer to our doctoral thesis, supervised by Jean-Charles Balty , University of Paris IV-Sorbonne.

5 We indicate the provenance in parentheses when it is different from the place of conservation.

6 Barcelona is the supposed place of conservation because, after investigation, this lamp is not in the Archaeological Museum of Barcelona: it must therefore be considered as missing or, perhaps, passed into a private collection.

7 On Hadrian's medallion, reissued by Antoninus Pius, see Cappelli, 2000, p. 155; Barenghi , 1992; Dubourdieu, 1989, pp. 228-229; Jenkins, 1988; Castagnoli, 1972, pp. 113-114; Giorgi , 1955 and Pond-Rothman , 1978. On the subject of *tholos* , the reader will be referred to a monograph devoted to this type of structure in architecture and in Roman iconography: Rambaldi, 2002.

8 The landscape made Galinsky think that these lamps may have been designed for export to North Africa (Galinsky, 1969, p. 7).

9 Ovid , *Fastes* , III, 29-38. Translation R. Schilling , Paris, Belles Lettres, 1992: “I was watching over the fire of Ilion, when my band of wool slipped from my hair and fell in front of the sacred hearth. There arose from it at the same time - oh wonder - two palm trees, one of which was larger; with its heavy branches it covered the whole world and with its leaves it touched the stars in the sky. Here my uncle brandishes an iron against them: I am terrified by this evocation and my heart trembles with fear. The woodpecker, bird of Mars, and the wolf fight for the two stipes: thanks to them the two palm trees were saved. "

10 Suetonius , *Augustus* , XCII, 2-3. Translation H. Ailloud, Paris, Belles Lettres, 1931: “But he was also very much impressed by the miracles. A palm tree having grown between the stones, in front of his house, he had it transported to the *compluvium* , next to the Penate gods and took great care of its growth. "

11 *Ibid.,* XCIV, 16. Translation *ibid.* : “In front of Munda, by cutting down a forest at the place chosen by the divine Julius to camp there, a palm tree was discovered, and Caesar made it respected as an omen of victory; however, immediately after this tree sprouted an offshoot, which grew in a few days to the point not only of equaling, but also of masking the mother-strain, and of being populated with nests of doves, a kind of birds which nevertheless avoided with the greatest care the hard and rough leaves; it was, they say, above all this prodigy which determined Caesar to want no other successor than his little nephew. "

12 *RPC* , I, n° 218, p. 104 and pl. 16.

13 Quintilien , *Institution oratoire* , VI, 3, 77. Translation J. Cousin , Paris, Belles Lettres, 1997: “We can see [says Auguste] that you often light a fire there. "

14 G. Sauron was the first to make a connection between Ovid 's description of Rhéa Silvia' s dream and the story of the *ostentum that* occurred to Caesar during the battle of Munda: he thus underlines the parallelism between *"somnium"* and *"Ostentum"* . See Sauron , 1982, pp. 701-703 and 1994, p. 6.

15 Adamo Muscettola , 1982.

16 On the temple of Vesta, see Dubourdieu, 1989, pp. 453-516.

17 Virgil , *Aeneid* , II, 293-297. Translation J. Perret , Paris, Belles Lettres, 1981: "Troy entrusts you with its holy things and its Penates, take them as companions in your destinies, for them look for a city that you will eventually establish, great. So he says and from the depths of the sanctuary he brings in his hands the bands, the mighty Vesta and the eternal fire. "

18 See Dubourdieu, 1989, pp. 292-296.

19 Macrobe , *Saturnalia,* III, 4, 11. Translation: “Virgil called by the same name [of Penates] Vesta also, who evidently is one of the Penates or is their companion. "

20 Servius , *Commentarii in Vergilii Aeneidos Libros* , II, 296. Translation: “One therefore wonders if Vesta is also part of the Penates, or if she is considered as their companion. "

21 The motif of the palm tree next to a *tholos* is reminiscent of the Uffizi relief on which a tree is planted right up against the temple of Vesta. On *casa Romuli* , see Balland , 1984 and Zanker , 1990, fig. 160.

22 Zevi, 1980, p. 250; Cappelli, 2000, p. 158 and Maaskant-Kleinbrink, 1992.

23 As evidenced by the story of the heroic rescue of the Palladium by Lucius Metellus from Cicero , *Aemilius Scaurus* , 48. Translation P. Grimal , Paris, Belles Lettres, 1976: “When this sanctuary was in flames, [Lucius Metellus Grand Pontiff] threw himself into the in the midst of the conflagration and snatched from the fire the Palladium, which is like the guarantor of our salvation, and that of the Empire, entrusted to the care of Vesta. "

24 On *pignora imperii* , see Dubourdieu, 1989, *passim* (in particular, pp. 22, 202, 259, 296, 466, 487 and 489).

25 Ripoll, 2001.

26 For a detailed approach to manufacturing and overmolding issues, we refer to the work of Bonnet and Delplace, 1983; Vertet, 1983; Bonnet, 1988 and Bergès, 1989.

27 *Ibid* .

28 Vertet, 1983, p. 77.

29 *Ibid.* , pp. 81-82. Various technical criteria lead us to believe that plaster molds were used to overmold the lamps in question; in particular, a reduction which does not exceed 10% and the presence of pustules on the surface.

30 Muller, 1997 and Bonnet, 1988, p. 19.

31 Vertet, 1983, p. 78.

32 Harris, 1980, p. 126, dates the appearance of the first signed lamps from the 20s BC. AD about, but it is only at the end of the I st century they know widely disseminated.

33 To date the L.IV type, Bussière, 2000 - like Leibundgut, 1977 - relies on the chronology of Bailey, 1980-1988, vol. 2.

34 Bémont, 2003, p. 44.

35 Pavolini , 1988.

36 For example: *RIC* , n o 20, p. 189, pl. 32; n o 36, p. 191, pl. 32 and n o 90-91, pp. 202-203, pl. 34.

37 Although the latter is very effaced. Bailey, 1980-1988, vol. 2, thought it was a false entry. Careful observation assures us that it is not.

38 Translation: “Aeneas, Ascanius and Anchises. "

39 We were unable to access these objects, or even obtain a photograph of them.

40 “II” is a cursive spelling of “E”.

41 Except that of Asia Minor which we will discuss a little below.

42 According to Deneauve, 1987, p. 80, the workshops of Roman Africa to I st and II th centuries AD work from imported molds and molding form.

43 Oziol , 1977, p. 151.

44 Spannagel, 1999, pl. 20, fig. 1.

45 Bailey , 1987, p. 63.

46 The process of recreating a decor is explained in Bonnet , 1988, pp. 19-20 and fig. 3.

47 Badajoz is located 65 km west of Mérida (Cat. 10).

48 Cat. 13.

49 Cat. 12.

50 Cat. 9. We extend our warmest thanks to Paloma Cabrera for her welcome at the Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid and the access she has given us to the requested collections.

51 Five copies from the Museo Nacional de Arte Romano de Mérida and one from a private collection (Dr. Julián Hernández), Cat. 11 and 15.

52 On the copies in the museums of Madrid and Seville and that of the private collection, see Cat. 9, 10 and 14.

53 On this subject, see Bergès, 1989, p. 26: "The decoration punch can be a creation on the part of the potter or a copy (copy of another punch or made from a lamp medallion serving as a model). It may also have been the object of an exchange between craftsmen (purchase, bequest, etc.). »See also, Bonnet, 1988, pp. 19-20.

54 *Ibid.* , pp. 17-21 and fig. 2.

55 *CIL* II, 6256, 47; *CIL* V, 8114, 133; *CIL* VIII, 22644, 272; *CIL* X, 8052, 25 and 8053, 197; *CIL* XI, 6699, 191; *CIL* XIII, 10001, 322 and *CIL* XV, 6640.

56 Bisi Ingrassia, 1977.

57 Bailey, 1980-1988, vol. 2, p. 103.

58 Balil, 1968, p. 175 and Moreno Jiménez, 1991, p. 275, n ^{o} 99.

59 Bussière, 2000, p. 94.

60 *Ibid.* , p. 98. See also its chapter: "Origin and development of production", p. 141-148.

61 Rodríguez Martín, 2002, Cat. 6.2, p. 72, fig. VIII, n ^{o} 104.

62 Moreno Jiménez, 1991, p. 275, n ^{o} 99.

63 Ponsich , 1961, p. 119, n ^{o} 533; Deneauve, 1969, p. 630, n ^{o} 538, and Hautecoeur, 1910, vol. 3, p. 2237, n ^{o} 239.

64 Rodríguez Martín, 1996 and Cat. 14 and 15.

65 As the Oviedo and Herpes lamps do not have the same dimensions, it is reasonable to hypothesize that they were not made in the same workshop.

66 This hypothesis is consistent with the theory of D. Bailey on exporting lamps I st century, p. 101 (Bailey , 1987, p. 101).

67 We approach the study of this set of lamps in our doctoral thesis. Furthermore, Bailey , 1980-1988, vol. 2, pp. 40, 365, 368 and n ^{o} Q 1394, lists a few copies.

68 See the distribution map of the *L.CAE.SAE* workshop in Bonnet, 1988, p. 121, fig. 39.

69 We have no evidence that this dispensary was Athenian, although it probably must have been. It seems likely that in a large city like Athens a local production was marketed.

70 On the Mérida forum and the group representing the flight of Aeneas, see Barrera and Trillmich , 1996 (with bibliographical summary).

71 Zanker , 1990, pp. 265-274.

72 See Amaré Tafalla, 1986. Some lamps also present monetary iconographic types or portraits of emperors (see *ibid* . And Zanker, 1990, pp. 274-275).

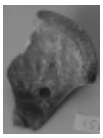
73 *Ibid* ., P. 266.

74 One could cite many other festivals such as the deification of a member of the imperial family, the advent of an emperor, etc., all of which were the occasion of prayers and wishes for the salvation of the emperor. (Herz , 1978, pp. 1189-1199). The celebration of these festivities in the provinces is attested by various sources, see Van Andringa, 2002, pp. 194-196.

75 As evidenced by the Doura-Europos calendar (Turcan , 1978, p. 1050). On the ceremonies in honor of Augustus' *dies natalis* , see Herz , 1978, pp. 1147-1150.

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