

GODS AND MEN

The Natural Philosophy of Divinity

If it makes any sense at all to speak of 'religion' in ancient Rome, we have to mean the gods. The entire apparatus of religion depends upon them. But as the Roman historian L. Cornelius Sisenna asked (*FRH* 16 fr.123): Do the gods rejoice in the worship (*cultus*) offered them by humans, or are they indifferent to human beings because they are concerned with 'higher matters'? The various Hellenistic philosophical schools, which had made it their concern to ponder what human life is about, provided a variety of answers to this question.

In Hellenistic philosophy, the nature of the gods is dealt with as part of physics. The answer to the question: what are gods? is a by-product of the answer to the question: how did the world, in all its evident complexity, come into being?¹ The Epicureans, themselves indebted to Democritus' fifth-century atomism, argued that the world came about as the result of the endless collision of atoms. Infinite swarms of these particles, in different forms, collide in their free-fall through space and create ever more complex combinations until they form entire worlds – the plural is deliberate. The gods live in the gaps or spaces between these worlds, the *metakosmia* or *intermundia*.² Their existence cannot be doubted, because we can see them in dreams and visions: the 'valence atoms' on the surface of their bodies impinge (as do other perceptions too) on the human retina or make an impression on the soul, which is especially receptive during sleep or in trance, though occasionally transmission is distorted.³ Although the gods too are composed of atoms, their immortality is assured by the dynamic equilibrium between the positive and negative flow of atoms, and so their bodies never decay, as all other things do, animate and inanimate,

once the phase of growth is completed. The reason for their blessedness is that they have no worries and never will have any, since human beings are of no concern to them. This is in fact the central message of Epicurean philosophy; as Lucretius says: Shake off the fear of divine punishment in life or after-life: everything has its natural cause, the gods take no interest in us.⁴

The Stoics, whose main philosophical positions were established by Zeno of Citium (335–263 BC), Cleanthes of Assos (331–232 BC), and Chrysippus (c. 280–207 BC), all of whom taught at Athens in the Painted Stoa (hence the name Stoics), had a far more positive conception of divinity.⁵ They accepted the materialism of the Epicureans, but believed – at least some of their more important representatives did – that the universe, composed as it is of the four elements fire, air, water and earth, was subject to cyclical destruction by fire (*ekpyrosis*), followed by its identical re-creation (*apokatastasis*). Underlying these claims are two basic principles, *hylē* (matter) and *logos* (reason or God), whose interaction alone makes possible the existence of the elements (which can in fact metamorphose into each other) and the formation of the successive universes. The four elements can come into existence only when *logos* gives form to raw matter. A special role is played by the combination of fire and air, which, in the form of *pneuma* ('living breath' → vital spirit), suffuses the universe. It can also be understood, at another level, as God (Sedley 1999: 388–90). This pure substance, or God, is concentrated especially in the human soul (*psychē*), but also, as the World-Soul, turns the entire universe into one single living being, into 'God'.

The Sun (which sometimes is called 'creative fire' as opposed to ordinary fire that burns on earth) and the stars are also formed of pure *pneuma*. Here Stoic cosmology offered opportunities for assimilation with members of local pantheons, operating, as it were, as second-class gods. Over against these gods (or in them? suffusing them? logically prior to them? – the system also derives energy from its inconsistencies) stands Logos, Order, Nature, World-reason, Fate (*heimarmenē/fatum*), Providence (*pronoia/providentia*), all of which again can be equated in some sense with God, with Zeus. Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus*, written in hexameters, is in fact an encomium of Logos in this sense.⁶ The choice of name, and of genre, permits a juxtaposition of abstract concept against the habits of Greek polytheism. Stoic theology can thus be said to combine elements of pantheism, theism and polytheism (Algra 2003: 165–70).

Neither system, Epicurean or Stoic, risked open conflict with the polytheism practised at Athens and elsewhere. Indeed, the Stoics

developed a theory of what they thought of as the science of divination, the art of enquiring into the will of the gods, based on their view that there exists in nature a universal sympathy (*sympatheia*, 'co-experience'), an occult or hidden connection between apparently unconnected events, between microcosm and macrocosm. On this account, *pneuma*, which suffuses everything, generates signs that can be read as indications of future events. If we look more closely, however, we find that, committed as the Stoics were to the idea of a single, material and finite god, they have abandoned the plurality of deities, and their anthropomorphic (human) form, both essential features of polytheism. The Epicureans were happy to concede plurality after their own fashion, and permitted the practice of traditional cult up to a point (e.g. POxy. 215), but at the same time declared it to be unnecessary: the blessed gods have no care for humankind, so humans need have no care for gods, but should rather – freed from apprehensions – take their lives into their own hands.

What conclusions can we draw from this? To point out that a system is indifferent to self-contradiction is itself to slip into the role of the philosopher, since inconsistencies and ambivalences are inherent in any form of praxis. What we have been discussing so far in this chapter tells us something about what was thinkable in antiquity, and a little bit about what was actually thought; but otherwise, I have been doing precisely what I warned against at the outset, namely fore-grounding texts, especially discursive, argumentative or systematizing texts, as sources. Trying to regularize ancient religious practice like this, so that it can be formulated as a 'doctrine', as a system of thought, is basically to do theology. That is a legitimate undertaking, of course, but it is one that only the objects of our study, namely people in antiquity, had a right to attempt. No modern student of comparative religion can claim this right – even if Comparative Religion, being itself, among other things, a child of liberal Protestant theology, loves doing just that, constructing a new, less dogmatic (and preferably improved) theology for its objects of study.⁷

If we are interested in finding out about the gods of the ordinary man, of the average inhabitant of Rome, male or female, neither philosophically educated nor interested in philosophy,⁸ we cannot expect to find answers by trying to systematize a theology that is at best merely implicit. We can only do so by describing practice, and tackling its explicit and implicit assumptions, its problems and contradictions. Practice in this sense means strategies for dealing with certain problems, means competence in using media of communication (not of

course unnecessary codes for something that could be expressed more easily in words; cf. Bourdieu 1977: 3–9). For that reason, I begin with people, and ask how far religious practices contributed to reflection about the limits of specifically human identity. In the case of Roman religion, two such areas come to mind: interaction with the dead, and interaction with the gods. Interaction with the animal world, which might also have been diagnostic of human limits, was not a religious issue in Rome. In Egypt, however, where a god could dwell in the body of an animal, the case was different (Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004: 183; 331f.)

Mortality and Immortality

Ritual behaviour is stereotyped behaviour. So-called ‘crisis-rituals’, such as funerals, are also characterized by a marked traditionalism. In other words: people have very little choice about how properly to act at such events – one behaves *comme il faut*. Social definitions dominate organic events. This in turn means that it is hazardous to infer the ideas of the individual participants from ritual practices (Douglas 1997). Just as the custom of using wooden coffins is nowadays so ingrained that for many people the choice is not whether to have a coffin but only what kind of coffin (still less is the choice made in view of specific ideas about life after death), and people even insist on one if the deceased is to be cremated, so in Latial and later in Roman culture certain grave-goods were entirely a matter of custom or usage. The objects were often specially made in large numbers for this purpose and produced without any reference to the individual (Graepler 1997: 149–93).

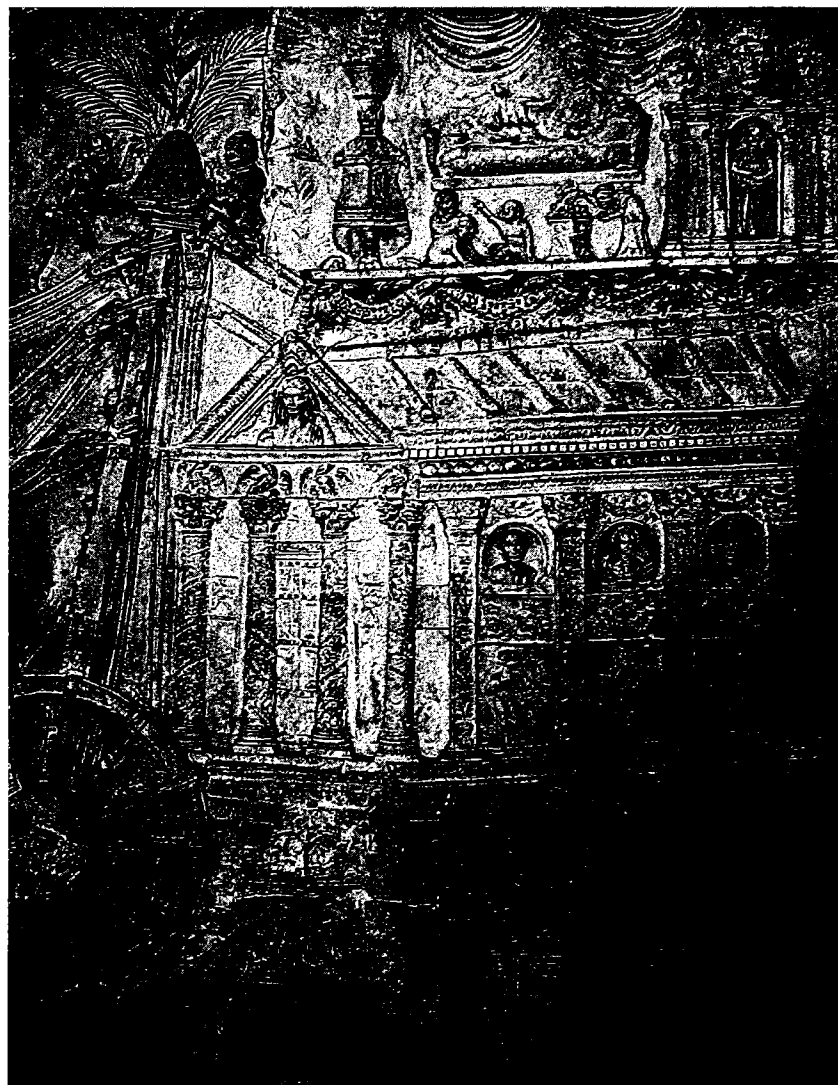
One may however assume that certain symbols evoked a specific range of meanings thanks to analogous social usages, and that most people, though not all, were aware of them. The use of urns in the form of model huts is characteristic, though by no means exclusively so, of Latial culture. This suggests that the dead were expected to carry on dwelling in the locality and to continue the social structures of the living; and at the same time that an existence intimately bound to a particular locality (or rather, to a specific site or house) was regarded as normative for human-beings.⁹ The fact that the dead have to be supplied with grave-goods and food-offerings shows that their continued existence to a degree lacks autonomy, that their identity is conferred, not asserted. The theme of ‘shades’ in later texts makes the same point.¹⁰

At the same time, however, we also encounter a different line of thought. Urns and sarcophagi may assume the form of temples. The evidently different existence of the dead is here being re-described with reference to the gods, more powerful beings. The fact that the dead are addressed in funerary inscriptions as *di manes*, good gods (though actually the practice only becomes normative in the Principate), is consistent with this. Nevertheless the relation of the deceased individual to the collectivity of the Manes remains unresolved. Some funeraries speak of the *manes* of so-and-so, for example: *dis manibus Publiliae Philetas*, To the Manes of Publilia Philete (ILS 7913, Rome); others simply juxtapose the two terms side by side, for example: *d(is) m(anibus) s(acrum)*. *Aurelius Hermias*. . . Sacred to the Manes. Aurelius Hermias . . . (ILS 8094, Rome). We can also find the ambivalence expressed at the level of ritual: people deliberately sought the company of the dead at festivals, such as the Parentalia, at which they held a banquet at the grave, and shunned them on days, such as the Lemuria, when the arrival of ghosts was to be feared (Scullard 1981). Human limitation: the boundary lies not between gods and humans as such, but between between immortals (gods) and mortals (living humans). Between them is no man’s land (cf. Cicero, *De legibus* 2.19; 22).

Gods of Gold and Ivory

Of course every ritual performed by humans for, or in the sight of, the gods plays a role in maintaining their mutual relation (I will discuss this more fully when we come to sacrifice). Here I want to concentrate on those situations in which Romans had immediate contact with gods, namely in front of the cult-image. Both iconic and aniconic cult were known at Rome. When they came to think about this fact, Romans like Varro – and in this they were just like the Greeks – came to the conclusion that simple aniconic cult, cult without anthropomorphic images of the gods, was earlier than the phase of anthropomorphic cult-images, which easily tends to drift into luxury and excess, and to that extent in itself implies a certain degree of decadence (Varro, *RD* frg. 18 Cardauns; cf. also frg. 15).

Now we know from the Minoan-Mycenaean finds that what the Greeks thought about their own cultic past was simply wrong: both options existed alongside one another from the earliest period for which evidence exists. What can be shown to be false in the Greek case can hardly be true for Rome either. We may allow that the grand, non-transportable cult-statue had an intimate link with its temple, and



4. Relief from the tomb of the Haterii.

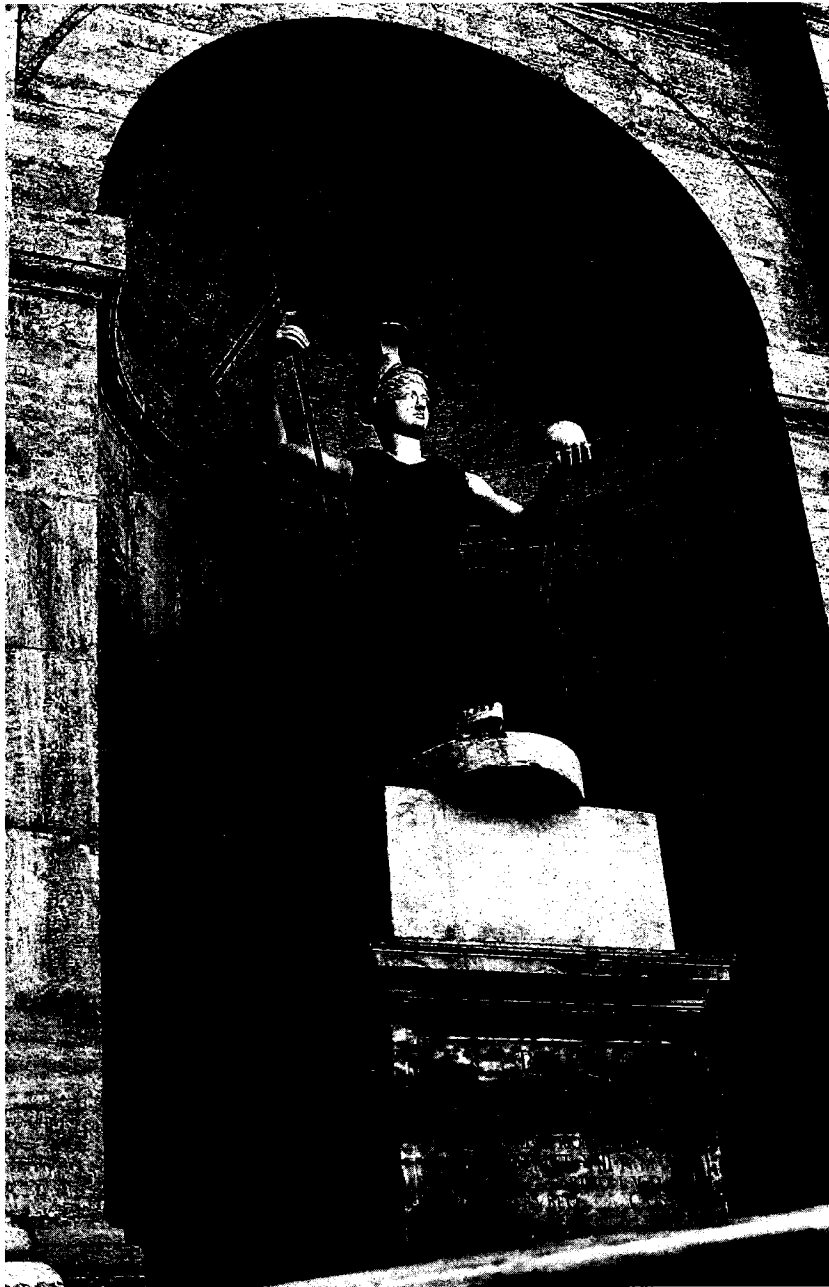
This relief, which is assumed once to have adorned the tomb of a family of building-contractors, is not just of interest because it offers the most detailed surviving representation of a human-powered jib-crane prepared for use (cf. Vitruvius, *De arch.* 10.2.1–10)! It also shows a funerary monument for a woman in the form of a lavishly-decorated pro-style temple on a high podium. The temple-form, the bust of the dead woman in

that, at the time when the forum was first paved, temples were nothing like as dominant as they were in the Late Republic. *Aedes*, the temple building itself, presupposes a certain conception of ownership that posits the deity so represented as the 'owner' of the temple in question. Thanks to this conception, the deity's connection with, and protection of, the site takes on a different character from cases in which a god is to be worshipped aniconically in a grove or at an open-air altar. In sacral law, the *templum* is not primarily a plot of land but a section of the sky observed by an Augur or magistrate; there was a secondary *templum in terris*, a 'temple' on the ground, but this referred to areas, specially marked out by a spoken formula, for observing augural signs, namely the flight of birds, or lightning.¹¹ But such areas are not divine 'property' in the required sense.

What distinguishes a cult-image from a representation, say a portrait-bust, in honour of a human being? The question hardly arises if we are talking about an image set up in a central position inside a temple. But even then great pains were taken to make unambiguously clear whose image it was. Statements about gods are at the same time statements about boundaries or limits, about human deficiencies vis-à-vis gods. If the statue is of super-human size, the observer is forced to gape up at it: if the cult-image of *Fortuna huiusce diei*, Today's Good Fortune, was 8m high, when the temple-columns were 11m, this was not out of a sense of fitting proportion, but because such dimensions make an

4. Relief from the tomb of the Haterii. (*continued*)

the tympanum, and the eagles on the architrave below it all suggest that private individuals may hope for personal deification after death. This suggestion is combined with portrait-busts of other members of the family arranged between the pilasters along the side of the temple. Busts of this kind allude to the practice of creating portrait-masks of the deceased, and thus to a form of memorialization in which the dead person lives on in the cultic memory of the family in proportion to his (or her) personal achievements. Above the temple, in 'synoptic view', is a compound image showing the dead woman on a couch (*lectus*), with her (deceased) young children playing on the floor, but also an old nurse attending (probably) to the burning of the offering to the *Manes*, spirits, of the deceased on the ninth day after the funeral. To her right is a triple *aedicula* containing a statue of a nude Venus. All this continues the theme of the heroization of the deceased due to her merits. From the Via Labicana [Via Casilina, 8.4 km out of Rome]; see *LTUR Suburb.* 3: 43f. (P. Liverani). Marble, 1.31m x 1.04m, about AD 120. Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Laterense, inv. no. 9998.



overwhelming impression.¹² Images were bound to be beautiful too; such commissions were opportunities for top-grade artists, often brought in from outside, to give of their best; particularly impressive works would be imitated, or copied directly. Beauty could be further emphasized by the use of expensive (because 'beautiful' in the required sense) materials, in particular by the use of gold and ivory (Lapatin 2002). Finally, recognizability could be increased by the depiction of certain attributes, and any possible misunderstanding thereby avoided (see pl. 6).¹³

As far as practicable, cult-images picked up on features also found in accounts of divine epiphanies. How would you recognize a god if you met one in the street? By the features I have just mentioned: size, beauty, attributes; or by the divine scent that drifts about him (important in antiquity, a world without deodorants); or by his strangely radiant face. At any rate, cult-image and epiphany are not far apart (Gladigow 1990a).

Was the deity thought to be especially present in the cult-image? Here the man-made artefact shifts into an indeterminate zone, where one could move at will between the two opposing poles, animate and inanimate (Gordon 1979: 8–10). One might wonder whether a statue's expression had changed, be convinced it had nodded at an idea one had expressed aloud, or under one's breath – this is the typical stuff of ancient accounts. And even if such allusions are most often encountered in literary fiction rather than in the form of reports by actual witnesses, we cannot doubt that there was a widespread desire to be close to the cult-image – to see it, pray to it directly, to touch it. This is also true in negative form: anal intercourse with a statue of

5. Seated statue of the goddess Roma.

This colossal statue, whose trunk is made of red porphyry, not only gives an impression of what an ancient cult-statue looked like, but tells us something about how Antiquity was perceived in Late-Renaissance Rome. To create a statue of Roma, an antique white marble head of the goddess was inserted into the trunk of a late first-century AD Minerva, probably found at Cori in Etruria, and new arms and a foot added in a clearly different, modern style. The inscription testifies to the purchase of the 'image of the city of Rome' with public money in the year 1593, and its 'restoration to its former place'. The

statue adorns the frontal niche, above the fountain, of Michelangelo's staircase leading up to the piano nobile of the Palazzo Senatorio in the Piazza del Campidoglio, the 'town hall' of the Commune di Roma, whose façade was rebuilt by Girolamo Rainaldi in 1592. The statue is actually much too small for the niche: Michelangelo had intended a colossal Jupiter for this position.

Aphrodite was one of the themes of *Memorabilia*, the literary genre that collected stories from the past to offer as role models (or, in this case, anti-models); the theme would indeed be even more revealing if it never occurred in reality and were just a voyeuristic fiction (cf. Steiner 2001: 185–250; Stewart 2003: 261–99). In some rituals, the statue was treated as though it were a living person, as is clear from clothing- or washing-ceremonies, and the custom at Rome of announcing to Jupiter the names of people entering the Capitoline temple, and telling the god the time of day.¹⁴ We cannot say for certain whether at Rome these were daily rituals or reserved to special occasions, for example at annual festivals; the latter is more likely. That however makes no difference to my point about playing on the theme of ambivalence.

By no means all images of gods possessed these special features, in the same way that many were not granted the privilege of such tender care. Large statues of gods were often dedicated as votives in temples of other gods.¹⁵ Statuettes formed part of people's household-goods, or could be carried in their travelling luggage (e.g. Apuleius, *Apologia* 61–3). In neither case do we hear of similar accounts or practices, except in relation to the theme of being alive (the second-century BC satirist Lucilius claimed that such beliefs are simply childish: frags. 486–7 Marx). This fact shows that what we might term Roman iconolatry has nothing to do with a supposedly 'primitive' mind-set. Nor is it an item of official belief, correlated with a ritual for 'opening the mouths' of cult-statues, as in Egypt (Smith 1993). We should rather put it that certain divine statues, namely cult-statues in temples, which had a privileged role in ritual communication, *might* act as mediators between humans and gods, both by way of stories about their creation or fashioning, and through the responses of people who beheld them.¹⁶

There was a further reason for the success of the combination cult-image/temple at Rome (and elsewhere). The anthropomorphic cult-statue was an inherently plausible representational convention: it normally required no supplementary, miraculous legitimation, such as falling from the sky, or being discovered in circumstances that made it specially holy. It was thus freely available, and could easily be reproduced. At the same time it afforded a high degree of individualization and differentiation between deities – just imagine dozens of temples containing rows of similar tree-trunks, or even just standing empty! The relatively refined differences between Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Jupiter Stator and Jupiter Liberator – indeed the dazzling complexity of Roman polytheism *tout court* – presupposes the availability of subtly-differentiated cult-statues in human form.

Action in the Sublunar World

This differentiation was managed mainly by attributes, that is, signs (objects) that regularly accompanied the image of a deity: at Rome, say, Jupiter's thunderbolt or his eagle, Minerva's owl, the helmet of Mars or Roma, the cornucopiae of Annona or a Genius (see plates 5, 6, 13). These attributes however had another function too: they often associate the deity in question with an action. It is in this context that Greek and Roman treatments of divine images typically differ. Whereas attributes became less important in Classical Greece, where representations of the gods tended to concentrate upon idealized human figures (for example in the east-facing section of the procession on the Parthenon frieze, where the gods are hardly distinguishable from the human beings), at Rome attributes become increasingly common.

It has been suggested that this might have to do with a contrast between a Greek concern with being or state, and Roman concentration on action (Radke 1970). Such contrasts between Greece and Rome can be helpful if we are trying to chart contours and contrasts in the Mediterranean area in antiquity – such differences are easily missed nowadays because we have to look at that world from such a great temporal and cultural distance. However they are dangerous if the claim is that we are thereby saying something deeply insightful about the essential nature of both 'peoples' (a term that can anyway only be applied in quite different senses to the city of Rome and the Greek civilization of the eastern Mediterranean). One such essentialist contrast might be between the Greeks' capacity for hard thinking over against the sober, down-to-earth, practically-minded peasants of Roman Italy. Such judgements of course tell us more about the speaker than about the past, since their real function is to define a view of one's own culture by reference to ancient ones. In nineteenth-century Germany, for example, it was common to view 'the Germans', who had proved themselves in 1848 incapable of creating their own nation-state, as the pensive Greeks of the North. In the twentieth century, a similar idea continued to attract intellectuals (the study of Latin at universities still suffers from this over-valuing of the Greeks), while for others it was the Roman imperial tradition that became ever more seductive.¹⁷

What is the use of an opposition such as 'action' and 'state' in our context? One certainly cannot use it, for example, to explain the difference between Greek ideas about cult-statues and temples, and Roman ones. Although there are many exceptions, the Greeks often

placed the cult-statue somewhat away from the back-wall of the *cella* (the main central chamber), as in the case of the gold-and-ivory statue of Athena Parthenos in the Parthenon on the Acropolis at Athens, or that of Nemesis at Rhamnous in Attica. The typical Greek temple itself was erected on a stepped platform (stylobate) with between three and five stone risers; this flight of steps ran continuously along the entire perimeter of the platform, so that, although there was only one main entrance, at the east end facing sun-rise, the *pteron* (the columns running all round the temple) was accessible from all sides. Roman cult-images by contrast were normally positioned directly up against the back wall of the *cella*; the temple was built on a podium, usually two to three metres high (that of the temple of Portunus in the Forum Boarium is 2.30m; that of the temple of Castor in the Forum, however, was as much as 7m high), which often provided only enough room for the *cella* to perch on; and the sole access up to the main door at the front was a perron (a steep flight of steps), as in the Maison Carrée at Nîmes (see pl. 18; cf. pls. 13 and 24).¹⁸

Nevertheless, 'action' versus 'state' does help to explain some things. For example, it fits with the fact that Roman stories about gods are stories about revelation and epiphany rather than about families. It is the gods' actions that are important, not their genealogies, their family-trees, quarrels among siblings, or sexual liaisons. On the other hand, it is not the Romans' 'nature' that explains why it was these kinds of stories that were told over and over again. Just as we saw in the case of the iconographic emphasis on action in connection with cult-images, the explanation lies in social structures and social 'semantics' (habits of mind transmitted by language) developed over long periods of time.

All these features cohere once we start thinking of a discourse about gods as a discourse about power. The Roman Republic – by which I mean the polity dominated by an élite committed both to competition and to consensus – linked the bestowal of executive power to duties, the acquisition of prestige to achievement. Legitimate power was wielded only by a consul, a praetor, a dictator or legate, not by individuals because they happened to be extraordinarily rich, or by the incompetent scions of ancient families. Prestige was derived from success and largesse expended for the common weal, the *res publica*, not from mere ancestry. So it is only fitting that the two gods worshipped in Greece as the Dioscuri (literally: 'sons of Zeus', a pair of brothers intimately linked to one another by their shifts of location between the world of humans and the underworld, as reported in Greek myths) at Rome did not receive a temple and cult on that account, but for riding into battle to save the Romans from the Latins



6. The Capitoline Triad.

This is the only surviving free-standing statue-group representing the three deities who were worshipped together on the Capitol and invoked above all in political contexts: in the centre, Jupiter (*Iuppiter*) with the thunderbolt, and an eagle at his feet; on the right Juno (*Iuno*) with her peacock, and on the left Minerva in a helmet, with the owl of Greek Athena. Although they are shown sitting together on a settle – quite unlike the case in the Capitoline temple, where each had a separate cult-statue – no attempt is made to suggest any family relationship. The piece was apparently found during clandestine digging in a private villa at Guidonia (territory of Tibur/Tivoli). It may have been placed in a *lararium*; at any rate, it is unlikely to be a cult-image from a temple. Its history exemplifies a standing problem of Italian archaeology: having been illegally acquired by a Swiss dealer, it was sold to a private American collector; fortunately the Italian archaeological police got wind of the affair in 1994, and managed to prevent this unique piece from disappearing into the limbo of guilty secrets.

Dimensions: 1.20m long, 0.90m high. Luni marble, late Antonine (AD 160–80). Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Palestrina.

at Lake Regillus in 496 BC (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.1–3; Cornell 1995: 293f.). Dionysius here speaks of two gods, but Aulus Postumius in fact only vowed a temple to Castor (Livy 2.20.13), so that, despite some muddle in our sources, it was properly known as *aedes Castoris*, the temple of Castor.¹⁹

In 1937, Carl Koch went still farther in his notable book on Roman Jupiter. He argued that the nobility systematically removed all genealogical features from their conception of Jupiter (who is of course politically central), thus making clear that divine ancestry was irrelevant to the political position of aristocratic Roman families. Koch took for granted that the structure of Roman polytheism was identical to that of the Greeks. This may be doubted (Mora 1995a). But his wider point, and its connection to Republican political structure, is acute. We may recall that many Roman cult-statues show the gods seated on thrones or chairs (see figs. 5 and 6). It is no accident that Roman magistrates officially received visitors, such as ambassadors, seated on the curule chair, while the visitors had to stand. In other words, the iconographic representation of the Roman gods' superiority is based on the official protocol of Roman ceremonial custom.

It would of course be wrong either to overwork such a sociological interpretation or to oversimplify it. If we look more closely, we find that political power at Rome was closely regulated in terms of time and space. The executive powers of the highest Roman magistracies were granted for one year only, and limited to a particular area, a *provincia*, province. That said, it is characteristic of the power of these magistracies that it was in principle unlimited, and only slowly came to be restricted and placed under the control (normally) of the Senate. This was a wearisome process, and even then the limitations applied only in certain cases, which had to be fully argued through. It became necessary when the basic strategy of constraining the behaviour of individual magistrates by means of the traditional virtues and values, what the Romans called *mos maiorum*, ancestral custom, failed to work.

Religion – ideas about gods, the pantheon – does not mirror exactly what is perceived as political reality. But ideas about gods can be regarded as a conceptual medium, as a language, as a set of symbols, which allow discussion about *human* behaviour, and indeed as such have a great deal of authority (Gladigow 1979). This explains why the virtues that are supposed to characterize the actions of the élite are worshipped as divinities, why cult-statues and temples are constructed for them. *Concordia*, *Honos*, *Virtus*, Concord, Honour, Manliness are just as much gods as Diana or Hercules.²⁰

If we think of the invention, or rather the advent, of new gods and epithets not simply as the direct expression of political structures but as an outcome of thinking about action, we start to take note of different groups of gods. Prayers containing unusually detailed lists of gods

survive for some rituals. The best example is provided by the Fabius Pictor whom I mentioned earlier, the writer on pontifical law; the passage happens to be quoted by Servius, the late-antique commentator on Vergil. During the *sacrum cereale*, a ritual held on December 13th each year for the goddesses Tellus (Earth) and Ceres, who was especially concerned with grain-farming (her gifts are *cerealia*, cereals, as in corn-flakes), the priest who conducted the ritual (the *flamen Cerealis*) invoked the following twelve divinities: Vervactor, Redarator, Inporcitor, Insitor, Obarator, Occator, Sarritor, Subruncinator, Messor, Convector, Conditor, Promitor.²¹ In translation the names mean: First Spring-Plougher, Second-Plougher, Ridge-Maker, Broadcaster, Seed-Coverer (or Clod-Smasher), Harrower, Manual Hoer, Manual Weed-Root-Remover, Reaper, Grain-Transporter, Granary Protector, Bringer-Forth for Use.²² This sounds like a pretty thorough list of grain-farming procedures but it could have been much longer – for example, the crucial processes of threshing and winnowing are not mentioned – and thus represents a considerable simplification, even idealization, of reality.²³

In the contexts of conception, pregnancy, birth and the child's first movements, we have reports from different sources of dozens of supervisory divinities, from Ianus, deus Consevius, Saturnus and Liber (the Liberator, who 'liberates' men in ejaculation), Fluvionia and dea Alemona (who nourish the unborn baby in the womb), Nona and Decima (responsible for ensuring birth at full-term), to Carmenta Postverta and Carmenta Prorsa (responsible for the position of the child during the birth), Intercidona, Picumnus, Pilumnus and Deverra (protection against dangers), and even Candelifera (somehow connected with the candle-light during childbirth) (Varro, *RD frags.* 55ff. Cardauns). This list is again of course incomplete, and a similar one could be made for the wedding, listing the *di nuptiales* or *di coniugales*. Where Varro found these names is unclear. Some of them may be taken from the relevant rituals, but in several cases he may himself have connected them speculatively with the issue of procreation (a number of different explanations for them survive from antiquity). This does not necessarily make him wrong. Varro cannot be treated as some older colleague in Comparative Religion, who has got things 'wrong'; his *Antiquitates RD* constitute part of our field of study, part of Roman religion.

The gods I have listed here may well sound like bad medicine or poor natural science. Ever since the Enlightenment such an interpretation of ancient (and not only ancient) religion has enjoyed considerable success. A rationalist positivist such as Auguste Comte (1798–1857), who believed in man's innate tendency towards

progress, saw magic and religion as so much backsliding from the ever more effective explanation of the world along the lines of the laws of nature, that is science, leading to a progressive reduction in the scope for mystery and the unknown (cf. Preus 1987). But if one examines the areas of human endeavour addressed in this way by religious symbols, what connects them is the attempt to act in complex, high-risk situations, to act in contexts where there is a high degree of uncertainty: access to and control of power, marriage, conception and birth, travel, agriculture.²⁴

Concentrating religious attention on these areas also had its downside. Roman behaviour towards the gods is characterized by the considerable distance that it posits between gods and human-beings, by its extensive 'profane' areas (Scheid 1993). Contacts between the two spheres are sporadic and limited to special situations. When they do occur, they are typically very precise: to make absolutely sure of your addressee, you addressed lesser-known gods with the formula *sive deus sive dea*, whether you be god or goddess (Alvar 1985). This is not a sign of defective individualization typical of a primitive, quasi-animist religion, as scholars of Roman religion often thought at a time when they were influenced by the evolutionary models of religion developed by Herbert Spencer (1820–96) or Edward Tylor (1832–1917). It is a true question, whose significance is only intelligible in the context of a pronounced tendency towards anthropomorphism. Such a model of the gods naturally reckons differentiation by gender to be crucial to the establishment of their identity, and thus serves to emphasize the importance of the same differentiation in Roman society (Saller 1984). But away from such points of contact, the *pax deorum* was considered to be the normal state of affairs, that is, peaceful co-existence between two parties, divine and human, who have agreed not to interfere with one another except under particular, well-defined circumstances (it is difficult to translate the nuances of the Latin phrase, hence the periphrasis).

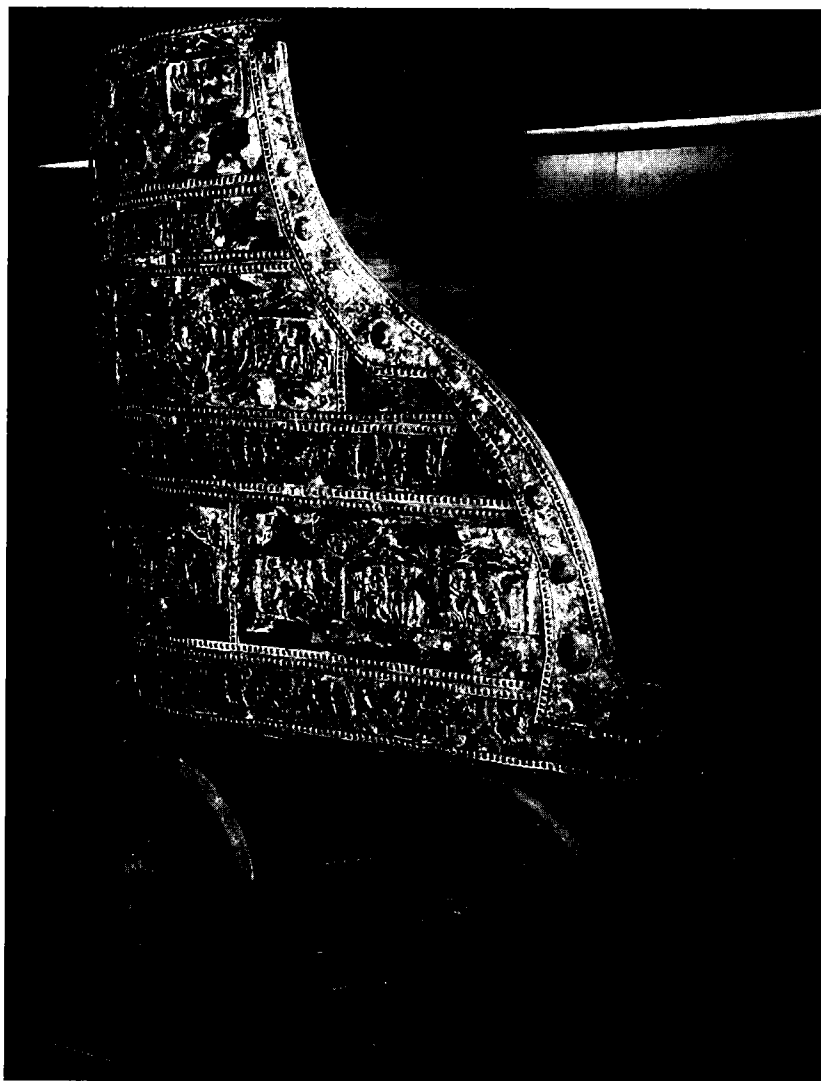
When disturbances did occur, such as 'postulatory lightning' (*postularia fulgura*), sent to remind the Romans of sacrifices they had forgotten or vows they had left unfulfilled (Festus p. 284.9–11 L.), or other omens, it was necessary to determine again the precise identity of the deity who had taken offence. In some cases, several priestly colleges were consulted to discover the deity in question, the reason for his or her anger, and the form of ritual remedy required. This procedure too can, indeed should, be read as a distancing-strategy, as a device to ensure that each party remains in his separate sphere. If the cause were simply the misbehaviour of a single individual, the discussion took the form of enquiring how the deity could be recompensed:

a typical example is a ritual fault that has been committed unintentionally, in Latin *piaculum*, an act requiring expiation because it has interrupted the mutual *pietas* between gods and humans (Varro, *LL* 6.29; Livy 5.52.14). Such an act could be set to rights by a (reverse) *piaculum*, an expiatory sacrifice, a sacrifice to restore mutual *pietas*.²⁵ Otherwise, society excluded the guilty person in more or less dramatic ways, and hoped thus to escape the consequences of joint liability.²⁶ As for the gods, the following principle applied: those affected must help themselves; it not the responsibility of society, with its precarious internal balance of power, to do their work for them. Besides, the gods had their own means of exacting punishment, as Lactantius the Christian apologist makes all too clear in his *De mortibus persecutorum*, On the Deaths of the Persecutors (AD 317/8), where he continues Roman tradition in celebrating the vindictiveness of the Christian god against his enemies.

Polytheism Once Again

We know little about the individual, day-to-day treatment of the myriad gods of ancient polytheism. The presence of the gods in their local shrines probably was of great importance, even if that means that the number of gods available in small settlements was limited: just seven different deities are addressed in all the rites mentioned in a whole range of contexts by the elder Cato in *De agri cultura*, On Agriculture. Rome itself was a mega-city: during the Principate its population, including the extensive suburbs, is believed to have amounted to more than one million inhabitants. As such, it was by far the largest city in the entire Mediterranean area, with hundreds of public temples and several hundred, maybe thousands, of smaller shrines – we could just for a start mention the shrine of the Compitalia in each of the 265 *vici*, the city barrios or neighbourhoods. With such an array of possibilities, individual choice of worship certainly was possible; but the actual selection was surely based on pre-formed schemes learned from rituals, or customary in a family (Bendlin 2000a: 131f.).

Under these circumstances, 'choice' was perhaps more often a matter of personal rejection rather than positive selection. Augustus for example, as Suetonius, his biographer, tells us (*Aug.* 16.2), is supposed to have excluded Neptune, the traditional god of the sea, from the group of gods who were to be honoured by a procession before the races (the *pompa circensis*), because he had just previously lost a



7. Tensa Capitolina.

Images of gods and their attributes (*exuviae*), e.g. a thunderbolt for Jupiter or a goose for Iuno, were transported in the procession to the Circus in vehicles (*tensae*) such as these. This example, whose wooden parts have been reconstructed, dates from the third century AD. According to Cicero (*Respons. har.* 23), the cart was driven by a boy both of whose parents were still living (*puer patrimus et matrimus*). Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori (Musei Capitolini).

great number of warships. In one of his poems, Ovid relates his reactions while looking at the images of the gods being carried on litters at another such procession, and sitting beside a woman he has not yet made into his lover:

But here's the procession. Everybody hush.
Give them a hand. The golden procession's here.
First comes Victory, wings outstretched.
Goddess, grant me victory in love!
Neptune next. Salute him, sailors.
Not for me the ocean – I'm a landlover.
Soldiers, salute Mars. I'm a disarmer, all for peace and amorous plenty.
There's Phoebus for the soothsayers, Phoebe for the hunters,
Minerva for the master-craftsmen.
Farmers can greet Bacchus and Ceres,
boxers pray to Pollux and knights to Castor.
But I salute the queen of love and the boy with the bow.
Venus, smile on my latest venture.
Make my new mistress willing – or weak-willed.
A lucky sign – the goddess nodded,
giving her promise.

Ovid, *Amores* 3.2.43-58 (tr. G.M. Lee).

There are several reports of passers-by greeting shrines, or statues, with a kiss on the hand (e.g. Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 2.4, to a statue of Sarapis), but whether they did so at every shrine they passed is unknown. We should assume an entire range of individual behaviour, from abstention all the way to studied attention or even the desire to be in permanent contact with divinity. Subjective interpretation of gods too was possible, naturally within the limits of the individual's linguistic register and cultural traditions (otherwise one's meaning would not have been understood); the examples of Augustus and of Ovid just quoted, but also the poem of Horace discussed at the beginning, prove this. Such individual interpretation is the result of recombining standard items, Neptune and the sea, Venus and love, Mercury and the profession of the poet. To effect such recombinations, it was quite unnecessary to be especially educated: in the case of Horace, for example, his readers simply had to read the earlier poems in the same book.

Differing Conceptions of Divinity

Even if there are advantages in reading a religion as a way of thinking about human limits, about power and action, and at the same

time as the medium by means of which this thinking can be communicated, in rituals, images and words, one can hardly expect that the products, or the course, of such reflection and communication is going to be uniform. Communication will change through time. It will function differently in different social strata. In certain contexts, the differences may be very marked, though our sources provide only meagre information about them. One example might be the fact that the founders of temples in the Republican period are very different sort of people from those who erected tombstones in the Empire: in the first case, a tiny élite, in the second, a broad segment of the population. To say more about communicatory variation, I shall have to blur still further the general picture, itself pretty vague, that I have drawn so far.

In the late Republic, cases become more frequent where we find individuals trying to escape from the model of consent, which they came to find too limiting. Individual members of the élite (whom we could also call 'politicians') began to see themselves as enjoying the special favour of certain divinities. They tried to promote these gods by selecting a special site for a new temple, by building on an especially impressive scale, by creating new religio-social hierarchies. These are all means of bolstering one's position, enhancing one's prestige.²⁷ The trend becomes even more marked in the Principate, though for political reasons it was rapidly limited to the current dynasty. A slowly developing absolute monarchy and a monistic world view (I mean one founded upon a unitary principle, not necessarily monotheism) are snug bed-fellows.²⁸ Chicken-and-egg-like, they exercise a mutual influence upon one other – sometimes, through failure to be flexible, for the worse.

At the same time, lower down the social scale, at the level of the economically successful freedmen – who formed an especially mobile element of Roman society in each locality – we find a type of ritual action generally known as personal deification (though I find the term too narrowly 'theological'). Overall there are several hundred clear examples. Such people had themselves represented on their tombstones as gods. More precisely, the person's portrait is combined with a familiar divine iconographic type, and the attributes of the god. The gods chosen are mostly Mercury and Hercules, appropriate to the freedmen's professions as merchants and craftsmen (Wrede 1981). This has nothing to do with the claim to exclusiveness asserted by upper-class genealogies, but it is a good example of how religious symbols can be used as media of communication about human actions.

Seen in the same light, the imperial cult, the deification of the emperors and the related dynastic cults, are perfectly natural developments (Clauss 1999; Gradel 2002). The deification of human-beings, which seems a kind of perversion to ancient Christians and modern historians of religion alike, is in fact an integral possibility of Roman polytheism, even if the aristocrats who helped rule the Empire had certain reservations about it.

nus' translation was widely read in the late Republic (Bosworth 1999: f.), though by then many educated people considered Euhemerus an atheist; Cicero, *De nat. deor.* 1.119; this had also been Callimachus' reaction (*Iamb.* frag. 191 Pfeiffer). The sophist Prodicus (c. 465-395 BC) had already argued that it was the human-beings who invented agriculture that were deified as Demeter and Dionysus (Bremmer 2006: 14f.). A number of other hostile judgements on Euhemerus are collected in FGrH 63 T 4 = Winiarczyk 1991 T 14-23.

- 46 See Jocelyn 1976; Rawson 1985; Leonhardt 1999.
- 47 Cf. Cicero, *Brutus* 81; he is Fabius no. 128 in RE 6.2 (1909) 1842-4.
- 48 Cf. Jocelyn 1980, 1982; critical view by Lehmann 1997. See also in brief Fantham 1996: 45f.
- 49 I here go against the *communis opinio* deriving from Cichorius 1922: 197-200.
- 50 On the eve of his march on Rome against the Marians in 84 BC, Sulla claimed to have seen a dream-vision of Ma-Enyo-Bellona, the high goddess of Comana in Cappadocia, who pressed a thunderbolt into his hand and bade him punish his enemies (Plutarch, *Sulla* 9.4; cf. Strabo 12.2.3, 535C). He thus neatly fused references to the (legitimate) power of the highest Roman political god, the blood-soaked imagery of the *bellonarii*, the ecstatic self-lacerating followers of Ma, and his exploits in Asia Minor against Mithridates.
- 51 Weinstock 1971 gives a full account of the pre-history of Caesar's deification (to be read with North 1975); it remains disputed whether Caesar was worshipped during his life-time as a state god, and if so in what sense: see Beard, North Price, 1998: 1, 140-9. Cf. also Wallace-Hadrill 1993 on the assimilation of Greek practices of veneration in the Republic.

3 GODS AND MEN

- 1 Good introductions: Hossenfelter 1995; Sharples 1996; in Rome: Erler et al. 1994.
- 2 Cf. Lucretius, *Nat. rer.* 3.18-24; 5.146-55. The sources for the Epicurean accounts of divinity are collected and discussed by Long and Sedley 1987: 1, 143-54; 2, 143-54.
- 3 On the problems connected with Epicurean views of our apprehension of the gods, see Mansfeld 1999: 472-4; for other positions, see 455-60; 469-72.
- 4 The Stoics too opposed irrational fear of the gods: Mansfeld 1999: 465.
- 5 Sources: Long and Sedley 1987: 1, 274ff.; 2, 271-7; also Algra 2003, and Gerson 1990: 142-74, who discusses the Academic criticisms.
- 6 The *Hymn* is preserved in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 1.25.3-27.4 = Long and Sedley 1987: 1, 326f.; 2, 326f.; extensive commentary by Thom 2005 (translation at p. 40f.).
- 7 Cf. Gladigow 1988: 26f., 35f.; on theology in this sense, see Gladigow 1986.
- 8 Judging from Cicero's complaints, whose aim it was to make Greek philosophy at home in Rome (e.g. *De nat. deor.* 1. 7; *Tusc.* 1.3.6), the same lack of interest was widespread in the upper class too.
- 9 Fink 1978; Gladigow 1980; more generally, Toynbee 1971.
- 10 Cf. Bremmer 1994; 2002; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995.
- 11 Varro, *LL* 7.7f. with Linderski 1986: 2260-71.

- 12 This temple is identified reasonably securely as the circular Temple B in the Largo di Torre Argentino, dedicated in the Campus Martius by Q. Lutatius Catulus after the battle of Vercellae in 101 BC (Plutarch, *Marius* 26.2). The dimensions given are inferences from the remains of the acrolith cult-statue (Martin 1987: 103-11 with pls. 13-14), now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, and the surviving fragments of the 18 original tufa columns; the building was twice altered, in the Late Republic and under Domitian; cf. Sauron 1994: 135-7 with pl. IX.1; *LTUR* 2: 269f. (P. Gros).
- 13 Gordon 1979: 11-16; Gladigow 1994; on materials used in the Republic, see Martin 1987; in the Empire: Vermeule 1987; re-use of Roman statues in the Medieval period: Wolf 1990.
- 14 Seneca, *De superst.* frag. 36 Haase = Augustine, *Civ. Dei* 6. 10 (translated in Beard, North, Price 1998: 2. 234f.).
- 15 Thus, an Aemilius Paullus (not the famous one) is said to have dedicated a statue of Athena by Pheidias in Catulus' temple of *Fortuna huiusce diei* (Pliny, *HN* 34.54).
- 16 Cult-statues and votive-statues are not inherently or fundamentally different, but they have different statuses in particular ritual contexts (for Greece, see Scheer 2000, 4-34, 143ff.). We need to take into account the identity of the god who 'owned' the temple. Scheer rightly argues that in Greece there was no ritual that imparted 'life' to a statue in the Classical period (111-14).
- 17 On Hellas in nineteenth-century Germany, see above all Marchand 1996; on Rome, Struck 2001; the Nazis and Rome: Losemann 1999. With particular reference to religion: Rüpke 2001d: 910; Scheid 1987; Durand and Scheid 1994.
- 18 On the typical Roman podium-temple, see Stambaugh 1978; Ziolkowski 1992; Stamper 2005. As a glance at pl. 24 will show, some especially prestigious temples at Rome, such as those of Capitoline Jupiter, Castor (as rebuilt by Tiberius), and of Venus and Rome, were built in the Greek style, i.e. fully peripteral.
- 19 Correctly: Cicero, 2 *Verr.* 1.129; *pro Milone* 19; *Res gestae* §20; Suet. *Caes.* 10.1; Cassius Dio 37.8.2; AE 1974: 600 = 1980: 854; AE 1980: 858; *aedes Castorum*: Pliny, *HN* 10.121; *aedes Castoris et Pollucis*: Suet. *Tib.* 20; *CIL* VI 40339 = AE 1992: 159; AE 1901: 188; 1917/18: 126. The official weights and measures were kept in the temple, and epigraphic allusions to them always refer to the (*aedes*) *Castoris*: e.g. *CIL* V 8119.4a-h = *ILS* 8636; AE 1982: 818a-c.
- 20 Cf. Hölkeskamp 1987: 238-40. Winkler 1995 is a fine account of *Salus* (Physical and Moral Integrity).
- 21 Fabius Pictor, *Iur.* 6 Bremer = Serv. auct., *Georg.* 1. 21 (reading *redarator* [Salmasius] for the ms *reparator*; I retain the ms *promitor*); cf. Le Bonniec 1958: 67-77; Spaeth 1966: 35f. (faulty translation).
- 22 In some cases the meaning is uncertain because the words are unknown elsewhere. In order to understand the sequence, it is important to have a grasp of Roman agricultural practice, and in particular the role of the normal plough, the *ard*, which did not have a share-board, and so did not create ridges and furrows but simply disturbed the top-soil and the weeds. Ridges were only needed on heavy soils. The discussion by Spurr 1986: 23-88 is fundamental.
- 23 Wissowa's 'the entire cycle of agricultural work' (1912: 25) is quite mistaken. Oddly enough, Varro's six main operations or phases (*RR* 1.37.4),

- which relate closely to Fabius Pictor's list, also omit threshing and winnowing.
- 24 A similar explanation may apply to the naming of deities that oversee the process of removal of trees from the sacred grove of Dea Dia in the Arval Acta, e.g. *Deferunda* (Taking down), *Coinquenda* (Chopping up), *Adolenda* (Burning up), *Commolenda* (Pounding down): *CIL* VI 2099 = Scheid 1998a: no. 94.II.5, 13; 2107 = Scheid 1998a 105b, 12; the ritual is referred to in *CIL* VI 2065 = 32367 = Scheid 1998a: no. 55, but the deities themselves are not named.
- 25 E.g. Livy 1.26.12; 8.10.14; 29.8.9; *CIL* VI 1881 (for the reburial of an imperial freedman 13 years after his death); and often in the Arval Acta, e.g. *CIL* VI 2051; 2059 = 32355; 2068; 2080 = 32375 (resp. Scheid 1998a nos. 40. II 14; 48.18, 20 etc.; 59. II 37; 69.57, 60); outside Rome: *CIL* X 8259 (reburial after damage to tomb: Tarracina). By extension, *piaculum* can also mean the victim offered in such a ritual: Cato, *De agr.* 139; Cicero, *De leg.* 2.57.
- 26 Cf. *sacer esto!* Let him be *sacer*, in the XII Tables, VIII. 21 Bruns = VIII.10a Crawford (1996: 2, 689) (punishment for a patron who cheats his client).
- 27 Marius: Richard 1994; Sulla: Ramage 1991; on architecture in this context up to the early Principate: Sauron 1994.
- 28 Cf. Beard, North, Price 1998: 1, 286, and, for the middle and late Empire, Rüpke 2001c: 29f.; also Momigliano 1986.

4 RELIGIOUS ACTION

- 1 On the procedure at *immolatio* see Wissowa 1912: 416-20; Cancik 1991: 373-6; Scheid 2003:83-91. In the Roman rite, the entrails of cattle were boiled, of pigs and sheep, grilled.
- 2 See Fischer and Marhold 1983; Mörtz 1986 and 1993.
- 3 The most elaborate formulation is to be found in Burkert 1996; a first statement in 1983 (which appeared in German in 1972).
- 4 *Leviticus* 16.5-10. There are in fact two goats, one of which is sacrificed regularly (together with a bull) to the Lord as an offering for the people.
- 5 Cf. Kümmel 1968; Wright 1987.
- 6 Burkert 1979: 71; cf. 1996: 55, taking the example of zebras and lions.
- 7 E.g. Cicero, *De nat. deor.* 2.10; Livy 1.18.3; 8.9.5; 10.7.10. The earliest archaeological examples were found among the mid-Republican terracotta statuettes dredged up from the Tiber (Pensabene et al. 1980), and in a temple at Caere (Mengarelli 1935). Covered hands: Servius, *Aen.* 1. 292; 8. 636. Cf. too *Tab. Iguvinae* VIIb 49 (= §131 *Devoto*). Clothing more generally: Bonfante Warren 1973.
- 8 Servius, *Aen.* 3.407; Servius Danielis (= 'Servius auctus') comments *ibid.* on the exceptions.
- 9 Saturn: Servius, *Aen.* 3.407; Dion. Hal. 6.1.4; altar of Hercules: Servius, *ibid.*; Macrobius, *Sat.* 3.6.17; cf. Latte 1960: 383.
- 10 Sources for music: Fleischhauer 1964; Fless 1995: 79-4 (archaeology); Wille 1967: 27-9 (literary); also Quasten 1973. For the *aulos/tibia* and the *tibicines* in particular: Cicero, *De oratore* 3. 197; Pêche 2001.
- 11 On the *ferialia* see Rüpke 1995a: 523ff. Oral announcements by the *rex sacrorum*: Varro, *LL* 6. 13; 28; for the Principate: Rüpke *ibid.* 376f. on Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.14.8f.

- 12 For the rituals at night associated with the Saecular Games, performed by Augustus himself, see Pighi 1941; cf. Paulus, *Excerpt. Festi* p. 72, 13-14 L s.v. 'Epulares'; Bravo 1997.
- 13 Most recently, the six volumes of Balzy et al. 2004-6.
- 14 Wagenvoort 1947: 13ff. provides a mass of interesting material on *contactus*, unfortunately presented in an impossible framework.
- 15 E.g. Valerius Maximus, *Mem.* 5.10.1 = Seneca, *Consol. ad Marciam* 13.1; cf. Cancik 1991: 372.
- 16 Livy 1.24.5; cf. Pliny, *HN* 28.33f.; Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.12.20; 3.9.12.
- 17 Cf. Linderski 1986: 2290: 'Such theories normally thrive in the dim light of the Indo-European and Italic past, but dry up in the sober climate of historical Rome.'
- 18 Ovid, *Fasti* 2.423-28; Plutarch, *Rom.* 21.5; *Caes.* 61.2; Livy frag. 12; Servius, *Aen.* 8.343. A different tradition referring the ritual to purification can be found in Varro, *LL* 6.13; Paulus, *Excerpt. Festi* p. 75, 23-76, 5 L. s.v. 'Februarius'; cf. Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.83.1 = Aelius Tubero, *FRH* 18 F4. On the whole question: Wiseman 1995b: 10-15; a selection of texts is translated in Beard, North, Price 1998: 2, 119-24.
- 19 It has been suggested that the famous bronze Boxer, found deliberately concealed near the 'Hellenistic Ruler' bronze under soft earth (a fragmentary column had been placed under his bottom, so that he could continue to be seated) in the cellars of the Baths of Constantine on the southern Esquiline (Collis Mucialis), and now in the Palazzo Massimo at Rome (Lanciani 1892: 297ff.; Helbig⁴ 3: no. 2272), was likewise the object of reverence in the later Principate: both big toes show signs of having been constantly touched.
- 20 Paulus, *Excerpt. Festi* p. 115, 6-12 L s.v. 'Manalem lapidem'; Serv., *Aen.* 3.175; cf. Wissowa 1912: 121; Kroll 1928.
- 21 From the late Republic, in a classic example of invented tradition, it was believed that this was how Rome itself had been founded.
- 22 Petersmann 1991; for the role of young people, youths and girls: Lonsdale 1993; Calame 2001. Adams and Apostolos-Cappadona 1990 is a collection of essays on dance from the perspective of comparative religion.
- 23 Livy 1.20.4; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 2.70.1-5, tr. in Beard, North, Price 1998: 2, 126f.; cf. Bloch 1958. For the dating of the reform, see Bremmer 1993.
- 24 The religious importance of dance is further illustrated by the numerous statuettes and frescoes of dancing Lares, the deities particular to each household (see pl. 9).
- 25 The classic account is Mauss 1954 (first published in 1923/4), applied to Homeric society by Finley 1962; important developments by Sahlins 1972: 185-275 and Bourdieu 1977: 4-9 (emphasizing the *deferral of expectations*), 171f. (symbolic capital); cf. Laum 1960; Schwartz 1967. The model is applied to friendship by Herman 1987.
- 26 On the scale of the incense-trade during Antiquity, and its importance as an economic factor, see Peacock and Williams 2006.
- 27 Latte 1960: 392; cf. Ziehen 1929; Burkert 1984: 63f.
- 28 Oath: Rüpke 1990: 111-15; malign magic: Ogden 1999: 75f.
- 29 On *daps*, see pp. 102 and 137 below; *epulum*: Latte 1960: 377f.; 'inside sacrifices': Paulus, *Excerpt. Festi* p. 297, 8-10 L 'Penetrare sacrificium'; for the word *penetralia* meaning the innermost part of the temple (where the cult