

Chapter 4

The division of time: calendars, rituals, regular festivals

One of the primary duties of the chief magistrates (*duoviri*) of a Roman colony – a duty taken over each year by their successors – was to define a public calendar. The inscribed charter of the colony of Roman citizens at Urso in Spain includes this clause:

Whoever shall be *duoviri* after the foundation of the colony, they, within ten days next after that on which they shall have begun to hold that magistracy, are to raise with the decurions, when not less than two-thirds shall be present, which and how many days it may be agreed shall be festivals (*feriae*), which sacrifices shall be publicly performed (*publice*), and who shall perform those sacrifices. And whatever of those matters a majority of the decurions who shall then be present shall have decreed or decided, that is to be legal and binding and there are to be those sacrifices and those festival days in that colony.

Constitution of the Colonia Genetiva Iulia, of Urso, Baetica, article 64

1 THE ASTRONOMICAL CALENDAR AND THE CIVIC CALENDAR

1.1 *There was no such thing as a universal religious calendar*

The prescriptions laid down for the magistrates of Urso neatly encapsulate the particular nature of the Roman religious calendar. The first point to note is that there was no universal religious calendar. Each city, even a Roman colony, established its own, which did not necessarily mirror that of

Rome. Furthermore, the calendar was constructed not by priests, but by the leading magistrates in collaboration with the local senate. In Rome, the system was essentially no different, even if things were more complex: the calendar was, to be sure, managed by the priestly college of *pontifices*, but all decisions concerning the introduction of new festivals were dictated by laws passed in the assembly or by decrees of the Senate; and, according to myth, the major divisions of the year went right back to King Numa. The first consequence of this was that the official religious calendar of Rome or of any Roman city simply reflected the ruling of the authorities: and it mentioned only the regular major festival days. For this reason, the calendars inscribed on stone (known as *Fasti*) discovered in Italy and dating mainly from the Julio-Claudian period seem very 'incomplete' to our eyes. They include neither movable feasts nor ceremonies, sacrifices or public rites that do not correspond to the major festivals, nor the countless festival and cult days celebrated in the various sub-districts of the city, in colleges, in families or in other divisions of the Roman people. The fact nevertheless remains that the major traditional festivals do appear in these calendars, and that a major public deity was above all one who had received the privilege of an official festival day.

1.2 The natural calendar

After those preliminary remarks, let us now examine the general structure of the calendar itself. We need not dwell upon Roman traditions concerning the origin of the calendar: they are largely founded on the speculations and deductions of Roman antiquarians. All that needs to be said is that there were two types of calendar in the Roman world, one natural, universally recognised and accepted, and the other a civic calendar created by the city magistrates. The natural calendar was constructed according to the rising and setting of the signs of the zodiac, which determined in turn the sequence of agricultural labour on earth. The advantage of this calendar, often described as agrarian, is that it was to some extent

universal, for it was the same for everyone. Through heavenly signs, it also represented a divine law for the pious to follow, since it appeared to rule agricultural labour and the cycle of plant growth. In the historical period this calendar was always part of daily life in the countryside, as well as being used in learned, astrological speculations. The second calendar, the civic one, was the calendar of magistrates and citizens.

The natural year according to Eudoxus of Cnidus (fourth century BC) and Varro (first century BC)

The Eudoxan calendar (a four-yearly cycle based on the twelve astronomical signs)

4 signs of 31 days + 6 signs of 30 days + 1 sign of 29 days + 1 sign of 32 days = 365 days.

The first year of the four-yearly cycle included one day added ('intercalated') at the end of the year. In this way, a sequence of four years of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days was obtained.

The Varronian calendar (derived from the Eudoxan calendar)

Sign	Date of rising	Length of month	Astronomical phenomena
Aries	17 March	31 days	24 March: New Year, spring equinox
Taurus	17 April	30 days	9 May: beginning of summer
Gemini	17 May	31 days	
Cancer	17 June	33 days	26 June: summer solstice
Leo	20 July	31 days	11 August: rising of the Dog Star, beginning of autumn
Virgo	20 August	30 days	
Libra	19 September	30 days	26 September: autumn equinox

Sign	Date of rising	Length of month	Astronomical phenomena
Scorpio	19 October	30 days	10 November: beginning of winter
Sagittarius	18 November	29 days	
Capricorn	17 December	30 days	24 December: winter solstice
Aquarius	16 January	30 days	7 February: beginning of spring
Pisces	15 February	30 days	

1.3 The civic calendar

This calendar originally comprised 355 days: March, May, July and October each had 31 days, February had 28, the rest of the months had 29 days each. It is notorious for the problems posed by 'intercalation' up until the reforms of Caesar and Augustus. In order to keep it in step with the solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, every other year the pontiffs had to add 22 or 23 days (an 'intercalary month') after the day of the *Terminalia* (23 February), in other words between 23 and 24 February. As a result of neglect and manoeuvres by interested parties, the system went deeply awry. Despite a variety of adjustments, by the third century BC the natural, solar year and the civic year no longer corresponded. In 44 BC, the New Year (1 January) would have fallen on what was actually 14 October 45 according to the sun. In 46, at the instigation of Julius Caesar, the 'Julian' calendar system was instituted. Following one last correction in 8 BC, it functioned like the modern calendar, except that an intercalated day was added every four years not after 28 February but after 24 February. (In the Roman system it was the sixth day before the Kalends of March and so was called a 'double sixth' day, hence the term *bissextile*.)

The principal Roman civic calendars

The pre-Caesarean calendar

Year	Months × days	February (days)	Intercalary month (days)	Total (days)
1 Common	$4 \times 31 + 7 \times 29$	+ 28	—	355
2 Intercalary	$4 \times 31 + 7 \times 29$	+ 28	+ 23	378
3 Common	$4 \times 31 + 7 \times 29$	+ 28	—	355
4 Inrercalary	$4 \times 31 + 7 \times 29$	+ 28	+ 22	377
				1,465

In fact this gives a year of $366\frac{1}{4}$ days (to make it correct to the solar year, it would have been necessary to intercalate 21 and 20 days, which would have produced a sequence of four years with a total of 1,461 days, averaging a year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days).

The Caesarean calendar

Year	Months × days	February (days)	Total (days)
1 Common	$7 \times 31 + 4 \times 30$	+ 28	365
2 Common	$7 \times 31 + 4 \times 30$	+ 28	365
3 Common	$7 \times 31 + 4 \times 30$	+ 28	365
4 Intercalary	$7 \times 31 + 4 \times 30$	+ 28	366
			1,461

That is, a year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days.

2 THE STRUCTURE OF THE ROMAN MONTH

2.1 *The division of days: the dies fasti and the dies nefasti*

The first level of the organisation of the civic calendar concerned the general division of the days of the month. According to the encyclopedist Varro, a contemporary of Caesar, this division distinguished the days designated for the gods and those reserved for human beings: 'To the division made by nature there have been added the civic names for the days. First I shall give those which have been instituted for the sake of the gods, then those instituted for the sake of men' (Varro, *On the Latin Language*, 6.12). The idea was further developed by Macrobius (fifth century AD):

Just as he had divided the year into months, Numa divided each month into days, which he distinguished by calling some festival days (*festi*), some working days (*profesti*), and some half-and-half days (*intercisi*). The festival days were consecrated to the gods, the working days were left to men for them to regulate their affairs both public and private, and the half-and-half days were common to both the gods and men. The festival days included sacrifices, sacred feasts, games and holidays; the working days comprised propitious days, *comitiae* days, and days suitable for the passing of a judgement; as for half-and-half days, each individual divides them up for himself, not in relation to the rest: for on those days, religion authorises the exercise of justice at certain hours and not at others.

Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1. 16.2–3

The 235 or so days available for human action, known as *fasti* (marked as 'F' on painted or epigraphic calendars) were assigned to political business (for example, 192 of them were days when a public assembly, *comitia*, could meet: marked as 'C'), to juridical or military matters, to commercial business, and to work. The 109 days created in honour of the gods were called *nefasti* ('N' on the calendars); of these, a certain number – about 61 – were also designated as a public festival

(*feria publica*, which is probably the significance of 'NP' on the calendars; it was only in the first century AD that days that were not public festivals in the traditional sense began to be designated *feriae* or 'holidays'). On days that were *nefasti*, the activities of mortals had to cease in public places, to make room for religious ceremonies that honoured the gods and celebrated their character and virtues. In short, the logic behind Varro's explanation of the division of the year is the idea that on the days devoted to them, the gods went symbolically about their functions, and that men honoured them because they did so in the interest of the whole community. An extra category was represented by the 'half-and-half days' (*intercisi*), during which some hours were reserved for the gods, others for human activities.

The balance between *dies fasti* and *nefasti* was variable. At the time of Caesar and, even more so, of Augustus, many official public festivals were created to commemorate their victories. Such decisions conferred upon Caesar and Augustus honours equal to those which the gods used to enjoy. And from the beginning of the Empire onward, many festivals were lengthened, in particular by extending their festive character to the days either side of the festival itself. On the other hand, the Saturnalia was celebrated for seven continuous days at the time of Cicero (from 13 to 23 December). It was officially reduced to three days under Augustus, but from Claudius onward again took up at least five days.

2.2 *The regular proclamation of festivals*

The *dies nefasti* included the Kalends (that is, the first of each month) and the Ides (which fell on either the 13th or the 15th, depending on the month). On the first day of the month a sacrifice was made to Juno, in the course of which Janus was invoked. Juno, supported by Janus, the god of beginnings, assisted in the 'birth' of the new month. The sacrifice was performed on the Capitol, in the *curia calabra*, by a minor pontiff who afterwards announced on what day

the Nones of the month would occur (either the 5th or the 7th, depending on the month). On the same day, the *regina sacrorum* offered a sacrifice to Juno in the *regia*, in the Forum. On the day of the Nones, the *rex sacrorum* published an edict announcing all the regular fixed festivals (*feriae statae sollemnes*) up until the next Kalends. This ritual was still carried out at the end of the Republic and it shows that the actual calendar of days and festivals had to be set up by an edict published each month. It could not be established by edict once and for all. But the announcements of the *rex sacrorum* covered neither the movable feasts (*feriae conceptivae*), which were announced by a magistrate (for example, the Compitalia, which were announced by the urban praetor), nor the religious rituals which did not count as major festivals and which were announced at the beginning of each year by the presidents of the priestly colleges or other sub-groups of the city.

3 THE STRUCTURE OF THE RELIGIOUS CALENDAR

3.1 The festivals of the 'calendar of Numa'

The traditional festivals that figure in the painted or epigraphic (inscribed) calendars fall into several distinct groups. The first is marked in large letters on the epigraphic calendars. Their names all have the same linguistic form (they are given as plural, in the neuter gender) and they go back to the earliest civic calendar, which was traditionally dated to the sixth century BC (the so-called 'calendar of Numa'). Although the date when this calendar was recorded in writing might be different from the date of its establishment as a system of festivals, it is reasonable to suppose that this was a set of extremely ancient festivals.

3.2 The agrarian cycle

In the civic calendar as we know it, several specific cycles of festivals are juxtaposed.

Agrarian festivals, through the homage paid to their patron deities, celebrated the seasonal sequence of labour and the submission of mortals to this fundamental law decided by the gods. It is easy to see that these 'extremely ancient' festivals were also festivals in the natural, cosmic calendar which had been transcribed into the civic calendar: here, their antiquity corresponded to the particular status of the 'natural' calendar established both before the city and outside the framework of civic religion. The reuse of this cycle may be interpreted as inscribing the natural rhythm of the year within civic time, in accordance with logic of civic life. The festivals in question were the following (note the -ia ending, as a neuter plural):

Cerealia (19 April), the growth of the cereals and other products of the fields

the first *Vinalia* (23 April), the opening of the jars of new wine

Robigalia (25 April), the warding off of wheat-rust

Lucaria (19 and 21 July/Quintilis), techniques of wood-clearance and the creation of clearings (?)

Neptunalia (23 July/Quintilis), controlling catchments of water and drainage

Furrinalia (25 July/Quintilis), finding underground water-courses and sinking wells

Portunalia (17 August/Sextilis), entering plots of land (in wagons?)

(Rustic) *Vinalia* (19 August/Sextilis), beginning the grape harvest

Consualia (21 August/Sextilis), storing the harvests

Volcanalia (23 August/Sextilis), fire prevention (in the storage chambers)

Opiconsivia (25 August/Sextilis), organising cereal reserves

Volturnalia (27 August/Sextilis), transporting produce along the Tiber (?)

Meditrinalia (11 October), sampling the new wine

Fontinalia (13 October), controlling natural water-courses and springs

Consualia (15 December), opening the grain-storage chambers

Opalia (19 December), abundant food supplies

You will have seen that some of these festivals celebrated the beginning of the cycle of food supply, others its conclusion. These may be complemented by the movable festivals of the *feriae Sementivae* of late January (sowing) and the *Fornacalia* (completed on 17 February, involving the roasting of the cereals); and also by the sacrifice to Dea Dia, celebrated from 17 to 19 or 27 to 29 May under the Empire (when there was good light in the sky for the ripening of the crops). The cycle of festivals celebrating the achievement of farming also included a couple that related to stock-raising:

Fordicidia (15 April), the reproduction of the cattle herds

Parilia (21 April), the purification of the flocks of sheep and goats

3.3 The civic cycle

The first great cycle of 'natural' festivals, associated with the natural condition of mortals and the production of their foodstuffs in accordance with the law decided by the immortals, was matched by a second major group of essentially civic festivals:

Liberalia (17 March), linked in particular with the occasion on which young citizens adopted the adult dress of the toga
Quando rex comitiauit fas ('QRCF', literally 'when the king has held the *comitia*, the day is fastus', 24 March and 24 May), uncertain significance

Lemuria (9, 11 and 13 May), appeasing the wandering spirits of the unburied dead

Vestalia (9 June), the public hearth

Poplifugia (5 July/Quintilis), some connection with the people, but also uncertain

Saturnalia (17 December), a period of general 'partying', to celebrate the end of the year

Larentalia (23 December), uncertain; probably something to do with the underworld

Carmentalia (11 January and 15 January), knowing the right formulae for prayer

Lupercalia (15 February), 'chaos', representing the end of the year

Quirinalia (17 February), a festival relating to citizens

Feralia (21 February), festival of the dead

Terminalia (23 February), festival of boundaries and limits

Regifugium (24 February), uncertain (the official end of the year?)

It is interesting to note that the Romans celebrated two ends to the year. Up until 153 BC, 15 March served as the civic and religious New Year. This month more or less corresponded to the astronomical New Year. From 152 onward, the consuls took up their functions on 1 January, and on that account a number of festivals linked with the winter solstice and the broaching of stocks of food supplies became festivals marking the end of the year. The most famous of these was the *Saturnalia*, the central day of which fell on 17 December.

In addition to these civic festivals were others related to military life:

Equirria (27 February and 14 March), war-horses

Quinquatrus (19 March), the lustration of arms

and possibly also the *Tubilustrium* (23 March and 23 May, trumpets), and the *Armilustrium* (19 October). However, some aspects of these festivals are hard to understand. Jorg Rüpke has recently suggested that, rather than military festivals, they were connected to the actual structure of the month: like the Nones and the Ides, they were originally pivotal days in the second half of the month. Another ancient element in the calendar was the famous horse sacrifice

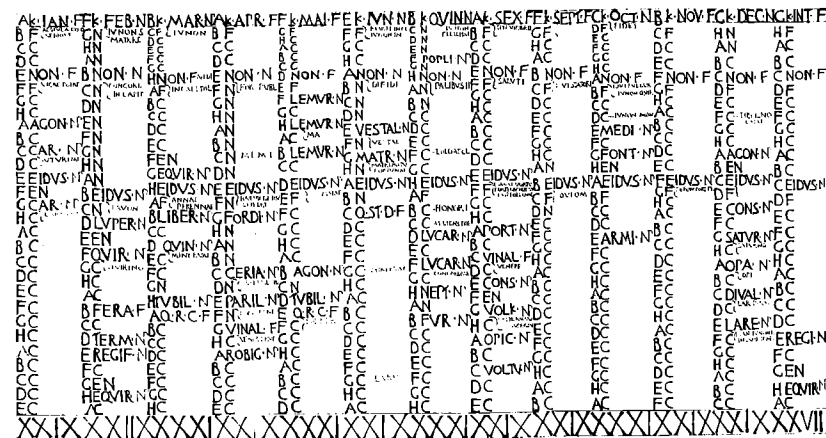


Figure 1 The pre-Caesarean calendar: the painted Fasti of Antium (84/55 BC)

(known as the October Horse), on 15 October, which was linked with the end of the season of war.

There were also the Roman Games (Ludi Romani) of 13 September and the Plebeian Games (Ludi Plebei) of 13 November, which dated back to the early Republic but only later made their appearance on the calendar. These were celebrated in honour of Jupiter and the Capitoline triad (Jupiter, Juno and Minerva).

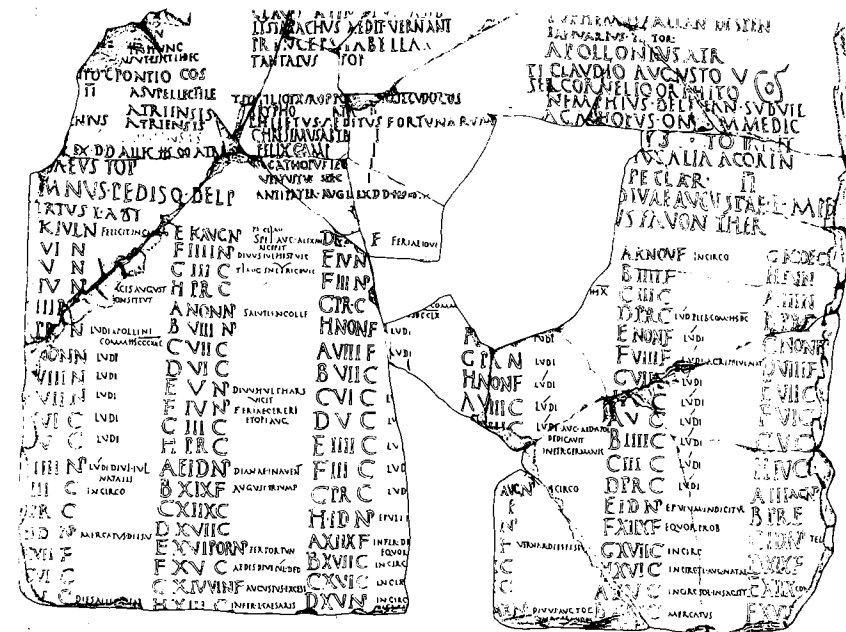


Figure 2 The Caesarean calendar: the Fasti of the staff of Augustus' family (Antium, AD 23/37, fragment VIII)

3.4 Festivals linked to the structure of the year itself

Finally, some festivals celebrated the temporal structure of the year:

Matralia (11 June), according to Georges Dumézil, linked to the summer solstice

Diualia (21 December), linked to the winter solstice

Agonalia (9 January; 17 March; 21 May; 11 December), the significance of which remains mysterious

There is no system which explains the order and the general characteristics of Roman festivals in the calendar, though some patterns can be detected. You will have noticed that most of these festivals fell on odd days in our calendar: the Feralia, for example, fell on 21 February, the ninth day before the Kalends of January. Frequently they are separated by an interval of one day and most fall after the Ides of the month concerned. In general, these festival days were work-free and

included major sacrifices, sometimes linked with quaint rituals which, at the beginning of the common era, were seen as a sign of their antiquity. The extremely popular race of the *luperci* around the Palatine hill, on the day of the Lupercalia, was believed, for example, to go right back to Romulus and Remus. Most major festivals concluded with Games held in the Circus.

4 THE CREATION OF THE PUBLIC CALENDAR

This calendar seems to set out the city's essential activities and fundamental ideas: the construction of time, the beginning and end of the year and of the months, work in the fields which defined men's human (i.e. mortal) status, and the political and military functions through which the city fulfilled its destiny. In other words, it is tempting to see this programme of festivals as a rationalisation of existence typical of civic organisation and thinking, which took the place of the old 'natural' calendar.

4.1 The 'anti-priestly' calendar of the fifth century BC

However, we should always remember how little we know. Jorg Rüpke has recently shown that the public calendar was constructed in the fifth century BC, probably in the period of the *decemviri* (451–449), in reaction against the religious power in the hands of the great families in the early city. Although it still does include quite a few of the old festivals, this official calendar was thus, in its origin, anything but 'religious'. If we study its internal logic in detail, we discover an underlying layer of reforms.

The initial intentions that guided the elaboration of this first calendar was different from the logic of the pontiffs: it was a matter of fixing the precise correspondences between the Kalends, the Nones, the Ides, and the days of the Roman 'week' (eight days, marked on the inscribed calendars with the first eight letters of the alphabet, A to H); quite independently of the religious reasons for dividing up the days. In

this way, it was easy to calculate in advance when market days would fall (in principle, every eight days), without bothering about the intercalary month or the change of the year. It was at the end of the fourth century, in the context of the reforms of Appius Claudius, which affected the religious domain as well as the more strictly political, that another element in the public calendar was fixed: the announcement of which days were *fasti*, which *nefasti*. It is at this date that the names of the great public festivals seem to have found their way on to the public calendars. On the calendars of the late Republic, they are indicated in capital letters, in the same way as the principal divisions in the months (the Kalends, Nones and Ides). The names given to these festivals appear to correspond not to priestly terminology, but rather to the common language – another indication of the non-priestly origin of these documents.

Of course, that is not to say that a priestly calendar of festivals as such did not exist; rather, the calendar that resulted from the reforms of the early Republic and that is known to us through the Julio-Claudian inscriptions is a non-priestly document. As we have already seen, the festivals indicated in capital letters on the Fasti that we have represent no more than a representative selection of festivals. Many rituals and even major festivals do not appear at all on the Fasti: to name just a few, the spectacular celebration of October Horse on 15 October, which was linked in some way to the triumph of the early period and the end of the military year; the procession to the chapels of the Argei in mid-March; and the great ceremony for the fulfilment of the public vows undertaken for the wellbeing of the Republic on 15 March or, later, on 1 January. It is thus important to distinguish between the public calendar, with its own particular conventions and choices, and the religious calendar proper, as announced and observed by the priests, magistrates and college presidents. The latter calendar was not affected by the creation of the public calendar, whose primary aim was to fix and publicise the system of days meant for civic affairs.

4.2 From a functional register to the celebration of victorious generals and emperors

From the second century BC on, calendars listed the days of the 'week', the days that were *fasti* and those that were *nefasti*, the divisions of the month, and the old festivals, and they were beginning to indicate, in small or red letters, the anniversaries of the principal temples and other religious events. This change goes back to Fulvius Nobilior, who had the first calendar of this type displayed in the temple of Hercules of the Muses, which had been consecrated between 180 and 170 BC. Temple anniversaries constituted, according to Jorg Rüpke, the main reason for the introduction (or perhaps reintroduction) of fuller religious information in the calendar of the second century BC: it was a way for *imperatores* to write their own history into the calendar, at the same time as that of Rome. Quite apart from their religious significance in the structuring of the year, the ancient Roman festivals – or so learned antiquarians understood – did indeed trace the very history of Rome. For those writers, the old rituals invoked Romulus, Numa, the expulsion of the kings, and (in the case of the Plebeian Games, for example) political events; so too did the anniversaries of famous temples (the Capitoline triad, Castores, Ceres, Liber, Libera, Fortuna muliebris, etc.). But from the end of the third century and especially the beginning of the second, the constructions and reconstructions of temples at the hands of victorious generals reached such a point that the architectural scenery of the city was transformed. The anniversaries of these new, restored or reconstructed temples did of course celebrate the victories of the Roman people, but equally commemorated the triumphs of the great families.

5 WHAT THE PUBLIC CALENDARS DO NOT SAY

We must conclude from this that the 'real' Roman religious calendar cannot be reduced to the documents that we call *Fasti*. No document of the type that we might imagine exists.

If it did, it would certainly include public festivals, but also countless private festivals and rites. At the public level, apart from the major festivals on public holidays, whether fixed or movable, the anniversaries of the founding of temples, and the Games and other rituals connected with the worship of the gods, it would have to mention the consultation of auspices, the pronouncement of regular vows (on 15 March or 1 January under the Republic, 1 and 3 January under the Empire) or extraordinary ones, sacrifices to give thanks to the gods, expiatory sacrifices and supplications. And that would still not suffice. It would also be necessary to incorporate the calendars of families, the army, the colleges of merchants, artisans and other sub-groups of the city, and those of Roman colonies and *municipia*, not forgetting those of foreigners. It is not hard to see why no calendar registered such a welter of festivals and ritual obligations.

Moreover, the obligations that official calendars did register by no means applied to everybody either in Rome or in the *municipia* and the colonies. Many festivals and rites concerned above all the magistrates and public priests, and in many cases only some of those. For most ordinary citizens the effect of the great festivals was largely negative or passive: they could not take action in the courts or conclude any legally valid business, or work in any of the public areas of their city. Apart from that, they could attend the rituals as spectators, try to take part in a distribution of sacrificial meat, or perhaps watch the Games held during major festivals. But that was a right, not a duty. On the other hand, everybody, citizens and non-citizens alike, took an active part in the religious festivals and obligations that concerned them within the context of domestic cult or of the religion of smaller, local communities within the city.

It would be mistaken to transpose that typically Roman calendar just as it stands to other cities. The constitution of the Colonia Genetiva, cited above, stipulates no festivals other than that of the Capitoline triad, the equivalent of the Roman Games in Rome (13 September) and, given the

date of its creation, that of Caesar's own 'dynastic' deity, Venus. Everything else is left to the free choice of the local authorities. Elsewhere, the constitution (article 92) of the Flavian *municipium* of Irni, in Baetica, mentions among the days when justice is suspended the festival days (*festi dies*) during which the imperial family is worshipped and a number of festival days (*feriae*) that seem to be an assortment of ancient community festivals.

It is clear that colonies and *municipia* did all adopt the Roman civic calendar with its divisions of the months and the year. The local Italian calendars and names of months disappeared in the course of the first century BC, and there were similar developments in the westernmost part of the Empire. However, the 'foreign' cities of the Greek-speaking parts of the Empire (cities of *peregrini*, those who were not Roman citizens) kept their own calendars, and only a few adjustments involving the names of the months or the fixing of the New Year modified the existing rules (as in the province of Asia, for example, at the beginning of the common era).

It nevertheless seems likely that the major towns outside Rome (particularly those that had some Roman status, such as colonies or *municipia*) adopted part of the festive calendar of Rome. But in all likelihood what this involved would have been the festivals and rituals connected with a particular deity or temple and the new festivals of the imperial house, rather than Rome's whole cycle of traditional festivals. The old festivals and likewise the system of distinguishing days as *fasti* and *nefasti* only really concerned Rome and Roman citizens as such. If they lived far from the capital, the ancient festivals of the Roman people affected them in a general cultural sense perhaps, but directly only if they actually visited Rome. It is also likely that local calendars developed more or less everywhere, in particular from the beginning of the Empire on, when the world's cities were progressively integrated into the Roman system. In truth, even in cities that had adopted the Julian months and years, lists of religious rituals (*feralia*) existed alongside the official calendars that

were displayed in public places. Cities probably put on a public display at more or less the same traditional Fasti as Rome itself, but also observed a series of local festivals. Lists of such festivals could just as well emanate from the cities themselves as from the sub-groups within them. We know, for instance, of the recommendations of article 64 of the Constitution of the Colonia Genetiva, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, and also of the Feriale Duranum of Dura-Europos, on the Euphrates (third century AD); the former reflected the religious duties of the colony, the latter those of a cohort of Roman army auxiliaries.