

least at Rome, only the lowest of the low (Ravens), Lions and Fathers were retained.³²

Another example might be the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus, which came from Dolichē in Commagene (part of the Roman province of Syria) and arrived at Rome with a strict hierarchy, consisting of three ranks: there were the simple adherents, the 'candidates' for the office of priest, and the priests themselves. The history of one of these associations, whose temple was on the Aventine and has been partially excavated, is known from around twenty inscriptions and some fragments. Between roughly AD 160 and 300 the hierarchy of priests, with their Syrian names, was cut down and eventually replaced by a system very similar to a Roman *collegium*, with a distinguished group of patrons, and adherents calling themselves 'brothers'. The administrative functions of the priest, who was originally responsible for all ritual activities and had to be present at every consecration, was taken over by an officer called a *notarius*, notary.³³ Religious titles and functions were thus down-played in favour of non-religious ones. Jews and Christians (at least in the early second century) seem to have created associations with similar structures.³⁴ One important counter-example should however be mentioned, the album (membership list) of a Dionysiac association discovered at Torrenova, between Frascati and Rome, and inscribed on the base of a statue of the priestess Pompeia Agrippinilla, which reveals a highly elaborate hierarchy of offices and named functions.³⁵ Two points are worth making however: the language is Greek, and it is the record of a private cult carried on within an enormous slave household.

In other words, the range of choice open to the individual did not increase simply because more (foreign) cults were represented in Rome. For theoretically it is perfectly possible that membership in such cults might often have been restricted to persons from a particular ethnic background.³⁶ No, the increase in choice occurred because new cults opened themselves up, adopted Roman forms of organization, so that born Romans could participate in them, relate to other members, and not be put off by completely strange customs and roles. It was this institutional assimilation that made real freedom of choice possible, enabling individuals to concentrate on the symbolic level, on ideas of god and notions of salvation. With respect to the social origins of its members, the cult of, say, Silvanus, a god by no means limited to the 'woods' his name suggests, and often the recipient of votives, hardly differs from that of Mithras.³⁷

SPECIALISTS AND PROFESSIONALS

The Religious Division of Labour

Religious competence was widely distributed in Rome. You will remember from the passage of Cato that I cited earlier (p. 139) that even animal-sacrifices did not require the presence of a religious specialist. The *paterfamilias*, the head of the family, with autocratic powers, could perform a sacrifice himself in just the same way as a magistrate performed the public act. It was however characteristic of the latter that, in order to emphasize the majesty of the ritual and its model-function for the private realm, it was conducted in a grand manner. One mark of grandeur is the number of participants: children, subaltern officials and public slaves (*servi publici*) were employed as escorts, incense-carriers, water-jug-carriers, towel-carriers, musicians and assistants (*ministri*). The task of killing and disembowelling a fully-grown boar, sow, bull, ox or cow was far easier with the aid of hefty slaughterers, drawers, skinner and butchers (*victimarii*, *cultrarii*, *popae*). Only at certain moments was a functionary required whom the Romans would have called a *sacerdos*, say a *pontifex* as a prompter or a *haruspex*, Etruscan or other, to read the entrails.

This is not surprising. As we saw in the previous chapter, the members of the aristocratic priestly *collegia* had very specific duties but a very non-specific social role. They hardly differed from magistrates, whether in dress, education, political career or social origin. Even the methods of selection became increasingly similar. The most important difference was that they were usually *sacerdotes* for life (Scheid 1984; 2003: 129–43).

Response to a letter of congratulation on being elected Augur:

To Maturus Arrianus

Thank you for your very proper congratulations on my appointment to the office of Augur: proper because in the first place it is an honour to accept the decisions of so wise a ruler as ours even in matters less important than this, and secondly because the priesthood is an old-established religious office and has a particular sanctity in that it is held for life. There are other positions no less honourable, but they can be bestowed and taken away, whereas in this the element of chance is limited to the bestowal. I can also think of a further reason for congratulation; I have taken the place of Sex. Iulius Frontinus, one of our greatest citizens, who in recent years never failed to put up my name for the priesthood on nomination day, with the apparent intention of making me his successor; so that now, when events have approved of his choice, my election seems more than merely fortuitous. And you, as you say in your letter, are particularly pleased to see me an Augur because Cicero held the same priesthood, and are glad that I am stepping into his offices just as I am anxious to make him my model in my literary work. As I have reached the same priesthood and consulship at a much earlier age than he did, I hope I may attain to something of his genius at least in later life. But whereas everything which man can bestow has fallen to my lot as it has to many another, such genius is difficult to achieve, and almost too much to hope for; it can only be granted by the gods.

Pliny the Younger, *Epist.* 4.8, tr. B. Radice (adapted)

If we are to gain an impression of religion at Rome that goes beyond the concerns of the élite, we must also side-line their conception of *sacerdos*. I do not want to use the term 'priest', since its associations in our culture (mediator, theologian, personal sanctity) are rather misleading. I prefer the term 'religious specialist', which emphasizes rather the individuals whose expert knowledge and skills make possible an advanced degree of division of religious labour and are able to deploy and modify a whole range of symbolic systems in this area (cf. Turner and Vallier 1968; Rüpke 1996a). All the same, 'religious specialist' is a clumsy phrase, and I shall sometimes find myself slipping in the word 'priest'.

Religious Specialists at Rome

A great mass of material falls under this head. I want to deal first with the *sacerdotes publici*, the public priests. Almost all were part-time; not merely were they not paid, they actually had to expend money, and often enough a good deal of it: the cost of *honos*, honorary office. Roman politicians of the Republic were not interested in attendance-fees but in booty and provincial administration. The

sacerdotes therefore were not constantly occupied with their priestly tasks; indeed a given individual might be absent from Rome for years on end. Such people were in no sense pastors. Insofar as individuals did pose questions to such persons, they concerned nice issues of legal or ritual propriety. The colleges' areas of responsibility were very different from one another, and they hardly ever inter-acted. As I mentioned earlier (p. 213), the priestly colleges were not markedly hierarchical, and the chairmanship usually rotated every year. The only exception is the *pontifex maximus*, the head of the college of *pontifices*, who was elected for life. This exceptionalism was due to his unique position in the system, and naturally prompted the emperors to monopolize the office; yet in the other colleges of which they were members, the chairmanship continued to rotate every year.

Free places in the colleges were filled in the Republic by co-optation, that is, the existing members recruited other senators they considered suitable. However, at any rate in the case of the priesthoods that had political importance, the system was gradually modified in the direction of election in the patrician-plebeian *comitia tributa* (see p. 54). Already in the second half of the third century BC, the *pontifex maximus* was elected by seventeen of the thirty-five tribes chosen by lot, the election being presided over at first by a *pontifex*, later by a consul.¹ After a foiled attempt at further reform in 145 BC by the tribune L. Licinius Crassus, the *lex Domitia de sacerdotibus* of 104 BC prescribed the same method in the case of all other *pontifices*, Augurs and *Decemviri/Quindecimviri*, probably also for the *Epulones* – in short, for the four most prestigious colleges. Co-optation still played a role, since three candidates were first nominated by the relevant college. A vote of rather less than half the population then reduced the list of candidates to one; and he was in turn formally co-opted by the college (Cicero, *Leg. agr.* 2.18).

A further limiting rule was that only one member of a given family might belong to the same college at any given time. If a father who was already an Augur wanted to get his son elected to a priesthood (an excellent start to a political career, inasmuch as it showed one belonged to the inner circle of the powerful and privileged), all he could do was to try and get him co-opted by another college. In very prestigious families, the eldest son usually joined a different priesthood from his father. When the father died, this son was thus already provided for. Since he could only be a member of one college (a rule hardly ever breached until Augustus), this meant that a younger son could take his father's place as an Augur (Szezler 1972; North 1990a). Priesthoods were thus not directly inherited, but the system

did provide a means of limiting significant priesthoods to a small number of families, which of course for much of the Mid- and Late Republic also provided the great majority of consuls (see p. 25).

Apart from the colleges, there were also a few individual priesthoods among the *sacerdotes publici* (Vanggaard 1988). They were called *flamines* and, like other types of votives such as days (*feriae*) or buildings (*aedes*), assigned to particular gods. We know hardly anything about the twelve so-called 'minor *flamines*', sometimes not even the name of the god to whose cult they were assigned, or the temple, though admittedly close links between *sacerdotes* and temples were uncommon at Rome. The major *flamines* (*flamines maiores*), the *flamen Dialis*, *flamen Martialis*, and *flamen Quirinalis* were subject to strict rules. This applies in particular to the first, the *flamen Dialis*, who was the special priest of Jupiter, the high political god of Rome.² He was not allowed to be absent from Rome for more than three nights. He had to sleep in a bed whose legs were placed directly on the earth. If he went outside into the open air, he had to wear a *galerus*, a small cap made of the skin of a sacrificial victim, with a point made of olive-wood (the *apex*, often applied, slightly inaccurately, to the entire cap) to which a woollen thread was attached, the *filum* (see pl. 1). He was in fact the only *sacerdos publicus* who would have been recognizable when not actually performing a ceremony. Like magistrates, priests wore the *toga praetexta* with a wide crimson stripe; the Vestals' dress alluded to traditional bridal-wear (but see Lorsch Wildfang 2006).

If by mishap the *Dialis' galerus* fell off, he had to resign and a successor be appointed by the *pontifex maximus*. This however was a rule instituted and enforced at a time of intense competition for priesthoods, but later never used, possibly because the competitive pressure had diminished – even such apparently 'sacred' rules (*religiones*) often derive from particular socio-political circumstances (Rüpke 1996b). He also had to be married according to a specially old-fashioned rite; his wife, the *flaminica*, was responsible for conducting certain routine religious duties, such as sacrificing an ewe to Juno on the Kalends of the month (p. 194). The *Dialis* was also supposed to resign if his wife died; this too is a rule that oddly enough seems never actually to have been applied.³

What then was the specific role of these religious specialists as regards control of the system as a whole? The central point here is what the Romans called *disciplinam tenere*, 'maintaining the established discipline (i.e. the traditional rules)', that is, taking decisions on particular religio-political issues in keeping with the existing body of rules and precedents.⁴ The members of the colleges, whether individually or as a group, were obliged to give advice and assistance, when

consulted, in a wide variety of cases (e.g. Livy 4.31.4; 30.2.13). The Augurs only interpreted the flight of birds themselves in exceptional cases, and then only as individuals, not as a college, for that was the duty and obligation of magistrates. But a magistrate might, as he stumped off at dawn to watch for birds, take an Augur along with him and ask his advice if any problems cropped up. The same is true of the *pontifices* in relation to the religious aspects of the law relating to property. They gave advice, but the Senate took the actual decision. The *Decemviri/Quindecimviri* likewise reported to the Senate after consulting the Sibylline books (Szemler 1972: 34–46).

It is in keeping with the general character of the colleges that their members made no attempt to lay down norms in their written texts.⁵ So far as we can gather from the rather wretched fragments, they made no attempt to write handbooks of religion or sacrificial ritual either for themselves or for the public at large (Rüpke 1993a). The colleges (initially, the *pontifices*) seem to have started keeping minutes of their meetings from the mid-third century BC (Rüpke 1993c, cf. Scheid 1998b). These minutes included details of religious rituals and of co-optations, and thus developed into a source for the Roman historians (Frier 1979). Decisions and accounts of rituals, however, naturally formed precedents; practice became norm. This in turn became a further reason to make a record. Furthermore, the adoption of bureaucratic literacy itself enhanced the status of the priestly colleges, and thus increased the self-confidence of its members. The brief minutes of the only *libri sacerdotium* to have come down to us on any scale, the protocols of the Arval Brothers, certainly suggest this. One of the longest citations we possess from the minutes of the *pontifices* relates to the banquet to celebrate the official induction of a *flamen* in 69 BC. It lists the names of those present, the order in which they sat, and the dishes served:

Excerpt from the fourth volume of the minutes of the Pontifical College under Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, *pontifex maximus*:

On 22 September (probably 70 BC), when L. Cornelius Lentulus Niger was inducted as *flamen Martialis*, his house was decorated as follows: three *triclinia* of ebony were made up; on two of them were placed the *pontifices* Q. Catulus, M. Aemilius Lepidus, D. Silanus, C. Julius Caesar, the *rex sacrorum* [possibly L. Claudius], P. Mucius Scaevola in sixth place; (then) L. Cornelius,⁶ P. Volumnius, P. Albinovanus (*flamines minores*) and the Augur L. Iulius Caesar, who inaugurated the *flamen*. On the third *triclinium* were the Vestals Popilia, Perpennia, Licinia, and Arruntia; and Lentulus' wife, the *flaminica* Publicia, and Sempronia, his mother-in-law.



The meal was as follows:

as *hors d'oeuvre*, sea-urchins; raw oysters, as many as the guests wished; mussels; thorny oysters, wrasse with asparagus; fattened chicken; a dish of oysters and mussels mixed; black and white sea 'acorns'; thorny oysters again; clams; sea-anemones; beccaficoes; loins of roe-deer and wild-boar; chicken in batter; beccaficoes; purple shell-fish of two sorts.

The dinner itself consisted of milch-sow's udders; boar's head; a dish of fish; a dish of sow's udders; duck; boiled teal; hare; roast chicken; semolina; Picene bread.⁷

Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3.13.10–12

Eat though they did, and heartily, the colleges were not merely inward-looking. Even outside Rome, at least in Italy, we find inscriptions mentioning pontifical rules and instructions. Their authority extended well beyond the City already in the Late Republic, under the aegis of the thinly-spread administrative structure of the empire. Indeed, they pushed ahead of it in their recognition as official prodigies of signs observed out in the towns and countryside of Italy.⁸

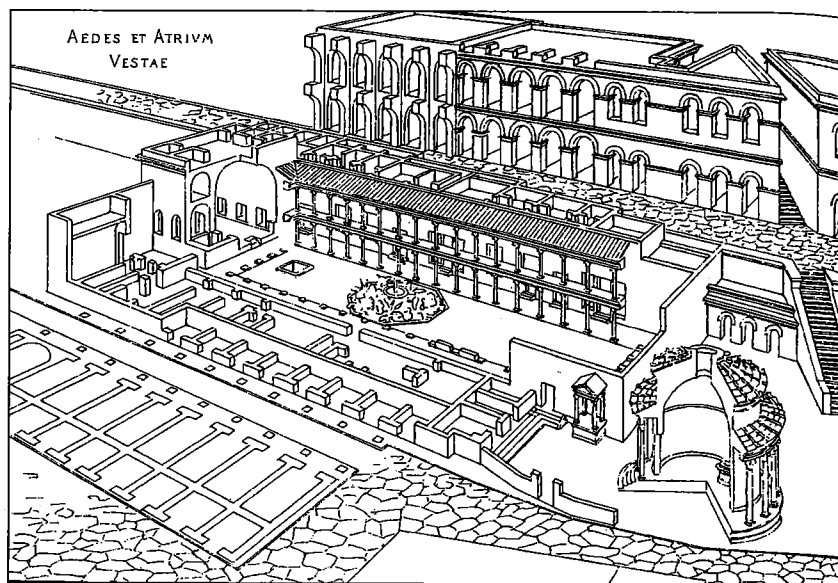
Sacerdotes in Urso

I have already quoted from the foundation-law of the colony of Urso (*lex coloniae Iuliae Genetivae Ursonensis*) in the Spanish province of Baetica (p. 36). It is worth coming back to it here because the information it provides about the religious institutions of the colony gives a good idea of what Roman magistrates considered to be the minimal staffing requirements of an independent community as regards public religion (Rüpke 2006b). In their view, apart from the political offices

20. Statue of a Vestal Virgin.

The Vestal Virgins were among the very few *sacerdotes publici* whose life was largely conditioned by their status. At the age of six, they were 'taken' by the Pontifex maximus and then obliged to serve in the *aedes Vestae* for at least thirty years. Their high standing, which was reinforced by a number of legal privileges, led to the cult and the individual Vestals becoming the focus of a whole variety of ideas, ranging from their own personal sanctity to the claim that they were the guarantors of the eternity of Rome. In the imperial period, the Vestals were honoured with statues erected in the portico of the *atrium Vestae*. The collocations of inscribed base and statues (or fragments), such as the one illustrated here, are not antique. Atrium

Vestae, Forum Romanum, Rome.



21. The architecture of the cult of Vesta (reconstruction).

Cut-away isometric view of the round temple of Vesta (lower right) and of the *atrium Vestae*, the residence of the six Vestal Virgins and the work-place of the public slaves assigned to serve them. At the extreme right, one can see the steps up to the Palatine from the Forum, crossing the Via Nova. The extension of the complex probably dates from the late third century BC; the monumentalization, on a quite different building axis, begins before the fire of Nero (AD 64), but the whole complex was thoroughly reconstructed under Trajan, including for example the installation of hypocaust heating. More recent excavation has not substantially altered our knowledge of the architecture of the Atrium itself.

and their administrative staff, a colony needed (1) a *haruspex* to read the entrails, who counted as one of the city magistrates' subordinate officials; (2) a *tibicen*, a double-flute player, to play during sacrifices; (3) a public slave to see to the killing and butchery of the animals. That is all the staff required. However the city government had other responsibilities in the religious area too: a calendar of festivals and sacrifices was to be drawn up at the first meeting of the city council (the decurions); the *Ilviri*, the two magistrates in charge of the administration, had to organize the elections to the priesthoods, and were responsible for the financing of the colony's *sacra publica*. Finally the aediles were responsible for the stage performances, the *ludi scaenici*

in honour of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, which were an important feature of the public calendar.

Of all the rich variety of *sacerdotes* in the city of Rome, only the two colleges of *pontifices* and Augurs survive in the colony's skeletal staffing. On the explicit model of the Roman colleges, they had the right of self-administration. Minimum membership was fixed at three; if their number fell below this, there had to be a further election. According to the rather general terms of §LXVI of the law, they were jointly responsible for public rituals and games. The college of Augurs had special responsibility for the auspices, but no details are given about the circumstances under which the *Ilviri*, say, had to watch for bird-flights. Members of the colleges had the right to wear the *toga praetexta*, like the magistrates, and to sit among the decurions to watch the games and gladiatorial shows. Finally, it was laid down that the members of the priestly colleges, like the decurions, must reside within a Roman mile of the colony itself. Given the date of the law (during the dictatorship of Julius Caesar; the actual foundation however was carried out by Mark Antony after Caesar's murder), no mention is of course made of the imperial cult, but an inscription reveals that during the course of the first century AD a *pontifex Caesaris Augusti* was added to the list of priests.⁹

Religious specialists at Rome: a list¹⁰

Senatorial priesthoods

rex sacrorum (1)

regina sacrorum (1)

pontifices (from 300 BC, 9; from Sulla, 15; from Julius Caesar, 16; from Augustus, a few more; in the fourth century AD they were called *pontifices maiores* or *Vestae*)

septemviri epulones (from 196 BC, 3; from *lex Domitia*, 7; from Julius Caesar, ?10)

virgines Vestales (6; the chief Vestal was called *virgo Vestalis maxima*; the three senior ones *tres maximae*)

flamines maiores (*Dialis*, *Martialis*, *Quirinalis*, always patrician, and always listed in this order)

flaminica (*Dialis*; *Martialis*; there is no record of there also having been a *flaminica Quirinalis*, though her existence is probable)

flamines minores (12: the names *Carmentalis*, *Volcanalis*, *Cerealis*, *Portunalis*, *Voltornalis*, *Palatualis*, *Furrinalis*, *Floralis*, *Falacer*, and



22. Grave-monument for a married couple.

This funerary monument with the portrait-busts of the dead couple illustrates the spread of Roman (actually Hellenistic-Roman) iconography into the conquered provinces. It also illustrates how religious roles might acquire different gender-specific meanings (see Kron 1996; Schultz 2006). Whereas in the case of the wife, Licinia Flavilla, the personal priesthood of the *divae* (here *flaminic. Aug.*) represented the sole form of public responsibility available to her, the pontificate (here *pontif.*) of her husband, Sex. Adgennius Macrinus, takes its appropriate place in the (incomplete) enumeration of his civic and military career. The contrast is reinforced by

Pomonalis are certain; the remaining two may have been called *Virbialis* and *Lucularis*)
augures (3, then 6; from 304 BC, 9; from Sulla, 15; from Caesar, 16; from Augustus, perhaps a few more; the senior Augur in terms of age was called *augur maximus*)
quindecimviri sacris faciundis (at first 2; from 367 BC, 10; from the second century BC, 15; from Julius Caesar, 19. There were two presidents, named *magistri*)
fratres Arvales (12 members; annually rotating president, called *magister*)
sodales Titii (?12 members; supposedly founded by King Titus Tatius, and the model for the imperial *sodalitates*)
fetiales (?20 members; two named officials are known, the *pater patratus* and the *verbenarius*, who were apparently appointed at need)
salii (12 members; from Augustus, twice 12, divided into the *palatini* and *collini*. Three positions are known: *magister*, *praesul*, *vates* [whose job was to lead the singing of the hymn of the *Salii*]; in many cases, a short-term priesthood for *iuvenes*, young men, until another priesthood offered, or the consulate)
curio maximus (1)
pontifices Solis (created by Aurelian in AD 274, cf. Berrens 2004: 109–15; ?16 members)

22. Grave-monument for a married couple (*continued*)

the objects depicted on the side-frames: a double ear of grain for Flavilla, the *fasces* for Macrinus. The inscription beneath the busts reads: *D(is) // M(anibus) // Licinae L(uci) f(iliae) / Flavillae / flaminic(ae) Aug(ustae) // Sex(ti) Adgennii / Macrini trib(uni) leg(ionis) VI / Vict(ricis) IIIIvir(i) iur(e) dic(undo) / pontif(ici) praef(ecto) fabr(um)* (CIL XII 3175). Macrinus, having held the two most important offices, religious and political, in the *colonia*, switched, like many wealthy members of the provincial élite, through his connections with the governor, or some other senator, into a (probably) military position (*praefectus fabrum*), and then, as an equestrian, into the preferred military rank for men of his class, the tribunate of a legion, the *VI victrix*, probably at Novaesium in Germania Inferior, where he could command Roman citizens rather than *peregrini*. He is shown in the full dress of that rank. The children's inscription, which is needed to complete both the sense and the visual effect of the monument, is CIL XII 3368. Limestone, 1.10m x 0.95m x 0.59m (top), 1.18m x 0.225m (bottom, inscribed field only), late first or very early second cent. AD.

Lapidarium, Musée archéologique, Nîmes.

sacerdotes sacrae urbis (at least 10, attested only in AD 286: CIL VI 2136f.)

damiatrix (apparently the proper title of the *sacerdos Bonae Deae*: Paulus, *Exc. Festi* p. 60.1–4 L.)

Equestrian priesthoods

tubicines sacrorum p(opuli) R(omani) Quiritium (number unknown; e.g. CIL X 5393=ILS 6286)

luperci (?12 members in each of 2 groups, the *fabiani* and the *quinctiales*; a third decuria, the *luperci Iulii*, were briefly decreed in honour of Julius Caesar, cf. Suetonius, *Iul.* 76.1; originally a patrician priesthood, but by the late Republic mainly equestrian with some senators, most famously Mark Antony: Cicero, *Phil.* 3.12)

pontifices minores sacris p(opuli) R(omani) faciundis (3 members)
sacerdotes Laurentium Lavinatium (*flamines*, *salii*, *fetialis/pater patratus*, *pontifices*, *augures*; e.g. CIL VIII 1439=ILS 1430; CIL X 797=ILS 5005)¹¹

sacerdotes Caeninenses (CIL VI 1598=ILS 1740)

(*sacerdotes*) *Albani* (*pontifices*, *virgines Vestales*, including a *maxima*, *salii*; e.g. CIL VI 1460 = ILS 887; CIL VI 2171=ILS 5010; CIL XIV 2410=ILS 6190)

sacerdotes Cabenses monti Albani (e.g. CIL VI 2174=ILS 5009), perhaps only active at the time of the celebration of the *feriae Latinae*
sacerdos confarreationum et diffareationum (known only from CIL X 6662=ILS 1455, dated AD 180–92, and perhaps a case of invented tradition, cf. Treggiari 1991: 23f.)

'Priesthoods' open to ordinary citizens

haruspices (specialist college of 60 Etruscans of good family, headed by a *magister* or an *haruspex maximus*)

curiones (30)

vicomagistri (265×4; also called *cultores Larum et imaginum Augusti/domini nostri/dominorum nostrorum*, e.g. CIL VI 307=ILS 3440; CIL VIII 17143=ILS 6778)

sacerdotes bidentales (at least one *decuria*, connected with the cult of Semo Sancus on the Quirinal, e.g. CIL VI 30994=ILS 3472; CIL XIV 188=ILS 4403)

harioli, *magi*, *mathematici* (all unofficial terms for diviners and astrologers)

Priesthoods of the imperial cult (held at Rome by senators)

sodales Augustales/Augustales Claudiales (21)

sodales Flaviales/Titiales

sodales Hadrianales

sodales Antoniniani, *Veriani*, *Marciani*, *Commodiani*, *Helviani*, *Severiani*, *Antoniniani*, *Alexandriani* . . .

flamines divorum (*Iulii/Iulialis*, *Augustalis*, *Claudialis*, *Neronis*, *Flavialis*, *Titialis*, *divi Nervae*, *Ulpialis*, *Commodianus*, *divi Severi*. . .)

flaminicae divarum (e.g. *Iuliae Augustae*. . .)

sacerdos divi Augusti, *sacerdotes domus Augustae*, *sacerdos domus divinae*

Subordinate personnel

kalatores/calatores (freedmen assistants of the senior colleges, responsible for day-to-day business)

publici sacerdotes (an overall term for the public slaves connected with religion, including the following:)

a commentariis (slave secretaries to the priestly colleges)

arcarii (treasurers of the colleges)

aeditui (temple janitors)

apparitores, *ministri*, *pedisequarii* (servants, bodyguards)

camilli, *pueri* (child-attendants)

turarii, *unguentarii* (attendants responsible for incense and spices)

fictores (the personnel who prepared the bread and *mola* for the *pontifices* and *Vestals*)

pullarii (the attendants who looked after the augural chickens)

praecones, *viatores* (announcers, outriders)

popae, *victimarii*, *cultrarii* (the personnel responsible for slaughter and butchery of sacrificial animals)

symphoniaci, *fidicinae* and other groups of musicians

vestiarii (robing assistants)

lictor Dialis (1)

lictores Vestalium (?6)

lictores curiatii (?30) (the attendants of the *curiones*)

lictores vicomagistrorum (265×2?)

flamines curiales (30; the men responsible under the *curiones* for the sacrifices of the *curiae*)

strufer(c)tarius (officials who made offerings at trees that had been struck by lightning: Paulus, *Excerpt. Festi* p. 377.2–3 L.)

praeeficae (women who led the keening at mourning rites)

Independent cults (highly selective, here mainly Latin or latinized terms)

Isis: *sacerdos*; *Isiacus*; *neocorus*; *profeta*; *Anuboforus*; *aidilis lustrarius*; *melanephorus*; *pastophorus*; *hymnologus*; *aretalogus*; *cymbalistria*; *tympanistria*; *illychiniarius* (lamp-lighter); *scoparius* *Isidis* (floor-sweeper of Isis)

Mater Magna: *sacerdos*; *archigallus*; *sacerdos Phryx maximus*; *gallus*; *fanaticus*; *cistophorus*; *tympanistria*; *tibicen*

Jupiter Dolichenus: *notarius*; *sacerdos*; *patronus*; *princeps*; *pater candidatorum*; *candidatus*; *curator templi*; *lecticarius*

Judaei: *archisynagogus*; *archon*; *curator*; *sacerdos*; *scriba*; *patronus*

Christiani: *episcopus*; *presbyter*; *diaconus*; *subdiaconus*; *lector*; *ostiarus* (janitor); *fossor* (excavator of catacombs); *virgines*

Sabazius: *sacerdos*; *antistes*; *pyrphorus* (fire-bearer)

Crisis-Management

One of the main responsibilities of religious specialists involved in the public domain was divination, the technique of discovering the gods' will in present and future contingencies. Political action was embedded in that constant, intensive dialogue with the gods we term taking the auspices.¹² In the haruspication of the entrails, the sacrificial victim, itself already a medium of 'vertical' communication, was re-staged as a meta-indication of the success or failure of the initial transaction, that is, whether the offering had been acceptable. The high point of this sort of negotiation was the *augurium salutis*, a rather rare ritual performed after a state of general peace had been declared. Here the Augur had first of all to establish by means of augury whether it was proper to offer the prayer on behalf of the well-being of the Roman people at all (Cassius Dio 37.24f.).¹³

This constant checking of the acceptability of public actions routinely assumed a positive result. At the same time, through the device of *obnuntiatio*, the observation of adverse signs at critical moments, it was capable of compelling individual magistrates to act in accordance with the consensus-view of the senatorial class (cf. Cicero, *De leg.* 2.31; Rüpke 2005a: 1441–56). Parallel to this system of checks was the institution of *prodigia*, prodigies, which were seen as the gods' means of starting a process of communication, as signs that required special action if normal communicative traffic were to be restored. The rec-

ommendations made in such contexts, especially by the *Xviri/XVviri sacris faciundis*, the keepers of the Sibylline books, are among the most innovative features of the religious history of the Republic (Monaca 2005).

It would be quite wrong to see this as an open system. All those involved belonged to the political élite (the *haruspices* required for inspection of the entrails belonged to the élite of the Etruscan cities).¹⁴ Only the highest magistrates had the right to take the auspices (*auspicium*; *auspicari ius*); if such a magistrate were compelled to resign, the phrase was *auspicia ponere* (Cicero, *De nat. deor.* 2.9). Not only did the suggestions of the *Xviri/XVviri* about ritual remedies for prodigies have to be approved by the Senate but even the admissibility of such signs was subject to decision by a magistrate (e.g. Livy 22.1.8) unless it were reported by a priestly college or some other high official (e.g. Livy 32.1.11f.; 40.19.2). The Greek verses of the Sibylline books could only be consulted by the *Xviri/XVviri* at the Senate's behest.¹⁵ 'Illicit' Sibylline oracles were not infrequently called in, scrutinized and put to the blaze. Under the Empire, when so many emperors themselves acknowledged the power of astrology, to enquire of the demise of the reigning Princeps quickly became a temptation – and a capital offence (Fögen 1993: 89–143).

It would be equally wrong, however, to see the system as closed. My last two examples show that it was hopeless to try to limit effective divination to the political élite and its specialists. After becoming *pontifex maximus* in 12 BC, Augustus had all currently-circulating collections of oracles called in, and burned more than two thousand of them, retaining only the 'authentic' Sibylline oracles that they contained, which he added to the official copies, kept in a glass case in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine.¹⁶ We cannot of course know whether this figure bears any relation to reality; and anyway it hardly matters, for the actual number of circulating oracles was many times larger. People needed help in taking decisions, important and trifling, and it was this market that lower-order specialists – *sortilegi*, *vates*, *harioli*, *coniectores*, *interpretes somniorum*, *psychomanteis*, *magi*, *astrologi*, *chaldaei* – enthusiastically supplied (Cicero, *De nat. deor.* 1.55f.; *De div.* 1.132). The techniques were similar as between public and private divination (we hear for example of 'private *auspicia*': Livy 4.2.5; Cicero, *De div.* 1.128), but they had a completely different social value. The Elder Cato used to joke that when two Etruscan *haruspices* pass one another in the street, they cannot help but grin at one another.¹⁷ The Roman élite, who used Etruscan haruspicy in public cult, a complex and learned art, were perfectly capable, in a different

context, of using the word *haruspex* as a synonym for the lowest sort of fortune-teller, a *vates* or a *hariolus* (Cicero, *De div.* 2.9). As competition sharpened among the political élite in the later Republic, however, they too made use of such help, just as modern politicians do: from the time of the Gracchi, more and more leading political figures counted *haruspices*, fortune-tellers and astrologers among their hangers-on.¹⁸

Astrology, the art of the 'Chaldaeans' or *mathematici*, seems to have spread rapidly into the eastern Mediterranean from its formation as a discourse in Hellenistic Egypt (probably Alexandria) in the early second century BC. There are indications that at least the word for an astrologer, *Chaldaeus*, 'a Babylonian', and perhaps some simple techniques of catarchic astrology (prediction of good and bad days), soon reached Rome: Cato the Elder warns that a farm-bailiff is not to be permitted to consult any *haruspices*, *augures*, *hariolum*, *Chaldaeum* (*De agr.* 5.4); and astrologers are said to have been expelled from Rome by the *praetor peregrinus* in 139 BC (Valerius Maximus, *Mem.* 1.3.3).¹⁹ Faith in such techniques flourished in the context of ancient beliefs connected with star risings and settings, the power of the Moon-phases and the more recent authority of the week-day gods (summarized in the German word *Laienastronomie*, popular star-lore), and appears to have rapidly won ground in many areas of society, being at least faintly intelligible even to the illiterate.²⁰ A more sophisticated awareness of the more complex features of astrology, however, arrived in Rome only in the second half of the first century BC. At this level, the system's extreme plausibility rested theologically on the planetary deities (p. 199) and philosophically on the Stoic doctrine of a correspondence between the macrocosm and the microcosm. Representations of the zodiac in synagogues (for example at Tiberias in Galilee) and the Church Fathers' perpetual but ineffectual denunciations of astrology, tell us something of its power over Jews and Christians alike (Stuckrad 2000). The reports of expulsions and executions of astrologers, and the bans imposed in Late Antiquity (Fögen 1993: 20–53), imply a sizeable number of practitioners, some of whom, such as Tib. Claudius Balbillus, the head of the museum at Alexandria, prefect of Egypt and astrological adviser to both Nero and Vespasian, were competent astronomers and capable of complex astrological calculations using tables. Both in terms of their loose organization and their circulation of knowledge (and the growing complexity of that knowledge), astrologers can be compared to magical practitioners (Gordon 1997).

There is very little evidence at Rome for another type of religious specialist, prophets. This absence may however be deceptive. In the late third century BC, for example, during the war against Hannibal, the *carmina* (utterances in some kind of verse-form) of two brothers named Marcius, who proclaimed themselves *vates*, prophets, enjoyed a favourable resonance among some of the nobility.²¹ When Horace in his early political poems presents himself as a *vates* announcing bad news, he is probably assuming a familiar role, alive well into the Late Republic – it is we who like to think of him exclusively as an Augustan literary poet (which of course he was too, once he had been accepted into Maecenas' circle).²² Incidental remarks by contemporaries suggest that plenty of prophets were active in the first century BC, who derived their authority directly from the gods, and made their mark by calling for a return to traditional piety, moral renewal, and appeals to 'justice' (Wiseman 1994: 58–67).

Rituals of the Life-Cycle

This survey of religious specialists at Rome may be filled out by considering the various 'experts' and 'craftsmen', whom I have not even mentioned yet, concerned with the major transition-points in life. The latter were of course mainly managed by and for the family itself: the Roman kinship system assigned differential roles to agnatic (in the male line) and cognatic (all other relatives, e.g. sister, brother, aunts, uncles) kin, whom we may assume took part in the religious aspects of such transition-points (Bettini 1991).

Birth was the focus of all manner of protective or apotropaic rituals: people walked around the house, blocked the windows with thorns, made a noise; the new-born child was laid on the ground, and was accepted into the family by the father's action of lifting it up – there are no historical accounts of rejection, for no one cares to talk of infanticide, common though it may have been. Up to the day, the *dies lustricus*, when the child was purified and received its name, a table, *mensa*, not an altar, was erected in honour of Juno Lucina. Boys received their names on the ninth, girls already on the eighth, day (Paulus, *Exc. Festi* p. 107.28–108.2 L.). Given that practically all the elements of the classical Roman naming system were inherited either from the father or the mother (Salway 1994: 127–31), this cannot be considered a moment of real individualization, but it was crucial for socialization into the family system. The round of rituals in connection with birth was brought to a close by offering a coin at

the grove of Juno Lucina (p. 177). Dionysius of Halicarnassus read this as an ingenious device by King Servius Tullius to record the birth statistics (*Ant. Rom.* 4.15.5), but it was certainly nothing of the kind.

It is quite unclear what sort of personnel ran the shrine of Juno Lucina, but the discovery at Puteoli (Pozzuoli) of the lengthy text of a law relating to the management of funerals has provided us with a good deal of information about the staff of the twin 'grove', that of Libitina. The scrappy epigraphic indications at Rome had suggested that the official funeral services were probably located in or at a 'grove', as we saw (p. 177), near the vast necropolis on the Esquiline. The inscription, which dates from the late first century BC or the Julio-Claudian period, has revealed that they were in fact a public utility, as usual leased out to a contractor, which enjoyed a supervised monopoly. The regulations we now possess, the *lex Libitinae Puteolana*, relate to Puteoli, but they may be taken as a simplified version of the rules obtaining at Rome. One of the most surprising features of the regulations is that the public funeral utility was also responsible for executions.

Law relating to the public contract 'of Libitina' (i.e. for funerals) ²³

... if any one dispose of a corpse without burial, he shall be required to pay 60 sesterces per corpse on each occasion to the contractor (*manceps*) or his associate (*socius*). In such an event, the *Ilviri* shall institute a special enquiry by the recuperatorial assessors in accordance with the law of the colony.

The (slave) workers must be engaged before the start of the contract. They may not remain, or wash, in the building where the 'grove of Libitina' is situated after the first hour of the night.²⁴ They may not enter the city except to pick up a corpse for burial, or to inflict a punishment. On these occasions, whether en route or in the city, they are required to wear a hat of many colours. They are to be aged between 20 and 50 years of age. None of them may be knock-kneed, have a lazy eye, be mutilated, lame, blind, or bear tatoos inflicted as a punishment. The *manceps* shall retain a minimum staff (*operae*) of 32.

If a private client wishes on his own account to inflict physical punishment on a slave, male or female, the *manceps* shall carry out the punishment according to the manner requested by the client who has ordered the punishment; if he wishes an execution by the 'cross and fork', it shall be the responsibility of the contractor (*redemptor*) to provide the pole, the cross-bars, the lashings, and the whips for the men who carry out the whipping...

If the *Ilviri* conduct a public execution, they shall give the corresponding orders. Each time this occurs, the contractor shall be obliged

to be in attendance, ready to perform the punishment, put up the cross, and provide the nails, pitch, wax, candles and all the other equipment needed, at his own expense.²⁵ When he receives the order to remove the victim with the hook, his men, dressed in red, must remove the corpse to where they are piled, ringing a bell while they do so.

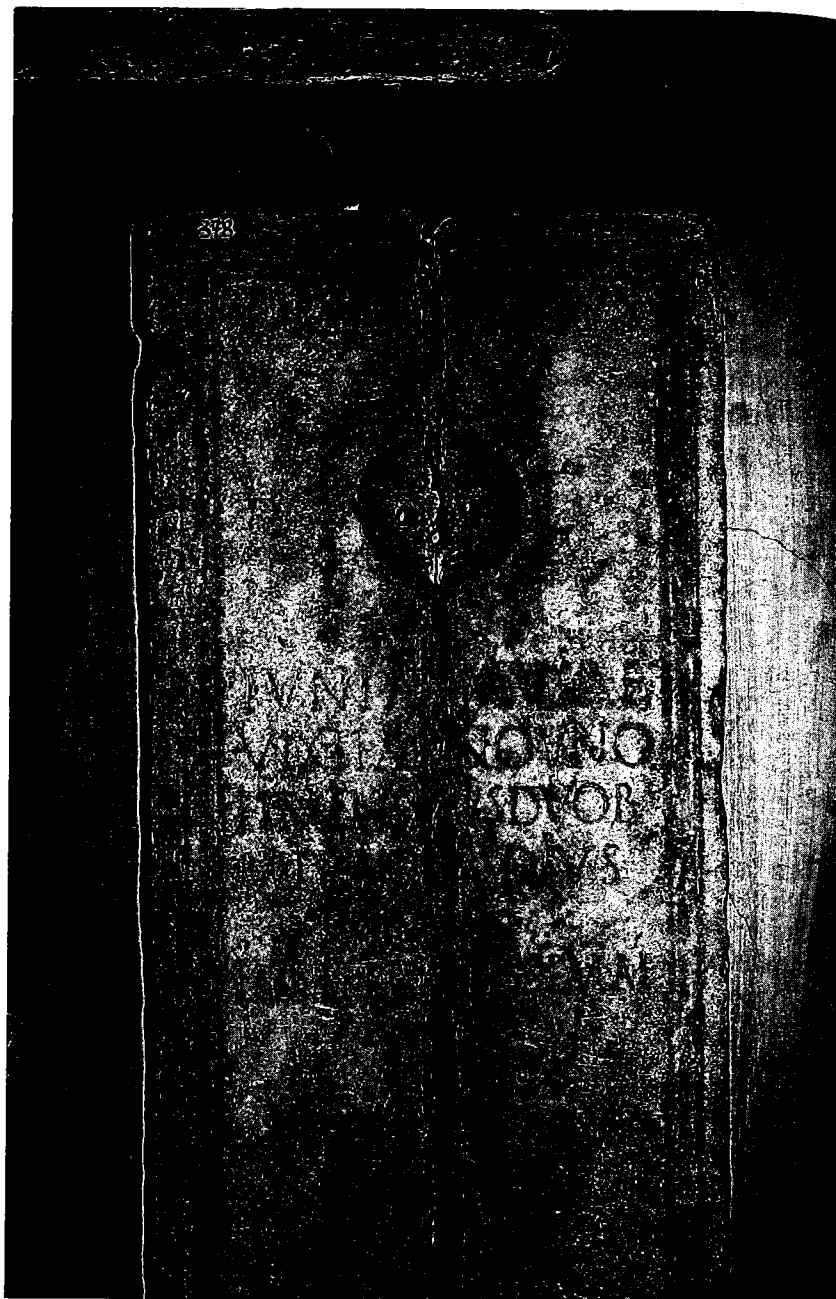
When a client wishes to make use of the services required in each circumstance under this regulation, he must notify, or cause to be notified, the *manceps* of the service or his associate or the person responsible for the relevant department, or, if they are away, the office he has rented or set up for the funeral-service (*libitinae exsercendae gratia*), of the day, the place and the service he wishes to take advantage of. Once this notification has duly taken place, the said *manceps*, or his associate, or the person responsible for that department, shall be obliged to provide everything required under these regulations, and furnish the client who has given such notice first with all requisite services, and then all the others in the order of their notification, unless the notification concerns the funeral of a decurion, or of a young person (*funus acervum*, lit. a bitter funeral), who must be given priority. In such cases, the order of the other notifications must be respected.

In cases of a reported suicide by hanging, the *manceps* must at once see to the body being cut down and removed; in the case of a slave, male or female, if the message comes before the 10th hour of the day, the body is to be removed the same day; if later, before the second hour of the following day.

(Most of the remainder, where it can be read, concerns delays, complaints and litigation arising.)

Lex Libitinae Puteolana cols. I.32-II.23²⁶

The contractor (elsewhere called *libitinarius*) has thus to provide a team of at least thirty-two able-bodied and physically whole men, who had to be on call all day.²⁷ They were only permitted to enter the town of Puteoli when performing their professional duties, the collection of the corpses of the dead in the order in which they had been notified, and then had to wear party-coloured head-gear. The only exceptions permitted to the rule of first come, first served are the removal of the corpses of decurions, i.e. members of the city council, young people and children, and suicides, among whom free persons are to be given preference to slaves. The contractor's monopoly is protected by heavy fines imposed upon anyone who attempts to set up, or make use of, an alternative funeral service, or dispense with the bother and expense of a funeral by dumping the body. At the same time, his clients are protected by the clause that stipulates a fine of one hundred sesterces if the lessee contravenes the regulations, to be paid into the public treasury (III.22-4).



The inscription, admittedly fragmentary, says nothing about 'offerings' to Libitina when someone died. Rather, the community let out the monopoly rights to collect the dead and to supply funerals for a stipulated sum to private contractors, who made their living by charging clients fixed fees for various kinds of services.²⁸ Such a system had evidently existed in much the same form since the early second century BC (Livy 40.19.3). The 'grove' of Libitina at Rome was the seat of a *collegium* of *dissignatores*, funeral directors, where they stored their equipment (Horace, *Epist.* 1.7.6f.; Seneca, *De benef.* 6.38.4).²⁹ That is a far cry from the four grand colleges, but remains part of the infrastructure of public religion. It is also a far cry from the soterialogical cults that promised a joyful existence after death, yet at the same time their pre-condition. Without proper burial the dead cannot live, and the living can enjoy no peace.

23. Grave-marker for a fourteen-month old baby girl.

There is a great variety of different ideas about what happens to us after death. In antiquity, such ideas ranged from the salvation (heroization) promised by the fifth- and fourth-century BC gold-leaf Orphic-Dionysiac 'passports for the dead' (texts that describe the dead person's journey into the Underworld) all the way to flat claims that after death there is simply nothing. Cult practice seems to have been surprisingly immune to such variation. Funerary feasts at the grave continued to be widely celebrated into the Christian Empire, as did means of supplying the dead with sustenance through openings in the grave-stone (as here) or even by means of tubes let down into the grave. The inscription, which unusually enough omits all reference to the mother, reads: *Dis M[a]nibus // Iunia[e] Musae / vixit a[n]no uno / et mensi[b]us duob(us) / M. Iunius Dius / pat[er] / filiae pie[n]tissimae / fec[it]* (CIL VI 35634). Found in 1888 beneath the mausoleum of Constantina, the elder daughter of the emperor Constantine I (mistakenly known as the mausoleum 'di S. Constanza'). First half of second cent. AD; now walled into the staircase on the S. side of S. Agnese fuori le mura, Via Nomentana, Rome.

- e main evidence relating to the normative structure is the two layers of paintings in the S. Prisca mithraeum on the Aventine, see Vermaseren and Van Essen 1965: 148–240; briefly in Beard, North, Price 1998: 2, 316f.; prosopography in Rüpke 2005a.
- 33 Hörig and Schwertheim 1987: 244–8 nos. 380f. = Zappata 1996: no. 18f.; on the standing of the *notarius* at Rome, cf. Merlat 1960: 195. See further, see Rüpke 2005a: 1537–46; Rüpke (forthcoming).
- 34 Cf. Rajak 2002: 335–54; Harland 2003: 177–237.
- 35 Cf. Scheid 1986; Rüpke 2006f; on the Bacchic cult in the Principate, see Turcan 2003.
- 36 The low incidence of inscriptions in foreign languages that relate to foreign cults suggests that the formulation of Beard, North, Price 1998: 1, 271 is too harsh. Steuernagel 1999: 164 offers some concrete examples of exclusion from Puteoli.
- 37 Cf. Dorsey 1992; Clauss 1994. There are two main differences: only 14% of Silvanus dedications are by soldiers; and women, especially in Italy, Pannonia and Dacia, make up 4.1% of all dedicators to Silvanus/Silvana but are entirely (or virtually) absent from the cult of Mithras.

11 SPECIALISTS AND PROFESSIONALS

- 1 The date of this change is unknown; the first such election is recorded for 212 BC (Livy 25.5.1; cf. 39.46.1; 40.42.1; Cicero, *Leg. agr.* 2.18.); cf. Rüpke 2005a: 1623–5, dating to the second half of the third century.
- 2 The *religiones* applying to the *flamen Dialis* are given by Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* 10.15.1–31; cf. Marco Simón 1996: 88–134; Beard, North, Price 1998: 1, 28f.
- 3 Schultz 2006: 80 even suggests that the *flamen* and the *flaminica* should be seen as a single priesthood that required the services of a married couple.
- 4 Linderski 1986 provides a marvellous account of these in relation to the Augural college and the individual Augurs.
- 5 Cf. Sini 1983; Scheid 1994; North 1998 has unfortunately little to add.
- 6 The text contains the name Q. Cornelius, almost certainly an error, since Q. does not occur as a *praenomen* for the Cornelii.
- 7 A number of the translations, especially in the *hors d'oeuvre*, are doubtful since e.g. *turdus* can mean both 'thrush' and a kind of wrasse said by Pliny to be 'noblest of rock-fish' (*HN* 32. 151). It is unclear why some items appear twice. Beccaficoes are not a species, but a general word for small birds, e.g. tits and sparrows, eaten whole. 'Picene bread' swelled like a sponge when dunked in sweet liquid (Martial 13.47).
- 8 Cf. McBain 1982; Rosenberger 1998: 158f.
- 9 *CIL* II². 15, 1033 (now lost); on this Baetican curiosity, see Étienne 1958: 231–4.
- 10 See briefly Scheid 2003: 134–8; with full details, Rüpke 2005a: 53–572.
- 11 On Laurens Lavinus see now the important Severan documents reprinted as *AE* 1998: 280–2.
- 12 See p. 183; also Liebeschuetz 1979: 7–29; Beard 1990: 34; North 1990b.
- 13 Cf. Latte 1960: 140f.; Beard, North, Price 1998: 1, 188.
- 14 On the *haruspices* see Cicero, *De div.* 1.92; Tacitus, *Ann.* 11.15.1; cf. Rawson 1978. Cautionary tales drew attention to the possibility that foreign

- experts might play false, inasmuch as they represented non-Roman interests, but stressed that these dangers were always overcome (e.g. Livy 1.45.5f.; 55.5f.).
- 15 Our sources record about 50 dated consultations of the oracles between 496 and 100 BC.
- 16 Suetonius, *Aug.* 31.1 with Parke 1988: 141f. Tiberius did much the same in AD 19, and likewise added some of the circulating verses to the 'authentic' official copies (Cassius Dio 57.18.4).
- 17 Cicero, *De div.* 2.52, with Pease p. 439; *De nat. deor.* 1.71. Cato may have been intending to oppose the foreign to the Roman, but the tradition of ridiculing soothsayers goes back at least to Diogenes the Cynic (Diogenes Laertes, *Vit. philos.* 6.24).
- 18 I have mentioned above that Marius, for example, had a Syrian seer named Martha (see p. 60).
- 19 See Barton 1994: 32–41; Beck 2007; Cramer 1954: 44–69 is now rather outdated.
- 20 Cf. Eriksson 1956; Rüpke 1995a: 587–92.
- 21 Cicero, *De div.* 1.89; 2.113; Serv. *Aen.* 4.70. Livy 25.12.3 and Pliny, *HN* 7.119, however, speak of only one man; on the complex issue of the *carmina Marciana*, two of which are cited by Livy 25.12.5–10, see recently North 2000. Cicero, *De div.* 1.115 mentions another prophet, Publicius, who may have been, like the Marcii, of senatorial family. Incidentally, prophets at Rome seem not to have understood themselves as 'seers' but as mouth-pieces of a god.
- 22 This aspect of Horace's self-description as *vates* is neglected by Newman 1969.
- 23 The original inscription contained four columns of c. 80 letters width; of these only a strip of col. 2, most of col. 3 and some of col. 4 survive (named in the editions cols. I, II, III). The earlier or primary regulations are therefore all lost; what survives is mainly connected with the responsibilities of the lessee for collecting the dead and the types of litigation envisaged in case of complaint. The surviving part scarcely mentions the actual funeral (*funus, iusta*), inhumation or incineration; this topic was either dealt with in cols. 1–2, or the matter was largely left to the family of the dead person. Mention is however made of the wood for the pyre that the lessee had to keep in stock.
- 24 'Building': the Latin has *turris*, a tower, not necessarily part of a city-wall; 'towers' were features of many villas; Hinard and Dumont 2003: 105–8 suggest that the word could be applied to any building or cluster of buildings outside the city.
- 25 Public executions were evidently more terrible and shocking than private ones; this text seems to indicate that, at least at Puteoli, public malefactors were nailed to the cross after being tortured with hot pitch and scalding wax. Private ones are envisaged as using 'cross and fork', by which the condemned person was whipped through the streets on the 'fork' and then lashed to the cross.
- 26 The old text by L. Bove, most easily available as *AE* 1971: 88, has been superseded by the text, translation and commentary by Hinard and Dumont 2003.
- 27 The number may represent a minimum of eight groups of four bier-carriers.
- 28 These fees were apparently termed *lucar Libitinae*; a rich decurion of Bergamum in N. Italy left a sum of money sufficient to remit them for all the citizens in perpetuity (*CIL* V 5128=ILS 6276).

- 29 It has been suggested that the 'grove' in time became entirely built over with offices and workshops, and that there was not a tree in sight (Hinard and Dumont 2003: 109).

12 FROM CAESAR TO THE LAMB

- 1 One exception is the account of M. P. Nilsson, *GGR* 2: 310–730, though he has relatively little to say about Rome; MacMullen 1981, on the western Empire, although a salutary critique of F. Cumont, is too one-sided; Liebeschuetz 1979 too literary; Lane Fox 1986 is hardly interested in Rome; Beard, North, Price 1998: 1: 167–388 while admirable so far as it goes, is not on the required scale; Rives 2007 is a text-book.
- 2 See Klein 1972; Croke and Harries 1982 (documents); Chuvin 1990; Athanassiadi and Frede 1999.
- 3 Ahn 1993; Bendlin 2001a; Rüpke 2001a.
- 4 Cf. Bowersock 1969; Reale 1990.
- 5 Cf. Merkelbach 1984: 146–88; Clauss 2000: 22–41; nuances in Gordon 2007. The archaeological material is collected in Vermaseren 1956–60, now rather out of date.
- 6 Cf. Clauss 2000: 42–8. The largest known mithraeum, at the Roman villa at Els Munts, north of Tarragona (Spain), measures 30 x 8.70m, giving a superficial area of 250m². The sole more or less complete album of Mithraists, from Virunum in Noricum (*AE* 1994: 1334), contains 98 names over a period of 20 years, with five recorded deaths.
- 7 The information probably goes back to Apollodorus of Artemita, i.e. to the first decades of the first century BC (Momigliano 1975: 139f.). The role and scope of astrology in the cult of Mithras is a heavily debated topic; for a maximal view, see Beck 2004, 2006.
- 8 There can however be no question that records of this kind had earlier been kept, as well as lists of members and their contributions, on wax tablets or papyrus, all naturally lost. That these ephemeral records appear now as permanent inscriptions tells us merely something about the wealth of these senators, and their determination to fix their religious commitments in stone.
- 9 *CIL* VI 749–51a; 752–53 = *ILS* 4267a–e = *CIMRM* 400–02, 404–05. On the late-Roman naming system see Salway 1994: 136–41.
- 10 *IGUR* 106 = *CIMRM* 473, with Clauss 2000: 12f.; Berrens 2004: 184–98. In this case however the *synnaoi theoi* are probably Cautes and Cautopates, the torchbearers; the most interesting feature of the inscription is that it calls the god *Zeus Helios Mithras*, attesting to Mithras' promotion in the third century AD to the rank of a cosmic, universal deity.
- 11 Steuernagel 2004, cf. Beard, North, Price 1998: 1, 271f.
- 12 §13 Musurillo. The historicity of this heavily-recensed text has been exaggerated by e.g. Lane Fox 1986: 460–8; cf. the criticisms of Grig 2004 [2005]: 24.
- 13 On the origins of the 15–20 pre-Constantinian titular churches in Rome, see Pietri 1978; Lampe 1989: 307–13.
- 14 Marcion came to Rome c. AD 140 and broke with the group he joined there four years later, thereupon founding his own successful movement. He was attacked as a Docetic by Irenaeus, and at great length by Tertullian, whose

- surviving *Adv. Marcionem* in five books (AD 207/8) was preceded by two earlier versions.
- 15 On Hermas, see Rüpke 1999; on Valentinus, Marksches 1992; Quispel 1996. Valentinus too was attacked by Irenaeus and Tertullian.
 - 16 I follow Claussen 1995 here; date and place are however very uncertain. Note also the tract [Seneca], *De superbia et idolis*, first published in 1984 under the title *Epistula Ann(a)e ad Senecam de superbia et idolis*, which is now understood to be a sort of Christian advertisement to attract pagan sympathy written at Rome in the late fourth century: cf. Cracco Ruggini 1988; Wischmeyer 1990. On the process of Christianizing the Roman élite, cf. Salzman 2002.
 - 17 On the 'Calendar of 354' see Stern 1953; Salzman 1990; Rüpke 1995a: 90–4. The entry for April is translated in Beard, North, Price 1998: 2, 68f.
 - 18 Kötsche-Breitenbruch 1976; Ferrua 1991; Bargebuhr 1991.
 - 19 Jerome, *Ep.* 53.7; cf. Matthews 1992. A *cento* is a mish-mash of lines borrowed from one poem in order to make another; fortunately, 700 verses of the work has survived. Proba's epitaph can still be read: *CIL* VI 1712.
 - 20 Cf. Rebenich 1992. Jerome translated the remainder of the OT section of the Vulgate version of the Bible from the Hebrew over the years 391–406, in Bethlehem.
 - 21 Cf. Février 1992; Hack 1997.
 - 22 Gros 1976; briefly, Beard, North, Price 1998: 1, 197.
 - 23 Boethius and Ward-Perkins 1970: 245–63; Ward-Perkins 1970, 1981.
 - 24 Cf. *LTUR* 2: 56–63 (L Fabbrini); Ball 2003.
 - 25 Cf. Boatwright 1987: 42–6; *LTUR* 4: 54–61 (A. Ziolkowski). Agrippa's original building was probably a private shrine to Mars, paired with his 'Basilica Neptuni'. Hadrian's domed structure was modelled on the central or audience halls of secular buildings.
 - 26 Cf. Boatwright 1987: 119–33; *LTUR* 5: 121–3 with figs. 64–7 (A. Cassatella); briefly: Beard, North, Price 1998: 1, 257f.
 - 27 Examples might be the temple of Apollo just beside Augustus' house, Hadrian's double-temple of Venus and Roma on the Velia (which was partly dug away for the construction of the base), and the immense temple of Sol Elagabalus hurriedly built in AD 222 on a large infill-platform measuring 180 x 120m, to the l. of the clivus Palatinus as you climb up towards the domus Flavianiana, the site of the later Vigna Barberini (so Broise and Thébert 1999; Cecamore 1999 disagrees). The general view at the Soprintendenza favours Broise and Thébert.
 - 28 Cf. Flaig 1992; the point is stressed in relation to Maxentius and Constantine by Curran 2000.
 - 29 Appian, *Civ.* 2.442; Cassius Dio 44.6.2; cf. *Res gestae* §9.
 - 30 Cf. Schumacher 1978; Scheid 1990a: 155–312; Beard, North, Price 1998: 1, 186–96.
 - 31 Both Beard, North, Price 1998: 1, 192 and Stepper 1999 see the matter differently. My point applies mainly to the Julio-Claudians.
 - 32 See Herz 1978; Rüpke 1995a: 396–405.
 - 33 On the dynamic of the imperial cult, esp. in the West, see Turcan 1978; Fishwick 1987–2005; Liertz 1998; Gradel 2002; and the essays in Small 1996.