

funerary inscriptions, four silver ladles and others. The catalogue includes, for each piece, formal details, drawings (and sometimes photographs), bibliography, an updated reading and a tentative interpretation of the text. A second catalogue is dedicated to the Latin inscriptions using Ś, with a clear distinction between those where Ś is reasonably certain (3) and those where it is just probable (3 more).

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Yann BERTHELET & Françoise VAN HAEPEREN (ed.), *Dieux de Rome et du monde romain en réseaux*, Bordeaux, Ausonius, 2021 (Scripta Antiqua, 141), 24 × 17 cm, 277 p., fig., 19 €, ISBN 978-2-35613-354-0.

In the introduction to their recently published edited volume, Yann Berthelet and Françoise Van Haeperen explain that their aim is to present new studies on Roman divinities. They maintain that in the decades following the publication of Georges Dumézil's works, research interest on Roman deities has slackened compared to the concurrent progress of studies on Greek polytheism. Both editors are convinced of the necessity to consider gods from an anthropological perspective in order to understand their scope and actions as well as the different aspects of their identity and their functions. Berthelet and Van Haeperen's research interest focuses on the network of connections in which the gods of Roman polytheism were included. The collection of essays presented in this volume is the work of a research team of scholars from French, Belgian, Swiss, and Spanish universities, who joined forces to find a common methodological approach to their research. I am pleased to say that on the whole their volume offers studies of high hermeneutical value that perfectly corresponds to the editors' stated intentions. Part one of the volume is comprised of three studies on gods and their relational networks. In the first study, Sylvia Estienne analyzes Venus in connection with other deities. She provides elements on the goddess's identity by first analyzing an account concerning *Venus Calua*, and later an inscription on a column base found in the Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa colony, which are both dated between AD 235 and 238. Here, Venus and the Amores appear in a list of beneficial deities (Asclepius, Salus and Epione) and protectors of waters (Neptune, Salacia, Fountains and Waters). Later, she examines Venus' sanctuary in Pompeii and specifically the names of divinities that appear on some inscriptions and ones that are associated with Venus, such as Cupid, Virtus, Liber Pater, Magna Mater, and Opis. Estienne explains that these sources offer a remarkable example of the interconnectedness of different divinities in a polytheistic system. In their study that follows, the editors of the volume, Berthelet and Van Haeperen, analyze the presence of Apollo in the list of deities that appear in soldiers' dedications. They begin by focusing on some dedications of Augustus' praetorians and horsemen who invoke a series of divinities that include Apollo, Diana and Mercury. Later, dedications of soldiers stationed in Apulum are examined. One of these mentions Apollo together with 12 divinities, among which Diana and Asclepius. After reviewing other inscriptions, the authors conclude that soldiers used to include Apollo in divine networks, mostly alongside his sister Diana. The place occupied by Apollo amongst beneficial deities is both a sign of his multifaceted identity and of the vast scope of his actions, amongst which we find *ualetudo*, war and the marginal areas of forests. Therefore, the Roman Apollo cannot be confined to just a medical aspect. Finally, Berthelet and Van Haeperen maintain that divinities are mentioned as part of the same network not only because of their common field of action, but rather, because of the ways in which they act. The final study in the first part of the volume is Emmanuelle Rosso's essay that focuses on religious sites and statues in Vienna among

the Allobroges. She explains that it is possible to identify the religious sites thanks to some dedications or statuary elements, as well as some details found in column decorations. The inscriptions related to the *flamines* reveal the names of official deities, the inhabitants of the town officially venerated Mars, the goddess Vienna and the members of the imperial family. Also known to have been venerated were Mercury, Apollo, Jupiter and Juno, the Dioscuri, Mithra and Hercules. Rosso concentrates on the period of the High Empire and specifically on some cases where statuary were extremely important: the *Capitolium*, the networks related to the goddess Vienna, the specific aspects of the Viennese Mars, and the inclusion of the divinized emperors in the pantheon of the city. The iconography related to Mars, for instance, shows a personality which is strictly connected to the Augustan Mars and to Rome and to its origins because he appears in association with Rhea Silvia and/or Venus. This aspect of the god might find a further confirmation if we consider the local cult of Quirinus. As to the goddess Vienna, the dedication on her exceptional statue reveals that she was invoked as a promoter of harmony within civic institutions. Rosso underlines the importance of iconography and statuary in the reconstruction of these divine networks. The second section of the volume hosts four contributions devoted to divine networks in their contexts. In the first, Nicole Belayche analyzes the presence of Roman divinities in the pantheons of Greek towns of imperial Anatolia. She examines civic ritual practices on the basis of epigraphic material, which shows three different divine manifestations. The first is the inclusion of the *centre* in the *periphery*: Roman public deities were present in the pantheons of Asia Minor's towns. Second, Roman rule was *de iure* and *de facto*, i.e. it fostered an inclusive process of *romanisation*. Third is the subtle but thorough process of penetration of Roman deities at the local level. The second and first centuries BC saw the introduction of Roman divinities in Anatolia, although traditional pantheons were not disrupted. Belayche postulates the existence of a double movement. If one considers that two poles were dominant or dominated, Rome did not impose its deities with its rule. Therefore, the few attestations of the Greek Zeus *Kapetôlios* are rather a memory of the tributes of the Greek towns to Rome than the actual manifestation of the adoration of the supreme god. Moreover, the goddess Rome (*Thea Rhômê*) and the tributes to the emperors were sufficient to show a loyal participation in the *imperium Romanum*. In the next study, Anthony Álvarez Melero's study concentrates on epigraphic dedications in Spain. These include ones to multiple divinities, those engraved on monuments and those erected in the same area to single divinities. He first considers the inscriptions coming from *Hispania Citerior*. He observes that Isis and Serapis in *Carthago Noua*, or Asclepius and Hygieia in *Bra-cara Augusta* are often associated on the same monument. Álvarez Melero remarks that several inscriptions mentioning one or more divinities are placed in the same area, as in the case of Nemesis' shrine in *Tarraco*, or Isis and Serapis' temple in *Carthago Noua*. The latter exemplifies the association of theonyms. The existence of personal networks is also worth noting. The third study of this section is by Francesco Massa who focuses on the divine network around Liber in the late fourth century. Considering the territory of Rome between the fourth and the fifth centuries AD, Massa addresses two main issues: how is it possible to reconstruct the identity of Liber in Rome in a period of growing Christianization? And what kind of network can be inferred from the documents that we possess? The author analyzes three aspects of the god Liber. The first is the literary tradition related to wine and grapevine, which were also polemically reinterpreted by Christian authors. The second aspect regards the religious practices that place Liber in a network of divinities connected to mystic cults and initiations; the traces of these connections can be found on inscriptions dedicated to the *cursus honorum* of some Roman aristocrats. The third aspect is the speculative and theological dimension that

places Liber in a context that is very similar to that of the god Helios. Massa analyzes passage 1.18 from Macrobius' *Saturnalia* that mentions several divinities connected to the Sun, amongst which Liber also appears, thus placing the god within the divine network of Macrobius' solar theology. John Scheid's is the fourth study of the second section of the volume and focuses on the actions of the triad Jupiter, Juno, and Venus in the *Aeneid*. The scholar declares he has borrowed Dumézil's approach of investigating the ways in which the three divinities act and cooperate, as shown in the sources, but did not adopt his solutions. Jupiter is the supreme and dominant god. Juno participates in the sovereignty. Venus, instead, has to face two sovereign deities. She represents both Jupiter's and Juno's sovereign will, and she cannot come into conflict with Juno. Scheid underlines that Vergil does not portray a clash between divinities, as did Homer, but rather the tensions existing in the triad and in the Roman idea of sovereignty. Vergil presents a picture of the conflicts among the divinities, defining the actions of the two sovereign gods and those who are closely connected to them, like Venus. Scheid concludes that the *Aeneid* highlights in the background the importance of sovereign divine action. The third and final section of the volume is comprised of four articles and is devoted to the analysis of divinities in context. The first study by Francesca Prescendi focuses on Rumina, the goddess of breastfeeding mothers. The author mentions the narrations of Romulus and Remus' birth. The she-wolf's breasts occupy the centre of the tales and her nursing of the two founders occurs under a fig tree, which recalls by analogy the one in the shrine of the goddess Rumina. The etymology of *Ruminalis* refers to the goddess and both names could originate from *ruma*. The scholar then extends her research to other divine networks closely related to Rumina and connected to body fluids and activities performed in early childhood. Later, Prescendi analyzes some passages from Augustine's *City of God* and connects them to the existence of a divine creation, Jupiter *Ruminus*, as the combination of a supreme divinity and a functional one. Three relevant conclusions are reached in this essay. First, Rumina is not only a *talking name*, as suggested by the passages from the Church Fathers. Varro and Plutarch mention a sanctuary devoted to her with violent religious sacrifices. Second, the sanctuary devoted to this functional divinity was not an exclusive site but was visited by different social actors, like women and shepherds. Lastly, divinities such as Rumina, whose cult might not have been very important in the Republican and early Imperial age, became influential in mythical narrations of Rome's foundation. Prescendi remarks on the importance of minor deities in Roman folklore, so much so that the Church Fathers refer to them in order to demolish the polytheistic system. Indeed, Augustine and other authors criticized the fragmentation of divine power and the opposition between the one and the many. The next study is Audrey Bertrand's essay that focuses on divinities such as Hercules and Apollo, who are closely associated with the Middle Adriatic Roman colonies. Apollo did not have a unilateral relation with Diana but was rather placed in a network within a 'defensive' pantheon, with two other figures: Hercules and Venus. The identification of their possible contacts reveals the military function that the colonists attributed to them. In the religious transformations that the Roman conquest brought about, Apollo is surely part of the innovations. Thanks to the Roman armies and the Roman and Latin citizens, the god penetrates the territories of the Middle Adriatic Italian coast. In her conclusions, Bertrand highlights the importance of the historical and geographical contexts for the reconstruction of Apollo's field of action, even though he has by no means a monopoly within the pantheon of the early colonists. The divine network that emerges in *Ariminum* is the evidence of a connection between Hercules, Venus and Apollo with a military function in the early cults of the colony. In general, the analysis of the single deities in the Middle Adriatic colonies reveals a great number of different divine figures – Roman, local, regional and popular – but their interconnectedness shows that they mirror the

Roman religious perspective and the divinities that Rome itself chose as protectors of its survival and cohesion. The presence of Apollo on the Italian territories of the Middle Adriatic coast is certainly linked to the great migrations and colonizations of the third century: it shows that the colonists had extended the civic and community background of their origins to the newly settled territories. Pierre Assenmaker's penultimate article focuses on the development of Emperor Caesar Octavianus' devotion to Neptune. The writer presents this case study as a useful tool to analyze Augustan religious ideology. The process of the symbolic *evocatio* of Neptune – that culminates in the battle of Naupactus in 36 BC with the victory over Sextus Pompeius – can shed new light on the construction of Augustan ideology. The battle of Actium in 31 BC is not a starting point anymore, but the continuation of a process dating back at least five years. The detailed analysis of the position of Neptune in the Nicopolis monument shows the dynamic and hierarchical relationship that connects the divinities of the 'Actium Triad' (Mars, Neptune and Apollo). If Apollo seems to be the predominant figure, it is however impossible to presume that the victory implied an exclusivity of his cult. The permanence of the honors bestowed on the triad on Augustus' birthday shows that the association of the three divinities that favored the foundation victory was not obscured. The cult of the Actium Triad might not have had the same political value had it not acquired a symbolic dimension through images and poetical texts equating the winner against Sextus Pompeius, and later Antony, to a Neptunian hero, a young master of the seas. The final article of this section and of the volume is Marie-Thérèse Raepsaet-Charlier's essay that is devoted to the figure of Hercules in Low Germany and to the identification of the divine networks to which he belonged in the first century BC. The god's presence is threefold. First, Roman Hercules appears in the colonies of Low Germany. Second, the Germanic deity Donar is interpreted as Hercules with no epithet and strongly resembles the Roman god. Third, Donar, or another local god, according to the *interpretatio romana* sometimes goes under the name of *Hercules Magusanus*. In this multifaceted framework it is important not to separate the three different phenomena. Hercules' identity in Low Germany is above all that of the Roman military god honored by soldiers: he has the Roman qualities of *Victor* or *Inuictus*. The Germanic deity resembling Hercules is a vehicle towards civilization, i.e. the Roman world. The scholar then analyzes Hercules' divine networks in Low Germany which assume a twofold aspect. On the one hand, we have Roman Hercules, *Victor* or *Inuictus*, who acts alone or is connected to other Roman deities: *Fortuna*, *Liber Pater*, but also to Jupiter and Silvanus. On the other hand, we have *Hercules Magusanus*, a local deity who often acts alone but also appears with other local Germanic divinities. Finally, the author examines the way in which Hercules was included in the complex network of gods adorning Jupiter's columns, their pedestals and the stones devoted to other major divinities (Juno, Minerva and Mercury). If we accept the idea that these columns belong to Jupiter's cult, then we are dealing with a sort of 'Jupiter's network'. In other words, the series of these gods includes the Capitoline Triad accompanied by Mercury and Hercules.

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Katell BERTHELOT (ed.), *Reconsidering Roman Power: Roman, Greek, Jewish and Christian Perceptions and Reactions*, Rome, École française de Rome, 2020 (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 564), 24 × 16 cm, 527 p., ill., 41 €, ISBN 978-2-7283-1408-9.

Do we need 'yet another book on Roman power', Katell Berthelot asks her audience at the beginning of his introduction. I would argue, together with Berthelot, that the