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The important geographical position of Cyprus, which constituted a point of transition to the East, the island's presence in various historical developments, and especially its rich mythology, offered ancient Cyprus many opportunities to appear – explicitly or implicitly – in Classical, Postclassical and Modern European literature and art. The studies in this volume move in this direction and attempt to shed light on the presence of Cyprus in the ancient world and on how it was perceived, as well as to consider its contribution to the Roman world and, by extension, to Western European culture.



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D.E.

SPYRIDON TZOUNAKAS (ED.)

THE RECEPTION OF ANCIENT CYPRUS

3



3

Spyridon Tzounakas (ed.)

## THE RECEPTION OF ANCIENT CYPRUS IN ROMAN SOURCES AND BEYOND: ELEVEN STUDIES



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SPYRIDON TZOUNAKAS is Associate Professor of Latin Literature at the University of Cyprus, where he is currently Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Letters. His main research and publications focus on Roman satire (especially Persius), Roman epistolography (especially Pliny the Younger), Roman epic (especially Lucan and Valerius Flaccus), Roman elegy (especially Tibullus), Cicero's orations, and Roman intertextuality. He has published many articles in international refereed journals and collective volumes, has edited a book on praises of Roman leaders, co-edited a book on the reception of ancient Cyprus in the culture of the western world and another one on Cyprus through travel literature (15<sup>th</sup> - 18<sup>th</sup> centuries), and completed a book on Persius' *Satires*. He is currently working on a volume on Pliny the Younger's intertextuality and on a research project on Persius' intertextuality.

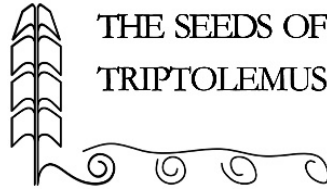




# THE SEEDS OF TRIPTOLEMUS

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THE RECEPTION OF ANCIENT CYPRUS  
IN ROMAN SOURCES AND BEYOND: ELEVEN STUDIES

On the cover: reworking of the mosaic of the House of Dionysus, Paphos  
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# CONTENTS

PREFACE	SPYRIDON TZOUNAKAS	XI
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## PART 1

### THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF CYPRUS AND THE EXEMPLARITY OF THE ISLAND

The Roman Conquest of Cyprus in the Rhetorical Strategies of Cicero's <i>De domo sua</i> and <i>Pro Sestio</i>	SPYRIDON TZOUNAKAS	3
The Roman Conquest of Cyprus in Ancient Sources: <i>A bellum iustum or iniustum?</i>	GEORGIOS VASSILIADES	17
Cyprus <i>in exemplis</i> : Cypriot Episodes as Narrated by Valerius Maximus	MARGOT NEGER	33

## PART 2

### THE CYPRIOT MYTHS IN OVID AND BEYOND

Prostitution in Ancient Cyprus, the Myth of the Propoetides in Ovid's <i>Metamorphoses</i> and the Perpetuation of a Stereotype	SPYRIDON TZOUNAKAS	57
Pygmalion's Inspiration and Pygmalion as Inspiration	SOPHIA PAPAIOANNOU	75
The Ambiguity of Love and the Ideology of Rape in Ovidian <i>Ekphraseis</i> : Pygmalion's Prequel to Arachne's Story	STELLA ALEKOU	91
From the Humble Workshop in Cyprus to the Victorian Stage: Ovidian Pygmalion's Reception in W. S. Gilbert's Mythological Comedy <i>Pygmalion and Galatea</i>	STAMATIA KITSOU	103
The Ovidian and Alfierian Myrrha as an Odalisque in Lord Byron's <i>Sardanapalus</i> : Transformations and a Play of Identities	STAMATIA KITSOU	113

## PART 3

### NUMISMATIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

A Coin Series with Capricorn and Scorpion from Cyprus	DANIELE CASTRIZIO	127
---	-------------------	-----

Pliny, <i>nat.</i> 34.81: The Bronze Sculptor Styppax of Cyprus and the <i>Splanchnoptes</i>	ANTONIO CORSO	143
An Excellent Foreigner: Titus at the Sanctuary of the Paphian Aphrodite	ALESSANDRA BRAVI	149
BIBLIOGRAPHY		171
INDEX LOCORUM		207

## PREFACE

*Spyridon Tzounakas*

This volume (*The Reception of Ancient Cyprus in Roman Sources and Beyond: Eleven Studies*) emerged as a result of the papers presented in two Workshops that took place in Nicosia, on 29 May 2021 and 7 July 2021 respectively, within the context of my research programme entitled *The Reception of Ancient Cyprus in the Culture of the Western World* (RACCWW). This work was co-funded by the European Regional Development Fund and the Republic of Cyprus through the Research and Innovation Foundation (Project: EXCELLENCE/1216/0525). The main aim of this research programme is to shed light on the presence of Cyprus in the ancient world and on how it was perceived, as well as to consider its contribution to the Roman world and, by extension, to Western European culture. The important geographical position of the island, which constituted a point of transition to the East, the island's presence in various historical developments, and especially its rich mythology, offered ancient Cyprus many opportunities to appear – explicitly or implicitly – in Classical, Postclassical and Modern European literature and art. The studies in this volume move in this direction and supplement a volume with a similar title that ensued from an international conference held in Nicosia in February 2021: Spyridon Tzounakas, Stella Alekou and Stephen Harrison (eds.), *The Reception of Ancient Cyprus in Western Culture*, Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter 2023 (Trends in Classics 139). For more information on the aims and the main findings of the research programme, see the “Introduction” there (pp. 1-10), as well as the website of the programme (<https://receptionofancientcyprus.com.cy>).

The present volume is divided into three parts. Part 1, entitled “The Roman Conquest of Cyprus and the Exemplarity of the Island”, includes three studies. Spyridon Tzounakas (“The Roman Conquest of Cyprus in the Rhetorical Strategies of Cicero’s *De domo sua* and *Pro Sestio*”) examines the way the Roman conquest of Cyprus is rhetorically exploited by Cicero in his attempt to denigrate Clodius’ image in two speeches. He argues that the case of Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, is harmoniously incorporated in the broader argumentation of the speeches, reinforces the tragic aspects of Clodius’ opponents and works as an *exemplum* that illuminates Clodius’ stance towards Cicero and Sestius. Georgios Vassiliades (“The Roman Conquest of Cyprus in Ancient Sources: A *bellum iustum* or *iniustum*?”) continues the discussion of the Roman conquest of Cyprus. Through the analysis of relevant Latin and Greek sources, his chapter attempts to show how the Roman authors and, probably, the Roman public opinion of the 50s BC morally evaluated the annexation of Cyprus on the basis of the moral and legal category of *bellum iustum*. It is concluded that Roman public opinion, which is reflected in

contemporary and later sources, was divided on the moral evaluation of whether the annexation of Cyprus was a *bellum iustum* or a *bellum iniustum*, by thus adopting the arguments of Clodius or Cicero respectively. Margot Neger (“Cyprus *in exemplis*: Cypriot Episodes as Narrated by Valerius Maximus”) scrutinizes the presence of Cyprus in Valerius Maximus’ narrative techniques. The chapter investigates a series of anecdotes concerning the island of Cyprus in the *Facta et dicta memorabilia* of Valerius Maximus. The single *exempla* are both self-contained narrative units and parts of different thematic sections on various virtues and vices. The chapter argues that the anecdotes on incidents regarding Cyprus can be read not only within their respective section but also as a cycle which reaches from the first to the last book of the collection. It also examines how the island, its inhabitants and visitors are depicted in a literary work composed in the time of the emperor Tiberius.

Part 2, entitled “The Cypriot Myths in Ovid and Beyond”, deals with the Cypriot myths in Orpheus’ song in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* 10 and their reception in later literature and art. In his study “Prostitution in Ancient Cyprus, the Myth of the Propoetides in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* and the Perpetuation of a Stereotype” Spyridon Tzounakas examines various ancient sources (with special emphasis on Latin literature and the myth of the Propoetides in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*) that contributed to the entrenchment of the promiscuous Cypriot women stereotype, which survives for centuries and is especially evident in travel writing from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Sophia Papaioannou’s study (“Pygmalion’s Inspiration and Pygmalion as Inspiration”) on the one hand discusses the presence of the myth of Pandora in Pygmalion and Ovid’s engagement with one of the most celebrated myths of the Hesiodic corpus, while on the other, it examines the incorporation of the Pygmalion episode in the stories of agalmatophilia featuring famous works of art and creators as well as in the Roman ideology of the *imagines maiorum*. In Stella Alekou’s study (“The Ambiguity of Love and the Ideology of Rape in Ovidian *ekphraseis*: Pygmalion’s Prequel to Arachne’s Story”) the myth of Pygmalion is examined as a prequel to that of Arachne, another famous artist in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. She reveals the ambiguous representation of love in these episodes, when Ovid exposes rape while apparently praising love, and argues that Ovid employs optical illusions to shed light on the image of love which in art appears as distorted, to address the politics of rape. The next study of this Part (“From the Humble Workshop in Cyprus to the Victorian Stage: Ovidian Pygmalion’s Reception in W. S. Gilbert’s Mythological Comedy *Pygmalion and Galatea*”) also deals with Ovid’s Pygmalion. Here Stamatia Kitsou demonstrates that W. S. Gilbert exploited the main outline of the Ovidian myth and proceeded to a generic transformation composing the first mythological comedy with Galatea, the statue’s name after Rousseau, as a

protagonist. As Galatea's inanimation and interaction with the other characters of the play is problematic and a series of misunderstandings arises from her lack of social education, Gilbert proves himself to be prolific in social criticism and masterful, almost latent, considerations regarding the gender-based roles and their social construction. In her second contribution to this volume ("The Ovidian and Alfierian Myrrha as an Odalisque in Lord Byron's *Sardanapalus*: Transformations and a Play of Identities"), Stamatia Kitsou investigates the presence of the Ovidian myth of Cinyras and Myrrha in Lord Byron's tragedy *Sardanapalus*. She argues that for the formation of Myrrha's dramatic persona, Byron takes into account the Ovidian Myrrha (*met.* 10.298-502) and mainly the protagonist of the pre-Romantic tragedy of Vittorio Alfieri, *Mirra*; thus, he creates a play of mutual transformations and conflicting identities, while maintaining the core of his classical models.

Part 3, entitled "Numismatic and Archaeological Evidence", includes three studies. In the first of them, Daniele Castrizio ("A Coin Series with Capricorn and Scorpion from Cyprus") deals, from an iconographic point of view, with an emission of bronze coins generally attributed to the island of Cyprus, and provides elements for a more precise dating of the coin series. Based on the writings of Manilius, this paper provides an interpretation of the importance of the zodiacal signs on ancient coins, and discusses the relationship between the zodiacal sign of Capricorn and the imperial propaganda at the time of Augustus. Next, Antonio Corso ("Pliny, *nat.* 34.81: The Bronze Sculptor Styppax of Cyprus and the *Splanchnoptes*") studies Pliny's inclusion of Styppax and of his bronze statue of the *Splanchnoptes* in his selective catalogue of the most important bronze statues and connects it to the political environment of the Flavian dynasty. Finally, Alessandra Bravi's article ("An Excellent Foreigner: Titus at the Sanctuary of the Paphian Aphrodite") sheds new light on the visit paid by Titus to the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphos. Based on the archaeological data, she reconstructs the site as it looked at the time of the visit of Titus, and suggests a link between the sanctuary at Paphos and the *Templum Pacis*, inaugurated by the Flavians, where Venus has her own space. She concludes that the great eastern goddess Aphrodite/Isis/Astarte was the primary legitimacy of the *imperium* of the Flavians, since her oracle was needed to a plebeian family which could not claim mythical ancestors.

I would like to express my sincere thanks and gratitude to the Research and Innovation Foundation of Cyprus, which generously supported our research project, to the Department of Classics and Philosophy of the University of Cyprus, which immediately embraced our workshops, to my dear colleagues and collaborators Dr. Stella Alekou, Dr. Despina Keramida and Dr. Stamatia Kitsou for their valuable involvement in the preparation of these events, and, of course, to all the speakers and the participants in these two

workshops, who contributed to their success. Special thanks go to Stefano Rocchi, the Director of the series *The Seeds of Triptolemus*, who supported the preparation of the manuscript with his help and advice, as well as to our publisher, Dr. Zaira Maranelli, and to Dr. Marco Filippi, at Deinotera Editrice, for their assistance and patience. I also thank the anonymous readers for their invaluable comments and suggestions which helped to improve the quality of the volume.

*Nicosia, July 2022*

PART 2  
THE CYPRIOT MYTHS IN OVID AND BEYOND





## PYGMALION'S INSPIRATION AND PYGMALION AS INSPIRATION

*Sophia Papaioannou*

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According to Clifford Geertz, art is a social phenomenon – an expression of human activity intended to promote cultural (in the broader sense of the term) dialogue, which is essential for the definition of art as such.<sup>1</sup> The motives behind an artistic output are incredibly diverse, and revolve around the preservation of political, cultural, historical, individual etc. memories; or the promotion of political, cultural, historical, individual etc. agendas. As a result, art informs, educates, inspires, activates, empowers, but also delights and relieves.

Ovid's Pygmalion narrative (*met.* 10.243-297) is an intriguing reading of the art phenomenon, because it revises the social dimension of art: Pygmalion creates a magnificent statue of an idealized/ideal woman without any intention to allow third-party access to it: as he keeps his output outside the cultural dialogue, the latter becomes subject only to a contextualization that combines Pygmalion's social experience with Ovid's metapoetic aspirations. This unconventional understanding of art is outstanding in Ovid's epic: no other artist in the Ovidian corpus (Arachne, Orpheus, Daedalus, the Muses and the Pierides, even Marsyas) flees public exposure or produces art for individual consumption and interpretation. Pygmalion's anti-social perception of artistic sociology is beyond the scope of this paper, which focuses instead on the consequences of this isolationism: the appreciation of the statue through Pygmalion's perspective alone. As Ovid projects his narrative voice, creator's hand and assessor's eye onto Pygmalion, we are subtly directed to embrace the artist's overall attitude towards his creation – thus, when Pygmalion's statue eventually comes to life we never doubt the empsychosis (the intervention of a divinity, Venus, in this case, offers salutary service towards making the miraculous seem possible).

<sup>1</sup> GEERTZ 1976, one of the central texts where Clifford Geertz articulated his ideas about art, suggests an understanding of art as a social phenomenon and gives a social anthropological account of the aesthetic experience. Geertz proposes to view a work of art as a symbolical expression of the significant experience of its creator, not as a closed sign system that follows a prescribed logic (structuralistic perspective of art), or studies art as a means to maintain established institutions of culture (functionalistic understanding of art). A socially meaningful artistic expression presupposes a work that contains a set of symbols that are culturally determined, and presupposes an artist and an audience that are able to recognize these symbols.

The happy-end (for Pygmalion) closure to this extraordinary story of unwitnessed creation is only the last (and least important, in my view) part of a story that develops around the ongoing blurring of the boundaries between art and nature. On this binary, which is seminal and frequently-occurring in the *Metamorphoses*, I would like to focus the second part of my present examination. I will argue that the blurring of boundaries that distinguish the real from the realistic transfers onto one of the sparse stories of agalmatophilia in ancient mythology<sup>2</sup> the venerable Roman tradition of the aristocratic *imagines*. Prior to turning to Pygmalion's interplay with the socio-political aspects of artistic verisimilitude in the very specific contexts of the ancestors' masks, I shall argue that Pygmalion's ideal female has a compelling ancestor in Hesiod's Pandora.

There is little doubt that Hesiod's entire corpus is dominant in Ovid's subtext throughout.<sup>3</sup> Pandora's story, a prominent episode in Hesiod's account of human decline, offers a compelling intertext for understanding Pygmalion's fascination with the ideal woman, and contextualizes his experience inside Orpheus' song. In short, Pygmalion's ivory maiden is Ovid's reception of the Hesiodic Pandora. Both are drawn together by the obvious fact that they comprise an ideal expression of 'womanufacture' (as defined in SHARROCK 1991; see below). This proximity is amplified by the juxtaposition that underwrites the reason behind their creation: Pandora is meant to be a punishment – the catalyst to bring about the *beginning* of the fall of *man* from an original quasi-divine existence. The anonymous ivory maiden, on the contrary, is created to signal the *end* of the fall of the *female* race (though, eventually, the plight of the maiden's granddaughter Myrrha belies soundly this expectation). Pygmalion's artistic creativity was triggered by the Propoetides, or, more correctly, by his equating all women in his social sur-

<sup>2</sup> Contrary to the numerous stories of agalmatophilia populating the text of the Imperial and Late Antique authors (see recently O'BRYHIM 2015, which argues that these tales had been invented and disseminated for practical – financial – purposes: to attract tourists to cities that possessed alluring statues), Greek mythology accounts for only three stories, those of Laodamia, Alcestis, and Pygmalion, where statues are substituted for spouses. The ancient sources on these myths are recorded in O'BRYHIM 2015, 419 n. 1, and the more important among them include: Laodamia: Apollod. *Epit.* 3.30 and Hyg. *fab.* 103-104; Alcestis: Eur. *Alc.* 348-354; Pygmalion: (prior to Ovid) Philosteph. *Hist. fr.* 13 Müller (FHG III, p. 31), summarized by Clement (*Protr.* 4.57.3) and Arnobius (6.22).

<sup>3</sup> The most recent thorough treatment of Ovid's reception of Hesiod is ZIOGAS 2013, which nonetheless focusing as it is on the *Catalogue of Women* does not identify the reception of either Prometheus or Pandora in the Ovidian corpus. The reception of Hesiod in *met.* 1 and 15 (Pythagoras' speech) in VAN NOORDEN 2014, is focused on the Myth of the Ages, and does not treat Pandora.

roundings with the Propoetides, the daughters of Propoetus from Amathus of Cyprus, who denied that Venus was a goddess and as a result were punished to become the first public prostitutes. The story is essentially the prelude to Pygmalion's own (*met.* 10.238-242). Notably, the rejection of all women of Amathus as ideological kin to the Propoetides does not rule the latter's experience from serving as source of inspiration. Further, the transformation from prostitute to stone (an inanimate matter) seems almost self-evident (242: *in rigidum parvo silicem discrimine versae*, "and only a small change turns them into hard flint-stone"), implying that it takes effort to slide from virtuous woman to prostitute, and once this fall has been completed it is similarly arduous for such a fallen woman to recover her original unblemished identity. Pygmalion's endeavour disproves this. This reversal is effected again thanks to Venus' intervention, who this time rewards the *man's piety* by retracting, in a way, the punishment she had inflicted on account of the *women's impiety*. Pygmalion's ivory maiden comes to prove that women may be both fair in appearance and good in mind and heart – contrary to the Propoetides, who are beautiful but wicked (and as a result, Ovid implies, are deprived of their beauty, as well, in their new form).

Also, Pygmalion's initiative tellingly conveys his belief that nature, that is human-born women, who descend from Pandora, are without exception flawed: they carry vices which "nature has bestowed in abundance on their mind" (*met.* 10.244-245: *quae plurima menti / femineae natura dedit*). Pygmalion, in a way, seems to operate in the context of Augustan elegy – that the ideal woman is only the project of culture or art, not nature. The concept has been captured by Alison Sharrock who notes that "according to some ancient theories, the ideal of art is to surpass the model of nature and so to realize an ideal beauty ... Art is pure and perfect; only art can produce the perfect woman".<sup>4</sup> Along this line of perfection and stark juxtaposition at once, Pygmalion consciously constructs his maiden in contrast to the Propoetides even physically: he chooses to carve his statue from "snowy ivory" (249) – this detail is not realistic: ivory has a slight tint of yellow or cream. The snow-white colour implies purity and innocence, while makes starker the contrast to the dark colour of the stone, the material that replaced the flesh of the Propoetides after their forced transformation – darkness points to evil.<sup>5</sup>

Intriguingly, the first "wicked beauty" (or "beautiful evil"), Pandora, memorably labelled as such by Hesiod, originally in *Tb.* 585 (τεῦξε καλὸν κακὸν ἄντ' ἀγαθοῖο, "he [Hephaestus at Zeus' orders] created a beautiful evil

<sup>4</sup> SHARROCK 1991, 38.

<sup>5</sup> The chromatic juxtaposition between the ivory maiden and the Propoetides as culturally determined has been briefly discussed in BLOOM 2003, 58.

instead of something truly good”), was similarly a creation. Exuding sexuality is part of this wickedness: Pandora, like the Propoetides, is designed to arouse sexual desire (see, e.g., *Works and Days* 66). The description in the *Theogony* (*Th.* 585-616) emphasizes the process of creation and the beauty of Pandora. Also, Hesiod does not refer explicitly to Pandora’s wickedness of character, nor does he explain why Pandora is a *κακόν*. Her wickedness is her very existence among men, that is the race of males that comprise humanity, came out *ex nihilo*, and are not haunted by death and diseases until Pandora’s arrival.<sup>6</sup> The story with the jar of evils appears for the first time in the *Works and Days*, where Pandora’s creation receives more detailed treatment:

«Ἰαπετιονίδη, [...]
 τοῖς δ’ ἐγὼ ἀντὶ πυρὸς δῶσω κ α κ ό ν, ᾧ κεν ἅπαντες
 τέρπωνται κατὰ θυμὸν ἐόν κ α κ ό ν ἀμφιαγᾶπώντες.»
 Ὡς ἔφατ’, ἐκ δ’ ἐγέλασσε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε·
 Ἥφαιστον δ’ ἐκέλευσε περικλυτὸν ὅττι τάχιστα 60
 γαῖαν ὕδει φύρειν, ἐν δ’ ἀ ν θ ρ ώ π ο υ θέμεν α ὕ δ ῆ ν
 καὶ σθένος, ἀθανάτης δὲ θεῆς εἰς ὧπα εἰσκειν
 παρθενικῆς κ α λ ό ν εἶδος ἐπήρατον· αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνην
 ἔργα διδασκῆσαι, πολυδαίδαλον ἰστὸν ὑφαίνειν·
 καὶ χάριν ἀμφιχέαι κεφαλῇ χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην 65
 καὶ πόθον ἀργαλέον καὶ γυιοβόρους μελεδῶνας·
 ἐν δὲ θέμεν κ ὕ ν ε ό ν τ ε ν ό ο ν καὶ ἐ π ί κ λ ο -
 -π ο ν ἧ θ ο ς
 Ἑρμείην ἦνωγε διάκτορον Ἀργειφόντην.
 Ὡς ἔφαθ’, οἱ δ’ ἐπίθοντο Διὶ Κρονίωνι ἄνακτι.
 αὐτίκα δ’ ἐκ γαίης πλάσσε κλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις 70
 παρθένω αἰδοίῃ ἴκελον Κρονίδεω διὰ βουλάς·
 ζῶσε δὲ καὶ κόσμησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·
 ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ Χάριτές τε θεαὶ καὶ πότνια Πειθῶ
 ὄρμους χρυσεῖους ἔθεσαν χροῖ, ἀμφὶ δὲ τήν γε
 Ὡραι καλλίκομοι στέφον ἄνθεσι εἰαρινοῖσιν· 75

<sup>6</sup> My reading of Pandora as an artificial, evil woman built by Hephaestus and sent to Earth on the orders of Zeus to infiltrate the human (male) race and punish them for discovering fire, has been influenced by Mayor’s understanding of Pandora as an artificial intelligent agent with sole mission the punishment of the humans (MAYOR 2018, 156-178). Mayor actually compares Pygmalion’s relationship to the ivory maiden to Prometheus’ concern for humans (pp. 105-132), but she explicitly brings the ivory maiden and Pandora side-by-side (p. 158), where she *verbatim* quotes STEINER 2001, 191 n. 25: “Like Pygmalion’s ivory virgin, ‘the manufactured Pandora’ surpasses the beauty of any mortal woman ever born. Hesiod’s descriptions make it clear that Pandora is not a real woman but a ‘constructed thing’”.

πάντα δέ οἱ χροῖ κόσμον ἐφήρμοσε Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη·  
 ἐν δ' ἄρα οἱ στήθεσσι διάκτορος Ἀργειφόντης  
 ψεῦδεά θ' αἰμυλίουσ τε λόγους καὶ  
 ἐπικλοπον ἦθος  
 τεύξε Διὸς βουλῆσι βαρυκτύπου· ἐν δ' ἄρα φωνήν  
 θῆκε θεῶν κῆρυξ, ὀνόμηγε δὲ τήνδε γυναῖκα 80  
Πανδώρην, ὅτι πάντες Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες  
δῶρον ἐδώρησαν, πῆ μ' ἀνδράσιν ἀλφηστῆσιν.

(Hesiod, *Works and Days* 54; 57-82)

“Son of Iapetos, ...  
 To make up for the fire, I will give them an evil thing,  
 in which they may all  
 take their delight in their hearts, embracing this evil  
 thing of their own making.”  
 Thus spoke the father of men and gods, and he  
 laughed out loud.  
 Then he ordered Hephaestus, renowned all over, to 60  
 shape  
 some wet clay as soon as possible, and to put into it a  
 human voice  
 and strength, and to make it look like the immortal  
 goddesses,  
 with the beautiful and lovely appearance of a virgin.  
 And he ordered Athena  
 to teach her own craft to her, weaving a very intricate  
 web.  
 And he ordered Aphrodite to shed golden charm over 65  
 her head;  
 also harsh longing, and anxieties that eat away at the  
 limbs.  
 And he ordered Hermes, the messenger and Argos-  
 killer,  
 to put inside her an intent that is doglike and a tem-  
 perament that is stealthy.  
 Zeus spoke, and the gods obeyed the Lord Son of  
 Kronos.  
 Right away the famed Lamé One shaped out of the 70  
 clay of the Earth  
 something that looked like a comely virgin – all on  
 account of the will of Zeus, son of Kronos.  
 Athena dressed her and tied her girdle, adorning her.

And the goddesses who are named Graces [*Kharites*], as  
 well as the Lady Persuasion,  
 placed golden necklaces on its skin, and the *Hōrai*,  
 with their beautiful hair, plaited springtime garlands 75  
 around her head.  
 Pallas Athena placed on her skin every manner of  
 ornament [*kosmos*].  
 And within her breast the messenger and Argos-killer  
 fashioned  
 falsehoods [*pseudea*], crafty words, and a stealthy  
 disposition,  
 according to the plans of Zeus the loud-thunderer.  
 And the messenger of the gods,  
 put inside her a voice, and he called this woman 80  
 Pandōrā, because all the gods who abide in Olympus  
 gave her as a gift [*dōron*], a pain for grain-eating men.  
 (transl. NAGY 2019)

The recurrence of diction underscoring the wicked nature of the first woman is noted in distinctly expanded print. In addition to calling Pandora specifically an “evil”, *κακόν* (3 times) and a “peril”, *πήμα* (1 time, at l. 82), Hesiod five times refers to the wicked character of the woman (2 times with the phrase *ἐπικλοπον ἦθος*), and her bitchy mind (1 time, *κύνεόν τε νόον*) and speech that is deceiving and cunning (2 times, *ψεύδεά θ’ αἰμυλίους τε λόγους*). Pointedly, Hesiod’s Pandora has the faculty of speech (*φωνήν*), given to her by Hermes (79-80); earlier at l. 61, the (human) voice (*ἀνθρώπου ... αὐδή*) is given to her by Hephaestus. This is what makes her *κακόν* for men; wicked thinking does not necessarily cause damage unless the latter is verbalized and communicated, either by acting or by treacherous speech.<sup>7</sup>

Pygmalion’s creation is the perfect ‘anti-Pandora’ precisely because it is deprived of the ability to think and speak. When Pygmalion prays to Venus and asks for his statue to become a woman, he carefully phrases his wish in language that verbalizes a false desire for a woman that is exactly like his statue, though he truly desires only the animation of his very statue (*met.* 10.275-276: “... *sit coniunx, opto,*” *non ausus “eburnea virgo” / dicere, Pygmalion*

<sup>7</sup> And the quality of voice is exactly what differentiates Pandora in the *Works and Days* from her mute counterpart in the *Theogony*; it is also worth noting that the mute fabricated woman of the *Theogony* is nameless; she acquires name (l. 81) in the *Works and Days* at the same time she acquires a voice (l. 80), while the mute fabrication of a female in the *Theogony* remains nameless; see WICKKISER 2010, which sees the juxtaposing portraits of the fabricated first woman as juxtaposing representation of visual image or art vs. verbal image or poetry.

“*similis mea*” dixit “*eburnae*”). His wish does not communicate the belief that his creation is unique and impossible to replicate (gods can do everything, after all), but his fear of receiving a Pandora-like woman, a gift from the gods, but one beyond his own control – a Pandora look-alike and think-alike. Markedly, at the end of the story, when the maiden does come to life, she is reported to see and feel, but not to think or speak. The complete dependence of this woman from her husband/creator, who comes to occupy her entire worldview when she, newly animated, opens her eyes, is part of the ‘happy’, so to speak, conclusion to the story.

The dialogue between the Hesiodic Pandora and Pygmalion’s episode (*met.* 10.243-297) is obvious in the language of the Latin narrative. The passage from Ovid’s text describing the creation of the ivory maiden runs as follows:

Interea niveum mira feliciter arte  
 sculpsit ebur formamque dedit, qua femina nasci  
 nulla potest, operisque sui concepit amorem.  
 virginis est verae facies, quam vivere credas, 250  
 et, si non obstat reverentia, velle moveri:  
 ars adeo latet arte sua. miratur et haurit  
 pectore Pygmalion simulati corporis ignes.  
 saepe manus operi temptantes admovet, an sit  
 corpus an illud ebur, nec adhuc ebur esse fatetur. 255  
 oscula dat reddique putat loquiturque tenetque  
 et credit tactis digitos insidere membris  
 et metuit, pressos veniat ne livor in artus,  
 et modo blanditias adhibet, modo grata puellis  
munera fert illi conchas teretesque lapillos 260  
 et parvas volucres et flores mille colorum  
 liliaque pictasque pilas et ab arbore lapsas  
 Heliadum lacrimas; ornat quoque vestibus artus,  
dat digitis gemmas, dat longa monilia collo,  
 aure leves bacae, redimicula pectore pendent: 265  
cuncta decent; nec nuda minus formosa videtur.  
 conlocat hanc stratis concha Sidonide tinctis  
 adpellatque tori sociam adclinataque colla  
 mollibus in plumis, tamquam sensura, reponit.  
 (*met.* 10.247-269)

But, with wonderful skill, he carved a figure, brilliantly, out of snow-white ivory, no mortal woman, and fell in love with his own creation. The features are those of a real girl, who, you might think, lived, and wished to move, if



modesty did not forbid it. Indeed, art hides his art. He marvels: and passion, for this bodily image, consumes his heart. Often, he runs his hands over the work, tempted as to whether it is flesh or ivory, not admitting it to be ivory. He kisses it and thinks his kisses are returned; and speaks to it; and holds it, and imagines that his fingers press into the limbs, and is afraid lest bruises appear from the pressure. Now he addresses it with compliments, now brings it gifts that please girls, shells and polished pebbles, little birds, and many-colored flowers, lilies and tinted beads, and the Heliades' amber tears, that drip from the trees. He dresses the body, also, in clothing; places rings on the fingers; places a long necklace round its neck; pearls hang from the ears, and cinctures round the breasts. All are fitting: but it appears no less lovely, naked. He arranges the statue on a bed on which cloths dyed with Tyrian murex are spread, and calls it his bedfellow, and rests its neck against soft down, as if it could feel. (transl. KLINE 2000)

The ornamentation process in both cases is very similar: *παρθένω αἰδοίῃ ἵκελον* (71) ~ *virginis est verae facies* (250); *ζῶσε δὲ καὶ κόσμησε* (72) ~ *ornat quoque vestibus artus* (263); *ὄρμους χρυσεῖους ἔθεσαν χροῖ ἄμφι δὲ τὴν γε / ὼραι καλλίκομοι στέφον ἄνθεσι εἰαρινοῖσιν / πάντα δὲ οἱ χροῖ κόσμον ἐφήρμοσε Πάλλας Ἀθήνη* (74-76) ~ *dat digitis gemmas, dat longa monilia collo, / aure leves baccae, redimicula pectore pendent* (264-265). It is worth noting, no less, that Ovid's description includes recurrent diction of giving, which echoes the etymology of Pandora's name: *formam de dit* (248); *oscula dat* (256); *munera fert illi* (260); *dat ... gemmas* (264); *dat ... monilia* (264); *cum munere functus* (273); *dare cuncta potestis* (274); *de dit oscula* (281); while on one occasion Ovid's diction transcribes in Latin the full Greek etymology of the name (all-gifts/giving): *dare cuncta potestis* (274), a phrase that is part of the hero's prayer to Venus and crafts a clever wordplay on the ability of the gods at once to grant every wish and create a Pandora; cf. also *cuncta decent* (266).

In the second part of my paper I shall argue that the creation of Pygmalion's ivory maiden-ideal woman is inspired by the way in which Roman intellectuals, both in the Republican and the Early Imperial period, perceive art in its specific mission to replace (note: not replicate) nature—even though Pygmalion's inspiration leads to a perverse understanding of art and its mission. As noted at the beginning of this paper, art is a project of society and as such is meant to be interpreted inside social context. Artists draw inspiration from the culture they partake of, and through their creations offer

personal interpretation of the situations that inspire these works. Through these interpretations they make statements on social issues or facilitate the formation of social expression. Pygmalion contextualizes his artwork inside his own experience with society and his interpretation thereof, which is determined by his emotional need to find a female consort that meets certain standards. In order to achieve this, he blurs the boundaries between reality and art, and makes himself to fall in love with the fabricated woman he created. Love blurs the real and the make-belief: it makes him believe that he touches real flesh, rather than ivory, that “his kisses are returned” and “his fingers press into limbs” (256-257: *oscula dat reddique putat loquiturque tenetque / et credit tactis digitos insidere membris*).<sup>8</sup> At the same time, Pygmalion is fully aware that his statue is lifeless – his prayer to Venus is telling of this awareness. He is a representative case of the creator who fails to acknowledge that art cannot and does not mean to replicate nature but only to interpret it, because he sees his work as an extension of himself – a vital part of his own existence.

Pygmalion’s experience acquires meaning in the context of a set of stories about artists obsessed with verisimilitude, a situation repeatedly attested in the Late Hellenistic and Early Imperial periods. One such case is that of the painter Protogenes from Caunus.<sup>9</sup> His own emotional attachment to his artwork is described in detail by Pliny as one of the cases of artists who pursued perfect realism with obsessive persistence.<sup>10</sup> Protogenes was obsessed with the creation of artistic representations that were so close to their natural models that could pass for real. Pliny’s account of Protogenes’ effort to achieve perfect realism during the creation of his famous painting entitled *Iabysos*, is enlightening to this end. One of the images depicted on this work was a dog with foam at the mouth. Pliny reports that Protogenes attempted again and again to depict the foaming mouth, but no matter how hard he tried he failed to make the foam look real:

displcebat autem ars ipsa: nec minui poterat et videbatur nimia ac longius a veritate discedere, spumaque pingi, non ex ore nasci. Anxio animi cruciatu, cum in pictura verum esse, non verisimile vellet, absterserat saepius mutaveratque penicillum, nullo modo sibi adprobans. Postremo iratus arti, quod intellexeretur, spongeam inpegit in viso loco

<sup>8</sup> ELSNER 2007, 113-131 reads Pygmalion as an artist/viewer creating the real through his desire.

<sup>9</sup> The association of Pygmalion and Protogenes is made explicitly in D’ANGELO 2018, 42 ff.

<sup>10</sup> HOESCH 2006.

tabulae. Et illa reposuit ablatos colores qualiter cura optaverat, fecitque in pictura fortuna naturam. (*nat.* 35.103)

But the actual art [*ars ipsa*] as displayed displeased him, nor was he able to diminish it, and he thought it was excessive and departed too far from reality [*longius a veritate*] – the foam appeared to be painted, not to be the natural product of the animal's mouth; vexed and tormented, as he wanted his picture to contain the truth [*verum*] and not merely a near-truth [*verisimile*], he had several times rubbed off the paint and used another brush, quite unable to satisfy himself. Finally he fell into a rage with his art because it was perceptible [*scil.* the spectator could understand that they looked at a painting, not a real dog], and dashed a sponge against the place in the picture that offended him, and the sponge restored the colours he had removed, in the way that his anxiety had wished them to appear, and chance produced the effect of nature in the picture! (transl. RACKHAM 1952, with minor alterations).

The above passage comments on the same issues that preoccupy Ovid in the Pygmalion episode. The erasure of the boundaries that separate art from nature requires skill so exquisite as to give the impression that art is so close to nature that the viewer ignores art itself. Pliny does not really say that a work of art may come to life. Rather, he rationalizes this concept by pointing out that a gifted artist may create works so successful, that whoever studies them may believe that they see before them something real, not a lifeless representation.

The latter realization leads me to my second point: the philosophy behind the distinction between art and nature, or rather the studied erasure of the boundaries between the two in such a way as to both maintain awareness that art is art and believe that art is nature, governs the Roman ritual of the parade of the ancestor masks, the *penates*, the culmination of a Roman aristocratic funeral.<sup>11</sup> Those realistic masks were not intended to be evaluated as works of art, and as such, to depict precisely the physiognomies of the deceased ancestors, but were to trigger recollection of the deceased's memory. This memory comprised foremost each ancestor's eminent, widely-known accomplishments. The masks were paraded each time a member of the family died, during the funeral ceremony. They represented the most distinguished part of the relatives in the funeral procession. The parade was literally a performance because actors were hired to wear the deceased ancestors' masks. The

<sup>11</sup> On the specific context of the Roman aristocratic funeral see FLOWER 1996, 91-127.

actors had body types similar to those of the ancestors they supposedly brought to life, thus the ancestors were present and visible during the funeral procession (see the detailed description of the *pompa funebris* recorded in Polybius and discussed below). The importance of this custom for uplifting Roman patriotism is noted repeatedly in historical literature. In his introduction to *Bellum Iugurthinum*, Sallust notes:

Nam saepe ego audivi Q. Maximum, P. Scipionem, praeterea civitatis nostrae praeclaros viros solitos ita dicere, cum maiorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissime sibi animum ad virtutem accendi. Scilicet non ceram illam neque figuram tantam vim in sese habere, sed memoria rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere neque prius sedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adaequaverit. (*Iug.* 4.5-6)

I have repeatedly heard that Quintus Maximus, Publius Scipio, and other illustrious men of our commonwealth used to say that their souls were set aflame with great passion for the pursuit of virtue whenever they stared at the masks of their ancestors. Of course they did not mean to imply that the wax or the image (*figura*) had any such power over them, but rather that it is the memory of great deeds that kindles the breasts of eminent men this flame that cannot be quelled until they, by their own virtue, have acquired fame and glory that equals that of their deceased ancestors. (transl. ROLFE 21931, with modifications)

The Greek historian Polybius provides the most detailed description of what took place during these funeral processions<sup>12</sup> – an extraordinary event that required approval from the *aediles*.<sup>13</sup>

“Όταν γὰρ μεταλλάξῃ τις παρ’ αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν, συντελουμένης τῆς ἐκφορᾶς κομίζεται μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ κόσμου πρὸς τοὺς καλουμένους ἐμβόλους εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ποτὲ μὲν ἐστὼς ἐναργής, σπανίως δὲ κατακεκλιμένος. περίξ δὲ παντὸς τοῦ δήμου στάντος, ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους, ἂν μὲν υἱὸς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καταλείπηται καὶ τύχη παρῶν, οὗτος, εἰ δὲ μή, τῶν ἄλλων εἴ τις ἀπὸ γένους ὑπάρχει, λέγει περὶ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος τὰς ἀρετὰς

<sup>12</sup> For an excellent recent analysis and illustration of the *pompa funebris* in the spatial context of the Roman forum, see FAVRO / JOHANSON 2010.

<sup>13</sup> Dion. Hal. 9.54.5; see BLÖSEL 2003, 54-55.

καὶ τὰς ἐπιτετευγμένας ἐν τῷ ζῆν πράξεις. δι' ὧν συμβαίνει τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀναμιμνησκομένους καὶ λαμβάνοντας ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν τὰ γεγονότα, μὴ μόνον τοὺς κεκοινωνηκότας τῶν ἔργων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκτός, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γίνεσθαι συμπαθεῖς ὥστε μὴ τῶν κηδευόντων ἴδιον, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν τοῦ δήμου φαίνεσθαι τὸ σύμπτωμα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θάψαντες καὶ ποιήσαντες τὰ νομιζόμενα τιθέασιν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ μεταλλάξαντος εἰς τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τόπον τῆς οἰκίας, ξύλινα ναΐδια περιτιθέντες. ἡ δ' εἰκὼν ἐστὶ πρόσωπον εἰς ὁμοιότητα διαφερόντως ἐξειργασμένον καὶ κατὰ τὴν πλάσιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑπογραφὴν. ταύτας δὴ τὰς εἰκόνας ἐν τε ταῖς δημοτελέσι θυσίαις ἀνοίγοντες κοσμοῦσι φιλοτίμως, ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκείων μεταλλάξει τις ἐπιφανής, ἄγουσιν εἰς τὴν ἐκφορὰν, περιτιθέντες ὡς ὁμοιοτάτοις εἶναι δοκοῦσι κατὰ τε τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην περικοπὴν. οὗτοι δὲ προσαναλαμβάνουσιν ἐσθήτας, ἐὰν μὲν ὑπατος ἢ στρατηγὸς ἢ γεγενητός, περιπορφύρους, ἐὰν δὲ τιμητὴς, πορφυράς, ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τεθριαμβευκῶς ἢ τι τοιοῦτον κατειργασμένος, διαχρύσους. αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐφ' ἀρμάτων οὗτοι πορεύονται, ῥάβδοι δὲ καὶ πελέκεις καὶ ἄλλα τὰ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἰωθότα συμπαρακεῖσθαι προηγείται κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκάστῳ τῆς γεγενημένης κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ προαγωγῆς ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους ἔλθωσι, καθέζονται πάντες ἐξῆς ἐπὶ δίφρων ἐλεφαντίνων. οὐ κάλλιον οὐκ εὐμαρὲς ἰδεῖν θέαμα νέω φιλοδόξῳ καὶ φιλαγάθῳ· τὸ γὰρ τὰς τῶν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ δεδοξασμένων ἀνδρῶν εἰκόνας ἰδεῖν ὁμοῦ πάσας οἷον εἰ ζώσας καὶ πεπνυμένας τίν' οὐκ ἂν παραστήσαι; τί δ' ἂν κάλλιον θέαμα τούτου φανείη; πλὴν ὃ γε λέγων ὑπὲρ τοῦ θάπτεσθαι μέλλοντος, ἐπὶ διέλθῃ τὸν περὶ τούτου λόγον, ἀρχεται τῶν ἄλλων ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγεστάτου τῶν παρόντων, καὶ λέγει τὰς ἐπιτυχίας ἐκάστου καὶ τὰς πράξεις. ἐξ ὧν καινοποιουμένης αἰετῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς ἐπ' ἀρετῇ φήμης ἀθανατίζεται μὲν ἢ τῶν καλόν τι διαπραξαμένων εὐκλεία, γνῶριμος δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ παραδόσιμος τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις ἢ τῶν εὐεργετησάντων τὴν πατρίδα γίνεται δόξα. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, οἱ νέοι παρορμῶνται πρὸς τὸ πᾶν ὑπομένειν ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων χάριν τοῦ τυχεῖν τῆς συνακολουθούσης τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν εὐκλείας. πίστιν δ' ἔχει τὸ λεγόμενον ἐκ τούτων. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐμονομάχησαν ἐκουσίως Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ὅλων κρίσεως, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ προδήλους εἶλοντο θανάτους, τινὲς μὲν ἐν πολέμῳ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἔνεκεν σωτηρίας, τινὲς δ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ χάριν τῆς τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων ἀσφαλείας. καὶ μὴν ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες ἔνιοι τοὺς ἰδίους

υἱὸς παρὰ πᾶν ἔθος ἢ νόμον ἀπέκτειναν, περὶ πλείονος ποιούμενοι τὸ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέρον τῆς κατὰ φύσιν οἰκειότητος πρὸς τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἱστορεῖται παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐν δ' ἄρκοῦν ἔσται πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἐπ' ὀνόματος ῥηθὲν ὑποδείγματος καὶ πίστεως ἔνεκεν. (Plb. 6.53.1-54.3)

Whenever any illustrious man dies, he is carried at his funeral into the forum to the so-called *rostra*, sometimes conspicuous in an upright posture and more rarely reclined. Here, with all the people standing round, a grown-up son if he has left one who happens to be present, or if not some other relative, mounts the *rostra* and discourses on the virtues and successful achievements of the dead man during his lifetime. As a consequence, the multitude, and not only those who had a part in these achievements but those also who had none, when the facts are recalled to their minds and brought before their eyes, are moved to such sympathy that the loss seems to be not confined to the mourners, but a public one affecting the whole people. Next, after the interment and the performance of the usual ceremonies, they place the image of the departed in the most conspicuous position in the house, enclosed in a wooden shrine. This image is a mask reproducing him with remarkable fidelity both in its modelling and in the complexion of the deceased. On the occasion of public sacrifices, they display these images, and decorate them with much care; when any distinguished member of the family dies, they take the images to the funeral, putting them on men who seem to them to bear the closest resemblance to the original in stature and carriage. These representatives wear togas, with a purple border if the deceased was a consul or praetor, whole purple if he was a censor, and embroidered with gold if he had celebrated a triumph or achieved anything similar. They all ride in chariots preceded by the fasces, axes, and other insignia by which the different magistrates are wont to be accompanied according to the respective dignity of the honors held by each during his life; and when they arrive at the *rostra* they all seat themselves in a row on ivory chairs. There could not easily be a more ennobling spectacle for a young man who aspires to fame and virtue. For who would not be inspired by the sight of the images of men renowned for their excellence, all together and as if alive and breathing? What spectacle

could be more glorious than this? Besides, he who makes the oration over the man about to be buried, when he has finished speaking of him recounts the successes and exploits of the rest whose images are present, beginning from the most ancient. By this means, by this constant renewal of the good report of brave men, the celebrity of those who performed noble deeds is rendered immortal, while at the same time the fame of those who did good service to their country becomes known to the people and a heritage for future generations. But the most important result is that young men are thus inspired to endure every suffering for the public welfare in the hope of winning the glory that attends on brave men. (transl. PATON / WALBANK / HABICHT 2011, modified).<sup>14</sup>

Polybius discusses in detail the realistic effect communicated by the parading *imagines*.<sup>15</sup> He, too, believes that the ancestors may be revived through their masks, though nobody doubts that they are looking at effigies, not at the real heroes of the past.<sup>16</sup> He additionally pays particular attention to the elaboration of the reanimation experience, and argues that the realistic depiction of individual facial characteristics does not suffice to revive an ancestor (and their respective deeds), but rather, the animation of the face through mask-wearing should be accompanied by animation of the body through proper acting. Acting involves the coordination of appropriate movement of the body. The closer to the body type of the deceased ancestor the actor who embodied him, the more verisimilar hence successful the revival act (ταύτας δὴ τὰς εἰκόνας ... ἄγουσιν εἰς τὴν ἐκφορὰν, περιτιθέντες ὡς ὁμοιοτάτοις εἶναι δοκοῦσι κατὰ τε τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην περικοπὴν).

The leading objective behind the theatricality of the ancestors' parade was the awakening of the spectators' historical memory. The latter, especially the younger in their midst, were to review the part in the masks of the

<sup>14</sup> On this episode, see FLAIG 1995; FLOWER 1996; HÖLKESKAMP 1996, 320-323; BLÖSEL 2003; FLAIG 2003; WALTER 2003, 260-268; WALTER 2004, 89-108; HÖLKESKAMP 2017, *passim*; HÖLKESKAMP 2020, 72-85 (with the latest literature).

<sup>15</sup> For a comprehensive collection of the ancient sources on the parade of the *imagines* in a *pompa funebris* see FLOWER 1996, 185-222.

<sup>16</sup> The shape and form of the *imagines maiorum* have been controversial for a long time. In addition to Polybius, other sources include Plin. *nat.* 35.4-14, esp. 6, and Tac. *ann.* 2.73.1; 3.5; 3.76; 4.9.2, but it is still unclear whether the *imagines* were made directly from an impression of the individual's face (using wax or clay) or were copied (in clay) from a sculpture. For an overview of the main research problems see KIERDORF 1980 and BLOME 2001. The most comprehensive analysis of the problem is provided by FLOWER 1996, 32-59, who assumes lifelike wax masks.

ancestors: each mask is a *signum*, a sign tied to a set of specific memories, namely, the deeds of the deceased hero revived through the given mask. The recollection of the ancestor's memory automatically triggered the recollection of the Roman deeds carried through by the deceased, the Roman virtues he embodied and exemplified, those aspects of the glorious Roman past associated with the deceased's actual performance. The 'presence' of the ancestors was in itself impressive and was further heightened by the funeral speech, which set out and praised their deeds and virtues, effectively enumerating and elaborating on the symbolic capital of a family.

For Polybius, the ancestors come back to life during the funeral ceremony of their descendent soon to join them, and they are considered to be present through their verisimilar representations, which nonetheless nobody mistakes them for real. The same attitude is reflected in Pygmalion's relationship to the ivory maiden: even though he knows that it is an effigy, he behaves towards it as if she were a living maiden.

Both Pliny and Polybius approach the *imagines* as an expression of ancestral art and also as a symbol of aristocratic prestige, evidenced by their display in the atrium. Pliny in particular sharply juxtaposes the *imagines*, which primarily exist to commemorate and inspire, to the Greek-style statues, so popular with his contemporaries, which nonetheless serve to offer primarily aesthetic delight (*nat.* 35.6). This delight is an exclusive and personalized experience, peculiar to each viewer. The experience of delight may elicit additional recollections, but these recollections are peculiar to each viewer, contrary to the recollections elicited by the *imagines*. The waxen *imago* in Pliny's understanding – and in the understanding of the Romans, since the use of the *imagines*, according to Polybius, was a peculiarly Roman tradition –,<sup>17</sup> is a signifier that always carries some specific signified. This reading of the *imagines* is subtly corrected in Sallust *Iug.* 4.5-6, where it is noted that it is not the *imagines* themselves ("not the wax nor the sculpting") but "the recording of history" that excites and inspires the youth.

To conclude, for Ovid's Roman audience Pygmalion's complex relationship with his statue builds on two different cultural traditions that share very little in common. On the one hand, it is informed by the Pandora myth and its cosmogonical consequences – the fall of man and the origin of woman, and the latter as the cause of the former – thus proving another intelligent interaction with the Hesiodic tradition and in particular with one of the most celebrated myths of the Hesiodic corpus. On the other hand, the confusion between verisimilar and true, and the eventual transformation of the former

<sup>17</sup> FLOWER 1996, 91.



into the latter, strike a familiar chord with the Roman ideology of the ancestors' masks and the custom of their parading at aristocratic funerals – the most celebrated, commonly acknowledged employment of the verisimilar (the wax effigy of the dead ancestor) to stand for, and concentrate on the individuality and the symbolism of, the truth (the form, but also the character and the accomplishments of the actual ancestor). In this *Kreuzung* of traditions, Ovid masterfully appropriates and improves on the archaic epic heritage, inasmuch as ties his embrace to an authentically Roman tradition.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY



## ABBREVIATIONS

ANS = American Numismatic Society.

BMC Greek (Cyprus) = *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, vol. 24: G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyprus*, London 1904.

BMCRE = H. Mattingly *et al.*, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, London 1923-1976.

CNNM = J. Mazard, *Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque*, Paris 1955-1958.

DK = H. Diels, W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, Berlin <sup>6</sup>1952.

EAA = *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Classica e Orientale*, Roma 1958-1997.

ExcCyp = D. G. Hogarth *et al.*, "Excavations in Cyprus, 1887-88. Paphos, Leontari, Amargetti", in: *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 9 (1888) 147-271.

FGrHist = F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin 1923-.

FHG = K. Müller *et al.*, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, Parisiis 1841-1938.

GIC = C. Howgego, *Greek Imperial Countermarks*, London <sup>2</sup>2005 (<sup>1</sup>1985).

IPaphos = J.-B. Cayla, *Les Inscriptions de Paphos: Corpus des inscriptions alphabétiques de Palaipaphos, de Néa Paphos et de la chôra paphienne*, Diss. Univ. Paris-Sorbonne 2003.

IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin 1873-.

IGRom = R. Cagnat, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, Paris 1906-1927.

LEWIS / SHORT = C. T. Lewis, C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1879.

LIMC = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zürich / München 1981-2009.

LSJ = H. Liddell, R. Scott, H. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford <sup>9</sup>1940 (Supplement 1996).

LTUR = E. M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, Roma 1993-2000.

OLD = *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. by P. G. W. Glare, Oxford <sup>2</sup>2012 (<sup>1</sup>1968-1982).

P.Mil.Vogl. = A. Vogliano *et al.*, *Papiri della Università degli Studi di Milano*, Milano 1937-.

P.Oxy. = *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, London 1898-.

RE = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung*, hrsg. von G. Wissowa *et al.*, Stuttgart (then also München and Weimar) 1893-1978 (1980; 1997).

RIC = H. Mattingly *et al.*, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, London 1923-1994.

- RIC<sup>2</sup> = H. Mattingly *et al.*, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, London <sup>2</sup>1984.  
RPC = *Roman Provincial Coinage*, London / Paris 1992-.  
RSC = H. A. Seaby, D. R. Sear, R. Loosley, *Roman Silver Coins*, London 1978-1987.  
SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Lugduni Batavorum 1923-.  
SNG = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, London 1931-.  
ThL = *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, Lipsiae (then also Stutgardiae, Monachii, Berolini, Novi Eboraci, Bostoniae) 1900-.  
VLQ = *Codices Vossiani Latini in Quarto*.

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## INDEX LOCORUM

- Adnotationes super Lucanum*  
 3.164, p. 90 Endt: 19  
 n. 10
- 1449b 24-28: 12 n. 28  
 1450a 16-24: 118 n. 28  
 1450b 8-10: 118 n. 28  
 1453a 3-5: 12 n. 28
- Alfieri, Vittorio
- Mirra*  
 2.2.130: 117  
 2.3.128-129: 117
- Rhetorica*  
 1356a 5-13: 14 n. 34  
 1405b 23: 133 n. 16
- Ammianus Marcellinus  
 14.8.15: 31-32 with n. 50
- Arnobius
- Adversus nationes*  
 5.19.2: 60-61  
 6.6: 155  
 6.22: 76 n. 2
- Anthologia Latina*  
 618.4 Riese: 136 n. 28
- Athenaeus
- Antologia Palatina*  
 7.86-87: 42 n. 49
- 4.174a: 146  
 6.256c-d: 52  
 6.256d: 52 n. 81  
 12.516a-b: 64
- Apollodorus
- Bibliotheca*  
 3.14.3: 66
- Epitome*  
 3.30: 76 n. 2
- Byron, George Gordon
- Sardanapalus*  
 1.1.43: 121  
 1.1.62-66: 120  
 1.2.46: 119  
 1.2.406-407: 120  
 1.2.497-502: 118  
 1.2.537-541: 120-121  
 1.2.641-651: 119  
 1.2.654-656: 119  
 2.1.343: 121  
 2.1.405: 121  
 3.1.397-399: 121  
 4.1.156-158: 121  
 5.1.466-467: 122  
 5.1.487-491: 122
- Apollonius Rhodius  
 3.1068: 68 n. 27
- Appianus
- Bella civilia*  
 2.23: 17, 19 n. 10, 23 n.  
 29, 50
- Aristoteles
- Fragmenta  
 fr. 568 R.: 133 n. 17
- Poetica*

- Caesar  
*Commentarii belli civilis*  
 3.102: 38 n. 33  
 2.27: 30  
 3.69: 28 n. 41  
 3.107: 22
- Cato  
*De agri cultura*  
 51-52: 160 n. 45  
 133: 160 n. 45  
*De oratore*  
 2.321: 15 n. 36  
*De re publica*  
 3.35: 26  
 3.41: 30
- Catullus  
 64.55: 93  
 64.61-62: 93  
*Epistulae ad Atticum*  
 4.1.4-5: 25 n. 34  
 13.45.3: 36 n. 24
- Cedrenus, Gregorius  
*Compendium historiarum*  
 322 c: 146  
*Pro lege Manilia*  
 44: 21 n. 22, 22  
 53: 22 n. 25
- Charito  
*Chaereas et Callirhoe*  
 8.2.8-9: 156 n. 28  
*Pro Milone*  
 87: 6 n. 11
- Cicero  
*Cato maior de senectute*  
 26: 44  
*De domo sua*  
 20: 4-6, 48 n. 67  
 20-21: 25-26  
 21-22: 20 n. 16  
 52: 26 n. 35  
 52-53: 4, 6-7  
 59: 26 n. 35  
 65: 4, 7-9  
 65-66: 20 n. 16  
*De lege agraria*  
 2.41 ff.: 30-31 with n. 46  
*De natura deorum*  
 3.82: 41 n. 44  
*De officiis*  
 1.34: 27  
 1.36: 18 n. 6  
 2.26-27: 30 with n. 44  
*Pro Q. Roscio comoedo*  
 37: 48 n. 66  
*Pro Sestio*  
 57: 10-12, 27-28  
 57-59: 10  
 58: 11 n. 24  
 59: 13-14, 29-30  
 60: 20 n. 16  
 62-64: 10  
 98: 12 n. 26  
*Tusculanae disputationes*  
 2.52: 40 with n. 42  
 5.5-6: 40  
 5.34: 53 n. 82  
 5.77: 41
- Claudianus  
*In Eutropium*  
 2.praef.63-66: 64-65
- Clemens Alexandrinus  
*Protrepticus*  
 2.13.4: 59-60  
 2.14.1-2: 59-60  
 3.40: 155

- 4.57.3: 76 n. 2  
*Stromateis*  
 1.132.3: 156 n. 28
- Cotovicus, Ioannes  
*Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum*  
 1.16: 70-71
- Cypria*  
 fr. 4 Bernabé: 161 n. 48
- De viris illustribus urbis Romae*  
 80.2: 19 n. 10
- Dio Cassius  
 16.21: 22 n. 25  
 36.28: 22 n. 26  
 36.28-35: 21 n. 22  
 36.35: 22 n. 27  
 38.30.4-5: 19 n. 11  
 38.30.5: 9 n. 19, 20 n. 16  
 39.21.1-22.2: 27 n. 39  
 39.22.1: 25 n. 33  
 39.22.2: 23-24, 50 n. 76  
 65.8: 158  
 65.15: 159 n. 38  
 66.1: 164 n. 55  
 66.8: 164 n. 55  
 73.24.2: 160 n. 40
- Diodorus Siculus  
 2.23.1-2.27.3: 113  
 2.23.4: 113  
 4.22: 132 n. 12
- Diogenes Laertius  
 1.62-63: 42 n. 49  
 7.1: 53 n. 82  
 7.12: 53 n. 82  
 9.26: 40 n. 43, 41 n. 44
- 9.58-60: 41
- Dionysius Halicarnassensis  
*Antiquitates Romanae*  
 2.72.1-9: 18 n. 4  
 9.54.5: 85 n. 13
- Empedocles  
 31 B 128 DK: 156 n. 28
- Ennius  
*Euhemerus sive sacra historia*  
 10 Goldberg and Manu-  
 wald: 61-62
- Euripides  
*Alcestitis*  
 348-354: 76 n. 2
- Firmicus Maternus  
*De errore profanarum religionum*  
 10.1: 61
- Florus  
*Epitoma*  
 2.13.88: 164  
 3.7: 22 n. 25  
 3.9: 31 with n. 48  
 3.9.3-4: 23 n. 29
- Gellius  
 6.3.36-38: 29 n. 42  
 6.3.47: 29 n. 42
- Geoponica*  
 11.17: 161 n. 50
- Germanicus  
 558-560: 136-137 with  
 n. 30



Herodianus  
1.14.2-6: 160 n. 40

Herodotus  
1.199.1: 58-59  
1.199.5: 58-59

Hesiodus  
*Opera et dies*  
54: 78-79  
57-82: 78-80  
61: 80  
66: 78  
71: 82  
72: 82  
74-76: 82  
79-80: 80  
80: 80 n. 7  
81: 80 n. 7  
82: 80  
*Theogonia*  
585: 77  
585-616: 78

Hesychius  
γ 333: 155 n. 25

Himerius  
*Orationes*  
17: 156 n. 26

Homerus  
*Ilias*  
5.330: 151  
23.19: 38 n. 36  
*Odyssea*  
8.277-282: 92 n. 7  
8.362-366: 154  
8.363: 151  
16.32-36: 92 n. 7  
23.252: 38 n. 36

Horatius  
*Carmina*  
1.6: 36 n. 26

Hyginus  
*Fabulae*  
103-104: 76 n. 2

*Hymni Homerici*  
5.58-59: 169 with n. 75

Inscriptiones  
ExcCyp 6: 151 n. 9  
I.Paphos 148: 151 n. 9  
IG I<sup>3</sup> 83: 146  
IGRom III 941: 151 n. 9

Iosephus  
*Antiquitates Iudaicae*  
19.1.13: 117 n. 20  
*Bellum Iudaicum*  
7.5.7: 159 n. 38, 162 with  
n. 53

Iustinus  
*Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi*  
18.5: 63-64

*Laterculi Alexandrini*  
8.15-17: 146

Livius  
*Ab urbe condita*  
1.32.5-14: 18  
21.2.6: 41  
24.5.10-14: 40-41  
*Periochae*  
99: 22 n. 27  
104.6: 19 n. 10  
112.1-10: 38 n. 33

Lucanus	2.496-507: 101
8.456-459: 38 n. 33	6.23-25: 98
	6.24: 98
[Lucianus]	6.46-47: 101
<i>Amores</i>	6.87-100: 98
11: 151 with n. 7	6.98-100: 99
	6.103-105: 94
Lucilius	6.103-107: 94
1049 M. = 1046 W.: 67	6.103-126: 94
n. 23	6.104: 94
	6.130-136: 97
Lucretius	6.131: 96
1.31-32: 168 with n. 70	6.131-133: 96
	6.135: 100
Manilius	6.142: 97
4.546-555: 136 n. 29	6.144-145: 100
4.773-777: 136 n. 29	6.145: 102
4.791-796: 137 with n. 34	6.438-619: 97
	10.80: 66, 108
Marcianus	10.220-223: 65-66
<i>Dig.</i> 48.6.5.2: 101 n. 36	10.238-239: 98
	10.238-242: 77
Ovidius	10.238-246: 65-67
<i>Fasti</i>	10.239: 98
4.863-954: 159 n. 37	10.240: 66
5.23: 96 n. 22	10.242: 77
<i>Heroides</i>	10.243-244: 69
10.31: 93	10.243-297: 75, 81, 103
<i>Ibis</i>	10.244: 93, 98, 99
571-572: 41 n. 44	10.244-245: 77
<i>Metamorphoses</i>	10.245-246: 105
1.154: 102 n. 36	10.247-269: 81-82
1.163: 102 n. 36	10.248: 82, 95
2.401: 102 n. 36	10.249: 77, 93, 100
2.417-440: 101	10.250: 82, 93
2.433: 101 n. 36	10.250-252: 93-94, 108
2.441-465: 101	10.250-269: 95
2.447: 101 n. 36	10.251: 95
2.450: 101	10.252-253: 108
2.462: 101 n. 36	10.252-269: 108
2.466-495: 101	10.256: 82

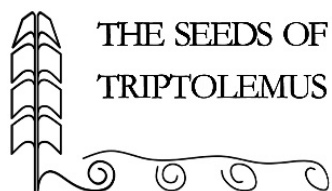
- 10.256-257: 83  
 10.256-258: 95  
 10.259-265: 111  
 10.260: 82  
 10.263: 82  
 10.264: 82  
 10.264-265: 82  
 10.266: 82  
 10.273: 82  
 10.274: 82  
 10.274-276: 108  
 10.275-276: 80-81  
 10.280-289: 95  
 10.281: 82  
 10.284-286: 95  
 10.289: 97  
 10.292-294: 95-96  
 10.293: 95, 96  
 10.294: 96  
 10.295: 100  
 10.298-299: 99  
 10.298-502: 116  
 10.321-323: 116  
 10.324-328: 119  
 10.331-333: 119  
 10.335-337: 116  
 10.382-387: 117  
 10.500-502: 117, 119
- Papyri  
 P.Mil.Vogl. VIII 309: 35  
 n. 22  
 P.Oxy. XXXIV 2725: 158  
 n. 35
- Pausanias  
 6.1.6: 105 n. 13  
 6.24.6-7: 161 with n. 49  
 6.24.7: 160 n. 45
- Petrarca, Francesco
- Itinerarium ad sepulcrum Domini  
 nostri Iesu Christi*  
 52: 69 n. 32
- Philostephanus Historicus  
 fr. 13 Müller (FHG III, p.  
 31): 76 n. 2
- Photius  
*Bibliotheca*  
 372b: 156 n. 26
- Plato  
*Cratylus*  
 403a-404b: 38 n. 37  
*Phaedo*  
 80d-81c: 38 n. 37  
 115a-118a: 44 n. 53
- Plautus  
*Poenulus*  
 339-340: 62 n. 13
- Plinius maior  
*Naturalis historia*  
 2.210: 153 n. 18  
 7.87: 41 n. 44  
 7.113: 19 n. 10  
 13.26: 160 n. 45  
 17.64: 160 n. 45  
 17.97-98: 160 n. 45  
 21.15-17: 160 n. 45  
 22.44: 143  
 27.3: 162  
 29.96: 19 n. 10  
 34.69: 169 n. 71  
 34.79: 143-144  
 34.81: 143  
 34.92: 19 n. 10  
 35.4-14: 88 n. 16  
 35.6: 88 n. 16, 89

- 35.91: 167  
 35.103: 83-84  
 35.109: 164  
 36.27: 168  
 36.58: 163-164
- Plinius minor  
*Epistulae*  
 1.1: 36 n. 27  
 1.12.6-8: 44 n. 54
- Plutarchus  
*Alexander*  
 8.5: 41 n. 44  
 28.5: 41 n. 44  
 52: 41 n. 44  
*Brutus*  
 3: 19 n. 10  
*Caesar*  
 21.8: 20 n. 16  
*Cato Minor*  
 34.1-3: 20 n. 16  
 34.3-4: 9 n. 19  
 34.6: 20 n. 16  
 34-39: 45  
 36: 50 n. 76  
 36.1: 51 n. 78  
 36.1-2: 23 n. 29  
 39.1: 49 n. 71  
 40: 27 n. 39  
 45: 48 n. 68  
*Cicero*  
 34: 27 n. 39  
*Moralia*  
 50e: 52  
 449e: 41 n. 44  
 505d: 41 n. 44  
*Pericles*  
 13.8: 143  
*Pompeius*  
 25: 22 n. 25
- 26: 22 n. 26  
 26-27: 21 n. 22  
 27: 22 n. 27  
 48.6: 20 n. 16  
 77.1: 38 n. 33
- Solon*  
 32.4: 42
- Theseus*  
 20.3-5: 93 n. 13
- Polybius  
 6.53.1-54.3: 85-88
- Polycharmus Naucratis  
 FGrHist 640 fr. 1: 156  
 n. 29
- Pompeius Trogus  
*Historiae Philippicae*  
*prol.* 40: 19 n. 10
- Pomponius  
*Dig.* 50.16.118: 22
- Porcacchi, Thomaso  
*L'Isole piu famose del Mondo etc.*  
 p. 22: 72-73
- Rufius Festus  
 13: 31 with n. 49  
 13.1: 23 with n. 29
- Sallustius  
*De bello Iugurthino*  
 4.5-6: 85, 89  
*Historiae*  
 fr. 1.10 M.: 31
- Scholia in orationes Ciceronis codicis  
 rescripti Bobiensis*  
 p. 133.3-6 St. (*Sest.* 57): 21

- Seneca philosophus  
*Agamemno*  
 288: 67 n. 24  
*Hercules furens*  
 1240-1241: 67 n. 24  
*Medea*  
 488: 67-68  
*Oedipus*  
 1008-1009: 67  
*Phaedra*  
 250: 67  
 250-252: 67 n. 24
- Seneca rhetor  
*Controversiae*  
 10.1.8: 48 n. 68
- Solon  
 fr. 22.7 Diehl: 43
- Strabo  
 14.6.3: 150 nn. 5 and 6  
 14.6.6: 17, 19 with n. 13,  
 23 n. 29, 24, 51 n. 78
- Suetonius  
*Divus Augustus*  
 5.1: 136 with n. 26  
 9: 35 n. 21  
 94.12: 135-136 with n. 25  
 99-100.1: 44 n. 54  
*Divus Titus*  
 5.1: 165 n. 57  
*Divus Vespasianus*  
 4-7: 164 n. 55  
 5.6: 156 n. 27  
 18: 167
- Tacitus  
*Annales*  
 2.73.1: 88 n. 16
- 3.5: 88 n. 16  
 3.62: 151 with n. 8  
 3.62.5: 37 n. 29  
 3.76: 88 n. 16  
 4.9.2: 88 n. 16
- Historiae*  
 2.2-4: 147  
 2.3.1-2: 156 n. 28  
 2.3.2: 153, 156 n. 27  
 2.78: 164 n. 55  
 2.78.3: 156 n. 27  
 4.11: 158  
 4.81-84: 164 n. 55
- Tatianus  
*Adversus Graecos*  
 34: 169 n. 73  
 35: 169 n. 71  
 37: 169 n. 71
- Terentius  
*Adelphoe*  
 228-231: 62-63
- Thucydides  
 1.112.4: 143
- Valerius Flaccus  
 7.461: 69  
 7.461-466: 68-69
- Valerius Maximus  
 1.praef.: 35-36  
 1.5.6: 37-39  
 1.6.12: 38 n. 31  
 1.6.ext.praef.: 35 n. 20  
 1.8.9-10: 38 n. 31  
 1.8.ext. 13: 38 n. 31  
 2.4.6: 38 n. 31  
 2.7.5: 35 n. 20  
 2.10.ext. 1: 35 n. 20

- 3.2.13: 38 n. 31  
 3.2.23a: 38 n. 31  
 3.3.*ext.* 1: 40  
 3.3.*ext.* 2: 40  
 3.3.*ext.* 3: 40, 41  
 3.3.*ext.* 4: 39-41, 52  
 3.3.*ext.* 5: 40  
 3.3.*ext.* 6: 41  
 3.3.*ext.* 7: 41  
 3.4: 41  
 3.8.7: 38 n. 31  
 4.1.12: 35 n. 20, 36 n. 25  
 4.1.14: 45-46  
 4.1.*ext.* 7: 41 n. 47, 44  
 n. 55  
 4.3: 49  
 4.3.1: 47  
 4.3.2: 46-48, 51  
 4.5.5: 38 n. 31  
 4.6.4: 38 n. 31  
 4.6.*ext.* 2: 38 n. 31  
 5.1.9-10: 38 n. 31  
 5.2.9: 38n. 31  
 5.3.5: 38 n. 31  
 5.3.*ext.* 1: 42  
 5.3.*ext.* 2: 42  
 5.3.*ext.* 3: 42-43  
 5.3.*ext.* 3a: 42  
 5.3.*ext.* 3b: 41-43, 44  
 5.3.*ext.* 3c: 42  
 5.3.*ext.* 3d: 42  
 5.3.*ext.* 3e: 42  
 5.3.*ext.* 3f: 42  
 5.5.4: 38 n. 31  
 5.7.*ext.* 2: 38 n. 31  
 6.2.4-9: 38 n. 31  
 6.2.11: 38 n. 31  
 6.8.6: 35 n. 20  
 6.9.9: 38 n. 31  
 7.2.*ext.* 2: 44 n. 55  
 7.2.*ext.* 2a: 41 n. 47  
 7.6.*ext.* 3: 38 n. 31  
 7.7.2: 38 n. 31  
 8.1.*damn.* 5: 35 n. 20  
 8.7.*ext.* 14: 41 n. 47, 43  
 8.9.*ext.* 1: 41 n. 47  
 8.14.3: 38 n. 31  
 8.14.*ext.* 2: 41  
 8.15.8-9: 38 n. 31  
 8.15.10: 48-49  
 9.1.8: 38 n. 31  
 9.1.*ext.* 6: 51  
 9.1.*ext.* 7: 51-52  
 9.2.4: 38 n. 31  
 9.4.*ext.* 1: 23, 49-51  
 9.5.3: 38 n. 31  
 9.11.4: 38 n. 31  
 9.13.2: 38 n. 31  
 9.14.1: 38 n. 31
- Varro  
*De vita populi Romani*  
 2, fr. 72 P. = 75 R.: 29  
 n. 43
- Velleius Paterculus  
 2.32.4-5: 22 n. 27  
 2.38.6: 23  
 2.45.4: 20 n. 16  
 2.45.4-5: 23 with n. 29
- Vergilius  
*Aeneis*  
 1.415-416: 165 n. 57  
 3.369 ff.: 164  
 8.711-713: 164  
*Georgica*  
 1.32-35: 136 with n. 27  
 2.541: 50 n. 73
- Zenobius  
 1.80: 133 n. 18





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