Religion in Archaic and Republican Rome and Italy

Evidence and Experience

Edited by Edward Bispham and Christopher Smith

RELIGION IN ARCHAIC AND REPUBLICAN ROME AND ITALY

NEW PERSPECTIVES ON THE ANCIENT WORLD

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PREFACE

This volume has taken us longer to complete than we originally imagined it would. Now that we have reached completion, it is a pleasant final task to have to thank our contributors, and everyone else who has made this publication possible. It had its genesis in a one-day conference ('Religion in Archaic and Republican Rome: Evidence and Experience'), held at the John MacIntyre Centre at the University of Edinburgh, under the shadow of Salisbury Crags and Arthur's Seat, on 3 May 1997. The conference was addressed by speakers from the UK, France, Germany and Italy, and well attended by over seventy-five students and scholars from England and Scotland.

Conferences place a heavy drain on resources. Without the financial support of a number of bodies we would never have been able to bring this project to fruition: grants were made by the Arts, Divinity and Music Faculty Group Research Fund, and the Interdisciplinary Research Fund, of the University of Edinburgh; the School of Greek, Latin and Ancient History, University of St Andrews; and the Classical Association of Scotland. For this generous support we are truly grateful; we hope this volume will repay their confidence, and in turn encourage the support of further endeavours in the classics in Scotland.

Time is another resource, of which the editors did not have enough to organise the conference alone. We are grateful to John Richardson, Keith Rutter and Karen Stears for their hospitality, and to Keith Rutter for his good advice on organisation and funding. Special thanks also go (as ever) to the indefatigable Elaine Hutchison, and to Lisa Bligh, Bernard Randall and Alison Kyle, who staffed receptions before and during the conference. Subsequent to the conference itself, without the sound advice and considerable patience of John Davey at Edinburgh University Press, this volume could not have seen the light of day.

It is perhaps wrong in a volume of collected papers for the editors to make any kind of dedication; but we are both conscious of how much we owe to our colleagues in Edinburgh and St Andrews, and indeed in Glasgow as well, for support, counsel and companionship. Their many

virtues have made our lives easier in the organising and editing of this volume, and for this and many other reasons they have earned our profound gratitude.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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Aelian *NA*	Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*
App.	Appian
BC	*Bellum Civile*
Pun.	*Punica*
Arnob.	Arnobius
Ad. Gent.	*Adversus Gentiles*
Ad. Nat.	*Adversus Nationes*
Aug. *C.D.*	Augustine, *Civitas Dei*
Cato *Agr.*	Cato *de Agricultura*
Cic.	Cicero
Catil.	*in Catilinam*
Div.	*de Divinatione*
de Domo	*de Domo sua*
Fam.	*Ad Familiares*
Har.	*de Haruspicum Responso*
Inv.	*de Inventione*
Leg.	*de Legibus*
Mur.	*Pro Murena*
N.D.	*de Natura Deorum*
Phil.	*Philippics*
Pis.	*in Pisonem*
Rab. Post.	*pro Rabirio Postumo*
Tusc. Disp.	*Tusculanae Disputationes*
Verr.	*in Verrem*
C.Th.	*Codex Theodosianus*
DH	Dionysius of Halicarnassus
Diod.	Diodorus Siculus
Gaius *Inst.*	Gaius, *Institutes*
Gel. *NA*	Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*
Livy *Per.*	*Periochae*
Lucan *BC*	Lucan, *Bellum Civile*

Lucr.	Lucretius
Lycophron *Alex.*	Lycophron, *Alexandra*
Macr. *Sat.*	Macrobius, *Saturnalia*
Ovid *Am.*	Ovid, *Amores*
Ovid *F.*	Ovid, *Fasti*
Paus.	Pausanius
Per.	Persius
Phlegon *Olym.*	Phlegon, *Olympiades*
Plautus	
Amph.	*Amphitryon*
Asin.	*Asinaria*
Capt.	*Captivi*
Cas.	*Casina*
Curc.	*Curculio*
Poen.	*Poenulus*
Pseud.	*Pseudolus*
Pliny *Ep.*	Pliny the Younger, *Epistles*
Pliny *NH*	Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*
Plut.	Plutarch
Cat. Mai.	*Cato Maior*
Mor.	*Moralia*
Quaest. Rom.	*Quaestiones Romanae*
Rom.	*Life of Romulus*
[Q. Cic.] *Comm. Pet.*	[Quintus Cicero], *Commentariolum petitionis*
Seneca *Epist.*	Seneca, *Epistles*
Serv. *Aen.*	Servius, *in Aeneidem*
Quaest. Nat.	*Quaestiones Naturales*
Suet.	Suetonius
Aug.	*Diuus Augustus*
Tac.	Tacitus
Ann.	*Annales*
Hist.	*Historiae*
Tert.	Tertullian
Adv. Nat.	*Adversus Nationes*
Apol.	*Apologia*
de Spect.	*de Spectaculis*
Val. Max.	Valerius Maximus
Varro *LL*	Varro, *de Lingua Latina*
Varro *RD*	Varro, *Rerum Divinarum*
Virg.	Virgil
Aen.	*Aeneid*
Georg.	*Georgics*
Vir. Ill.	*de Viris Illustribus*

COLLECTIONS AND PERIODICALS

AC	*L'Antiquité Classique*
AE	*L'Année Epigraphique*
AION ArchStAnt	*Annali Istituto Orientale di Napoli: Archeologia e Storia Antica*
AJAH	*American Journal of Ancient History*
AJPh	*American Journal of Philology*
Annales ESC	*Annales (Économie, Sociétés, Civilisations)*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
Arch Class	*Archeologia Classica*
ASNP	*Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*
BArch.	*Bollettino di Archeologia*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*
Bull. Arch. Nap.	*Bullettino Archeologico Napolitano*
Bull. Com.	*Bulletino della Commissione Archeologica Communale di Roma*
Bull. Inst.	*Bulletino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CJ	*Classical Journal*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CRAIBL	*Comptes Rendues de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*
DdA	*Dialoghi di Archaeologia*
FrGrHist	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen*
G&R	*Greece and Rome*
HSCPh	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
HThR	*Harvard Theological Review*
IGRR	*Inscriptiones Graecae Reipublicae Romanae*
IGUR	*Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*
ILLRP	*Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Reipublicae Romanae* (ed. Degrassi)
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (ed. Dessau)
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographiae Mythologiae Classicae*
LTUR	M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*
MDAI(R)	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Römische Abteilung)*

MEFRA	*Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Français de Rome, Antiquité*
MRR	T. R. S. Broughton, *Magistrates of the Roman Republic*
NSc	*Notizie degli Scavi*
PBSR	*Papers of the British School at Rome*
PCPhS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
RE	*Pauly Wissowa Real-Encyclopädie der classichen Altertumswissenschaft*
RendLinc	*Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei (Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche)*
RendPontAcc	*Rendiconti dell' Pontificia Accademia di Archaeologia*
Roman Statutes	M. H. Crawford (ed.), *Roman Statutes*
RSI	*Rivista di Storia Italiana*
ScAnt	*Scienze dell'Antichità*
SE	*Studi Etruschi*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
TAPhA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*

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INTRODUCTION

Edward Bispham

THE PUBLICATION OF ANOTHER volume on Roman religion is justified
by the current interest in the subject among scholars and students. Recent
important works have come in all shapes and sizes: particularly worthy
of mention are the now standard Beard et al. (1998) and Feeney (1998).
To these we may add a plethora of studies, especially, in the Italian con-
text, on individual priesthoods, cults and deities.[1] The time has never been
more favourable for new material on Roman religion.

   This volume tells a number of interconnected stories about Roman
religion, which argue in one sense towards a deconstruction of the term
'Roman'. Rome is viewed in its Tyrrhenian context, not in isolation. The
chapters in this volume set developments in Latium, Etruria, central Italy
and the Greek world beside those in Rome; without the former the Roman
evidence cannot be properly understood. We should try to avoid being
seduced into an easy Romano-centrism in our religious outlook.

   The historical development of the peninsula, and the nature of most of
our evidence, especially the literary material, make a Roman emphasis in
practice unavoidable. A principal concern of this volume is, by proceeding
from a number of case studies, to stimulate debate on development of
Roman religion over time, from the archaic period through into the late
republic, and beyond. Notoriously, the Romans were only producing liter-
ary accounts of their past for the last two centuries of the period with
which we are concerned: archaic, and much of mid-republican, Rome can
only be approached directly through archaeological evidence, and a very
small number of inscribed documents. The later literary sources, and the
rituals they describe, are a curious mixture. Some of the rituals, or their
constituent parts, are clearly very old, fossilised elements of archaic
religious practice;[2] yet the contexts in which they survived were dynamic
rather than static; the meanings of the rituals were not only re-enacted, but
also reconstituted by every generation of participants. Not only were such
rituals often first being described only at a relatively late moment in their
evolution; to make matters more complex, many newer rituals and cult
practices were validated at the time with reference to older religious

traditions, which may in themselves be 'inventions'. Such challenges make the study of archaic, or even mid-republican, religion difficult; they also make it exciting. The student must learn to cross boundaries, but also to deploy a number of theoretical approaches with flexibility, and a number of diverse types of evidence with methodological sophistication. The evolving character of the religious practices also necessitates study over a long timeline, with all its attendant problems. Hence our broad chronological framework.

Eight of the chapters in this volume were first presented at a one-day conference held at the University of Edinburgh in May 1997; the sole addition, after this introduction, is that of a concluding chapter by Christopher Smith. The book thus perpetuates the aim of the conference: to bring together new and established names in the field – archaeologists, historians and anthropologists; and to encourage debate on key issues in the subject, as well as making known and accessible in English new discoveries made, and the lively debates now being conducted, in Italy, France and Germany. Our contributors have risen splendidly to the task.

The subtitle of the volume (*Evidence and Experience*) needs some comment. Writing recently of approaches to Mithraism, Roger Beck has argued against a trend towards the privileging of supposedly 'harder' data (epigraphy and the physical spaces and material culture recovered by archaeology) over the 'soft' data of iconography: 'To do justice not merely to the sociological externals of a religion, but to its dynamics *qua* religion, one must be inclusive. ... The *where* and *when* of its physical traces and the *who* of its adherents are key components of the story ... but they should never be mistaken for the story itself.'[3] We are broadly in sympathy with this almost 'post-processual' viewpoint. This volume does not attempt to reconstruct the belief systems or internal psychological states of all, or any, ancient worshippers. Such an attempt would be futile. Nor are we trying to tell a single story; but in a sense this volume is a collection of stories, roughly sequential in time, which focus on the when, the where and the who, but also on the *how* and the *what*. All contributors bring their expertise to bear on the literary, epigraphic, numismatic, artistic and archaeological evidence for Roman religion; but this is only one manifestation of their scholarship. The other part consists in using this evidence to suggest what worshippers thought they were doing, and how they thought these ends were going to be achieved. Roman religious experience took place in real locations in real time, and real times, each different from those a generation earlier and a generation later. Roman religion did not exist in some autonomous dimension, unchanging and unchangeable, forcing its devotees through a series of ritual forms that might play on their superstitions, but produced no positive, or indeed conscious, engagement. Rather Roman religious experiences might be

routine, formulaic and uninspiring (not unlike some Christian counter-
parts today), but they might equally be played out, as often in the modern
world, against a backdrop of societal tension, of growth and decline, war
or pestilence. They required time, and money, and occupied the interstices
between the domains of state and individual. What worshippers made
of these religious experiences involved them as active participants or
observers. We too are implicated as readers of the interpretations of their
participation, interpretations that we attempt to recover from the various
types of evidence available to us. When we attempt these readings we
need to see Roman religion as one form, among many others, of com-
munication, which needs its contexts to be reconstructed before it
becomes meaningful, both for the ancient Romans and for us.

The most methodological discussions frame the volume. Nicole
Bourque begins from the anthropologist's perspective, by asking how we
should study that cornerstone of Roman religious activity, the ritual (and
also, what makes an action ritual). The competing approaches to ritual
form a thought-provoking backdrop to what follows. Vedia Izzet inves-
tigates what an archaic Etruscan sanctuary might have meant, or rather
what meanings it might have implicated its worshippers in, by looking at
the form and decoration of the archaic sanctuary. She asks what was being
codified and negotiated in this new spatial form in sixth-century Etruria.
Fay Glinister considers what happened to the same terracottas on which
Izzet focused, during and after the life of a sanctuary, using some striking
and seemingly deliberate ritual depositions to construct a sort of dia-
chronic commentary on the life of sanctuaries, which forces us to confront
how the Romans defined and considered the sacred.

Olivier de Cazanove moves us on into the middle republic, and the
period of Rome's conquest of Italy. How did that conquest impact on
existing religious structures and experiences? He notes the continuity
inherent in the creation of *municipalia sacra*, which allowed the per-
sistence of certain cults in the incorporated towns, but he focuses on
particular aspects of change in Italy, linked to Roman colonisation and
settlement. He examines the material record of votive deposits in and near
Latin colonies, and argues for a high degree of homogeneity in approaches
to healing divinities. This seems to derive from a Roman context, and
to have spread though Italy along with other forms of romanisation, but
subject to its own particular rules. Emmanuele Curti looks at Rome in
this period, focusing on the 'struggle of the orders', and asking how the
introduction of new gods, divinities of abstract concepts, should be related
to political and social change. He argues that nothing less than a con-
ceptual reorganisation of a new plebeian state was at issue in these
religious changes, which in turn can only be understood in relation to
broader developments in the Mediterranean world in the fourth century.

The next two chapters deal with two missing passages in the history of middle and late republican religion. J. A. North asks how common prophecy was, in terms both of individual expertise and of the production of prophetic texts, between the third and first centuries BC. For North the Livian tradition seems to be interestingly dissonant when set beside the fragments of other Roman literary traditions, and of indigenous Etruscan tradition. Prophecy seems to have been more important, more wide-spread and more wide-ranging than our central narrative account would suggest; North looks at the corresponding dilemmas facing the state authorities in the face of these multiple forms of communication with the divine. T. P. Wiseman brings us into the first century BC, arguing for the brief existence in the period after Sulla of games of Hercules of consider-able importance, and searching for possible motives for their demotion from state management to a locally controlled context: we are reminded not only that state religion was a multi-layered edifice in itself, but also of how political change inevitably and necessarily had religious con-sequences, which were a matter of some nicety to negotiate (more so in one sense than political change).

With the final two chapters we once again turn to the modalities of confronting and understanding Roman religious experience. Andreas Bendlin presents an eloquent combination of *Forschungsbericht* and original thinking to challenge existing models of Roman religion which exclude concepts of belief and religiosity as anachronistic imports. Bendlin exposes the contradictory pedigree, and the erroneous assump-tions, of current orthodoxies, and argues that a 'free market' model would allow us to see competition for worship (and its economic concomitants) between cults as dictating their relative popularity or even survival, in contrast to a *dirigiste* interpretation of Roman religion whereby the masses moved blindly, in droves, from festival to festival in accordance with the dictates of an elite-constructed calendar. In such a context, choice, coherent internal motivation, and private concerns may be written back into accounts of Roman religion.

Christopher Smith concludes the volume with a chapter on the cult of Mater Matuta, which in fact forces us back on earlier readings, rather than simply 'closing' the book. Smith applies the idea of intertextual criticism to Mater Matuta, to permit the liberation from the tyranny of the dedi-cating 'author' of a variety of religious meanings. These were available to worshippers over time and space, within Rome and Latium (and per-meable by influences from further afield). For Smith the multiplicity of meanings can be deduced from a matrix of ritual, the evidence of depo-sitions, the associations with other deities, place and time; furthermore, such associations can be read as helping to construct literary writings on Mater Matuta, which in turn become intertexts themselves. It is a nice

touch that an idea from literary criticism allows such a liberating contextual reading of literature and archaeology side by side.

This volume seeks to encourage debate, and to open dialogue in new interdisciplinary areas within and outside the classics. The readings given by the contributors are just that. If they succeed in stimulating new approaches to the subject, that will be more than enough. Those who have some experience in the field may want to turn to the evidence at this point. What follows is an essay written largely for the benefit of students approaching the subject with little prior knowledge. It is by no means an introduction to Roman religion, but it aims rather to hold a dialogue with the chapters that follow. It does not attempt to seek an arbitrary and false coherence between them. What it does do, I hope, is present a reading of their concerns and methodologies against a wider background of current issues in Roman religion, and above all of the potential range of religious experiences available in Roman society. Readers may find it useful to read this first, to situate themselves; or better, after reading the rest of the volume, as a sort of commentary.

We begin not in Rome, but in the Andes. Nicole Bourque has spent some time studying rituals in the village of Sucre in the Ecuadorian Andes: Sucre, and two of its festivals, provide the test case in which Bourque explores the validity of a number of different approaches to ritual. Many ancient historians nowadays approach religion in the ancient world with increasingly sophisticated models for explaining ritual, models derived from anthropology, especially from anthropological studies of 'premodern' societies. Undoubtedly this has been fruitful: but Bourque's chapter gives us cause to reconsider what it is that we think we are doing in utilising this cross-disciplinary fertilisation. One important point for us to consider as ancient historians or historians of religion is that our own work cannot directly parallel that of the anthropologist. We cannot carry out fieldwork; we cannot directly interrogate the participants as to what they thought they were doing in Roman rituals. In a sense, we can make up for that owing to the interpretative or exegetical accounts of some literary sources: we at least have eyewitness accounts of some rituals, made by intelligent individuals, who were interested in what the ritual meant, and why it was being done. A good example is Plutarch's account of the Lupercalia.[4] Nevertheless, we are at best listening to an echo of observation, fieldwork only of a sort; and not all of our sources are as valuable as Plutarch. Much of the important information originally collected by Varro is, for instance, relayed to us through Christian commentators like St Augustine, or Arnobius of Sicca, whose account is more polemical than objective.

Despite the growing sophistication of modern approaches, ancient

historians often use anthropological approaches without two of Bourque's key elements in approach to ritual. One, as we have seen, is fieldwork. Since we cannot interrogate the actors or participants in a ritual, it is easy for us easy to lose sight of an important characteristic flagged by Bourque. She points out that there is often disagreement among participants and observers about what they are doing or trying to achieve in the ritual. To some degree this is because the ritual action has subsumed and suppressed the intentions which normally govern our individual actions. Thus while the Etruscan entrail-readers (*haruspices*) probably had a shared belief that their ritual activity was grounded in their priestly lore (see also North), for observers their activities and the ritualised nature of their calling provoked differing reactions, which varied according to their context. That Roman culture hero M. Porcius Cato (the elder) made great play of traditional piety and correct observance (even going so far as only to embrace his wife when it thundered (Plut. *Cat. Mai.*, 17); but Cicero reports another comment, presumably from a context less central to Cato's public image: '[he] used to say that he was amazed that one *haruspex* could catch sight of another without bursting out laughing'.[5]

The other characteristic of anthropological research that assumes an *a priori* status is, as Bourque says, the need to understand ritual with regard to its wider context. We do know something about the wider context of Roman rituals (when they happened, for example); and we can make educated guesses about other aspects (who took part); but we should not deceive ourselves that we can know as much as the anthropologists who employ these same techniques on living societies.

Despite the clearly multi-vocal and fluid evidence available to us in the written sources and the material evidence (Smith), the fact that the objects of our enquiry cannot answer us back directly means that we often approach ritual in a way that leads us to elide unconsciously some of the possible interpretations or responses at the margins, or even at the core, of our enquiry. We often tend to make rather one-dimensional and Durk-heimian assumptions about ritual: that it is integrative, that it stabilises and re-enforces existing social structures. Those social structures were, how-ever, disputed and fought over as much as given and fixed (one thinks at once of the patricio-plebeian conflict: Curti). Bourque's chapter reawakens us not to the answers, but to the questions that we ask of ritual. Instead of expecting one meaning, or of concentrating on performance, say, or com-munication in ritual, we need to be prepared to admit that competing interpretations of ritual (and by extension of religion too) were available to those who participated, and that beyond core principles (the need to participate; the ideal of *correct* participation),[6] we need not privilege any one reading above another. Bourque's other contention is also salutary: ritual can be the *locus* of contested meaning and conflict; participants,

observers, and thus we, need to listen for conflicting voices (Curti, Smith).

The need to see in religion, as in ritual, the presence of multiple meanings presupposes a range of conceptual problems associated with constructing and interacting with the divine. Negotiation of these problems was all-important, for worshipper and priest alike, for those who built, controlled and used the sanctuaries. Vedia Izzet's chapter looks at archaic Etruscan sanctuaries, which she presents as best understood as transmitting a deliberate nexus of interlocking and interdependent meanings. For Izzet, the sanctuary must be viewed through the eyes of the visitor or worshipper, entire, in its form, and in its decoration, all of which form an interplay within which a meaning can be constructed. Elaborating previous work on Etruscan sanctuaries, Izzet argues for the temple (as a whole) as expressing, emphasising, and thus negotiating boundaries, and ultimately reinforcing categories, above all those of sacred and profane, human and divine. In contrast to the preceding chapter, we encounter an argument which sees the temple as forcing the viewer to act and observe in a particular way and a particular space, if she or he is to become implicated in the discourse of the sanctuary. We are invited to reconstruct a persuasive and powerful experience of the worshipper, which conditioned and reinforced his or her interaction with the building, and thus with the divine, on the occasion of every visit. One might ask what happens when we rehistoricise this constant interaction between sacred space and its users: that is, did wider changes in society have no effect on the ways temples were viewed? Was the experience identical in the late fourth century to what it had been in the late sixth? Uncomfortable differences were stressed, but for Izzet's viewer, emphasis on the categories serves in the end to confirm them. That said, she suggests a strong ambiguity surrounding the question of whether the temple or the viewer is 'in control' of the situation – after all, worship was conducted in the hope that the gods' protection would continue as it had done; but there was no confident expectation in an uncertain world. It did not do well to forget either the gap between human and divine, or the uncertainties surrounding human attempts to manipulate the supernatural. Nothing was taken for granted.

Izzet avoids a narrow structuralism, or an abstract uniformity, in her interpretation. We are judiciously reminded that while there was a Vitruvian 'formula' for the Etruscan temple, there is no such thing, on the ground, as an 'Etruscan' temple. No two examples are the same, and temples known from excavation may be optimistically reckoned as perhaps representing 10 per cent of the total number (one might add that the northern part of Etruria is a quantity even less well known).

Moreover, Izzet's arguments flow away from this salutary emphasis on the temple as viewed object in the context of cult, and back to a wider

debate. The second half of the sixth century seems to have seen the emergence of a type of religious structure which, despite local variation, shows enough similarity across a broad range of examples for Izzet to talk of 'codification' of form, and thus of meaning. The contrast with the preceding situation in Etruria, where the physical context of worship is ambiguous to the point of evanescence, is enormous. The period of the emergence of the sanctuary was also the crucial period of state-formation in Tyrrhenian central Italy. As sanctuaries emerge from Izzet's study as ever more deeply implicated in the negotiation and definition of crucial categories, we are invited to draw conclusions about archaic Etruscan society. Fundamental changes, which were occurring at precisely this period, are reflected in the meanings set up by temples, whose codified form persists until the end of the fourth century. Differences between and within the Etruscan communities, and their negotiation, emerge as ever more important. We may note that bounded categories, partly defined sacrally, emerged in Roman society at the end of the sixth century, and that this question of hierarchy and category was the subject of intense negotiation until the early third century: I refer of course to the struggle of the orders. Etruscan experience was different, but we might want to think about structural similarities at the level of state-formation.

For Izzet, the sculptures and architectonic decorations of a sanctuary must be viewed in the context of the whole, a context that we must not take for granted (the ancient worshippers could not, after all). But what happened when the sanctuary was damaged or destroyed, and it became necessary to remove the statues from their context, or when that context ceased to exist? Fay Glinister discusses an interesting and neglected aspect of the 'life' of temples: the afterlife of votive offerings and temple decoration, which became in some way damaged, obsolete or superfluous. The question arises from a number of instances of deliberate secondary deposition of architectural terracottas in sanctuaries (together with other material), which appear 'ritually' broken and buried. This class of material is viewed against a wider background of disposal, deliberate and casual, of architectural remains by a number of possible agents. Temples were not just timeless edifices: they remained the focus for re-readings and reinterpretations of religious experience; but they changed as well: they were given 'makeovers'; old votive offerings, like superannuated library books, needed to be 'sent to the stacks'; hostile armies or a careless sacristan might burn down the buildings. In some cases venerable structures stood the test of time, and even of Christianity. Others decayed and were forgotten. While we need to understand the diverse fates of these sanctuaries, a more immediate problem was presented to worshippers who had to respond to the development (perhaps initiated by them), damage or destruction of the sanctuary. Glinister argues for a strong sense

of place, and continuity of the sacred, in sanctuaries, which can be related to these depositions.[7] Moreover, through the responses of the worshippers or priests or communal authorities (or such as remained after war), we are forced to confront the very idea of the sacred: when is something sacred? Can it be 'desacralised'? Where are boundaries between the human and the divine drawn (other than in the physical boundaries of sanctuary and *temenos*; on boundedness see also Izzet)? Portonaccio at Veii is one of Glinister's case studies: the acroterial sculptures look to have been ritually deposited when the sanctuary was 'dismantled' (an intentional and never-to-be-repeated 'sacred' act: how does the Bourqueian student respond to this as ritual?); but just *outside* the boundary wall of the *temenos*. This anomaly serves to underline the diversity of phenomena which these depositions reflect, varying attempts by worshippers, often in circumstances which we cannot know, to negotiate the vicissitudes of temple life cycles, and to maintain a proper separation between human and divine spheres, between sacred and profane, in some form or other.

Glinister's examples come from a variety of sites in Rome, Latium and southern Etruria. The rise, fall or resurgence of sanctuary sites must be seen against the background of, first, state-formation, and then the complex interactions between the different city-states of archaic and republican Italy. The major, but by no means the sole, dynamic in this interaction is the expanding power of Rome, which inevitably brought it, in religion, as in other ways, up against other gods and other rituals. The question of romanisation in the religious sphere is addressed by Olivier de Cazanove.

Roman Italy was characterised by differing juridical statuses, but also by religious, social and economic movement of some scale between these discrete and autonomous powers. Cults of another state might attract worship or offerings from outsiders (oracles are an obvious category); furthermore, shrines and sanctuaries marked, guarded and facilitated the maintenance of points of tension, like borders between states (Izzet).[8] As de Cazanove points out, however, any state religion nevertheless had overriding claims on the religious loyalty of that state's own subjects; its own gods seconded or discouraged the acts of its citizens, and even new or imported cults, when they were required, were carefully controlled. The border between Nola and Abella was easily crossed, but the gulf between the state cults was almost unbridgeable. It is, however, worth asking how much this, like other juridical rules, mattered for the ordinary individual who had cause to frequent both states. Much surely depended on context.

None the less, the Roman conquest meant profound religious changes spreading across Italy in a short period of time. Both Roman and Latin colonists in varying degrees adopted deities and rituals already familiar in

a Roman context: the most famous example is the proliferation of the
Roman Capitoline triad in colonies from the third century onwards. De
Cazanove traces the change through study of a medium which is much
less well known: votive deposits of anatomical figurines in terracotta.
There is a clear typological difference between the deposits found in Latin
colonies, in areas of heavy Roman viritane settlement and along Roman
roads on the one hand, and those from Greek or Italic communities in
south Italy on the other. It seems as if the spread of Roman power and
control through colonisation entailed the diffusion not just of Roman
gods, but also of particularly Roman or Latin forms of devotion, in this
case exemplified in terms of offerings to healing deities.

De Cazanove's analysis raises further questions that are central to the
understanding of the dynamics of Roman expansion. Many of the votive
deposits do not seem to belong to specifically healing sanctuaries. This
is striking in view of the fact that it was precisely during the period
of conquest that the Romans imported Aesculapius from Epidauros in
response to a severe plague. Aesculapius, however, appears less popular
outside Rome: so what was the situation in the colonies? Did the more
traditional gods meet the needs and prayers of the colonists (as they must
have done before Aesculapius arrived in Italy)? What of the indigenous
populations? We should like to know how they related to the new forms
of ritual and worship. Such questions lie at the heart of the slow and
complex process of romanisation in Italy between the fourth century and
the time of Augustus.

The 'conquest' of Italy, whose religious reflexes interest de Cazanove,
provoked profound changes in Rome; the way these same changes mani-
fested themselves in the religious sphere is the subject of Curti's chapter.
That the conquest of the peninsula changed Rome's own religious land-
scape has long been recognised. The influx of booty paid for a remarkable
upsurge in the building of manubial temples in the period of the Italian
Wars (c.338–290), which reinforced the positions of individuals and
families, but also expressed the competition within the new, emerging
patricio-plebeian oligarchy.[9] New cults also appeared: famously that of
Victoria on the Palatine, dedicated after the battle of Sentinum. The
worship of Victory becomes a key element in the religious identity of
Rome; it shows Roman confidence, an appreciation of the fundamental
changes being effected in the Italian peninsula by Roman arms; but also
perhaps the temple dedications of these years reflect a growing unease, a
sense of change, a need to propitiate the gods in the face of uncertainty.
Not least among these areas of change was the struggle of the orders.

Curti argues that through careful readings of the many-layered tra-
ditions about religious changes in this period, we can see nothing less than
the creation of a new identity for the political community of the Romans,

itself renewed and transformed as the plebeians finally gained equality
with the patricians in all areas of the state (traditionally the struggle of the
orders ended finally with the Hortensian law of c.287 BC). One charac-
teristic of this change is a 'modernisation' of a state that needed to shed its
archaic skin in the face of rapid expansion and consequential change. The
religious changes in the late fourth and early third centuries, on which
Curti focuses, are two: the introduction of new abstract deities (compare
Bourque's comments on the revival of San Isidro at Sucre), and the
(re)development of the Quirinal as an expression of the new identity and
ideologies of the plebeian aspirants to power. One key to understanding
these changes is, for Curti, to place them in the context of the political
developments, and the spatial and ideological expressions of such develop-
ments, occurring in the Greek world in the fourth century, mediated for
Rome especially through Sicily. In the context of the plebeian assault on
patrician exclusiveness, such ideas were given expression in the religious
sphere, which involved not just the introduction of new gods, but also the
manipulation and partial appropriation of the religious calendar, and the
restructuring of the physical spaces in which worship and politics were
locked in their rhythmic embrace. For Curti this is nothing less than the
creation of a new sort of community: and he argues that we should look
for a concomitant process of the 'invention',[10] or perhaps the recovery, of
traditions and myths, by which the plebeians sought to legitimate and give
antiquity to their new identity, and to their struggle with the patricians.

One nexus of myth, history and tradition was centred on the Sabines,
and their relations with archaic Rome. The Sabines were in the firing line
in these years, as the Romans drove through their heartlands towards
the Adriatic; they were also (probably even at this time) seen as the
progenitors of the Samnites, with whom Rome had been locked in a far
more serious conflict from 328 onwards.[11] Whatever the international
resonances the Sabines carried, in Rome itself it is noticeable that both
plebeian and patrician groupings tried to appropriate Sabine myths. We
may think back at this point to Bourque's ideas about ritual as the site
of contention and confrontation. Deities like Concordia (harmony, con-
sensus) may be seen as having an integrative function, and guaranteeing
stability and order in the new state; but let us not forget that not everyone
was happy about the new social and political arrangement which appeared
in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. One man's *concordia* is another
man's capitulation.

The new patricio-plebeian oligarchy, however, did cohere, and that
coherence is reflected in Rome's two great triumphs, the double victories
over Carthage in the third century. The century between the first victory
at Carthage and the final destruction of the Punic enemy saw the forging
of a new elite, no less exclusive than the patricians had been in the fifth

and fourth centuries. Authority over the state religion was for this group a key form of social control, as Polybius noted;[12] but it was control by which the elites themselves were no less bound than the masses (as Bendlin might say, more so). Control of state religion was thought to guarantee the stability of society; but Roman religion was not totalitarian, and there was room for choice in worship (Bendlin). New fashions and beliefs inevitably became absorbed into Roman culture as it came to dominate first the western Mediterranean, and then the Aegean. The problems of control presented by (or perceived in) such new interests are well seen in the contrasting stories of the Bacchanalia on the one hand, and the introduction of the Magna Mater from Phrygia on the other.[13] Apart from new gods, individuals were potentially problematic: anyone might claim that he or she, like the state priests, had the skill, or privileged position, to perceive and interpret the will of the gods. It was not only at Rome that prophetic traditions existed: Etruscan *haruspices* were acknowledged to have a potent lore, of which Rome made use, albeit occasionally suspiciously and with reservations.[14] The state institutions did not always find it desirable to allow the competition of independent religious expertise to which others might listen.

The following two contributions approach the writing of two lost chapters in the history of Roman religion: John North looks at prophecy in the third to first centuries BC, and Peter Wiseman focuses on the *ludi* of the first century. In both chapters the need for, and the mechanisms of, state control of religion are key themes.

North's queries concern precisely those unofficial religious experts to whom I have just alluded. In times of crisis it is natural for groups everywhere to distrust or be inadequately comforted by the official line, which in Rome was always secular and religious at once. Some of Rome's wars produced moments of heightened tension, in which, alongside state vows and prayers, both spontaneous religious activity and also 'private sector' prophecy were involved. Such attestations of prophetic activity are rare in the literary tradition represented to us by Livy. North asks: were they really uncommon and unusual, or were such occasions 'edited out' of the historical traditions by later (or contemporary) historians?

Related to this are two further questions considered by North: how did the Romans feel about prophecy? And was there anything specifically Italian about this prophetic activity? Roman (as opposed to other Italian) prophetic activity is largely confined to anonymous committees who respond to portents by advising appropriate *remedia*: North stresses the lack of individual prophetic figures. The relation between this committee activity and sacred texts is unclear. Rome relied on the Sibylline Books for its *remedia*, but North demonstrates that these also contained some prophetic texts. The surviving example is considered in detail, as are other

cases where prophetic texts were made safe, either by being brought within the ambit of decemviral control, or by being destroyed.

North also considers Etruscan *haruspices*, whom we are able to consider to a limited extent from both sides of the fence: fragments of some Roman historical traditions suggest that the *haruspices* not only suggested *remedia*, as the Livian tradition mainly implies, but also engaged in more complete prophetic activity; and epigraphic evidence recording local traditions from Etruscan Tarquinii sheds light on the interactions between the learning and texts of the *haruspices* and their reception in Rome among the institutions of the state religion.

The argument is complex, and some elements remain obscure: but it seems certain from North's analysis that we are dealing with two opposed phenomena: on one hand the Livian tradition (I avoid as misleadingly derogatory the terms 'annalist' and 'annalistic history'),[15] which edits out haruspical activity and minimises the importance of individuals (as elsewhere when dealing with prophets); and on the other hand a tradition of influential Etruscan *haruspices* whose *disciplina* was adopted by the Romans, and dealt with far more than *remedia*.

Overall North suggests that it is possible to isolate something distinctly Italian about this prophetic activity, despite the presence of important Greek elements (or elements perceived to be Greek – see Curti and Smith for Greek influences on Roman religion). He posits a bookish religious *milieu*, or rather a number of bookish religious *milieux*, in middle- and late-republican Rome, broader and more diverse then we might have expected, generating and using various forms of prophecy, on both sides of the line of state control – in fact, often in a deliberately grey area of ambiguity. This greater breadth of prophetic activity is obscured by the attitude of our sources, or at least Livy or his sources, towards prophetic activity. Nevertheless, it is not hidden at times of stress; and the possibility of access to other sources after Livy's narrative ceases may perhaps suggest that prophetic activity of all sorts increased, rather than decreased, as we move into the first century BC. The message is salutary: even before we turn to making sense of the literary sources available to us, we should beware how Roman religion was received by those worshippers who were also historians. That reception may be giving us an edited version that masks diversity and oversimplifies the picture that is then transmitted to us. The reasons for such editing are not obvious, but the results, and the mismatch with the epigraphic evidence, are clear to see.

Wiseman starts out from another form of evidence, which could advertise religious as much as other forms of Roman collective life. His thesis is that there were, for a brief time, *ludi* of Hercules, which enjoyed equal status with, for example, the *ludi plebei* and the *ludi Apollinares*. He argues for *ludi* instituted by Sulla, and 'demoted' to the care of local

collegia in the context of the turning of the tide against the Sullan settlement, and the dismantling of most of his reforms in and after the first consulship of Pompeius and Crassus (70 BC). Wiseman's reconstruction orders the evidence of coins, inscriptions and literature into a typically persuasive whole. Once again, we are confronted with religion and politics as inseparable aspects of the same society. We are also reminded, and it is surprisingly easy to forget this when taking a global view of Roman religion, that there were levels and contexts for Roman religion below those of the major events of the state religion. These were, however, part of it, not distinct from it; they were in this case, as in others, organised by *magistri* (officials) of localities and cults, whose loyalties and aspirations in the middle of the first century BC became ever more complex. More importantly, Wiseman engages with phenomena which we see emerge repeatedly from the chapters in this book: ritual, and we must consider the *ludi* as a form of ritualised action, can be seen as a *locus* for confrontation as well as for negotiation. In the tense ideological politics of the late republic, *ludi* were often the front line of the battle between the ideology of the state and various forms of popular dissidence. The *ludi* of Hercules, it seems, were a case in point.

The two final chapters bring us back to where we began: how should we be approaching the study of Roman religion? Andreas Bendlin and Christopher Smith present different, but complementary, models for looking, in the one case, at religion as a whole, and, in the other, at ritual.

Modern scholars of religion argue, almost without exception,[16] that when we talk about such mental categories as 'belief' and 'spirituality' in the Graeco-Roman world, we are necessarily importing assumptions from Judaeo-Christianising or western cultural backgrounds. Even students of ritual often argue that rituals cannot be meaningfully mapped onto ideas like belief because of the supposed lack of individual intentionality inherent in performing the ritual (see, however, Bourque on the role of intentionality in ritual). The result is that we are asked to leave such anachronistic baggage behind us, like shoes at the door to the mosque, when we turn to a fundamentally alien world.

Bendlin starts by asking how we got here. The ensuing history of the development of changing intellectual and cultural positions in Germany over the last century and a half will be familiar to few, but interesting to many. On the way Bendlin tries not only to expose the evolution of the models as far as what he calls the 'new orthodoxy', but to suggest that that evolution is not exactly a Darwinian survival of the fittest. He challenges a number of preconceptions about the absence of private choice and belief, which seek to exclude these elements from the state religion, or to subordinate them, when they do occur, in the private sphere, to the state religion in any case. These preconceptions have also, he adds, encouraged

an oversimplistic series of notions about the decline of Roman civic religion in the face of outside influences.

Like others in this volume (Bourque, Smith), Bendlin has little time for the view of ritual, in this case Roman religious ritual, as unimaginative formalism with a fixed and unchanging content. While forms may not change, the meanings attributed to ritual are fluid, not just over time, but between individual participants. But Bendlin's preceding analysis enables us to see how negative assessments of ritual derive from an earlier failure to see any personal angle or spirituality in it. The new 'orthodoxy', as Bendlin calls it (an 'orthodoxy' represented in almost any book on Roman religion written since the early 1980s), may, however, have thrown the baby out with the bath water. It may claim to have saved ritual from Christianising assumptions and thus from anachronistic responses, but it also assumes that personal religious feeling is a Christian, or even a post-Romantic Christian, monopoly. Arguing, then, against the conceptual underpinnings of the 'new orthodoxy', Bendlin seeks to reintroduce the personal into the study of how Romans approached their cults and gods. We might want to add that literary theorists (invoked to telling effect by Smith in the next chapter) might tell us that we should not be trying to escape our 'situatedness' in time and culture, but should accept that we must perforce view ancient religion through a Judaeo-Christian filter, and that, rather than trying to unburden ourselves of these 'anachronisms', we need to recognise them as an inevitable part of our identity, and to embrace the intertextual readings of each which are open to us (see also below on intertextuality).[17]

If Romans could see religion not just as something 'owned' and directed by the state, whose rules they had to follow to ensure the *pax deorum*, but as something which they approached as thinking individuals, whose psychological states embraced their attitudes to the gods as well as to the rest of society; if, in short, they could 'internalise' their religion; we may, suggests Bendlin, be able to leave behind a duality between belief and formalism, and integrate the former into religion while abandoning the unhelpful connotations of the latter. In this way, we may start re-opening the door to theology and other religious belief systems, which have hitherto been too often discarded as alien to Roman thought.

Following this line of argument may lead us to collapse the traditional distinction between *sacra publica* and *sacra priuata*. One route to this position is to ask, as Bendlin does, how many participated in the state festivals. Total participation was, he argues, rare, and limited in the republic to ceremonies of vital importance to the well-being of the *res publica*. Enforced public participation comes precisely with the end of political pluralism, and the circumscribing of choice in other areas: in other words, under the principate. Even if the state authorities, magistrates

and pontiffs, wanted full attendance, how were such messages to be com-
municated? Bendlin reminds us that communication of a fixed meaning
was problematic – the authorities had no control over how individuals
received their messages, nor could they always be sure that such messages
were going to be heard above the din of other competing messages (North)
and identities. For Rome was already in the third century one of the
greatest urban centres of the Mediterranean, with an increasingly polyglot
population, whose idea of Romanness was as artificial as the territorial
state which pretended to be the city-state of *Roma*. That is to say, what
constituted 'Roman religion' was increasingly up for negotiation from an
individual point of view during the middle and late republic (see Curti for
an attempted 'remoulding' of the Roman state through plebeian cults).
Bendlin shows that even the *ludi saeculares* of 17 BC had to 'advertise' or
to market themselves in order to maximise involvement.

If worshippers were not forced to follow mechanically the dictates of
the *Fasti*, then what were they doing? Clearly there was still an enormous
amount of religious activity, which did happen (partly) at times deter-
mined by the calendar, which Bendlin sees as not prescriptive, but perhaps
would say empowered choice. In this complicated matrix Bendlin argues
that we need to add the motivation of personal and life-cycle concerns:
birth, sickness, death etc. (see de Cazanove for the standardisation of the
outward forms of offerings to healing deities in 'Roman' Italy, probably
ironically more Roman in some ways than Rome).

To demonstrate the intersection of private motivations and concerns
and the state religion with its public festivals, Bendlin proposes a 'market
model'. Religion does of course have economic ramifications: Bendlin
argues that only the constant frequenting of temples and their festivals by
'satisfied customers' allowed the expensive business of running a temple,
cult and sacrifices and all, to continue. The state or its generals may have
built many of the temples which cluttered the fabric of the city, but who
maintained them? Bendlin argues for the importance of gifts, *stipes*
and other incomes (compare the details for the financing of the *ludi
Apollinares* as set out above by North). If the cult ceased to deliver, if it
went out of fashion, if the 'clients' took their worries and their money
elsewhere, the temple might face hard times (see also Bourque on ritual
and economics, and Glinister on the decommissioning of temples). We
also need to consider what was going on at a much earlier period, when
some cults without physical premises, such as those referred to by Izzet
for the early sixth century and before, still amassed substantial votive
deposits (the relationship between the '*sacellum*' and the first votive
deposit at Satricum is discussed by Smith).

We are effectively left not with the phenomenon of the cult of a
community subsuming all the religious activity of its citizens, but with, to

coin a phrase, 'cult in the community'. At any rate, on Bendlin's reading, we see with new eyes Augustus' boast (*Res Gestae* 20, 4) that he had repaired eighty-two temples in 28 BC. As he began to insert himself into all aspects of the reorganisation of state religion, and as intrusion into the lives of citizens on a religious level became a possibility, the 'fashion victims' of previous centuries were brought back to life. Autocracy turned back the clock on choice. The world would not be the same again.

Smith's chapter also ends with Augustus. Like this introduction, it intersects with other chapters in this volume. I do not want to anticipate here much of what he says: only on reading his chapter will the reader be able to make for herself or himself a series of sharpened and intertextual re-readings of the preceding chapters (which will in themselves invite new responses to Smith). Smith's chronological limits also parallel the development of the volume, concentrating mainly on archaic and mid-republican Rome, but following the implications through into the early principate.[18]

Smith takes us through a detailed study of the cult of Mater Matuta, in both Latium (focusing on Satricum) and Rome. What is striking at once about his treatment is that it suggests a framework within which we can make readings of archaeological, epigraphic and literary evidence side by side. Smith uses the literary critics' idea of the 'intertext' as a way into new readings of Roman religion. Intertextuality seeks to replace the idea of a text as an allusive entity: traditional criticism sees text or narrative as an 'embalmed' construct which freezes a range of conscious authorial allusions to other texts, which the audience must pick up, in much the same way as one might fill in a crossword. On the other hand, inter-textuality aims to shift the burden of constructing meaning from the author/narrator to the reader/audience, on the basis that meaning is constructed at the point of reception.[19] This replaces a single authorial voice with a plurality of reader-generated meanings, which indeed may change for each individual reader on every re-reading. In other words, it is *we* who make, unmake, and remake the 'allusions', and, in Fowler's words, 'we ... have to take responsibility for the readings we offer' (Fowler 2000: 111).

In Roman religion and ritual, a similar approach to Mater Matuta yields rich results for Smith, emphasising the multiplicity and embeddedness of possible meanings in the cult and its rituals, presented to us by archae-ological and literary media which alike are, for Smith, trying to construct as well as explain fundamental issues. Here concepts like personal and public, private and community, male and female are bound up in a web of meanings which exist in a number of matrices, which lie on top of and intersect with one another: Roman, Etruscan, Latin. Time and place are also implicated in this discourse: the original dedicator of a temple may

have a fixed idea of what he is doing (conditioned by his readings of the associations of place, calendar and cult already existing), but that intention cannot have an autonomous existence, even at the first performance of the festival, distinct from the performers, participants and observers. Still less can this be the case over time. In about AD 495 Pope Gelasius I rebuked the Romans for going down to Ostia to worship the Castores in the hope of fair sailing-weather.[20] The form of the ritualised procession may have changed little (we do not know), but the meanings available to the participants, while possibly including a version of the original 'authorial' intention (if one existed), were inextricably conditioned by a thousand years in the evolution of what Rome, Ostia and the Castores meant. Ritual, like writing, may be thought by the 'author(s)' to stabilise meaning and shape consensus, and the inherent conservatism of Roman republican society undoubtedly tended to a similar outcome. Yet alongside conservatism Rome was also capable of dynamic and pragmatic innovation (North 1976); ritual, as we have seen again and again, must generate a multiplicity of meanings. These might include conflict, but in the willingness of individuals to take responsibility for their readings, there was room for constructive complicity and empowerment, both crucial for the individual facing the challenges of existence through the filter of community life.

At any rate, the non-fixity, the fluidity, perhaps we might say the carefully constructed 'anarchy' of Roman religion are all perhaps necessary to the experience, and reflected in the evidence, of the multi-form and endless complexity of polytheism. Rather than an emphasis on the bounded and the circumscribed in Roman religion, Smith's chapter makes a probing case for an unboundedness of interpretation and of meaning, restrained only by the breadth of the cultural matrices in place over the period from the kings to the fall of the republic. Monotheism, be it Islam, Judaism or Christianity, is a surprising and non-intuitive concept in a way. Early Christianity grew out of a Jewish environment, but quickly acquired the ability to survive in a polytheistic world. As the numerous heresies, subsects and 'apocryphal' gospels attest, it was subjected to a flourishing variety of constructed meanings, which evolved, bifurcated and collided with a rapidity which would be astonishing to the casual observer situated in a monotheistic society.[21] The refracted experience of early Christianity was wholly unsurprising in a polytheistic world; what is strange and remarkable was the experience of the fourth to sixth centuries, where the multiplicity of meanings in the cult of Christ was ironed out, and an orthodoxy created. Amid the crash of anathemas and the unruly violence of the great councils, a singular meaning was separated out from what had now become the chaff of dissent, and, for the first time on an empire-wide scale, a single truth became equated with belief.

AN ANTHROPOLOGIST'S VIEW OF RITUAL

Nicole Bourque

INTRODUCTION

THIS CHAPTER DEALS WITH the way that anthropologists study ritual. The first part considers the impact that anthropological methods have had on the development of ritual theories. The second part illustrates these points by analysing rituals observed in the Ecuadorian Andes. The customs and concerns of modern-day Ecuadorian peasants are far removed from those of the citizens of archaic and republican Rome. Nevertheless, this analysis of Andean ritual provides a useful example of how anthropological theories can be applied.

HOW DO ANTHROPOLOGISTS STUDY RITUAL?

Most anthropologists have the advantage of being able to observe and participate in the rituals they study. Before, during and after rituals they talk to a variety of participants: men, women, adults, children, religious specialists, lay people, active participants and bystanders. Through long-term fieldwork, anthropologists become acquainted with the personality, kinship connections and status position of the people who are (and are not) participating in rituals. They also gain an appreciation of the wider social, political, economic and cosmological context of rituals. Being present at rituals means that anthropologists are in a position to record what they observe on audio tapes, photos or film. These recordings can be used as analytical tools when questioning informants or when comparing rituals over time and space.

   The presence of anthropologists as participants and observers raises a number of issues. The first is the impact that the presence of an outsider, such as an anthropologist, can have on rituals. One good example is the attempt made by an Australian anthropologist, Les Hiatt, to film an Australian Aboriginal burial. The final stages of the burial traditionally take place during the evening. However, it was decided by the elders to perform the ritual during the day, when the light was better for filming (Clunies Ross 1989).

A second important issue is that of authority. In comparison to archaeologists, historians and classicists (who have to piece together accounts of rituals from material remains, art work, myth, literature and historical documents), anthropologists can see what happens in rituals and question ritual participants about the significance of their actions. Early anthropologists suffered from a degree of smugness about the 'data' they collected and analysed, positive that the 'truth' could be revealed by careful observation and analysis. Recently, however, anthropologists have started to question the authority of their knowledge. It is now recognised that there are many possible meanings that can be attributed to a ritual by a variety of participants and observers. If this is the case, how can anthropologists hope to uncover all of these meanings and how valid can their interpretations be given the incompleteness of their data?

Leaving aside the crisis of authority that is afflicting anthropologists, it is clear that anthropological research methods have influenced the way in which anthropologists perceive ritual. Most anthropological discussions of rituals make two main assumptions: (1) that rituals are a special type of action which is somehow connected to a belief system; and (2) that rituals must be understood with regard to the wider social, political, economic or cosmological context. In the next few sections of this chapter, I look at the implication of these assumptions as well as at some recent challenges to the first.

RITUAL AS A SOCIAL PHENOMENON: INTEGRATION AND CONFLICT

Rituals very often occur during social gatherings or are themselves the prime purpose for bringing people together. It is not surprising that anthropologists have seen rituals as events which reinforce or rebuild social ties and emphasise common ideas, goals or aspirations. This is a view that traces it roots back to Durkheim's assertion (1915: 226) that rituals strengthen the ties between individuals and society. Even though Durkheim's ideas are heavily criticised today, many anthropological accounts of rituals suggest that they support the social structure and legitimise (or conceal) social and political authority.

Kelly and Kaplan (1990) note that rituals can both evoke tradition and lead to change. Rituals are sites of differing meanings, contradictions, competition and even conflict. They are arenas for protest and change, at both a group and an individual level. These issues become particularly evident when gender, class and ethnic differences are taken into account. Diane Bell (1983) provides an excellent example of how rituals have different purposes and meanings for men and women amongst Australian Aborigines. Radcliffe (1990) and Rasnake (1986, 1988) give examples of

how rituals are used by Andean Indians to legitimise their ownership and control of land in the face of past and possibly future encroachment by 'white outsiders'. These examples support Bloch's (1989) argument that rituals cannot be seen as mere representations or reflections of social structure. This is because they act upon social structure, just as social structure acts upon rituals.

RITUAL AS COMMUNICATION AND PERFORMANCE

The realisation that rituals are created and manipulated by a variety of actors in their duration led researchers to consider how rituals could be used as a form of communication. This approach can be seen in the works of Geertz (1973), Rappaport (1979) and Kertzer (1988), who portray ritual as 'action wrapped in a web of symbolism' (Kertzer 1988: 8). The basic premise behind the notion of ritual as a form of communication is that the objects that are manipulated and the actions that are performed during rituals all have meanings which are understood by the participants and audience. This allows ritual participants to communicate their ideas, needs, aspirations, self-identity or emotions to each other and to the audience, who may be relatives, enemies, people of higher or lower status or even supernatural entities. If one assumes that ritual is a form of communication, then the key questions to answer during an analysis of a ritual are: who is communicating with whom, what is the message and why is the message being sent? However, this view of ritual has received some recent criticism. Humphrey and Laidlaw (1994) note that there are many classes of ritual where it would be difficult to assert that a message is being sent and received. An example of this is a Catholic mass. A participant may recite the creed automatically, without making a conscious effort. In such a case, can it be said that a message is being communicated?

Some anthropologists have avoided the problems involved in regarding ritual as a form of communication by focusing on ritual as a form of performance. This emphasises the relationship between the 'actors' and the 'audience' and considers the stage upon which rituals are played out. Baumann (1992: 98) notes that 'we tend to take it as given that rituals are symbolic performances which unite the members of a category of people in a shared pursuit that speaks of their basic values or that creates or confirms a world of meaning shared by all of them'. However, he states that it is more realistic to consider that a ritual may be performed by competing groups. Rituals do not only celebrate the perpetuation of social values and self-knowledge. They also indicate a desire for social change. Baumann stresses the limitations of assuming that ritual is restricted to insiders. As an example, he discusses the impact that an Asian public

celebration in Britain had on the local non-Asian population. He recognises that while participants disagree over the significance of ritual actions, they can only demonstrate the effectiveness of what they have to say through performing the ritual.

FROM RITUALS TO RITUALISATION

More recently, anthropologists such as Bell (1992) and Humphrey and Laidlaw (1994) have questioned the way that anthropologists have approached the study of ritual. Humphrey and Laidlaw (1994) indicate that anthropological studies of ritual have tended to focus on how rituals affect and are influenced by social relations, power structures, social change, cosmology and economic organisation rather than on ritual itself. The anthropological insistence on understanding ritual in its full social and cultural context has led to some illuminating discoveries about various aspects of social life. However, it has also diverted attention away from attempting to understand what ritual itself is. Moreover, Bell (1992) argues that ritual theories, which are part of a larger project to construct religion, culture and society as objects of culture, are based on an assumed opposition between thought and action. Ritual, which is seen as a type of action, is contrasted to belief. Bell (1992) and Humphrey and Laidlaw (1994) suggest that rituals can be better understood if we shift our attention from rituals as objects of investigation to the process of ritualisation itself. This is the process by which 'social actions strategically distinguish themselves in relation to other actions' (1992: 74). Bell's (1992) stress on strategy is interesting. She claims that ritualisation does not reflect or reproduce cultural schemes. Rather it manipulates and reorchestrates them as a way of redefining problematic situations. Through ritualisation participants can gain a sense of empowerment and/or redemption. Ritualisation is a joint, negotiated effort on the part of various ritual experts and participants, who may have different interpretation and attitudes. What is being negotiated is understandings of authority, self and society. This can be achieved without actually believing in the spiritual efficacy of the ritual. What is important is not belief, but a consent to participate. As an example, Bell describes the public mourning that followed the death of the Emperor Showa in Japan. The moment of silent public prayer was widely interpreted as a symbolic expression of the Japanese sense of loss or, alternatively, of the power of imperial ideology. However, these interpretations ignore the many discussions and disputes about the way that the emperor's death should be celebrated. The public prayer was a compromise which said as much about resistance to as acceptance of imperial ideology.

Humphrey and Laidlaw (1994) see ritual not as a type of activity, but as

a quality which can be attributed to certain activities. That is to say, ritual is not a type of action, but certain actions can become ritualised. Like Bell (1992) they question the relationship between belief and ritual participation. They note that anthropologists frequently encounter situations where the participants themselves claim that their actions are meaningless. This is in spite of the intricate symbolic codes involved in some of these rituals. These ritual actions can be contrasted to everyday actions which are shaped and motivated by the intentions of the actor. In ritual, the actor's actions are not intentional at an individual level (that is, as agency) but are informed by custom. Thus, individual motives or thoughts do not necessarily affect the identity of the action. Even though the actors are aware of their actions during a ritual, at the same time they perceive these actions as something that is outside of them. For example, Catholics may cross themselves after a prayer not because they believe or understand the symbolic significance of their actions, but because that is what is what they feel is an appropriate action.

Action does not become ritual because it occurs in a religious context, increases social solidarity or becomes repetitive or formalised (though this may occur). Rather, the distinctive quality of ritualised action is its 'nonintentional intentionality', by which ritual actions are perceived as being prescribed (Humphrey and Laidlaw 1994: 96). 'Instead of being guided and structured by the intentions of actors, ritualised action is constituted and structured by prescription, not just in the sense that people follow rules, but in the much deeper sense that a reclassification takes place so that only following rules counts as action' (1994: 106). Instances of ritual acts are considered as rituals only when it is felt that they follow a cultural rule. Moreover, aspects of ritual activity are thought of as being valid realisations of ritual only in so far as they correspond to pre-existing cultural models of ritual. That is, people may disagree about the correct form of a ritual (see, for example, Parkin 1992; Radcliffe 1990; Bourque 1997), but they do agree on the principle that there is a right and a wrong way to do a particular ritual. Similarly, people may not believe in the rituals they are performing, but they may recognise that it is important to act as though they do believe. Rituals cannot be understood by seeing them simply as an array of fixed symbolic associations or as a set of communicated messages, nor can they be explained only in terms of individual motivations or social functions.

AN EXAMPLE FROM THE ANDES

Even though many anthropologists study ritual, there are wide variations in the nature and form of these rituals. For example, Humphrey and Laidlaw (1994) worked with people who claimed that the rituals they

performed were meaningless. In contrast, other anthropologists have provided examples of rituals where the participants were consciously playing with symbolic meanings to achieve certain aims. The validity of the various approaches to the study of ritual are best evaluated by applying them to actual examples of rituals. In this case, I will discuss the celebrations of Corpus Christi in 1990 and 1996 which I participated in and observed in the village of Sucre, in the central Ecuadorian Andes (see Bourque 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1997 for a more detailed discussion). This account will demonstrate the importance of looking at ritual in its social, cultural and economic context. It will also look at the communicative and performative aspects of ritual as well as at the process of ritualisation.[1]

Sucre is a peasant village, by which I mean that small-scale agriculture is the main (though by no means the only) economic activity. Most of the villagers own land. However, land ownership and economic status are unequal. In 1990, the main crop was maize. By 1996, maize was being replaced by cash-crop fruit, such as the *tomatillo* (tree tomato).[2]

The majority of the population define themselves as Indian. Sucre is the only 'Indian' community in the district. The surrounding communities define themselves as *mestizo* (a mixture of Indian and Spanish) and generally see themselves as being superior to and more 'civilised' than the Indians. The few *mestizo* families that live in Sucre are keen to differentiate themselves from the Indians there.

There is little difference between the Indians and *mestizos* of Sucre in terms of dress, general physical appearance, economic status (there are poor and rich *mestizos* and Indians) and religion (all are Catholic). However, there are differences in terms of language and customs. Quichua is associated with being Indian (even though most of the Indians speak Spanish and some of the *mestizos* have knowledge of Quichua). As we shall see, certain activities during Corpus Christi are also perceived as 'Indian' and are avoided by those who wish to be identified as *mestizo*.

SPACE AND MOVEMENT

Corpus Christi is the most important annual community celebration in Sucre. According to Catholic orthodoxy, which is represented by the district priest who comes to Sucre fortnightly to give mass, Corpus Christi is the celebration of the Eucharist. Indeed, one of the focal points of the celebration of Corpus Christi is a special mass during which there is a procession with the Eucharist. In 1990, the Eucharist was displayed in a monstrance which the priest held aloft as he led a procession around the village square in front of the church. During the procession the priest set the monstrance on four altars which were stationed around the corners of the square. At each altar, the participants knelt and recited the Our Father.

The erection of the altars by Indian and *mestizo* families was overseen and organised by the church sacristan.[3] There is general agreement on the appropriate way of setting up an altar. Typically, an altar will consist of a chair on top of a table covered by sheets or shawls. Lit candles and prayer card pictures or small statues of Saints, Jesus or the Virgin Mary[4] from regional churches are placed on top. Within the parameters of what is seen as a suitable altar, there is a good degree of variation. Differences in wealth are displayed in the number and quality of candles. The devotional affiliations of various family members are made evident from the pictures of different saints, Virgins or Christs placed on display. For example, one family's altar may have a picture of Our Lord of the Earthquake while another may have a picture of Our Lady of Baños. Moreover, each altar is a construction in the sense that its final form and appearance are the result of consensus amongst the family members erecting it. During the erections of the altars, individual family members talk about their relationships with the saints, Christs or Virgins. This includes reminding family members of the various miracles, such as healing an animal or child, which the saints, Christs or Virgins have performed.

This brief discussion of the Eucharist procession demonstrates the usefulness of a number of the approaches to ritual identified in the first section of this chapter. As Bell (1992) and Humphrey and Laidlaw (1994) suggest, it is useful to consider the altars as constructions based on consensus and informed by archetypes. At the same time, the process of arriving at a consensus can be said to promote social cohesion. Family and community members are reminded that they share general beliefs and values in spite of individual variation. The altars can also be seen as a form of communication, as families show the community their status as Catholics, their financial situation and their particular faith in different saints, Christs or Virgins. While all participants profess belief in the power of saints, Christs or Virgins, actual belief is not necessary for the procession to be declared a success. In fact, no direct result is said to come from the altar procession apart from a sense that the mass has been properly performed. Appeals to the individual saints, Christs or Virgins are made not during the Eucharist procession, but during pilgrimages to their shrines.

A major characteristic of anthropological approaches to ritual is the insistence that any ritual must be considered in its full context. The mass and the Eucharist procession are only part of a series of celebrations that occur during Corpus Christi.[5] We will now see how our appreciation of the Corpus Christi mass and Eucharist procession changes as we look at the other parts of the celebration.

Mestizo and Indian families agree that the mass and Eucharist procession are essential parts of the celebration. However, this part of the

festival does not have the same importance for these two groups. As far as the Indians are concerned, the celebration of Corpus Christi must also include a series of feasts, costumed processions, fireworks, bonfires and a dance. These events are organised by a festival committee, which seeks donations from members of the community.

Many of the *mestizos* in the community refuse to contribute to the festival fund, claiming that it is a waste of money. Nevertheless, most *mestizos* attend the dance and watch the procession and fireworks. However, they do not participate in the procession, which they say is not a 'proper' Catholic event. They are supported in this view by the priest, who complains that the Indians spend far too much time and money on eating, drinking and dancing during festivals. He argues that this money could be better spent on making repairs to the church.

The Indians, on the other hand, see themselves as true Catholics. They claim that they must have processions and fireworks or else San Francisco, the patron saint of the village, will be angered. During the 1990 celebrations, a firework went through a window in one of the *mestizo* houses. People in the crowd, mostly Indians, murmured that they were being punished by San Francisco for refusing to make a festival donation.

For the priest and *mestizos*, the Eucharist is the focal point of Corpus Christi. For the Indians, Corpus Christi is 'San Francisco's festival'. According to orthodox Catholicism, San Francisco (St Francis of Assisi) is the patron saint of animals. However, the Indians of Sucre say that he is the patron saint of maize (the traditional staple crop), which is harvested just before Corpus Christi. Many of the Indians claim that donating money for and participating in the costumed processions and feasts will please San Francisco and ensure a good harvest for next year. In this respect, the costumed procession differs from the Eucharist procession, which is not used to make appeals to saints. In the Andes, there is a strong association between particular saints, Christs and Virgins and the locations of their shrines. An effective appeal cannot be made unless you 'visit' the saint, Christ or Virgin in question. It is believed that an effective petition can be made only if you burn a candle at the shrine, pay for a mass and acquire a prayer card. Thus, the picture prayer cards displayed on the altars during the Eucharist procession indicate past petitions rather than current ones. In contrast to saints, Virgins and Christs from other villages, the villagers do not need to pay for a visit to San Francisco. They only need to burn a candle and make a request. However, the Indians say that San Francisco will answer their petitions only if they participate in the festival of Corpus Christi.

San Francisco is regarded with great affection by the Indians of Sucre, who say that he takes special interest in their well-being. One man told me a story of how San Francisco had once gone against God's will in order to

help the people of Sucre. God had declared that he would only provide two meals a day for the people of Sucre. San Francisco protested, saying that such hard-working people needed a third meal. Even though San Francisco is a Catholic saint, in certain contexts he appears in opposition to God and to the priest. On the other hand, San Francisco resembles some of the pre-conquest deities, who demanded celebrations in return for good harvests. The tension between God and San Francisco may well stem from historic confrontations between the priests and local pre-conquest spirits.

For the Indians, the festive period of Corpus Christi in 1990 and 1996 began with the preparation of food. The cooking and eating took place at the house of one of the committee members. This house was known as the *priostes'* (festival sponsors') house. The image of San Francisco was removed from the church and placed in this house until the costumed procession. During the days preceding the festival, dried maize was boiled, ground and fermented to make *chicha* (maize beer). Vast quantities of meat and potato soup were also prepared. The festival committee and their wives, who acted as cooks, discussed how much food should be prepared, how many pigs should be killed and how the task of cooking and serving food was to be divided up.

In 1990, the festival began with the arrival of the brass band, who announced their presence by playing on the church steps. They were welcomed by the festival committee and invited to the *priostes'* house to eat. Costumed participants arrived and were also given soup and *chicha*. These participants were: a local band from Sucre, men on horseback (*los caballeros*), young ladies with washing bowls filled with flowers and burning incense (*las lavacareras*), people carrying boughs of rosemary (*los romeriantes*), people holding fireworks attached to a frame roughly in the shape of a bull (called *toros*), and men hauling dried scrub with yoked bulls.

The procession was to follow its 'traditional' route. However, the committee members needed to discuss and agree upon this. They also confirmed the order of the costumed participants. When everyone had eaten and the committee were satisfied that all was in order, the procession set off with the firework bulls in the lead, followed by San Francisco, the brass band and the other participants. The firework bulls broke away from the procession and ran in a disorderly fashion (as was the custom) amidst the other groups, thwarting the attempts of the committee members, who made a show of trying to get the bulls to keep to their place. The procession first encircled a small square near the *priostes'* house. It then went around the boundaries of the main part of the village and encircled the church square at the centre of the village. As the procession ended, the dried scrub was placed in a pile at the side of the square and the bands played music outside of the church. The firework bulls and horsemen

remained outside of the church, while the *lavacareras* and *romeriantes* accompanied San Francisco into the church to recite prayers. San Francisco was placed beside the altar along with the flowers, incense and rosemary. After sunset, the dance began in the church square and the fireworks and bonfire were lit. The dancers offered *trago* (sugar-cane alcohol) to each other. Other costumed participants, men disguised as bulls and rams, appeared and ran around the dancers, pretending to mount the young women and demanding the dancers supply them with food and bottles of *trago*.

The next day, before the mass, the procession was repeated with the addition of the rams and bulls. San Francisco was placed beside the altar in the church, incense was burned, and the very drunken bulls and rams left the church square before the arrival of the priest. The sacristan cleaned the square of empty *trago* bottles left during the evening's festivities and people began to set up altars for the Eucharist procession. As soon as the mass and Eucharist procession were finished, the priest departed. The bulls and rams reappeared in the church square, the band played on the church steps and a number of games, such as horse races, began. San Francisco was brought out onto the church steps to watch the events.

From the description of the costumed and Eucharist processions, it is evident that the location and movement of the various participants are significant. The association between San Francisco and the Indians of Sucre is emphasised as he visits their houses, participates in their procession and watches their games. While San Francisco is closely associated with the church, he is also accompanied by bulls and rams. Throughout the Andes, bulls are associated with the fertile, wild powers of nature. The domestication of bulls provides an example of human power to domesticate, harness and control the forces of nature. The bulls stand in opposition to God and to the priest. This is indicated by the fact that they do not enter the church and do disappear when the priest arrives. During the festival, the Indians appeal not only to the power of God, but also to the ancient powers of nature to help their crops.

San Francisco is clearly a syncretic figure. However, it is also evident that his dual nature is not simply the melding of two different religious viewpoints. It indicates an active reinterpretation on the part of his devotees. Not only is San Francisco a champion for the Indians of Sucre, he is also a focal point for resistance against the orthodox church, the priest and the *mestizo* population. The *mestizos* say they do not participate in the costumed procession because it is an 'Indian' activity and not 'proper' Catholicism. The Indians, on the other hand, insist on continuing the costumed procession since it unifies the Indians against the *mestizos* and other 'outsiders', such as the priest. As the procession makes its way around the village boundaries and the church square, it claims the village

and square as Indian spaces. Before the mass, the establishment of altars initiates the reclamation of the square as a Christian place. With the ringing of the church bells, the arrival of the priest and the display of the Eucharist, the transformation of the square into a Christian place is complete.

The *mestizos* attending the mass and Eucharist procession reaffirm their self-identification as 'true' Catholics. To some extent this can be seen as a counter-claim on the Indians' attempts to redefine the village as a Indian space. However, the Eucharist procession is not merely a case of Indian/ pre-Christian versus *mestizo*/Christian identity, since Indians also participate in it. Indeed, the church sacristan, who oversees the preparations, is himself an Indian and takes an active (though not central) part in the costumed processions and feasts. Even though Indians appeal to the powers of nature and set themselves apart from the *mestizos* during the costumed procession, it is important for them also to establish and legitimise their identity as Catholics, even if their idea of what a good Catholic is differs from that of the priest and *mestizos*.

In looking at this analysis of location and movement during rituals, one might well question the intentionality of the claims and counter-claims I attribute to the Indians and *mestizos*. No one I talked to actually stated that the Indians were claiming the village as an Indian space during the costumed procession. Rather, the people that I talked to said that they were holding the festival as it 'ought to be done'. The Indians also said that their way of celebrating Corpus Christi was necessary for the agricultural success of the entire village population. In this assertion, the Indians might not necessarily 'claim' the village as an Indian space, but they do lay claim to being the guardians of the village and the ensurers of prosperity.

ECONOMIC CHANGE AND RITUALS

The previous section has focused primarily on the social aspects of the celebration of Corpus Christi. I will now discuss how the festival celebrations have been affected by and are a response to economic change. The two main areas that will be covered in this discussion are the change from individual sponsorship to the creation of a festival committee and the introduction of a new saint during the 1996 costumed procession.

About twenty years ago, the celebration of Corpus Christi was organised by individual families. These sponsors were called *priostes*. They paid for a mass, purchased fireworks, hired a band, obtained food and organised a procession as a sign of their devotion to San Francisco. The majority of the expenses would be borne by the family themselves. However, these expenses could be eased by accepting loans of food and money

from friends and relatives. These loans would have to be repaid double when these people in turn sponsored a festival. The festival would benefit the entire community, but the sponsors would be especially blessed by San Francisco. One past festival sponsor said that San Francisco showed his gratitude by making her cow give birth to twins.

As the Indians of Sucre began to have more access to markets and sold more of their crops to purchase consumer items, fewer families wanted to commit themselves to the expense of festival sponsorship. Nevertheless, it was generally agreed that it was important to continue the festival. Part of the motivation was cultural. However, there was also an economic motive, since increased plant and animal fertility would result in a surplus that could be sold at the market. The solution to the lack of individual sponsors was the creation of a festival committee who sought contributions from each willing household in the village. The amount of blessing that each family would receive from San Francisco was believed to be directly proportional to the size of the donation. There was a general expectation that wealthier families should contribute more. However, past festival sponsors were not criticised if they gave lower amounts, since they had already paid their respects to San Francicso.

The reorganisation of the financial backing of the Corpus Christi celebration indicates the importance that the Indians placed on the continuation of the festival. It also provides an interesting example of how innovation can accompany the continuation of tradition while at the same time being a response to change.

A slightly different process was seen in 1996, when a new saint, San Isidro, was introduced to the costumed procession. Both Indians and *mestizos* say that he is the patron saint of agricultural labourers and that he helps them with their work. In 1990, an old, damaged statue of San Isidro sat abandoned in the vestry. For the 1996 celebration of Corpus Christi one family decided to pay for the restoration of the statue. The week before the committee-organised celebration of Corpus Christi, this family paid for a mass and held a feast in San Isidro's honour. People said that this sponsorship was similar to, but not as lavish as, the individually sponsored festivals of the past.

The sponsoring family was one of the first to turn away from growing maize as a staple to the more risky but very lucrative production of fruit. With the change to fruit production, the family's cash income increased dramatically. The head of this family had great faith in San Francisco and had been an individual sponsor for his festival in the past. She said that she had decided to sponsor San Isidro in the hope that he would make the labour of her family more effective. Raising fruit is a labour-intensive task, with frequent fumigation, fertilising and weeding. The effectiveness of this work became a concern in 1996 because an increasing number of

families were losing their fruit trees to disease. Sponsoring the festival was one strategy to assist the crop. Another strategy was the employment of a consultant agricultural engineer, who made regular visits to check the plants and give advice on the treatment of disease.

The resurrection of San Isidro and the celebration of his festival provide an example of the way in which rituals are constructed from archetypal forms and shaped in response to individual motivations and desires. The case of San Isidro also indicates that ritual is not exclusively a religious event. Ritual can also be employed as an economic strategy.

It is clear from our consideration of San Francisco and San Isidro that their use in rituals cannot be seen merely as evidence of Catholicism, nor is it sufficient to regard them as examples of syncretism. These saints are focal points around which expressions of ethnicity, religiosity, economic status and uncertainty are played out. Not every festival participant will have the same understanding of the significance of a particular saint or festival activity, but there are common basic notions upon which variant (and at times conflicting) meanings can be constructed.

FOOD AND DRINK

So far, this analysis of ritualised activity has focused on processions, which are a rather obvious form of ritual. However, it is equally important to consider how mundane activities, such as eating and drinking, can be ritualised. As I indicated earlier, eating and drinking are essential parts of the celebration of Corpus Christi. They are also a site of contention between Indians and *mestizos*.

On a day-to-day basis, eating is important in defining group membership in Indian households. Members of a household are defined not as those who live or sleep under the same roof, but as those who eat together. Daily meals are consumed by family members inside of the house. Non-family members, such as wage-labourers or sharecroppers, are fed outside of the house on the porch. An invitation to eat inside indicates acceptance as a close friend or family member. During Corpus Christi, it is significant that the normal daily rules concerning who eats in the house are suspended for the duration of the festival at the house of the *priostes*. Anyone in the community may eat inside of this house. The boundaries of the *priostes'* household are expanded to include the community. However, it is important to remember that this 'community' consists only of Indians, since the *mestizos* choose not to participate in these feasts.

The quantity and quality of food being served are a marker of social importance. The members of the band, for example, are served first and get larger quantities of the best-quality food. This also occurs during daily meals. However, during festivals, the status that is being confirmed or

denied by the serving of food becomes a more public affair. It is interesting to note that the serving of the festival food is determined by the women who cook it. As the serving women return to the kitchen with empty bowls, they announce any new arrivals. There is then a discussion about what would be an appropriate serving. Each serving of soup is literally constructed. During the cooking process, the meat and potatoes are removed from the stock and placed in separate bowls. As each bowl is made up, the agreed amount of potatoes and meat is placed in the bowl, which is then topped up with broth.

In contrast to eating, drinking as an ordinary occurrence is much more public, usually occurring on the front porch of the house or in the main square. Whereas food is used to construct or reaffirm status differences, drink is used to express equality. This is clearly seen in the case of *trago* (sugar-cane alcohol), which is consumed during most festivals and during weekend get-togethers. People (usually men) wander from one festival event to another carrying a bottle of *trago* and a small cup and offer each other a drink. Where people are gathered into groups, it is common for each group member to offer a drink to every other. This drink must be accepted or the person offering will protest.

Chicha (maize beer) and *trago* are both classified as drinks, but each has different social implications. *Chicha*, which is domestically produced, is seen as a 'traditional' Indian drink. It is produced only during major festivals. It is prepared at the *priostes'* house and distributed in a similar manner to soup rather than exchanged between drinkers like *trago*. Unlike food, servings of *chicha* do not vary in quantity or quality and the emphasis is on joint consumption and the continuation of tradition.

If we return to Humphrey and Laidlaw's assertion that ritual is a special quality of action, we must ask what it is that differentiates eating and drinking on a daily basis from that which occurs during festivals. That is, how does eating and drinking become ritualised? According to Humphrey and Laidlaw (1994), the answer lies in the 'non-intentional intentionality' of festival eating and drinking. On a daily basis, meals are prepared with the intention of feeding family members and workers. During festivals, meals are prepared not as sustenance, but because one is expected to prepare them. Moreover, festival meals must consist of certain basic elements if they are to be considered as such.

In contrast to Humphrey and Laidlaw (1994), I argue that it is equally important to recognise how people can and do play around with these supposedly 'unintentional' actions. For example, it is accepted and expected that the most important ritual participants get better servings of soups. However, the cooks may choose to alter the rules to make a particular point. They may express their discontent with one of the festival committee members by making a point of serving him an especially tough

and scrawny piece of meat. In this example, the serving of a bowl of soup is a form of communication, with a message being sent, received and understood, using a language based on the archetypal form of ritual.

CONCLUSIONS

Many interpretations of ritual focus on their integrative functions. However, this is a limited view, since rituals are also sites of contested meanings. The eventual form that a ritual takes is based on the consensus of ritual participants, but the same actions may also have different meanings for different people. This aim of an anthropologist in analysing a ritual is to present an idea of the gamut of possible meanings held by the participants and observers as well as of the significance of these differences. This aim (and the ability to achieve it) stems from the assumption that rituals must be understood in their social, economic, political and cosmological context. Concomitantly, the aim of good fieldwork is to discover this context. For anthropologists, this may be a relatively straightforward task because they have access to this information through long-term participation in and observation of daily life and ritual occasions. However, for classicists, historians or archaeologists, an understanding of the full context of rituals may be difficult, if not impossible, to achieve. It may be even more difficult to discover the significance of rituals to different class, occupational, gender or ethnic groups. Nevertheless, research into the context of ritual and variations of meanings may well prove to be a rewarding task which will allow historical researchers to make better use of, as well as critiques of, anthropological approaches to the study of ritual and religion.

3

TUSCAN ORDER:

the development of Etruscan sanctuary architecture

Vedia Izzet

> The difference between us and the Etruscans … is the following: while we
> believe that lightning is released as a result of the collision of clouds, they
> believe that clouds collide so as to cause lightning. For, since they attribute
> everything to the gods' will, they believe, not that things have meaning in
> so far as they occur, but rather, that they occur because they must have
> meaning.
>
> (Seneca, *Quaestiones Naturales,* 32.2)

IT IS A CONVENTION of discussions of Etruscan sanctuary architecture
to quote not Seneca but Vitruvius (*De architectura* 4, 7). It was Vitruvius
who described, and thereby defined, the Tuscan order for the Romans, and
his definitions still inform modern accounts of Etruscan temples (for
instance, Andrén 1940: xxxv; Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 219; Boëthius
1955–6: *passim*; 1978: *passim*; Colonna 1985: 60; Knell 1983: *passim*;
Lake 1935: *passim*, esp. 89–92; Pfiffig 1975: 55; Prayon 1986: 104;
Spivey 1997: 62). Such material will not be used here, partly because
Vitruvius' account is so well known in discussions of the Etruscan temple,
partly because his account is descriptive rather than analytical, and partly
because Roman sources were written several centuries after the things
they discuss, and by non-Etruscans, so they are likely to be 'unbalanced'
(Dumézil 1970: 626), or written for ulterior motives (Dumézil 1970:
661).

   Although it will not be used here as a direct source for Etruscan religion
or sanctuaries, the section of Seneca quoted above is useful in another
way. It sets the framework for an interpretation of the archaeological
material surrounding Etruscan religion. In the last sentence, Seneca tells
us that, for the Etruscans, omens or portents do not have meaning because
they occur, but rather that they occur because they have meaning. In this
chapter, a similar stand will be taken, not for understanding Etruscan
attitudes to lightning or bird flight (cf. Bonfante 1986: 262), but rather for

looking at Etruscan religious architecture. In other words, the archae-
ological remains of Etruscan sanctuaries will not be considered as having
meaning simply because they exist, in a passive manner. Rather, temples
and sanctuaries are created because they have meaning. The stress here
is on the planning and construction of temple architecture, with all the
choices involved in how this should be accomplished. At every stage,
alternatives (both well-established and innovatory) were available and
decisions were made on how to move on to the next stage of the con-
struction; every element in temple architecture was made deliberately, and
the method of construction was intentionally selected. This, of course,
applies to all material culture, and all aspects of the Etruscan ritual
environment, from the location of the temple in the landscape to the
details of the decoration of the gutter tiles. The manner in which objects
or buildings are made or decorated is never arbitrary; they exist because
they have meaning, and they occur in the form that they do because those
forms have meanings.

Previous studies have concentrated on the temples and sanctuaries
as complete phenomena, in order to explain their emergence in the late
sixth century. This is seen in terms of establishing boundaries. What these
studies ignore is how the physicality of the temple itself is bound up with
articulating one and the same message. Previous approaches have failed
to engage with the temple as a building which was meaningfully con-
structed, seen and visited. The decorative and formal elements of the
temple must be incorporated into the debate for a more complete under-
standing of the rise of sanctuaries in Etruria.

It is generally accepted that the great period in the foundation of
Etruscan sanctuaries was the late sixth century. It is then that sanctuaries
were first built, and they quickly developed a standardised architectural
form. Before the late sixth century, ritual had taken place in sites dictated
by the landscape. These can be categorised according to physical
geography such as lakes, caves or mountaintops, and are identified by
votive deposits (for the best summary of such sites see Edlund 1987). A
very famous example of the first type is the Lago degli Idoli at Monte
Falterona, about thirty kilometres east of Florence, near the spring of the
Arno (Colonna 1960: 589–90; Dennis 1883: 107–11; Edlund 1987: 56–7;
Fortuna and Giovannoni 1975). The site is now destroyed, but yielded one
of the richest collections of votive offerings in Etruria. This included the
justly famous exquisite bronze figurines (Brendel 1978: 225–6, fig. 152;
Richardson 1983: for example, 292–3, plate 204, fig. 692; Riis 1941:
135), as well as anatomical terracottas, coinage, weapons and plentiful *aes
rude*. The site could have been the centre of a healing cult, indicated by
the presence not only of the anatomical votives, but also of reproductions
of suffering and disease – for instance, one figure has a wounded chest

(Dennis 1883: 108). The total number of objects exceeded 600, indicating the considerable popularity of the sanctuary, which lasted from the sixth until the fourth century. However, despite this evident popularity, both in terms of the numbers of votives and the time span of the site, there was no structure associated with the cult.

Monte Soracte is possibly the most famous mountaintop ritual site in Etruria, due no doubt in part to Horace's evocation (Edlund 1987: 46–9; Horace *Odes* 1. 9). Other literary sources tell us about a cult of the *Hirpi* on the mountain (Pliny *NH,* 7. 19), and poisonous gases and fumes emanating from the site. This is corroborated by an archaeological survey which has noted sulphur fissures on the mountainside (Jones 1963: 126). Pottery finds indicate usage of the site from the Neolithic onwards (Edlund 1987: 49). Although there seems to be evidence of cultic activity on the site since pre-Etruscan times, there is no evidence of any sort of archaic temple or sanctuary building whatsoever.

Both these examples serve to show the existence of cultic practice in the landscape of central Italy from the Neolithic onwards. The locations for these activities was dictated by the natural landscape – hills, springs, lakes and caves. These natural features were the setting for ritual action. Religious ceremonies and worship did not need a man-made environment in which to take place. This changed dramatically in the second half of the sixth century, when we see the construction of buildings specifically for cult practice. For the first time in central Italy, sanctuaries, the specially built locations for ritual practice, emerge and, along with them, codified temple architecture.

This is not to discount completely the possibility of earlier buildings which were used for religious purposes. Sanctuaries and temples may have precedents from before the sixth century. It has been argued, for instance, that the seventh-century building at Roselle served a religious function (Bocci Pacini 1975: 21–33; Colonna 1985: 53–6). A similar building has emerged at Tarquinia, where ritual action, including burial, has been demonstrated within a building on the settlement plain (Bonghi Jovino 1986: 89–94 and 98–105; Bonghi Jovino and Chiaramonte Treré 1986; 1997: 164–94). Perhaps the most convincing suggestion for an early sanctuary is the 'palace' at Murlo (see also Glinister, Chapter 4 in this volume). This monumental complex, with its perpetually ambiguous status and function, is often seen as a precursor to the building of sanctuaries in Etruria (Colonna 1985: 53; 1986: 423–4; Edlund 1987: 91–2; Prayon 1986: 195; Stopponi 1985: 64–154). This suggestion is particularly convincing, given the unequal tripartite division of the building at the end of the 60m by 60m courtyard, foreshadowing that of the Etruscan temple's *cella*. However, even in this instance the classification of sanctuary does not fit easily. The presence of quotidian paraphernalia,

specifically dining equipment (Rathje 1994: 98; Spivey and Stoddart 1990: 73), and the excavator's arguments for a political meeting place of the putative Etruscan League (Phillips 1993: 80–1), as well as those for the domestic residence of a powerful leader (Spivey and Stoddart 1990: 73; Torelli 1990: 174–81; 1983), add to the uncertainty in assigning the complex an exclusively ritual function. In fact, the confusion of modern scholars and the continued debate over the function of the complex may not be accidental, but rather indicative of ancient ambiguity towards the building's function.

Despite the possible religious or ritualistic function of these buildings, it would be difficult to classify them as temples or sanctuaries in the same sense as the complexes from the late sixth century and beyond. The later complexes share a codified and uniform style of religious architecture in the form of the temple, an outside altar or podium for sacrifices, a *temenos* wall which surrounds the sanctuary, and the presence of votive deposits (Colonna 1985: 23–7). These typical features of Etruscan sanctuaries emerge in the second half of the sixth century from the cultic ambiguity of the preceding centuries. Attempts to explain the sudden appearance of this phenomenon run parallel to intellectual trends in classical archaeology in general. What follows is a brief summary of the six most influential approaches to sanctuaries in Etruria.

Perhaps the most prevalent approach remains the art historical. The main focus of attention here is the objects found in votive deposits, or the decoration of the temple. Sanctuaries are seen largely in terms of the 'art' that was found in them. This has been the fate of one sanctuary in particular, the Portonaccio at Veii, though others, such as Pyrgi (Massa Pairault 1992: 72–5) or Orvieto (Riis 1941: 96–107), have been drawn into similar discussions. The discovery at Veii of the famous acroterial sculptures in 1916 refocused attention on this uniquely Etruscan form of production, at a time when the independence of 'the Etruscans' was a big issue (Pallottino 1991: 12–14). The importance of these haughty cultural icons is evident in the continued emphasis they still receive: no work on Etruscan art is complete without reference to these astonishing feats of coroplastic genius. Most recently, Spivey talks of the 'archaic smile', 'breeze-blown drapery' and 'Ionian profile' of the 'Apollo' (Spivey 1997: 66); and Brendel talks, if rather optimistically, of a 'School of Vulca' in a manner obviously reminiscent of John Beazley's work on Athenian vase painters (Beazley 1942; 1956; Brendel 1978: 237–8; Gantz 1974–5; Torelli 1990: 170). A further element of the art historical tradition is to trace the origins of certain styles or techniques, so, for instance, 'Greek workmanship provided the initial impetus' for architectural terracotta decoration in Etruria (Spivey 1997: 60; see also Colonna 1986: 433). Such approaches tend to view sanctuaries as a repository for *objets d'art*, with

the objects overriding the contexts in which they were found. These enquiries have the potential to tell us a great deal about the objects themselves, though they make no claim to explain the emergence of the contexts in which the objects were found (see also Glinister, Chapter 4 in this volume).

Linked to this school of thought is that of architectural history, where the use of Vitruvius is most prominent. The origins of Etruscan temples are sought in indigenous domestic architecture, as a continuous local development. The progression, as discussed above, is seen as running through the mud brick house at Roselle, the complexes at Murlo and Acquarossa, to the monumental sanctuary (Colonna 1985: 53; 1986: 433). Again, the focus on origins and influences does not explain why Etruscan sanctuary architecture developed in the form it did. For instance, why were local models used, or certain features imported, and why did these developments take place when they did?

A broader stance is taken by those attempting to write a socio-political history of Etruria. Mario Torelli, for example, sees the dedication of sanctuaries as an explicitly anti-aristocratic gesture (Torelli 1990: 181). He and others emphasise the importance of tyrants in the foundation of temples, in the transition away from regal power (Massa Pairault 1992: 60–75). This interpretation is given unusually strong backing by the inscription on the gold plaques from Pyrgi claiming that Thefarie Velianas, ruler of Cerveteri, had dedicated the sanctuary, perhaps as an anniversary celebration (Colonna 1985: 134; Cornell 1995: 147; Massa Pairault 1992: 68; Pallottino 1964: *passim*). In these cases, sanctuaries are integrated into historical accounts, taking their emergence in the first place for granted.

Another historical approach has been to see the development of sanctuaries as an obvious component of an emerging city-state. Based loosely on the criteria for urbanisation outlined by Gordon Childe (Childe 1950, though the development of sanctuaries is not listed by him), this argument sees the development of sanctuaries as part of what being a city is all about, and so a natural part of the process of urbanisation. For Colonna, the creation of an acropolis, with a sanctuary or sacred area, defines a city in the political sense. He sees the '*appropriazione del sacro*' as crucial for the aggregation and equilibrium of the urban community (Colonna 1986: 433). Again, these approaches fail to question why or how sanctuaries might be an essential component of urbanism, or to examine the specifics of the sanctuary or temple as a means of expressing this.

More recently, influences from other areas of archaeological research have affected approaches to Etruscan sanctuaries. Two in particular have been influential, and been developed further by Etruscologists. The first is the notion of peer polity interaction (Renfrew and Cherry 1986). Through

the mediation of Snodgrass's work on Greek sanctuaries, competition between Etruscan city-states has been analysed by Rendeli for central Italy (Snodgrass 1986; Rendeli 1990). Taking a diachronic survey of temple size he has shown that, indeed, interstate competition does seem to be a major component in the construction of Etruscan temples (see also Torelli 1990: 169). Although this may account for the increased size of temples in the early fifth century, it does not explain the choice of the form for the temple.

The other new approach has again entered through classical archaeology. This is the work of Andrea Zifferero, based on that of de Polignac for Greek sanctuaries (de Polignac 1995; Zifferero 1995; see also Nardi 1989). Zifferero shows convincingly that the location of temples was very strategic: temples and sanctuaries, along with cemeteries, were being located to serve as 'ritual halos' (Riva and Stoddart 1996: 91, 99–100) to distinguish between urban and non-urban space, and also between the territories of different cities. Sanctuaries are seen to be located at the frontiers of territories, acting as the location for the conflicts over territorial control, and their resolution (Zifferero 1995: 333). In addition, sanctuaries are seen as a 'zona franca' for exchange and interaction between cities (again argued for Greece by de Polignac 1994; 1995: 5–11; for Etruria see also Rendeli 1993: 357–60). In a similar way, the new sanctuaries are seen by others as points of Etruscan interaction and exchange with Greece and Phoenicia (Cornell 1995:108–12; Cristofani 1983: 119–22; Spivey and Stoddart 1990: 123–5).

The interpretative approaches discussed above generally share two characteristics. The first is that they are all, in some way, concerned with marking difference. This is perhaps even applicable to the art and architectural histories, where the concern with origins can be linked with the expression of cultural difference. It is far more explicit in the other approaches, where sanctuaries are shown to mark differences between socio-political systems, between individual cities, and between different territories.

The second characteristic shared by all but the art and architectural histories is a lack of interest in what the temples looked like. Concern with how big a temple was, or where it was located, overrides the details in the construction of the temples. The links between these details and the 'meanings' which they carry are not explored. For such approaches, it seems that it is not really necessary to know what a temple looked like (for instance, de Polignac 1995 (and the original 1984 French edition) contains no illustrations), or rather, the appearance of a temple is taken so much for granted that it raises no comment whatsoever.

The appearance of the temple is precisely the starting point of the analysis which follows. The specifics of the temple's physical form will

be seen as deeply implicated in the creation and transference of meaning. The temple's form and decoration, usually the domain of the architectural or art historian, will be integrated into a broader cultural understanding of Etruscan sanctuaries. Though this has been attempted before (Massa Pairault 1992; Spivey 1997), the means by which the physical form of the temple and its decoration do transmit meaning have not been confronted satisfactorily. Any account which fails to do this denies itself the capacity of explaining fully the appearance of sanctuaries.

There are, of course, several problems inherent in the material which we have in trying to tackle this problem. The first is that not many temples and sanctuaries actually survive. If the numbers from Cerveteri are anything to go by, we have a very small sample of the original whole. For this site, it has been suggested that eight sanctuaries existed in the urban area (Mengarelli 1935, though see Nardi 1989); of those, only two have been investigated and published. These are the supposed Temple of Hera at the Vigna Parrocchiale and the small Manganello sanctuary (Mengarelli 1935; 1936); a third is currently under excavation at Sant'Antonio (Izzet 2000). A similar picture emerges at Orvieto, where only two of the nine temples noted have been excavated (Colonna 1985: 81). Accordingly, since we have very few examples from which to extrapolate wider trends, questions of the representativeness of our sample must always be borne in mind. The sample size could be increased by the inclusion of sites from Latium (for instance, Cornell 1995: 108–12; Rendeli 1990; Smith 1996a; Torelli 1990: 165–70), but this would incorporate sites from a different cultural milieu, thus adding to the difficulties of assessing representativeness. In addition to a small sample size, the few examples that do survive span several centuries, from the sixth-century Piazza d'Armi at Veii to the fourth-century Ara della Regina at Tarquinia (Stefani 1944–5: 228–90; Romanelli 1948: 238–70).

The second problem inherent in the material lies in the nature, rather than the quantity, of the evidence. Etruscan temples often went through several changes and renovations, so that, for instance, the Belvedere Temple at Orvieto has at least two sets of architectural terracottas associated with it (Andrén 1940: 169; Colonna 1985: 82; Riis 1941: 100–1), as does Temple B at Pyrgi (Colonna 1970: 402–5). This is a particular problem for temples excavated earlier in this century, before systematic excavation practices were adopted on Etruscan sites. There are, in fact, few sites which have been excavated recently, giving us very little information derived from modern techniques, such as stratigraphic or paleobotanical data (notable exceptions to this are Pyrgi (Colonna 1988–9: 131–8, 233–4), Punta della Vipera (Torelli 1967) and the ongoing investigations at Sant'Antonio at Cerveteri: Izzet 2000)). Finally, though it is easy to talk of an 'Etruscan temple', no two surviving

examples are the same, and none fits Vitruvius' description exactly. For example, the Belvedere Temple at Orvieto, though close to the Vitruvian model, is wider at the back than at the front, so that the columns are not aligned with the cella walls as prescribed (Pernier and Stefani 1925: 159). The record we have, in other words, is somewhat fragmented, and this cannot be ignored during enquiries into the nature and form of Etruscan sanctuaries. The problem of restricted evidence of all kinds is not new (Morris 1992: 11), the greatest danger being to patch together the few sources to make one scrambled example, what Morris calls a 'composite' picture, which is temporally static. The alternative 'one-off study' is wholly inappropriate when trying to explain the emergence of a broad cultural phenomenon. At the cost of ignoring temporal and regional variation in the later history of Etruscan sanctuaries, this chapter will draw together the evidence from the different sites available. Given that we are dealing with the dramatic transition from the absence to the presence of sanctuaries, the general similarities between them justifies such an approach. In addition, although later examples will be incorporated, an attempt will be made to concentrate on the earlier sanctuaries. The fragmented nature of our information should not restrict enquiries (Morris 1992: 15), and what follows is an attempt to see how far we can take the evidence we do have in order to understand the development of sanctuaries in the sixth century, and in particular, to understand why they took the shape they did.

Various attempts to explain the emergence of sanctuaries have been discussed above, and their limitations, in terms of ignoring the connection between the choice of form and meaning, have been outlined. The importance of form and the details of sanctuary construction are important because, as Seneca suggests, in the Etruscan world things only occur because they must have meaning. Rather than denying the results of the preceding analyses, this chapter will continue to work with their conclusions that sanctuaries were instrumental in the expression of difference. The emphasis, however, will be on the details of architecture and decoration as a means of similar expression, rather than using the 'sanctuary' or 'temple' as a physical given. A further difference from previous approaches is in the emphasis on other categories of difference which are at stake in the sanctuary, such as inside and outside the sanctuary or temple, or the religious and non-religious. It is precisely because of the elision of these differences that the efficacy of the temple in negotiating them is so great. In what follows, the ways in which the architectural details of the temple are concerned with the expression of difference will be explored. It will be shown that all elements of Etruscan temple architecture were drawn into the rhetoric of difference. For tracing this negotiation, it is perhaps useful to think in terms of two distinct, but

inter-related, aspects of the temple: decoration and form.

When considering decoration, it is important to distinguish between the subject and content of the decoration, the manner in which it is executed, and its location within the temple's decorative scheme. The Etruscan temple was encrusted with decoration, from the bottom up. It is now well established, through the work of anthropologists, architects and archaeologists (see, for instance, Bachelard 1994; Douglas 1985; Hodder 1982; Lefebvre 1991; Parker Pearson and Richards 1994), that when separate categories of any sort are under stress in some way, there is an accompanying cultural emphasis on the points of interaction between those categories. In other words, there seems to be a reinforcing of those threatened categories. In material culture, the reaction to stress takes the form of elaborated boundaries. The physical points of interaction between different types of space are given physical emphasis, through monumentalisation or decoration, for example. Differences are emphasised and drawn sharply in order to preserve their integrity.

Etruscan temples were placed on discrete bases. Like the Greek temple, the 'house of the god' was separated clearly from the ground on which it stood. However, unlike the straight steps of the Greek stylobate and stereobate, the Etruscan temple sat on a base which was moulded and carefully shaped with convex and concave curves, points and angles. The alternating *tori*, *fasces* and 'hawk's beak' mouldings were carved into the blocks, which fit together almost seamlessly (figure 3.1). Within Etruria itself, the moulded bases of only two temples survive (though it would be possible to cite others from Latium (for instance, at the sanctuary of Sant'Omobono; see Cristofani 1990b: 115–30; Ioppolo 1989; Ross Holloway 1994: 68–80, esp. 75); some continue to see structures B and D at Marzabotto as temples (for example, Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 221, caption to fig. 79), though they are generally thought to be altars (Brizzolara et al. 1980: 105–6; Colonna 1985: 89; 1986: 473; Mansuelli 1972: 130). The moulded temple bases from Etruria come from the Belvedere Sanctuary at Orvieto and the fourth-century phase of the Ara della Regina at Tarquinia. In the first, only the moulded blocks, which were not found *in situ*, survive (Minto 1934: 78); in the second, the base is made up of rectilinear steps, surmounted by one large and one narrow curved stone 'cushion' (figure 3.1c; Romanelli 1948: 242–8). A better idea of the bases may be gained from the surviving altars in Etruria, such as those at Pieve a Socana, Punta della Vipera, Vignanello and Marzabotto, where the alternating bands are particularly elaborate (figure 3.1a and b; Brizzolara et al. 1980: 105–6; Brizio 1891; Colonna 1985: 24, 164–7; Mansuelli 1972; Torelli 1967: 332). Both sets of bases are extremely resonant of statue bases, so that the religious is seemingly placed on a pedestal, physically raised above, and separated from, the quotidian. The
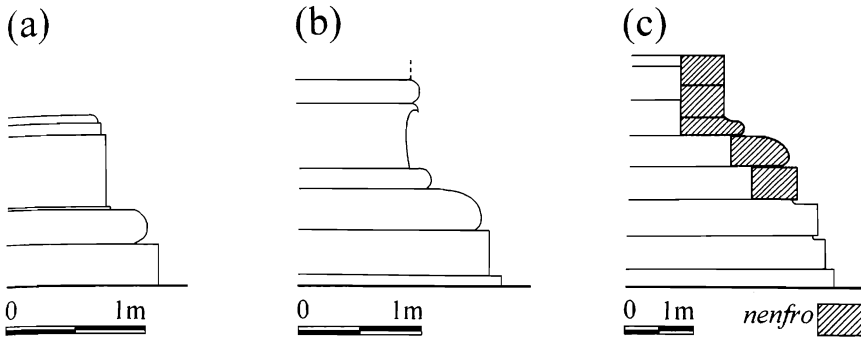
Fig. 3.1 Profiles of (a) the altar from Punta della Vipera (after Torelli 1967: 333); (b) the altar at Vignanello (after Colonna 1985: 24); and (c) the base of the Ara della Regina temple at Tarquinia (after Colonna 1985: 73).

interplay of light and shadow caused by the varying undulations in the interconnecting surfaces of the mouldings would have drawn the eye to this area, emphasising it visually. At both sites, the blocks of the base were faced with a different stone from the rest of the temple; this stone was *nenfro* (figure 3.1c). This is significant enough in itself in drawing attention to this part of the temple, and alerting us to the fact that something is at stake here. In addition, *nenfro* is paler, and is a finer-grained stone, than the surrounding tuff, and so would have stood out starkly against the rest of the temple. So, difference is stressed not only by the act of using a different stone *per se*, but also by the specific choice of stone. Such details are integrated into the emphasis of difference, setting the religious apart, from the foundations upwards.

Perhaps the most idiosyncratic element of the Etruscan temple was the terracotta plaques which adorned them (Andrén 1940). These highly decorative slabs were moulded and painted and attached to the temple by bronze nails through holes in the terracotta (for example, at Pyrgi: Colonna 1970: 710, fig. 550) There were two principal rows of plaques, both running all the way around the temple (Boëthius 1978: 59–63; Colonna 1985: 63). The first row was at the point at which the walls of the temples ended and met the overhanging pitched roof. Here, there was a single row of revetment plaques, divided into three discrete zones: an *anthemion* at the bottom, usually taking up about half of the plaque, a *fascia*, and a convex cornice (figure 3.2). The whole plaque was moulded and painted. The *anthemion* was usually decorated with a lotus-palmette design, resulting in a scalloped bottom to the plaque, while the *fascia* was restricted to geometric patterns such as lozenges, zig-zags, horizontal lines or a *guilloche*. The cornice was almost always a deep, ridged *cavetto*
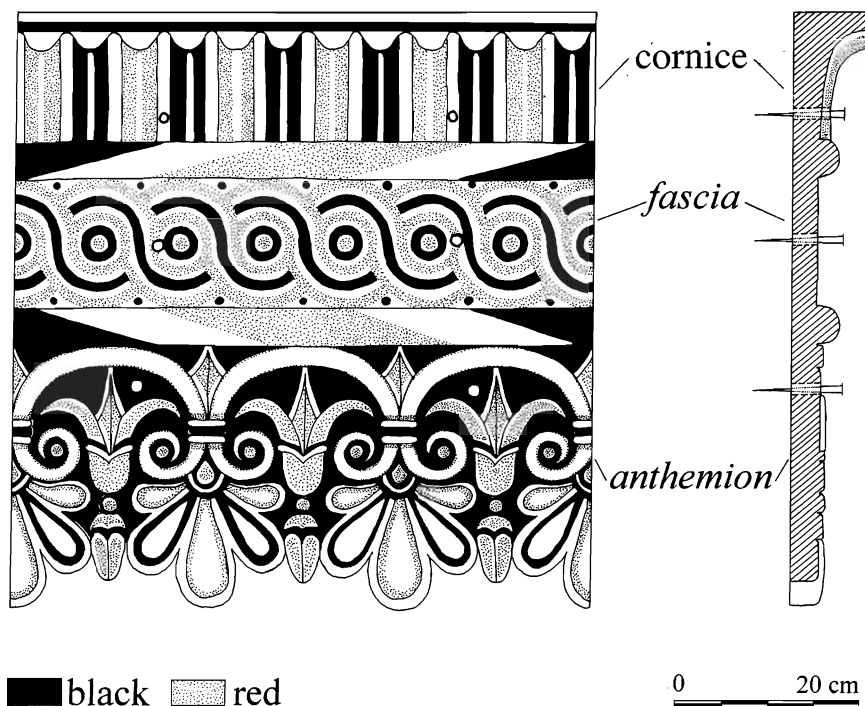
black   red   0   20 cm

Fig. 3.2 Terracotta plaque from Temple B at Pyrgi
(after Colonna 1970: 346)

moulding, painted in alternating colours (for example, at Pyrgi, Temple A: Colonna 1970: 346–62).

The second row of plaques ran along the outside edge of the over-hanging pitched roof. Here, a row of plaques similar to those described above was surmounted by a row of antefixes along the side walls of the temple, and a row of frontal simas at either end (for example, on Temple B at Pyrgi: Colonna 1970: 362–71). The frontal sima was made up of three parts, a flat *fascia* and a convex cornice, similar to the revetment plaques, surmounted by an open-work cornice, again usually lotus and palmette.

The details of the decoration serve to emphasise the stress and signifi-cance given to temple decoration. These continuous friezes of plaques went all the way round the temple, in repeated motifs and sets of patterns. This results in a frieze where the plaques fit together without seams or joins, producing a constant tonal effect around the monument; there is no change of rhythm or tempo in a frieze decorated in such a way. Through its repetitious nature, the frieze is emphatically non-narrative and as such can have no beginning and no end; it is a continuous, impenetrable whole. Unlike, say, the Parthenon frieze (Osborne 1987: 99–100), it does not invite the viewer in; rather, at the point where roof meets wall, it presents
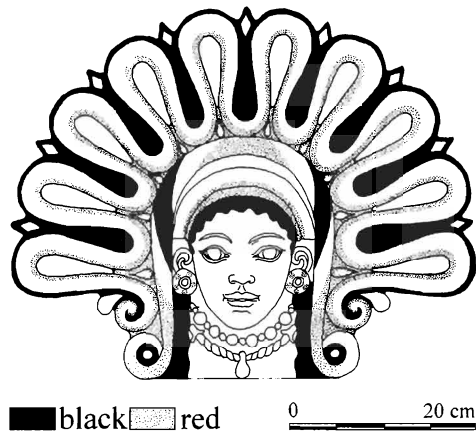
black red   0 _____ 20 cm

Fig. 3.3 Antefix in the form of a female head from Temple B at Pyrgi
(after Colonna 1970: 333)

a hard, painted façade all the way round the temple, like an impenetrable halo.

The pitched roof of the Etruscan temple was made up of pantiles covered and sealed by ridged tiles. At the end of each row of ridged tiles was an antefix (figure 3.3). These were most commonly faces of gorgons, satyrs, the gods Achéloos and Silenus, and maenads (for example, at the Portonaccio sanctuary at Veii: Andrén 1940: 5–8, plates 1–3; Giglioli 1919). All but the last are not particularly surprising subjects, given their well-attested and widely corroborated apotropaic nature (throughout the range of archaeological material, down to personal ornaments, such as necklaces with the face of Achéloos (Briguet 1986: 103), which are surely the precursors of the Roman *bulla*). These protective deities have a natural position on a temple. However, one of the factors which contributes to these characters' apotropaism explains their selection for temples specifically, and also incorporates the maenads. This is, of course, their hybrid nature. All these creatures are, in some senses, between categories and transcend them, or, in the language of structural anthropology, they are all liminal (Leach 1976: fig. 7; for a funerary context for such figures in Etruria see Martelli 1988; Spivey and Stoddart 1990: 116–17). The

gorgon is half woman, half beast; the satyr half man, half beast; Achéloos half man, half bull; and the maenad half mad, half sane. By virtue of belonging to neither and both categories simultaneously, these figures are ideal for mediating between one world and another, in this case religious and non-religious, and temple and non-temple. At the same time, their liminality challenges the boundaries of categories into which, and be-tween which, they fall. They therefore act not only as guardians of the boundary between inside and outside the temple; they are guardians of boundedness itself.

The gorgon and Achéloos are particularly apposite in other ways. Achéloos, as a river god, was intrinsically linked with movement and passage, and hence transition. As well as being a hybrid being, he was also metamorphic, with the capacity to transform himself into a bull, serpent or bull-headed man at will. The person of Achéloos challenges the categories of his identity through his transformation. This questioning of categories, and thereby definition of them, fits neatly into the broader message of the temple. The placing of gorgons acts in a different way. These images serve, in some ways, normatively. One account tells us that the formerly beautiful Medusa's transformation was a punishment for the crime of sleeping with Poseidon in the Temple of Athena, and so desecrat-ing the sanctuary. In this sense she is an object lesson in behaviour at sanctuaries. However, more interesting is the danger of her gaze, reputed to petrify and emasculate. It must have been a distinctly disturbing experience to catch the eye of a gorgon in the sanctuary, and, given her prominent positioning, this would have been almost unavoidable.

As well as their attested mythical attributes, which it is assumed were understood in Etruria by the archaic period (Spivey 1997: 56), the mode of representing these figures also implicated them in the expression of difference and in the marking off of the temple as different. All the characters are disembodied heads, and they are all frontal, staring out from the temple. When looking up at the temple the viewer would have encountered face after face looking down on him, angled by the pitch of the roof. The frontal stare of the faces would have confronted the viewer, and engaged him; they stared straight back, like a mirror. Thus the viewer's gaze is reflected back at him, from the very point at which it meets the temple. The antefixes make the viewer engage with their faces, and so define the outside of the temple, and, by association, the beginning of the sacred. In this way the antefixes implicate the viewer in the creation of difference.

The last element of decoration on Etruscan temples is large-scale individual sculpture. The most complete pedimental group is from Temple A at Pyrgi, dating from about 460–455 BC, which shows a scene from the Theban cycle (Colonna 1970: 48–82, dating 82; Massa Pairault 1992:

72–4). Spivey has argued that this choice of subject is fitting because of the elements of 'hubristic impiety' which are shown punished in the scene (Spivey 1997: 98). So, rather like the lesson of Medusa, the choice of subject is deliberately normative. However, the most famous group of architectural sculptures is probably that from the Portonaccio sanctuary at Veii (Giglioli 1919). Here, over-life-size terracotta sculptures were placed along the roof-ridge of the temple. At least four figures survive, and again, the liminal nature of two of them is self-evident: Hermes and Hercules. The others, Apollo and Leto, are more difficult to explain, although Apollo's role as an arbiter may be useful in understanding his presence, if indeed these are correct assignations (the temple is no longer thought to be dedicated to Apollo: Colonna 1986: 468; cf. Andrén 1940: 1–2). Again, beyond their meanings as mythical characters involved with mediation and negotiation, the statues as objects – in other words, how the statues were made and what they looked like – are effective in transmitting a similar message. These moulded and painted figures would have crowned the temple, though their exact order and which way they faced is not clear (compare Spivey 1997: 63, fig. 44, and Boëthius 1978: 62, fig. 51). Whatever it was, they would have been seen in profile from the side of the temple. While the antefixes, through their brazen frontality, fix a point from which the viewer's gaze bounces back, the roof sculptures through their studied insouciance rebuff the viewer just as effectively. Unlike the pedimental groups with their narrative framework and 'action shots', which we can observe with no difficulty, these figures deliberately avoid our gaze, in an analogous way to that in which the antefixes command it. These figures, with their sublime smiles, looked enigmatically over the heads of the visitor, not giving anything away.

So far, the ornateness and the subject of the decoration have been the main emphasis. However, it is also important to consider where on the temple the decoration was placed. The sum of all this decoration is a highly ornate building which must have glistened with the moulding, colour and pattern imprinted upon it. All the decoration discussed so far is from the outside of the temple, making it stand out in the landscape like a jewelled casket. Given the importance of elaboration in marking difference, the extensive decoration of the surface of the Etruscan temple should be seen in terms of marking the importance of the distinction between inside and outside the temple; in other words, between religious and non-religious space. It is not surprising, then, that where these categories meet is precisely where decoration is located on the temple: on the outside. However, the importance of decoration in articulating difference does not end here. The location of the decoration on the outside is also integrated into the dialogue. Where decoration is concentrated on the building, the choice of which parts of the temple are ornamented is a
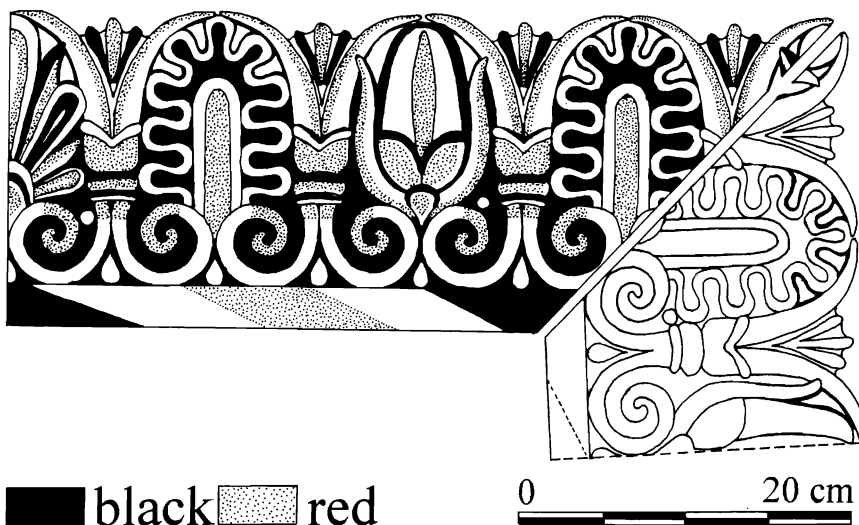
■ black▨ red   0   20 cm

Fig. 3.4 Terracotta plaque from around the door of Temple B at Pyrgi
(after Colonna 1970: 380)

crucial clue to what differences are particularly at stake. It is therefore no
surprise that the decoration of Etruscan temples is concentrated on the
points of apparent weakness (apparent because they do not coincide with
structural weaknesses). All the elements of decoration discussed above
are at points where there seems to be a danger of seepage between
categories: the join between floor and ground, wall and roof, and roof and
sky. At all these points, the integrity of the structure, and the differences it
embodies, are challenged, and protected through ornament. This is per-
haps most explicit in the treatment of doorways, possibly the weakest
point of all. The doors to the *cellae* were surrounded by more painted
relief plaques (Boëthius 1978: 62); for example, on Temple B at Pyrgi
(Colonna 1970: 380–7), where the door-jamb terracottas are the most
complex and intricate of all the plaques on the temple (figure 3.4).
    The care with which the terracotta panels for the entire temple were
made indicates the importance of these pieces and where they went on the
temple. Temple B at Pyrgi provides at least two examples of terracotta
plaques which were made for their specific locations. One is a revetment
plaque from the rear right-hand corner of the temple (Colonna 1985: 130);
the other is from the corners of the door-jamb pieces (figure 3.4; Colonna
1970: 381, 384–5, fig. 302). It was imperative that these areas were
covered with decoration, yet the mass-produced, identical plaques would
not fit into these awkward areas. The solution was the special manufacture
of interlocking pieces, tailor-made for the spot.
    In addition, two further aspects of the location of the temple's

decoration implicate it in negotiating difference. These are linked to the
messages and meanings of temple form, in that they reinforce elements
which are expressed in form. They illustrate most clearly the manner
in which meaning, built form and decoration are not only linked, but
inextricably intertwined within the structure as a whole. The first is an
emphasis on the front of the temple. As well as the decoration running
around the temple, there was an additional concentration of decoration
at the two ends of the temple, in the form of pedimental sculpture; for
example, those from Temple A at Pyrgi (Colonna 1970: 48–82). The form
of the temple allows for the placing of this additional architectural sculp-
ture here, in the two triangular gable spaces under the pitched roof. The
placing of extra sculpture here emphasises the longitudinal axis of the
temple, setting up a conceptual (and, as it was placed on the ridge-pole,
real) central line from which to view the temple. The front/back relation-
ship is securely established by the location of these sculptural elements.
The emphasis on the ends cannot, of course, be seen from the sides. This
does not, however, detract from the sculptures' ability to emphasise the
longitudinal axis on two counts: first, because even if visitors had never
seen an Etruscan temple before, when they did get to the front they would
know it; and second, if visitors had been to such a site before, they would
anticipate what was waiting around the corner. For the Portonaccio group
of sculptures, Spivey has argued that the placing of sculptures along the
roof indicates that the temple 'was clearly to be appreciated by a viewer
approaching from the side' (Spivey 1997: 63, caption to fig. 44, though he
also admits that the placement is uncertain – see above). However, view-
ing the sculptures from the side, in profile, would have made it impossible
for viewers to engage with them, the sculptures'gaze constantly eluding
the viewer. In order to interact, viewers would have had to move round to
the front, the disdain of the sculptures almost forcing them to move and,
equally important, move to the front. Although the temple could have
been appreciated from the side, the visual cues moving the viewer to the
front would have ensured that this would not have been for long. Thus
the way in which the sculptures were executed (the archaic smile), their
composition (the profile view) and their location (axially on the roof) all
combine to force an appreciation of the temple from the front.

   The second aspect which the location of the decoration emphasised is
centrality. Etruscan pedimental sculpture, unlike Greek, does not extend
over the entirety of the *tympanum*, at least, not until the fourth century (for
instance, at Tarquinia and Talamone: for Tarquinia see Massa Pairault
1992: 101–2; Romanelli 1948: 254–5; for Talamone see Gamburi 1888:
686; Massa Pairault 1992: 240–3). Instead, sculpture is present only in the
very centre of the gable triangle. The sumptuous ornamentation, in the
form of extremely deep relief like that from Pyrgi, is located on line with

the central roof beam, and covers it. By being located on the *columen*, the sculpture conjoins the structural centre of the building with the symbolic centre.

So far, only the decoration of the temple has been considered. The details of the content and location of the decoration have been shown to be integrated into the broader messaging of the structure in several ways. Subjects and myths explicitly dealing with boundedness were deliberately selected, the arrangement of the decorative elements was such that it emphasised difference, and the integration of decoration and sculpture within the architectural setting was achieved in such a way as to corroborate this. However, as hinted above, the form of the temple was equally important in the expression of this meaning.

The themes of axiality, frontality and centrality play an important part in the architectural form of the temple (for example, Boëthius 1978: 37). The pedimental sculpture was at both ends of the temple (in fact, the surviving Pyrgi example is from the back of Temple A), and the exact placing of the roof-sculptures from Veii is uncertain (Spivey 1997: 63). So, though it could be argued that the importance of frontality has been overstated in the discussion of the decoration above, this emphasis seems entirely justified when examining temple form. The two elements of frontality and, within that, centrality are closely knit into the design of the Etruscan temple, principally in the treatment of columns and steps (figure 3.5).

The canonical Etruscan temple had three *cellae*, with the central one larger than the others. The columns were aligned with the *cella* walls, and were only at the front of the temple (Castagnoli 1955). Columns should be considered architectural elaboration: they are points of particular concentration in terms of both construction and building, and also in terms of the viewing of the temple (see Rykwert 1996). Yet again, the concentration of this elaboration is at the front of the building, signalling the most important part of the temple. Comparison with Greek temples serves to emphasise the distinctness of the Etruscan deployment of columns, and so highlights the specific Etruscan concern with expressing boundedness. Columns themselves are rather ambiguous in their allegiance; together they form a line, or colonnade, but this is, necessarily, penetrable. When looking at the temple from the outside, the columns seem indisputably part of the structure, and those looking on are undoubtedly outside. Yet when standing within the colonnade, the viewers' status is unclear: they are neither in the 'outside' space they had formerly occupied, nor inside the *cella*, the walls of which they can still see, and even more clearly than before. Columns are at the same time inside and outside the categories which the temple is defining. In the Greek temple the colonnade acts as a permeable screen around the cella. By contrast, in the Etruscan temple,

(a)   (b)
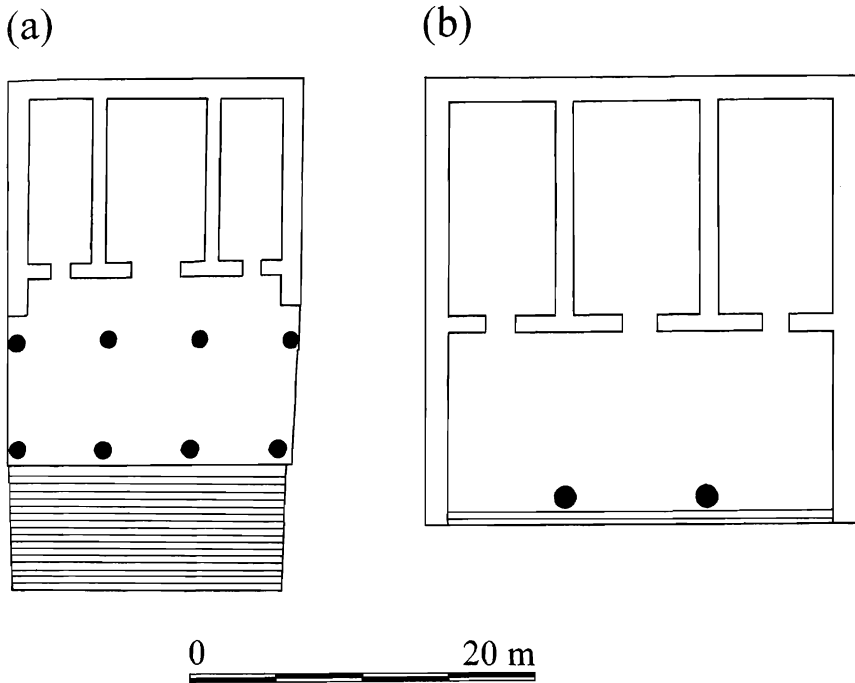

0 _____ 20 m

Fig. 3.5 Plans of (a) the Belvedere Temple at Orvieto (after Colonna 1985: 82);
and (b) the Portonaccio Temple at Veii (after Colonna 1985: 100)

this mediative area is only present at the front. Thus in the Etruscan temple
the transition between inside and outside is only present and possible at
the front of the building.

The rows of columns varied from site to site, allowing for even greater
emphasis on frontality. At the Portonaccio sanctuary, according to some
reconstructions, there were only two columns in total (figure 3.5b). These
were aligned with the central *cella*, and the sides of the temple were
completely blocked off by the continuation of the *cella* walls (Colonna
1985: 100; Rendeli 1990: 6; though see Prayon 1986: 198, figs V-38
and V-39). From the sides and back, the temple would have presented
completely blank walls, topped by the decoration mentioned earlier. By
the blocking of the sides, and the placing of the columns at the front, the
temple signalled the entrance to the sacred most emphatically; it was
impossible to enter from anywhere else. Possible movement across the
boundary was limited and restricted to one point only. This was em-
phasised further by the irregular intercolumnation at the front of the
temple. The alignment of the columns with the *cella* walls resulted in a
wider opening in the centre of the façade, concentrating the location of the
boundary at that point. In other temples this is less extreme. Some have a

row of columns across the entire front (for example, Temple A at Pyrgi), and in others the number of rows is increased (for example, at Orvieto, figure 3.5a), though this never exceeds two (though again, from outside Etruria the Temple of Capitoline Jove could be cited: see Cristofani 1990b: 75–6; Gjerstad 1960: 180–4; Prayon 1986: 196). Although in these cases concentration on the centre of the front is less acute than at the Portonaccio temple, in all of them the location of the columns emphasises the frontality and centrality of the beginning of the sacred. Temple form was instrumental in reducing the potential points of entry to or exit from the temple to a single point, and so defining and confining the sacred.

The same frontality is evident in another element of temple form: steps. Again, comparison with Greek temples is instructive. Greek temples had a stylobate and stereobate around the entire structure. It would have been possible to step up on to the temple at any given point. In contrast, the Etruscan temple had steps only at the front (figure 3.5; for example, at Orvieto (Pernier and Stefani 1925: 159) and Tarquinia (Romanelli 1948: 239)). In an Etruscan temple it was physically impossible to get up onto the podium in any other way than that which was intended by the builders: the front. By being given no other choice, the visitor would have been forced to collude in the definition of the temple. As well as physically dictating the location of the transition between the sacred and the profane, the steps also provided a visual focus at the front of the temple in a similar way to the moulded base.

Visually and physically, Etruscan temple form, here the columns and steps in particular, directs and guides the visitor to a certain area. The nature and location of the decoration do the same thing. In doing so, these combined efforts give very clear messages about the location of the front of the temple, and therefore the point from which the temple should be viewed. Creating a viewpoint leads to the objectification of the viewed (Berger 1973; Bryson 1983), and objectification implies control over it. By the establishment of a viewing point for the temple, the sacred is put in its place within the general order. Simultaneously, by directing the viewer to a certain point, through the visual cues discussed above, temple form exerts control over the viewer. All the elements of the temple are unified in expressing the difference of the sacred from the profane, and thus ordering the relationship between the two. The Etruscan temple achieves this on many interacting levels. Difference is expressed in the iconography chosen for the outside of the temple – for instance, the gorgon; in the choice of the form the decoration should take, like the repetitive patterns, frontal faces, or aloof stare of the acroterial sculpture; in the location of the decoration, at points of vulnerability or along the longitudinal axis; and in the deployment of architectural features, such as the columns and steps. Obviously, these cannot, in practice, be separated

as distinctly as implied here; the elision in the meaning of the location, form and content of the ridge-pole relief sculpture at Pyrgi, or the roof-sculpture at Veii, shows this most clearly. Rather, all these factors are in play simultaneously. Inevitably, this results in the separate elements also affecting or influencing each other. The meanings of the individual pieces of ornament or sculpture are constantly reflected in each other, so that the meaning of one is dependent on, and reinforced by, that of another. For instance, the interpretation of the Veiian roof-sculpture above is related to the importance of frontality and the longitudinal axis of the temple. This in turn is mirrored in the far broader Etruscan context of the temple as a mechanism for marking difference. This stratigraphy of meanings is how meaning is transmitted, maintained and understood.

Though the rise of sanctuaries and temple architecture can be explained in terms of urbanism, with temples as somehow symptomatic of a city-state, or as a means of competition between cities and territories, it must be remembered that the forms of temple architecture were deliberately chosen to articulate difference most clearly. By being so effective at expressing differences, the sanctuary and temple also create and reinforce them; thus, once built, the temple becomes instrumental in the creation and structuring of differences as well as reflecting them. This can be traced from the detail of the terracotta plaque to the topographical location of the site. An analysis of form allows the integration of these different levels on which the meanings operate; but this is only possible if we follow Seneca's advice, and take all elements of the sanctuary, including its form and decoration, as occurring because they have meaning.

4

SACRED RUBBISH

Fay Glinister

THE DEPOSITION OF OFFERINGS at sacred sites was a key feature of religious activity in ancient Italy. The generic term 'votive deposit' can be applied in various archaeological contexts: a sealed deposit of utensils and organic remains, buried after one or several sacrifices, for example, or a deposit of ritual objects, such as bronze statuettes and miniature pottery. The term is also applied to the burial of votive objects that have accumulated in a sanctuary over a period of time, until they become too numerous, and must be cleared to make way for incoming offerings.[1] Here I want to discuss a related form of deposit, in which the cache comprises architectural terracottas. Such terracottas form part of the roofing and decoration of early temples.[2] They include purely decorative free-standing statuary (placed on the main beam of the roof) and pedimental relief sculptures, as well as more functional items, such as frieze plaques, which protected the woodwork. The remains of the upper structures (in mud brick, wood, and so on) of these early sacred buildings are few, so apart from stone foundations, architectural terracottas and roof-tiles often represent the chief remains.

   Archaeologists sometimes find architectural material where it fell, or else scattered across a sanctuary site. But here I want to consider possible explanations for cases where, after the destruction or reorganisation of a sanctuary, elements of the old temple decoration were evidently collected up and interred or reused within the sacred precinct, often together with votive offerings. Examples of this practice abound in the archaic and republican periods, and not simply in central Tyrrhenian Italy, the area on which I have chosen to focus. In the first part of this chapter some representative sites are examined;[3] the second part goes on to discuss the issues raised, and examines whether the burial of architectural material can be regarded as having any sacral aim, or (as is commonly supposed) should simply be seen as a convenient way to dispose of or re-employ (for constructional purposes, say) worthless material. In other words, is it a question of simple rubbish, or sacred rubbish?

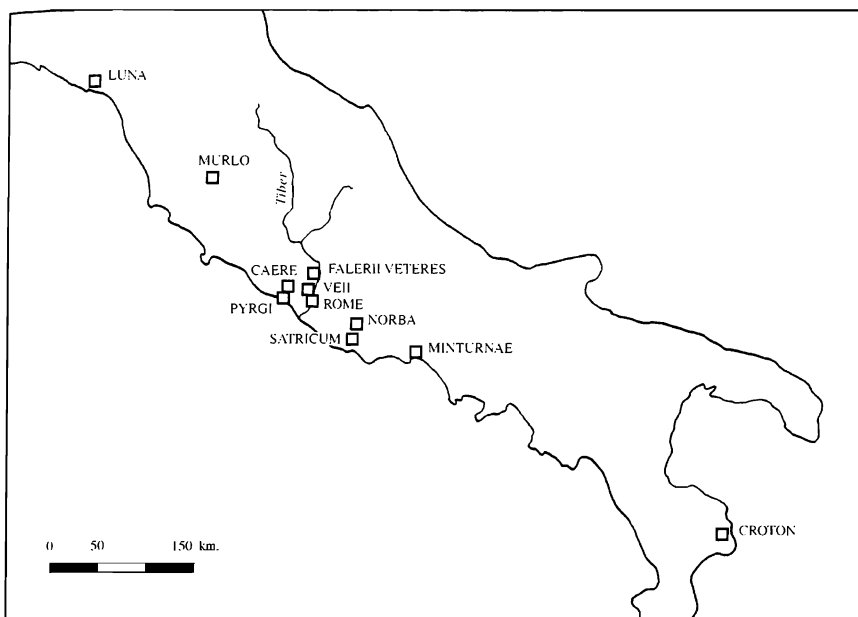   This analysis involves the comparison of archaeological material

Fig. 4.1 Map of Italy, showing sites mentioned in this chapter

dating as far back as the sixth century BC with a much later literary record. Although the chronological gap poses some methodological problems, it seems desirable to make the attempt to bring together both types of evidence, as combining the different perspectives embodied in each offers us the best opportunity to understand the mentalities behind these actions.

EVIDENCE

1. In the Vignale locality of Civita Castellana (ancient Falerii), traces of sacred buildings were identified in 1895–6, when unpublished excavations led to the discovery of many fragments of architectural and votive terracottas. The most numerous finds came from the northern half of the hill, and were attributed to a so-called Large Temple; finds from the southern half were attributed to a Small Temple (Moscati 1983: 69–78). The terracottas have been divided into two chronological groups: one late archaic (sixth–fifth centuries BC) and one hellenistic (third century BC onwards) (Andrén 1940: 93–104). No trace of masonry structures relating to the temples was found during the modern survey, but two large rock-cut cisterns on the summit of the hill, almost certainly related to the temples, were uncovered. Around these cisterns, and in particular inside the northern one, were fragments of architec-

tural and votive terracottas (and since both had been disturbed by clandestine excavations, these finds represent only what remains after looting). The cisterns may have been used to house material from the two sacred areas at the time of their abandonment, probably in the hellenistic period.[4] This abandonment is presumably to be related to the capture of the city by Rome in 241 BC, at which time the local population was resettled at the nearby site of Falerii Novi.

2. When the temple of Juno Lucina in the western part of the Latin colony of Norba was excavated in 1902, many fragments of architectural decoration were found, partly terracotta of the third century BC (the date the temple was built), partly travertine and relating to a reconstruction after the temple had been destroyed in the Sullan period. These architectural pieces included fragments of antefixes representing Artemis, palmette antefixes, revetment plaques, and life-size pedimental figures. Associated with the temple, to the south, was a large square terrace with polygonal walling, which once supported a porticoed building (Savignoni and Mengarelli 1903: 238–47). The fill of the terrace included bricks, tiles and architectural terracottas of the third-second century BC from the temple (among them a gorgoneion, and maenad- and satyr-head antefixes), many votive offerings, and two bronze dedications to Juno Lucina; the material was then covered by a pavement of Roman date (Andrén 1940: 387–9). The terrace seems to have been built especially for the offerings (Bouma 1996: III, 67).

   Quantities of fragmentary architectural terracottas and other structural remains (for example, painted plaster), together with votive material and the remains of sacrifices, have also been recovered at Norba from excavations in and around several other urban temples of mid-republican date on the large and small acropoleis.[5]

3. More recent excavations at Satricum in southern Latium found well over a hundred fragments of mainly late archaic architectural terracottas (acroteria, simas, revetment plaques, and life-size statues) deposited close to the temple, along with other building debris, such as tufa blocks and tiles. The deposit, southwest of the temple, also contained votive material from the late sixth and fifth centuries.[6] In addition, fragments of architectural terracottas (such as maenad and satyr antefixes) as well as roof-tiles and tufa formed part of the paving of two roads bordering the area of this deposit, one of which led up to the temple (possibly a kind of *via sacra*; see also Smith, Chapter 10 in this volume). It has been suggested that this treatment shows the continuing 'religious value' of the terracottas after the destruction of the temple (Bouma 1993: 296). These were not the only obsolete objects to be conserved in the sanctuary: the famous inscription (the Lapis Satricanus) was placed in the foundations of the temple of Mater

Matuta when it was rebuilt at the start of the fifth century BC. Obviously
the inscription could no longer have been read, but it retained a place in
the centre of the sanctuary. Similarly, it has been suggested that a large
round block in the northwest corner of the temple was the altar of the
earlier building (Smith 1996a: 235–6). The developments observable at
Satricum may relate to the conquest of the area by the Volsci in the early
fifth century BC.

4. Further striking examples of the deposition of architectural elements
from sanctuaries come from Pyrgi in Etruria. In the third century BC,
in a depression in the ground between Temples A and B, a small
rectangular enclosure (1 × 1.8 × 0.40/0.45m) was created, using a large
block of tufa, and seven blocks of plastered tufa from the demolished
cella walls; it was closed up using three terminal tiles (Colonna 1964:
53; tables XXVII–XXXIII). Inside this enclosure were found the well-
known inscribed gold plaques, rolled up and laid out horizontally
beneath a heap of architectural terracotta fragments from the demol-
ished Temple B.[7] Once the enclosure had been filled, it was covered,
and the depression was filled in by a 'dump' of tile and architectural
terracotta fragments (including antefixes and acroteria) from Temple B,
raising the level of the pavement up to the base of the podium of this
temple (Colonna 1964: 53–4; 1965: 202ff; 1985: 134). The construc-
tion of this niche documents a diligence that goes beyond generic
religious conscientiousness, as has been pointed out (Colonna 1964:
54). It has been suggested that the deposit was designed to preserve part
of the temple archive, but only four inscriptions were found, and their
disposition suggests that they were not intended to be looked at again
(Heurgon 1966: 6). By contrast, Edlund-Berry (1994: 22) interprets the
burial of the inscriptions and architectural material as a sign of ritual
destruction (the sanctuary was plundered in 384 BC by Dionysius of
Syracuse: Diod. 15. 14. 3ff), even though the sanctuary continued in
use for some time after the inscriptions were deposited.

We should note the differing treatment meted out to the material
here. The inscriptions, and the terracottas associated with them in the
deposit, were clearly dealt with specially. So too were the three-
quarters-life-size pedimental reliefs from Temple A (a 'togate' figure, a
nude man, a young woman, and a youth), which were sealed in two pits
adjacent to the front of the temple, along with some votive terracottas.
Yet significant numbers of other architectural terracottas were scattered
on the terrace around the temple and in the pronaos zone, or heaped up
in filling layers (for example, the terracottas from Temple B, dating
to about 500 BC). Evidently a choice was made to save and preserve
certain material, while other, sometimes comparable items received
different treatment.

5. At Rome there are several examples of the practice under examination.
In the Forum, a votive deposit was found in the area beneath the Lapis
Niger which has been identified as the shrine of Vulcan (Coarelli 1983;
see now Carafa 1998). As well as organic sacrificial remains, the
material comprised typical votive objects dating from the sixth to
the first century BC (when the black stone pavement was laid). It also
included architectural material from the second quarter of the sixth
century BC: a revetment plaque with a horseman modelled on it, and a
gorgon-head antefix, attributed to an early sacred building, perhaps the
Curia Hostilia. It has been observed that the most expensive and
important items (Greek vases, bronze figurines, and – most notably for
us – the architectural terracottas) were arranged near the cone and
inscription, key parts of the shrine (Lowe 1978: 143–4; cf. Carafa 1998:
49–56).

   Architectural terracottas were also buried within the sanctuary at S.
Omobono in the Forum Boarium, where a temple was built in the sixth
century. There were two distinct phases of construction during the
archaic period. The first temple is commonly dated to the second
quarter of the sixth century; it was rebuilt and enlarged around 530 BC.[8]
At the end of the sixth century the temple was destroyed, after which
the surrounding area was raised by means of a huge fill, except to the
east, where a road ran; here the fill was contained by a specially con-
structed wall, which for Colonna delineates a kind of *temenos* enclos-
ing the area of the destroyed sanctuary.[9] The fill comprised earth,
pottery and structural remains, including fragments of architectural
terracottas from the second phase of the temple (*c*.530 BC): revetment
plaques depicting processions, simas, female head antefixes, four
acroteria with large volutes, and the famous three-quarters-life-size
acroterial statues of Hercules and Athena.[10] The comment that this was
'a dump of very old builder's waste' (Lugli 1946: 4) is representative
of the thoughtless value-judgements traditionally accorded to this kind
of material.

   Excavations in the southwestern part of the Palatine demonstrate
clearly that in some instances it was not just a case of using archi-
tectural material as handy infill: here we see the deliberate creation of
a new housing for obsolete items. In the late sixth–early fifth century BC
a small archaic temple (13.2 × 14.5m) was built north of the so-called
Auguratorium.[11] It underwent a restoration in the first half of the fourth
century BC (hypothetically attributed by its excavators to damage
caused by the Gallic sack), and was apparently deliberately destroyed
in the early third century BC, in the reorganisation of the area for the
creation of the temple of Victory. At this time, the building was dis-
mantled, and cult items and architectural elements (fragments of eaves-

tiles, and near-complete Juno Sospita- and Silenus-head antefixes) were placed in two specially constructed pits; also found were the remains of a large fictile column base of Tuscanic type. The area around each pit was marked off by blocks from the archaic temple, and the pits were covered by stone slabs. The whole area was then covered by layers of clay and ash mixed with animal bones and ceramic fragments. The debris from the temple was not left *in situ*, but deposited on top of the pits, so as to level the ground.

6. The conquest of Veii by Rome in the early fourth century was the probable cause of the most striking case where old elements of temple architecture were intentionally preserved. At the Portonaccio sanctuary, just outside the city walls, the remains of architectural terracottas were excavated in 1939. They were mainly located in two dumps around the earliest phase of the altar, mixed together with earth and with material dating to the later sixth century BC and of clearly votive character, including bronze statuettes, bucchero figurines, imported pottery, and a fragmentary bucchero vase dedicated by one Avile Vipiiennas (Pallottino 1939: 18; Stefani 1946: 52, n. 1). The terracottas have been largely reconstructed, and represent Hermes and a goddess carrying a baby, presumed to be Latona with Apollo (other suggestions include Artemis or Minerva).

The most interesting material, however, comprises a group of terracotta acroterial statues which relate to a phase of restructuring around 500 BC. They were discovered in 1916, buried in a trench just outside the boundary wall of the sacred enclosure (Giglioli 1919: 15; Colonna 1985: 101; Andrén 1940: 3–4). They represent Apollo and Hercules fighting for possession of the deer with the golden horn. Photographs taken a few hours after the discovery of the statues appear to show the deliberate way in which they had been arranged: they were broken, but placed upright in a neat row.[12] What seems to have happened is that following the conquest of Veii, during the building of the Roman road to the coast which crosses the temple precinct, the statues were removed from the ridge-pole of the roof of the temple and buried, while other debris from the sanctuary was dumped into the valley below.[13]

The bases of some of these statues, as well as architectural terracottas (including antefixes) and ex-votos, were found beyond the remains of the western enclosure wall, close to the cliff; further fragments were found at several levels in and around a pool beside the temple (Stefani 1946: 38, n. 2). We thus appear to have a strong contrast between the apparently careless dispersal of the majority of the material after the conquest (including building and decorative material – tufa blocks from a wall, fragments of tiles, antefixes – as well as votive statuettes),

and the very special attention paid to the ridge-pole statues, carefully buried at the extreme boundary of the sanctuary. Their exceptional state of preservation is surprising, given their original placement, which means that we must consider the way in which they came off the temple roof. It is very unlikely that they fell – the drop would have caused much more damage.[14] So we must imagine workmen, or soldiers, or perhaps even priests climbing onto the roof to remove the statues. In that case, their subsequent breakage may be a ritual one, executed prior to their deposition. Finally, it is noteworthy that although the temple was never reconstructed following its demolition, limited cult activity continued to take place by the altar until the end of the republic (Stefani 1946: 52; Santangelo 1948: 454–64).

7. A final example of specially formed deposits of architectural terracottas is found at Murlo near Siena, at the archaic 'palazzo' or meeting hall, built around 600 BC. This structure is not a temple, and to date little evidence has emerged of religious activity, but the site is included here for comparative purposes, because its excavators have suggested that the deposits are ritual.[15]

These deposits were apparently made when the archaic building complex was demolished in the third quarter of the sixth century BC. The walls were torn down, and architectural terracottas were scattered across the ground. Some of these were left where they fell, but some were removed and buried under a layer of stones (mainly outside the western part of the building, where a single pit, CA 2, yielded 649 fragments); others were thrown into the long ditch running along the northern and western side of the building.[16] Debris from the structure (including architectural terracottas and roof-tiles) was mixed with soil to create a mound up to four metres high around the building, which was then topped with large stones (Edlund-Berry 1994: 16). The site was never again occupied.

This mound and ditch have been seen as evidence of a deliberate ritual 'un-founding' of the site, which is believed to have been an important political assembly place (Edlund-Berry 1994: 17, 22, 26). The location of the building, its impressive decorative scheme and the rich finds made here are used in support of this interpretation of the site. Other scholars have attributed Murlo's destruction to more prosaic developments, such as changes in the nature of settlement, with scattered rural populations deserting the countryside for cities on key coastal or inland routes (Cristofani 1975: 15) – but if so, it is unclear why the building was not simply allowed to decay naturally.

ANALYSIS

We have identified a variety of ways in which architectural terracottas were disposed of in antiquity, sometimes being given special treatment, but at other times seemingly being treated as handy building material, or simply as rubbish. Drawing in literary evidence, I want now to consider how we can interpret the differing fates of these objects. Although this evidence is predominantly Roman, and relates above all to the Roman experience of the later Republican and imperial periods, it may be argued that some of the conclusions to be drawn from the literary tradition are also relevant to other Italian peoples and to earlier periods of time.

First of all, we need to consider under what circumstances deposits of obsolete material took place. This is often not ascertainable, but there are at least three possible scenarios, any or all of which may be inter-connected; any or all may have, or lack, a ritual dimension:

1. following the violent destruction (temporary or permanent) of a sanc-tuary, as a result of enemy action in war, or local political changes;
2. after the accidental destruction of a sanctuary (for example, by fire);
3. as a result of the replacement of old, worn or old-fashioned terracottas in the redevelopment or restoration of a shrine.

Violent (deliberate) destruction

In some instances, archaeological evidence for the destruction of a sanc-tuary can be related to historical information concerning an attack on it, or on the city with which it was associated. In this case, when we find a deposit of the kind under discussion, we must ask whether it is the result of a specific action of one of the parties involved, and if so, which. Precisely what kind of interest would a conquering power have in the shrines of its enemy?

Literary and archaeological evidence points to many sanctuaries with more than purely local appeal, making it quite clear that the peoples of Italy recognised foreign shrines as places sacred along the same lines as their own, even though they had not been consecrated through their own processes. However, this broad belief in the sacredness of such places did not assure their inviolability in wartime. According to the only legal evidence available to us – Roman law – when a place was captured by an enemy, it was no longer regarded as sacred.[17] Thus a soldier could do as he thought fit to an enemy's shrines, without fear of committing sacrilege. Indeed, on numerous occasions when attacking an enemy city Roman armies did not spare sanctuaries, although those not destroyed in the heat of battle or in the looting stood a chance of being left intact.[18] Their survival depended on a number of variables affecting the level of destruc-tion – such as the type of conflict (civil war and revolt attracted notori-

ously violent reprisals), the enemy concerned ('barbarian' or 'civilised', for example), whether the city was stormed or had surrendered beforehand, any personal choices made by a general or by his troops – quite apart from pure accident (supposedly the reason the Capitoline temple burnt down: Tac. *Hist.*, 3. 71). On the other hand, whether through the particular interest of the victorious general or as a result of a senatorial directive, some shrines were left in place even after the enemy city was obliterated.[19] In the case of Falerii (Veteres), for example, there is archaeological evidence for cult activity at the temple of Lo Scasato in the first century BC, while Ovid says that a festival to Juno was still taking place in the old city in his day (*Am.* 3. 13).

Occasionally, the enemy deity was invited to swap sides and move to Rome, a process known as *euocatio* ('summoning away').[20] This procedure is actually rather rare, so far as any direct evidence goes (and it should be stressed that reports of the removal of cult images cannot automatically be regarded as evidence of, or equivalent to, an *euocatio*). The best-known case is that of the Veientine goddess Juno Regina, who before the Roman victory in 396 BC was invited to come to Rome (Livy 5. 21–2). When the Romans took the city, and came to claim the statue of the goddess, it is said, miraculously, to have nodded its head in agreement. Though Veii was never the same again after 396 BC, it was not totally destroyed by the Romans. It continued to be inhabited, and its sanctuaries continued to be frequented, as is shown by the presence of hellenistic pottery and coins, votive statuettes of Roman date, and late fourth- or early third-century BC dedicatory inscriptions in archaic Latin from the Portonaccio and Campetti sanctuaries (Santangelo 1948: 454–6, 460–4). Nevertheless the evocation of the poliadic goddess can be seen as symbolic of Veii's ritual destruction. The famous story that the Romans actually contemplated moving their state to Veii a few years later, after the Gallic sack, seems only to highlight the conscious annihilation of the Veientine state in Roman eyes (Livy 5. 49. 8; Edlund-Berry 1994: 18). By this process of *euocatio*, enemy gods could be incorporated into Roman religious life, although from the rarity of the attested cases it seems that this was not a path open to all: Dumézil plausibly suggests that only gods common to Rome and the enemy, or those closely identified with a Roman deity, were honoured with an *euocatio*.[21] In fact, it seems, it was not easy to uproot gods from their appropriate setting – in the cults and rites of early Italy, sense of *place* is strong.[22] Thus in some cases Rome adopted the cult of a former enemy, but left the deity in its home town. This happened with Juno Sospita at Lanuuium, a cult which after 338 BC Livy reports was 'held in common by the Lanuuini and the Roman people' (8. 14. 2); even in the late republic, the consuls regularly sacrificed to her (Cic. *Mur.*, 90). Certain cults of peoples defeated by Rome were included

among the *sacra publica* and given into the care of the family of the conqueror (Arnob. *Ad Nat.*, 3. 38; Dumézil 1970: 428). The cults of communities granted Roman citizenship were not formally incorporated into the state cult, but by contrast fell under the jurisdiction of the pontifical college, Festus tells us, and continued to be observed in the traditional manner; otherwise foreign gods continued to be regarded as foreign.[23]

Essentially, then, in time of war Romans (and probably other Italian peoples) were not normally concerned about committing 'sacrilegious' acts, that is destroying the sanctuaries of their enemies, because they did not regard this action as sacrilegious. In spite of certain moral pressures, victorious peoples were free to respect or destroy captured sanctuaries. By contrast, to interfere with a sanctuary in peacetime *was* sacrilegious – so at least we know from the story of the censor Q. Fulvius Flaccus, who in 173 BC stole the marble roof-tiles from the renowned temple of Juno Lacinia near Croton (which had been a Roman colony since 194 BC: Livy 34. 45. 3–4) in order to embellish his temple to Fortuna Equestris at Rome. This act was regarded both by the Bruttii and by the Roman senate as sacrilege. As the Roman state was involuntarily implicated in the sacrilege, it had to expiate the sin which had been committed by its representative, by means of *piacula* in honour of Juno.[24] In addition, the roof-tiles had to be returned to the sanctuary, although they were left *in area templi*, because no one knew how to put them back in place.[25] These actions have been attributed (by Toynbee and Ruga) to political motives, and to the justifiable desire not to allow precedents so disturbing to other Italian cities to be set, but it is hard to deny a corresponding, equally pressing religious motive.[26]

Although this story highlights the concern of the senate for one Italian sanctuary, it seems unlikely that Roman action (or, by extension, the intervention of any conquering power) was normally responsible for the deposition of any of the architectural remains of an enemy's temple. A possible exception might be new Roman colonists helping to put in order sanctuaries damaged during the subjugation of an area: Roman and Latin incomers often adopted local cults, and may well have been involved in such operations.[27] With an *euocatio*, in particular, the deity was compensated for the loss of worship in its native town by the erection of a new shrine at Rome, and thus the destruction of the old sanctuary with appropriate ritual burials might have been deemed necessary. But probably on most of the occasions when we find buried deposits, they can be attributed to the actions of the people to whom the sanctuary belonged. In such cases, what was the motivation for this behaviour?

In Roman law, when freed from capture the former religious status of a shrine could be restored (above, n. 17), but purifications were necessary to efface the desecration. Thus, Camillus' first action after the Gallic sack,

as Livy records it, is to ensure that those shrines which had been in the possession of the enemy 'should be restored, their boundaries re-established, and purificatory rituals performed'.[28] Although this passage refers to sanctuaries within Roman territory and subject to Roman law, it is likely that other Italian peoples operated according to similar principles. We do not know the formal status of a captured sanctuary in non-Roman eyes, but archaeological evidence proves that religious activity continued in shrines captured and damaged in war (at Veii, for example); perhaps in these cases the deposits discussed here may be seen as having a puri-ficatory function, enabling the resumption of religious activity at the site.

Accidental destruction

Our second category concerns the accidental destruction of temples by natural causes such as fire (note, however, that what we perceive as acci-dental may well have been imbued with far more significance in antiquity; see below). In these cases, the damaged architectural material may have been buried simply to dispose of it, so that new building work could be undertaken; or it may be that a ritual deposition was required in order to cleanse and prepare the area for the recreated temple. By good fortune, we possess texts which tell us a quite lot about the way in which Romans of the early empire dealt with such matters. Tacitus, who was one of the *quindecimuiri sacris faciundis*, provides us with a detailed account (poss-ibly derived from a priestly document, or even an eyewitness report) of the careful clearing and rebuilding of the Capitoline temple after the fire of AD 69 (*Hist.*, 4. 53; see Townend 1987). The *haruspices* advised that the debris from the old temple should be dumped 'in the marshes' (*in paludes*) – presumably a reference to those at Ostia, where Nero had ordered the rubble from Rome to be carried after the great fire (*Ann.*, 15.43: *Ostiensis paludes*).[29] The temple was rebuilt on the same site, on the same foun-dations, to virtually the same plan; the *haruspices* allowed only an increase in the height of the building. Here, the clearing of the site and the rebuilding work was a public action, carried out under priestly supervision (although the required rituals were undertaken by the most senior magis-trate then available at Rome); it had a clear ritual import.

This is a case of 'accidental' destruction of the whole building. Another text tells us what happened to old architectural terracottas, whose fate was quite different, possibly because they formed a much smaller body of material. Varro refers to chambers and cisterns called *fauisae*, located beneath the precinct of the Capitoline temple. In them were stored certain votive offerings dedicated in the sanctuary, and statues which had fallen off the building,[30] like perhaps the head from a fictile statue on the roof which was struck by lightning in 278 BC (Cic. *Div.* 1.16; Livy *Per.*, 14). The passage implies that the architectural remains from the Capitoline

temple are objects which occasionally fell off the building, rather than
being the result of its destruction; Varro is probably not referring to terra-
cottas from the original temple (destroyed in 83 BC) – they too may have
been cast into the marshes, a practice which might explain why so few
archaic architectural terracottas from the Capitoline temple have been
found.[31] The chance discovery of damaged anthropomorphic terracottas
fallen from the building may provide an origin for the famous legend
of the Caput Oli, an extended version of which appears in Dionysius of
Halicarnassus (4. 59–61): workmen digging the foundations of the temple
came across the buried head of a man, newly dead and still dripping blood.
An Etruscan soothsayer reluctantly interpreted the prodigy as meaning
that Rome would be the head (*caput*) of all Italy, and from this the
Capitoline hill got its name.[32] It is impossible to say at what stage in the
life of the temple this story developed, although a *terminus ante quem* is
provided by a reference to it in Fabius Pictor (F12 Peter; cf. *FrGrHist* 809
F 10, 11); the theme has also been identified on Italian gemstones of
the third century BC. But if my interpretation of the story is correct, it
shows that architectural terracottas – or at least those in anthropomorphic
form – retained a powerful aura even after being separated from the
temple building.

   A comparable practice to the deposition of accidentally damaged terra-
cottas is the well-attested custom of burying objects struck by lightning.[33]
Livy records that the temple of Jupiter at Minturnae was twice struck
by lightning, in 207 and 191 BC (27. 37. 2; 36. 37. 3). Beside the temple
(which underwent several reconstructions, perhaps following lightning
damage) was found a specially constructed pit containing architectural
fragments (tiles, parts of columns and capitals) and many architectural
terracottas, as well as an inscribed plaque reading *fulgur*, probably dating
to the first century AD (Degrassi 1968; Johnson 1935: 29–36; Frova 1973:
col. 40). The remains seem to represent a collection of material struck by
lightning on several occasions, over a long period of time.

   Similarly at Luna in Etruria in the first century BC a lightning strike on
the Capitolium was dealt with by the creation of a rectangular enclosure,
inside which were placed the remains of 'contaminated' terracottas
(palmette antefixes and a fictile female head with *polos*), alongside a
marble inscription reading *fulgur/conditum* (*AE* 1978, no. 318; Frova
1973: coll. 32, 823–4, tables 201, 227). Other related architectural terra-
cottas – antepagmenta, curtain, sima – were found outside the enclosure,
at a corresponding level (Frova 1973: coll. 32, 823). (The Pyrgian scenario
of inscriptional material deposited together with architectural fragments is
parallelled here by the presence of a bronze duoviral inscription of the
Neronian period in the enclosure: Frova 1973: coll. 823–4.)

   In instances such as lightning strikes, the destruction of the sacred

building could have been viewed as having been activated by divine will, in which case special treatment was required; but I would argue that, however caused, damage to sacred buildings necessitated expiatory or purificatory action in the form of burial of (part of) the elements affected.

Restructuring

The third case in which depositions of architectural terracottas may have been made is in connection with the restructuring of a sanctuary. Although such makeovers are common, literary sources rarely mention the phenomenon in detail, and we are predominantly reliant on the analysis of archaeological evidence. There are, however, one or two useful references to the building-over of sacred places. The best example is the story of the building of the Capitoline temple: when Tarquin decided to build his temple to Jupiter, the spot – which was already occupied by various shrines – had to be cleared by *exauguratio* before it could be reused.[34] All the gods inhabiting the site agreed to have their sanctuaries moved, except for Terminus and Iuventas. Terminus' shrine had to be included within into the new temple, and his refusal to budge was interpreted as a sign that the building would be strong and everlasting.[35] The stone which was, or represented, Terminus was incorporated into the temple, in the cella of Jupiter, an opening in the roof ensuring that his worship could continue in the open air (DH 3. 69. 5; Serv. *Aen.*, 9. 446). Livy 1. 55. 2 states that the annulling of the consecration of the other shrines (*exaugurare*) was done to free the site from all other religious claims and allow it to belong fully to Jupiter.[36] Such considerations would naturally not apply when the redevelopment related to an improved or upgraded shrine of the *same* deity; for example, the building of a temple in place of an open-air altar. This would explain why the *exauguratio* procedure was so rare: it only operated in cases of a change of deity or the effacement of the inaugurated nature of a place.[37]

A ceremony of *exauguratio* (or the equivalent) is unlikely to have operated in instances where, through demographic or economic changes, say, sanctuaries gradually decayed and disappeared. The upkeep of a sanctuary required a significant amount of expenditure and effort. Areas in decline may have lost the urban centres or elite interest capable of providing the impetus and funds to maintain temple structures, something perhaps equally beyond the abilities of, say, a recently defeated people. Problems such as this mean that inevitably there were times when a temple collapsed and rotted, leaving architectural material on the spot where it fell, or scattered randomly across the site, as seems to have happened at the Samnite sanctuary of Colle Sparanise (Barker 1995: 87–9; note, however, that an apparently haphazard scatter of material can result from later disturbance of a ritual deposit). In cases such as this, it

would have been much easier for the site to be reused for a different purpose, without there necessarily being any archaeologically visible evidence of ritual closure. This would explain the large numbers of locations where sanctuaries were eventually replaced by other kinds of structures, as at Punta della Vipera in southern Etruria, where the temple, deserted from the first century BC, was pillaged for an Augustan-period villa that was partially built over the sanctuary itself (Torelli 1967: 347; Colonna 1985: 149–50). Here the interval of abandonment may have been long enough for memory of the sanctuary to pass away, and for the reuse of site and materials to take place without any impiety being noticed. Elsewhere this was not the case: for example, Caesar caused discontent when in 44 BC he destroyed two temples in the Forum Holitorium (including that of Pietas, vowed by M. Acilius Glabrio in 191 BC and dedicated in 181 BC) to build the forerunner of the theatre of Marcellus (Pliny *NH*, 7. 121). The ill-feeling Cassius Dio (43. 49. 3) reports for this could be attributed to Caesar's failure to complete an exauguration. Such stories suggest that some shrines continued to be regarded as sacred places (even after destruction), unless exauguration had taken place, but it seems that in many other cases their sacred character was forgotten.

Aside from the practice of *exauguratio*, the literary sources on re-structuring of (undamaged) sanctuaries do not normally discuss any rituals involved. Nevertheless, I would argue that the special deposits of architectural material discussed above can be related to such restorations.

CONCLUSION

It will never be possible to identify every instance of special burial of architectural terracottas. It is not simply that lost or looted material, old excavations and inadequate publishing prevent us from knowing the precise circumstances of many discoveries; sometimes the very nature of the deposit may be questioned. There may be mundane explanations for the presence of architectural elements in a deposit, such as, for example, a workshop dump where misfired or damaged terracottas were thrown away. In addition, not all temples and the architectural terracottas which decorated them suffered a standard fate. However, my discussion has identified various occasions on which material from temples appears in secondary depositions, and is treated in such a way as to suggest that it retained a value and meaning for worshippers even after the destruction of the building to which it belonged. Although there was certainly no single reason why material from temples was buried, this special treatment raises particular questions which we can address.

First, why was it necessary for this material to be retained at all? In Roman law, a votive offering or other property consecrated by an author-

ised representative of the state was regarded as *sacer* (properly speaking, it could only be regarded as *sacer* on the authority of the Roman people, following a law or decree: Gaius *Inst.*, 2.1–11; Watson 1992: 55). As a *res sacra*, it was an inalienable divine possession (even if in practice such property was controlled by the city authorities).[38] Ex-votos, even obsolete ones, could not normally be removed from the shrine. Offerings were dealt with by strict laws, exemplified by the foundation charter for the Vestine temple of Jupiter Liber at Furfo (58 BC), which has clauses dealing with money from the sale or rental of votive offerings (to be used to repair or redecorate the temple).[39] Now, public temples are analogous to ex-votos: they were in fact the greatest votive offering that a god could receive. When properly inaugurated, they became divine property, and unless formally deconsecrated remained sacred space even after destruction (the *Digest* passage cited above refers only to places captured by enemies, not ones destroyed accidentally). It can be argued that the structural elements of a sanctuary were also viewed as permanently given over to the god, an interpretation supported by the text of Varro, discussed above, which specifically associates ex-votos with *signa*, a clear reference to anthropomorphic architectural terracottas. The fact that these were regarded as sacred explains why obsolete elements had to be kept within the temple precinct (often being buried along the boundary-wall, or near the temple podium): they were the property of the sanctuary, and did not belong to the human sphere. This sacrality, it can be argued, applied particularly to fictile statuary or terracottas portraying deities (best seen in the careful treatment of the statues from Veii), but also perhaps to more mundane elements (the story of Juno Lacinia's roof-tiles implies a certain reverence for the very fabric of the building).

Partially no doubt there was a practical motive behind disposing of the remains close at hand, but to keep them inside the precinct of (at times) a fully functioning sanctuary seems an awkward way of dealing with them. Although we must beware of identifying something as a 'ritual' practice simply because it appears 'inconvenient' or 'irrational', in my view the custom of depositing architectural remains within the sanctuary area is most satisfactorily explained by assuming that the material *had* to be retained within the enclosure – not simply because it was the property of the sanctuary, but because it was valued as sacred.

As we have seen, a few architectural elements were often singled out for particular treatment (as at Veii), while the majority of the material was used as levelling material for sacred precincts, as fill for an enlarged podium, or as a road-bed (as at Satricum). In my opinion, this debris was not being recycled for pragmatic reasons alone, even if this is the initial impression given. Instead, this reuse can be seen as part of a deliberate policy, motivated by the need to retain within the sanctuary area that

which was inherently sacred. This is not to deny that the old architectural material could also fulfil a utilitarian purpose, but there was emphatically a religious motive at work here too. Although the motive for burial may have differed according to whether the temple had been destroyed, or merely rebuilt, the aim was the same: to remove these objects permanently from the human sphere. The same intention lies behind the deposition of 'fragmented' votive offerings, such as broken weapons, or folded inscriptions.

The second question is why the material was buried. Here we can continue our analogy with votives. These were normally displayed in the sanctuary until it became overcrowded, when they were stored or buried within the enclosure (because they were divine property). Burial did not destroy their sacred character; the same was probably true of the elements from a temple. It did, however, remove the objects from any chance of contact with the profane sphere.

It is also likely that the deliberate burial of the material from temples within sanctuary precincts had a further religious aspect. Destruction or damage to a temple, whether caused by deliberate violence (as in warfare) or by 'accident' (such as fire or flood), was polluting and required expiation. The objects buried may represent one aspect of this expiatory ceremony, something akin to that reported by Tacitus for the rebuilding of the Capitoline temple (*Hist.*, 4. 53), but otherwise poorly attested by our sources. This procedure would also be parallelled by the known instances in which special housing was created for objects damaged by lightning, which had a chthonic element to them. The procedure here was a response to a divine sign which could not be ignored. There is a sense too in which the burial of these objects enabled the possessor (the sanctuary, its priests, or perhaps even the state itself) to get rid of objects whose sacred nature could be polluting if not dealt with properly.[40]

As well as being a means of dealing with polluted material, it can be argued that when a sanctuary was deliberately closed down (for example, as a result of an *euocatio*, or because political or demographic problems meant it was no longer a viable entity), the special burial of architectural material should be taken to represent the ritual 'closure' of the sacred area. An example of the deliberate destruction of a sanctuary for political reasons is provided by the fate of the archaic temple at S. Omobono. This building has been interpreted, plausibly, as the dynastic sanctuary of the Tarquins, and its destruction ascribed to the fall of the monarchy at Rome, while continuing anti-monarchical sentiment has been identified as the cause of the hiatus between its destruction and the subsequent republican redevelopment. Thus the deposits made here could be viewed as an intentional ritual 'closing down' of a sanctuary whose associations were dangerous and unwelcome to the new republican government. The formal

ending of the sacrality of the site ('deconsecration' or 'decommissioning') could be accomplished by rites which included returning to the earth the holy terracottas made from earth. It would have been difficult if not impossible for every element from the old sanctuary to be gathered up and ritually deposited, but it was feasible to deposit some, at least, of the terracottas, as a representative sample, a token part of the sanctuary itself.

A final question to be answered is: who buried this material? Precisely who would have been responsible for burying the terracottas, and on whose orders, is not really knowable. Bouma, writing on Satricum, envisages pious pilgrims depositing broken architectural terracottas from the ruined temple along with offerings of pottery in pits as private votive dedications, over a long period of time (Bouma 1993: 296–7). It could also have been the inhabitants of an attacked city, burying what remained of their sacred shrine. It could have been workmen or soldiers, perhaps on the orders of priests or magistrates. Certainly, in the reported case of a shrine being rededicated, discussed above, augural activity is involved, and it seems most plausible to think that appointed religious representatives of the state played a part in burying the terracottas. This is surely the case with the burial of objects struck by lightning. If the deposition of architectural terracottas in other circumstances also had a sacral purpose, as I have argued, then it would be hard to preclude the involvement of some official body in their disposal. Ultimately, whoever saw to the deposition of fragments of temple decoration, this action suggests their continuing religious character (as is further clearly highlighted by Varro's reference to the preservation of the broken terracottas from the Capitol). This material was certainly worthless in the ordinary sense, its original function completed, but it was not trash – it was sacred rubbish.
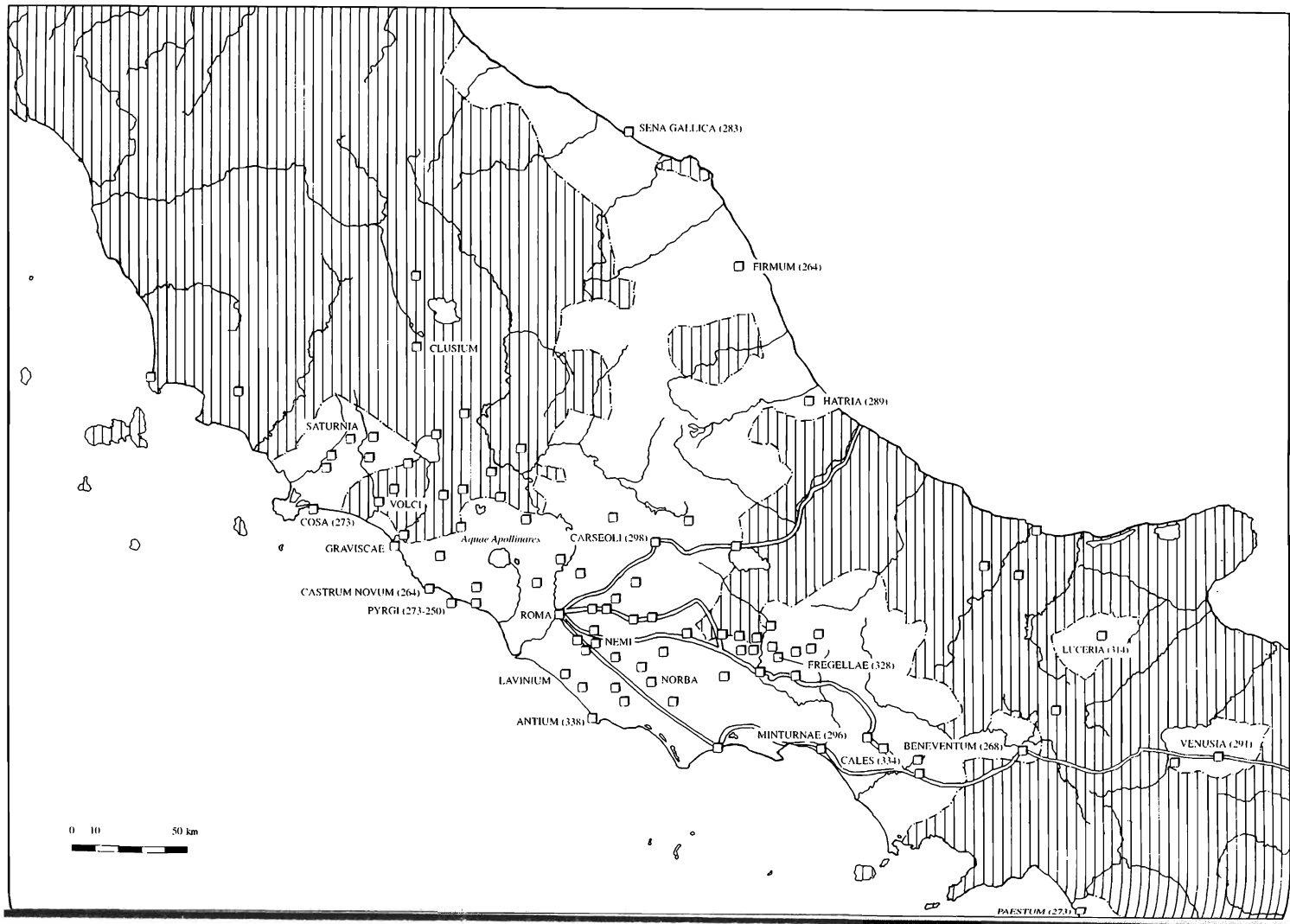
5

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE 'RELIGIOUS ROMANISATION' OF ITALY BEFORE THE SOCIAL WAR

Olivier de Cazanove

(translated by Edward Bispham)

IN SPITE OF ITS undeniable cultural affinities with the Italic peoples, Rome had its own religion, a public cult that had meaning and validity only within Rome's frontiers. There are exceptions to this rule, but only a few – certain community cults or federal cults, such as that of Jupiter Latiaris.[1] The reverse is equally true: the Romans had no need to appeal to the divinities of cities or *ethnoi*[2] other than their own. Certainly, Rome showed itself capable of welcoming and assimilating, throughout its history, foreign cults (*sacra peregrina*). But it did so properly: it made use of the gods of others only and exactly to the extent that it made them its own.[3] Valerius Maximus gives a very clear example of this unchanging attitude: 'Lutatius Cerco, who brought the first Punic War to an end, was forbidden by the senate to go to consult the oracle of Fortuna at Praeneste: it was thought that, to govern the republic, auspices taken at the heart of the father-land, and not abroad, were necessary.'[4] Praeneste (Palestrina), in Latium, some thirty km from Rome, had not been incorporated into the *ager Romanus* after 338, but remained a *ciuitas foederata*. Irrespective of its fame, the oracle of Fortuna Primigenia remained a foreign cult in Roman eyes before the Social War.

Consequently, since the public cult of the Roman city-state is an essentially civic religion which concerns *stricto sensu* only the citizens (i.e. the citizens of Rome), proselytism and 'missionary spirit' have absolutely no role to play in this context. Indeed, there they are absolutely without meaning. Therefore we can speak of the religious romanisation of this or that region of Italy only from the moment when such a region receives the citizenship. In other words, Rome can only – potentially – exercise some control in the matter of cults, indeed spread some of its own, in the *municipia*[5] and colonies.

SENA GALLICA (283)

FIRMUM (264)

CLUSIUM

HATRIA (289)

SATURNIA

VOLCI

COSA (273)

GRAVISCAE

Aquae Apollinares

CARSEOLI (298)

CASTRUM NOVUM (264)

PYRGI (273-250)

ROMA

NEMI

FREGELLAE (328)

LUCERIA (314)

LAVINIUM

NORBA

ANTIUM (338)

MINTURNAE (296)

BENEVENTUM (268)

VENUSIA (291)

CALES (334)

0   10   50 km

PAESTUM (273)

But if Rome had no need to intervene in the religious sphere in the affairs of its independent allies, the situation changed when the former allies became *ciues Romani*, that is to say, after the Social War and the *leges de ciuitate*. Among many others, one delicate question arose: that of the survival of the old community cults from the days of independent Italy. How was their existence to be continued, and under what form, when the communities which they consolidated had disappeared as autonomous entities?

It was to resolve this problem that the Romans created a category of cults which they called *municipalia sacra* (municipal cults). '*Municipalia sacra* was the name for those cults which the peoples concerned had always observed, prior to receiving the *ciuitas Romana*, and which the pontiffs wished them to continue to observe and to carry on in the traditional forms.'[6] The emergence of *municipalia sacra* is thus on a par with the phenomenon of municipalisation that affected the whole of Italy in the first century BC. We receive the impression of a certain control, or perhaps a form of preliminary authorisation, which, according to the *lemma* of Festus, depended on the pontifical college.[7] In other cases it seems that we are rather dealing with a framework established by the magistrates of the colony or municipality concerned.[8] We can, in this connection, cite the example of the sanctuary of Mefitis at Rossano di Vaglio, in Lucania, which began life in the second half of the fourth century, and whose importance can be measured by the number of official dedications (in Oscan) made there. We find mention of a senate, a censor and several quaestors, without having a very good idea, it must be added, of what these institutions relate to.[9] After about 100 BC (in other words, without doubt, after the Social War), all the inscriptions are in Latin. Some of them are dedications made by *IV uiri*. The sanctuary, having been restored a second time by an Acerronius, in the second half of the first century, or in the Tiberian period, comes to an end in the first century of our era.[10] Nevertheless, from that point on, a short distance away – some fifteen km as the crow flies – in the *municipium* of Potentia, we find the same cult of Mefitis (the identification is guaranteed by the divine epithet *Utiana*, which is applied to the goddess both at Rossano and at Potenza). Four dedications attest the cult, mostly made by *IV uiri*.[11] The cult of Mefitis has

Fig. 5.1 (opposite) The limits of the Roman conquest (including the Latin colonies) at the beginning of the First Punic War, showing the distribution of anatomical terracotta ex-votos. The limits of the conquest are drawn according to Humbert 1978: map 3. The list of the find spots of the anatomical ex-votos was established by Fenelli, 'Contributo', and Comella, 'Tipologia' (after de Cazanove 1991)

thus become, first at Rossano di Vaglio, then at Potenza, in the heart of the municipality, one of those *municipalia sacra* of which Festus speaks.

There is apparently one considerable exception to this general principle of Roman religious non-intervention in Italy before the municipalisation which followed the Social War. The repression of the Bacchanals, in 186, struck Rome, but also extended 'across the whole of Italy' (*per totam Italiam*: Liv. 39. 14. 7; 17. 4; 18. 7–8). I have, however, tried to show elsewhere that the exception was only apparent.[12] In effect, all the information relating to the suppression – the narrative of Livy (39. 23. 1–3; 41. 6–7; 40. 19. 9–11) and the inscription from Tiriolo in Calabria[13] – concerns exclusively territories confiscated in southern Italy (after the defection of some allies to Hannibal in the Second Punic War) on which colonies were subsequently established: Roman colonies like Sipuntum and Buxentum, founded in 194, and through which the consul Sp. Postumius Albinus passed in the course of his investigation into the Bacchanals,[14] and Latin colonies, like Vibo Valentia, founded in 192, on which the *ager Teuranus* probably depended.[15] Thus, if one examines closely evidence which is both unambiguous and can be referred to particular places, one realises that Rome intervened, when circumstances required, only in 'Roman Italy' in the proper sense of the term, that is, in the annexed territories, in the *fora*, the *conciliabula* (Liv. 39, 14, 7; 18, 2), and the *coloniae ciuium Romanorum*; and among the allies too – the copy of the *senatusconsultum* found in 1640 at Tiriolo specifies clearly that it applies to the *Bacchanalia*[16] of the allies (*foideratei*) – but these are Latin allies, like those of Vibo.[17] The meddling of the *Vrbs* in a matter of cult seems to be directed in this case only at those peoples who have received *ciuitas*, and to the Latins. Now, we know that the Latin colonies, very closely tied to Rome from the beginning, were still more tightly controlled again (or at least a certain number of them were)[18] after the Second Punic War. Besides, it is precisely in the more recently founded Roman and Latin colonies, whose inhabitants had come from Rome only a few years before, that the Bacchic 'contagion' would have been most to be feared, given that in 186 there was an enormous number of initiates there, rumoured to be more than 7,000.[19]

In a more general sense, the Latin colonies, after they began to be founded outside the geographical area of Latium, following the defeat of the Latin League in 338 (starting with the foundation of Cales in 334),[20] can be seen as the staging posts of the Roman expansion in Italy, politically and militarily, of course, but also from an ideological and religious point of view. Rome, the thirtieth and last colony of Alba Longa according to the tradition (DH 3. 31. 4),[21] sent its magistrates and priests to sacrifice in the Latin 'mother cities' of Alba and Lauinium (Liv. 5. 52. 8). In the same way, there were thirty Latin colonies,[22] which recognised

Rome as their mother-city, and claimed, as a result, the same legendary descent. At Luceria, founded in 314 in Daunia, an Athena Ilias was worshipped[23] – as at Rome, Lauinium and Heraclea (Strabo 6. 1. 14 (C264), cf. 6. 3. 9 (C284); Aelian *NA*, 11. 5).[24] In certain other Latin cities, such as Cosa,[25] we find the image of the white sow (sacrificed by Aeneas), whose thirty piglets symbolised both the thirty years which separated the foundation of Alba from that of Lauinium, and also the *triginta populi* of the *nomen Latinum*.[26] It is superfluous to dwell – as has been done repeatedly – on the imitation of Rome at work in the monumental and religious centres of the Latin colonies: the *forum* and the *arx*.[27]

This function of colonies as religious staging posts of Roman expansion becomes particularly clear if we take into consideration a class of objects which has received the attention that it deserves only in the last twenty years: the terracotta ex-votos. In central Italy (southern Etruria, Latium, Campania) the offerings set up in cult places display great homogeneity, whether we consider sanctuaries situated in the *ager Romanus*, the confiscated territories, the allied cities, or the Latin colonies. Basically we are dealing with anthropomorphic ex-votos: statuettes of less than life size, but also representations, at life size, of the human body, either in full (statues) or in part (heads, anatomical ex-votos such as limbs and external or internal organs). This last class of artefacts is the most typical. Anatomical ex-votos are found, with a few rare exceptions, in all the votive deposits of central Italy, and, what is more, almost without exception, in those deposits alone.[28]

In southern Italy, on the other hand, statues, heads and anatomical ex-votos at life size are totally absent – except, precisely, in the Latin colonies. At Venusia (founded 291) and at Paestum (273), some terracotta uteruses have been discovered.[29] At Luceria (founded 314), a complete votive deposit, the so-called Belvedere deposit, recently published in its entirety,[30] presents exactly the same type of assemblage as those of central Italy, even though we are here 300 km from Rome. It contains statues (including babies in swaddling clothes); statuettes; heads; arms, hands and fingers; legs and feet; breasts, uteruses and phalluses; and intestines. The contrast with the other votive deposits of southern Italy, be they Greek or indigenous, is clear: there statuettes predominate, as well as busts and other categories of small figurative terracottas (*thymiateria*, fruits, *pinakes*, and discs among others). Outside the Latin colonies themselves – but still in very close proximity to them – there are sporadic finds of anatomical ex-votos: at the sanctuary of Mefitis at Ansanto, and, not far from there, at Oscata di Sopra, on the course of the Via Appia between Benevento and Venosa; or again in the temple of Casalbore, on the edges of the territory of the Latin colony of Beneventum (268).[31]

The same situation can be observed, thought with less clarity, in central

northern Italy, along the Adriatic coast. Some anatomical ex-votos are attested at Hatria (founded between 290 and 287), and others at Isola di Fano and at Pesaro,[32] which were certainly part of the *ager Gallicus*, but are also not far (along the Via Flaminia) from Ariminum (268).

It is now common practice – and rightly so – to link the progress of romanisation with the diffusion of anatomical ex-votos.[33] But what is the significance and the precise meaning of this diffusion? Are we simply faced with the export, beyond their cultural frontiers, of lesser products of an artisan and artistic 'mid-Italic' or 'Etrusco-Latio-Campanian' *koinê*?[34] Or are the ex-votos rather extensive evidence of the massive popularity,[35] from the fourth century onwards, of healing cults, among others that of Aesculapius who, it is believed, was known in Italy from this period?[36] Or finally, are they a direct consequence of the introduction of the cult of Asklepios from Epidaurus to Rome, in the first decade of the third century? This last solution would have the threefold advantage of identifying a single channel for the spread of these artefacts (from Greece to the *Vrbs*, and from there into Roman Italy); of making Rome the epicentre of their diffusion; and finally of assigning a *terminus post quem* to all the anatomical ex-votos (or all those in terracotta at life size) in Italy. There are difficulties, however: the earliest votive heads are normally dated to the fifth century, the first limbs and organs in terracotta to the fourth (but in this latter case, in my view, without any definite proof);[37] then it is clear that, while in Greece the anatomical ex-votos were offered to Asklepios and certain other healing deities, in Italy this type of gift is found in sanctuaries of the most disparate deities (Jupiter, Hercules, Minerva, Mater Matuta, etc.). Aesculapius seems to recede into the background,[38] especially since the spread of *Asklepieia* themselves within Roman Italy appears to have been quite limited.[39] We must hope that the progress of research, including the refinement of dating, will allow for a decision between the various opposing solutions, in such a way as to restore to the 'votive phenomenon' in mid-republican Italy its true importance. In this way we shall also be able to understand the contribution that the Latin colonies, those essential vectors of romanisation before the Social War, were able to make to what is in archaeological terms the most visible form of private devotion at the time of the Roman conquest.

6

FROM CONCORDIA
TO THE QUIRINAL:

notes on religion and politics in
mid-republican/hellenistic Rome

Emmanuele Curti

DURING THE FOURTH CENTURY BC, the Roman republic went through
a tremendous transformation. At the beginning of the century, Rome was
in control of a relatively small territory and was a member of the Latin
confederation; by the end of the same century, Romans had subdued
the other Latin cities, had conquered large territories – including parts of
south Etruria, Campania, Apulia, and so on – and had become the most
powerful presence in all peninsular Italy. It is a quite incredible evolution,
considering also that the campaigns of conquest had mainly occurred
during the second half of the century. Such a situation had profound
repercussions for the metamorphosis of the political community and of
the city itself.

Unfortunately, very few data are preserved regarding that specific
period: both literary and archaeological sources are scarce and provide
us with a fragmentary picture of the state of affairs. This situation has
strongly conditioned modern research: very little has been written on mid-
republican Rome when compared to other periods of Roman history, and
some of the major works are more than twenty years old; for example,
*Roma medio repubblicana: Aspetti culturali di Roma e del Lazio nei
secoli IV e III a.C.* (1973). If we still sometimes discuss this intriguing
moment of history, we owe this to a few scholars who have kept bringing
us back to these issues, scholars such as Filippo Coarelli, Tim Cornell and
Peter Wiseman: without their contribution, our understanding would be
extremely limited.

The consequence of this situation has not only narrowed our perception
of Roman history at a crucial moment of its development, but also par-
tially distorted our view of Rome in relation to the wider context of the
Mediterranean world; the transformation of the Roman republic cannot
be fully understood without considering the political innovations which
characterised fourth-century societies, in particular the Greek and Greek

colonial ones. Rome was becoming an important new member of the 'international' community, profoundly influenced and affected by the spread of Greek political, cultural and social values. The intellectual/ political debate of the fourth-century Greek *poleis* – in particular Athens – had a clear effect on other societies in both the east, through the action of Alexander the Great, and the west, in particular in the Greek colonies. It is enough to mention figures such as Timoleon, whose arrival in Syracuse caused a complete alteration, in 'democratic' terms, of the local society. It is impossible to believe that such 'revolutions' would not have had any effect on the neighbouring states, such as Rome (Musti 1988; Curti et al. 1996: 180–9).

One of the most visible results of the Roman expansion was the huge increase in the population of the Roman community. Apart from facing evident problems in organising the newly conquered lands and distributing people over the newly founded colonies, the city of Rome itself was seriously affected by a phenomenon of immigration: the *urbs* was growing fast, with repercussions both for the social organisation and for the physical structure of the city. The archaic social and civic order was proving to be inadequate: the struggle between patricians and plebeians and the consequent reforms (Cassola 1988) are the most 'visible' aspects of the fourth-century political revolution. As Tim Cornell has pointed out, it was perhaps only in this period that some of the republican institutions took shape in the way known to us through the sources of the late republican period: 'the emergence of the Senate as the principal organ of government' (Cornell 1995: 369) was perhaps one of the most significant new political conquests. It is not a coincidence, I believe, that in the same years, as Coarelli has suggested (Coarelli 1983: 145; 1985: 121; 1993: 311; *contra* Carafa 1998: 145), a new Comitium was erected in the Forum, around 300 BC.

In the 'reformed' senate, at the very end of the fourth century, new political groups were confronting each other, among others the one led by Appius Claudius opposed to the one led by the Fabii. In 312 BC Appius Claudius, as censor, decided to move the *humiles* (technically those people without land) from the *tribus urbanae* to the *tribus rusticae*, basically shifting their elective power from the few (four) votes of the *tribus urbanae* into the larger number of *tribus rusticae*. This reform lasted only few years: in 304 BC Fabius Rullianus re-established the previous order. Here much could be said on the nature of such political operations: but what is important to note is the impact that such a new social 'class' had on the reorganisation of the republican voting system. Clearly this phenomenon is a result of the constant emigration of people to the new capital – people without land – but also of the laws on the abolition of debt-bondage (a process that was finally completed only in

326 BC, with the *lex Poetelia*). The impact of the *humiles* suggests also a change of perspective within the new political mentality: from a situation where the political structure of the republic was constructed upon the archaic status of the citizen as a land owner, the state had now to find a constitutional position for this large number of people. The archaic political structure of Rome, with its primary basis on the dialectical relationship between city and countryside (citizen–land), had to be abandoned. One of the solutions to this problem was actually recreating that relationship within new communities, far away from Rome, through the foundation of new colonies. There the colonists became new land owners, even if they were granted the Latin citizenship and became citizens of a lower status within the Roman 'commonwealth'. Rome was now both the capital of a new large territory – with a mixture of Roman and Latin citizens distributed all over – and a city: two realities with different sets of problems within the same state. Rome as a city had to regenerate itself, finding new political solutions and a new political vocabulary to construct a new identity: religion can actually provide interesting evidence of such a transformation.

We tend to forget what an important role religious festivals played in the organisation of time in the yearly life of a community: as Allen observes, 'an examination of the origination and workings of temporal orders in a given society can tell us much about the organization, conceptual and otherwise, of that society' (Allen 1996: 157). The interchange between political and religious activity typical of those ancient societies was behind the creation and establishment of the *appuntamenti* (appointed gatherings) of the community during the year. We have therefore to analyse the transformation of the religious life and look at the creation of new religious moments as a reflection of a new way of organising the community.

Until the fourth century, the cults connected with agrarian and military activity were still structuring the pattern of the Roman year: even if new cults had already been introduced in the Roman pantheon, the calendar was still very much constructed around an archaic system, based on an archaic perception of the life of the community (Beard et al. 1998: 1, 42–54). Towards the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third centuries BC a large number of new cults, new temples and new festivals remodelled the religious and political identity of Rome: these new entries cannot be defined only by the nature of their religious component, and therefore analysed only within a religious historical perspective, but automatically become new points of reference within the structure of the city, marking new physical spaces, and within the conception of time, providing new dates for the calendar, new annual *appuntamenti* for the political community.

At the end of the fourth century (300 BC), the plebeians, continuing their successful emancipation, through the *lex Ogulnia*, were admitted to the highest colleges of priests, the *pontifices*. By now patricians and plebeians were fully assimilated within the ruling system of the republic: these moments marked 'a political shift from an exclusive aristocracy of birth (the patriciate) to a competitive oligarchy' (Cornell 1995: 342). Just a few years before there was a significant plebeian success; in 304 BC, the *aedilis curulis* Cn. Flavius, a *libertus* of Appius Claudius – and a perfect example of these new social forces – provoked a great turmoil in the senate: he decided to disclose to the public '*ius ciuile*, which had been filed away in the secret archives of the *pontifices*, and posted up the calendar on white-notice boards about the Forum, that men might know when they could bring an action' (Livy 9. 46. 5). Not 'satisfied' with this quite revolutionary act – as Livy tells us – he also dedicated a temple of Concordia in the area of the Volcanal, in the Forum.

What is the connection between these two actions? For the first time, the control over the calendar is taken away from the secret control of the patrician *pontifices*: any supreme act is now made immediately public, through its recording and its display in a public area. The religious institutionalisation of the cult of Concordia and the creation of a physical space for its cult in front of the new Comitium – where the area of the archaic Volcanal is – seem to be part of the same political project. Who is Concordia? Why, all of a sudden, does this new cult, with no connection with the traditional Roman religious values, enter Rome?

Concordia is one of a series of new deities in the form of personifications whose cults were introduced in Rome towards the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third centuries BC. Already in 1942 Momigliano pointed out that with the arrival of Concordia 'non si resiste all'impressione che si stia introducendo un culto greco' ('one cannot resist the idea that a Greek cult is being introduced': Momigliano 1942: 111); Concordia is the Roman version of the Greek cult of Homonoia, which had become very popular in various Greek cities and in Greek colonies during the fourth century BC (for general bibliography: Thériault 1996; Storchi Marino 1992: 127–30; Giangiulio 1982: 981–92). In Metapontum, Syracuse and Entella her cult is particularly well documented (Giangiulio 1982: 981–92; Thériault 1996): the success of Homonoia in Magna Graecia and Sicily could be seen as a sign of the political metamorphosis of these centres during the fourth century BC. The general shift from an aristocratic, oligarchic to a more 'democratic' form of government can be detected in various colonies: but the most evident example comes from Syracuse – and the surrounding cities – after the arrival of Timoleon: his complete reorganisation of the political setting of the colony resulted in the introduction of various 'structures' typical of democratic form of

government. His action went from the creation of a new constitution to the construction of *bouleuteuria*, the redistribution of land, etc. (Westlake 1994; Gehrke 1999). All these activities reflect a new way of imagining the political community, creating a completely new social order. The cult of Homonoia may also have been an 'invention' of Timoleon: from Livy 24. 22. 1 we know that the altar of Homonoia was in front of the *bouleuterion* (Livy calls it the *comitium*); the proximity of the area of cult of Homonoia could be seen as a necessary presence to supervise the stability of the new social order; a new religious form for a new political setting.

As we have seen before, Flavius built the *aedicula* of Concordia following exactly the same criteria: Concordia stands in front of the Comitium. Is this a coincidence? Coarelli has pointed out the strict relationship between the typology of the Greek colonial *bouleuteria* and the Comitium (Coarelli 1983: 146): here we could suggest that it was a matter of copying not only an architectural model, but more generally a political model, where the *bouleuterion*/Comitium – with its associations, Homonoia/Concordia – was simply the symbol of a new way of conceiving the community.

We have also to remember that in the same years other Greek elements were chosen and displayed in the same area: according again to Coarelli (Coarelli 1985: 87–123), Marcius Rutilius Censorinus was the mind behind the erection not only of the statue of Marsyas – very much a Roman invention, but also with a possible Greek background (Denti 1991) – but also of the statues of Alcibiades and Pythagoras *in cornua comitii*. Much has been said about the intellectual circles responsible for importing these Greek symbols (Coarelli 1985: 101–23; Storchi Marino 1992: 130–5; Humm 1996: 346–53): a Tarentine influence having been rejected, recent studies have spoken in favour of a 'pitagorismo di marca attico-calcidese, con forti connotazioni delfiche' ('a Pythagoreanism of an Attic-Chalcidean stamp, with strong Delphic connotations': Storchi Marino 1992: 133). The debate is of course centred on Alcibiades – the presence of Pythagoras is easily understandable: could Alcibiades also have come through a Syracusan environment? The new Syracuse of Timoleon, in reaction to the old tyrannical domination, could have 'rewritten' the story of Alcibiades, seeing him as the first man who tried to eradicate tyranny and import democracy into Sicily: Alcibiades–Timoleon as symbols of the new way of conceiving politics. Whatever the provenance, the Greek elements were strongly present and visible, as pillars on the corners of a *templum*, the Comitium.

The new Rome was reinventing its political structure to respond to the current political evolution: the reforms mentioned in the introduction to this chapter have to be seen together with the innovations that transformed

both the religious life and the structural appearance of the city.

The presence of the new goddess Concordia, who, together with Salus, was the first goddess expressing abstract concepts to appear in Rome, becomes interesting also for another reason: her day in the calendar was 25 July. If we now take into consideration this specific period of the year, and we look at the calendar, we notice the presence of interesting names:

19 July = Honos
25 July = Concordia
1 August = Spes – Victoria
5 August = Salus

All these new deities, representing personifications of abstract concepts, were officially admitted to the Roman pantheon in the next few decades (Ziolkowski 1992). Simply considering this list raises questions: what were the reasons behind choosing specific dates to celebrate a new divinity, in particular when it was a completely new entry? Why were all these new divinities placed in the same period of the year?

To answer these questions would require a much more extensive investigation: but it is important anyway to underline these 'coincidences' because they suggest a coherent pattern. Very few other deities in the form of personifications have their 'day' in other periods of the year during the Republican period. We have to understand why this moment of the year is so important that the decision was taken to concentrate all these religious festivals in the same span of time. If we think in Greek terms, this period – between July and August – is actually the beginning of the Greek yearly calendar: it is difficult to see possible connections with the Roman way of organising the calendar, but it is a fact that cannot be completely forgotten. If we think instead only in Roman terms, important activities of the political community were taking place at the end of July: it was exactly in this period of the year that, until the middle of the second century BC (Nicolet 1980: 237), the consuls were elected. The political year started between July and August. The impression is that the time-setting is deliberately chosen to assert specific religious guarantees for the new political course: with her presence, Concordia – the first goddess of personification to appear on the Roman scene – 'protects' automatically both spheres, of time and space: her physical proximity to the Comitium and her proximity – in terms of time – to the major political *appuntamenti* of the year embrace, politically and religiously, the activities of the Roman community. The other deities are perhaps to be seen in the same perspective. On 17 July – what will become later the day of Honos – the official procession of the Roman cavalry was instituted, by Fabius Maximus in 304 BC (Livy 9. 46. 15: the same year as the creation of the

cult of Concordia). It is difficult not to see in this celebration an act of political power display by the *equites*, considering also that the route of the procession passed from the temple of Mars on the via Appia to the Forum, ending in front of the temple of Castor and Pollux (Wiseman 1995: 140). It is more difficult at this stage to understand the implications of all the other goddesses: the concepts they represent seem to reinforce the idea of protection (Salus–Spes) and/or celebration (Victoria) of the community entering a new year.

From the Forum, we move now to a different area of the city of Rome. Looking at a map of the of the early and mid-republican temples (Ziolkowski 1992: 284), one can see various specific concentrations of religious areas: in the Forum, on some of the traditional hills – the Capitol, Palatine and Aventine – in the Forum Boarium and in the Campus Martius. On almost all of these areas the work of Coarelli – and others – has already revealed the nature and function of many of the cults, most of them being of archaic origin (Coarelli 1983 *passim*; 1988; 1997). I want instead to concentrate on an area of the city that has been more neglected: the Quirinal. As far as we know, on the Quirinal there were a few archaic structures of a religious nature, such as the archaic temple of Semo Sancus, the Capitolium Vetus, the temple of Fortuna Euelpis, the *auguraculum* of the Collis Latiaris and, possibly, an archaic shrine of Quirinus (Coarelli 1999a). If we move forwards in time we have a whole new series of buildings, erected between the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third centuries BC. All of them are placed along the same route, the Vicus Longus, or Alta Semita.

The first impression is that the Quirinal underwent a substantial rebuilding and reorganisation of space: among the new constructions there are the temples of Salus, Iuppiter Victor, Flora, the Three Fortunae, Hora Quirini and the new one of Quirinus. It has to be said that all this information mainly comes from sources of a literary nature (later texts and inscriptions), while little is known of their physical appearance, since we have very fragmentary, almost non-existent archaeological data.

This sudden growth is even more intriguing if we consider that the Quirinal is the only area within the *pomerium* – apart from the Forum – with such a noticeable intervention during the mid-republican period. Such improvement means of course huge investments, the results also of the profitable military campaigns all over Italy. But why the concentration on the Quirinal?

The Quirinal is the Sabine Hill according to the tradition. How far back such tradition goes is difficult to say: we have always to be careful in reading this information and try to understand its stratigraphy, from the archaic level through a series of re-elaborations occurring in later periods. Festus says [*s.v.* Quirinalis]:

Quirinalis collis, qui nunc dicitur, olim Agonus appellabatur, ante quam in eum commigrarent fere Sabini Curibus venientes post foedus inter Romulum et Tatium ictum. A quo hanc appellationem sortitus est: quamvis existiment quidam, quod in eo factum sit templum Quirino, ita dictum.

(What is now called the Quirinal Hill was once named Agonus, before there migrated there mostly Sabines coming from Cures after the treaty had been struck between Romulus and Tatius. From this, the place name was chosen; although some think that it was so called because a temple to Quirinus was built there.)

The Quirinal takes its name either from the people of Titus Tatius, coming from Cures, the Sabine city, or from Quirinus, because of the presence of temple of Quirinus. The Quirinal is also the area where Numa Pompilius – also Sabine – lived. It is important here to emphasise the special interest that some intellectual circles had in the figure of Numa and in his action: the matter is quite complex and has been very lucidly analysed and discussed in detail by Alfredina Storchi Marino (1992). What is useful to remember here is the influence of new Pythagorean theories on 'rewriting' aspects of the Roman tradition (Storchi Marino 1992; see also Humm 1996; 1997), particularly concerning the religious activity of Numa. The *gens* Marcia was responsible in part for this operation, to whom belonged the first historical *pontifex* – in 300 BC, after the success of the *lex Ogulnia* – C. Marcius Censorinus, whose activity in the Forum we have already examined. It is possible that the tradition/invention of the very first *pontifex maximus* of Rome, Numa Marcius, is a result of the action of the Marcii to create an ancestor for their very first *pontifex*, Censorinus. The Marcii and their political allies (the same Ogulnii and the Fabii) seem to be particularly interested in bringing back, at the end of the fourth century, the tradition of the Sabine king Numa: and the scenario for this revival is the Quirinal.

All these scattered data indicate a growing attention to both the Sabine stories and the Quirinal, all marked with Sabine symbols. In one way or the other, the two opposed major political factions (Storchi Marino 1992: 123–4) – the group of the Fabii, Decii, Ogulnii and Marcii against the Claudii, the Aemilii Mamercini, Papirius Cursor and others – seem very keen to use the Sabine tradition and/or mark the space of the Quirinal. The Sabine origins of Appius Claudius and his *gens* were reiterated: and they were reminded of them during the discussion of the *lex Ogulnia*, when Decius Mus, defending the rights of the plebeians, pointed out to Appius Claudius that, as his Sabine ancestor was accepted by the Roman patricians, so should the Roman plebeians be (Livy 10. 7–8). Within the same political circle, L. Papirius Cursus dedicated in 293 BC the temple of Quirinus, voted for by his father in 325 BC (Ziolkowski 1992: 139; Coarelli 1999b).

In the same period, the Fabii also showed a considerable interest in the same area. Apart from the story of a Fabius Pictor, who decorated the new temple of Salus, dedicated in 302 BC by another good 'friend', Iunius Bubulcus (Ziolkowski 1992: 144), a few other anecdotes come to mind:

During the Gallic siege of Rome, Livy tells us about a peculiar event:

> sacrificium erat statum in Quirinali colle genti Fabiae. ad id faciendum C. Fabius Dorsuo Gabino cinctus sacra manibus gerens cum de Capitolio descendisset, per medias hostium stationes egressus nihil ad uocem cuiusquam terroremue motus in Quirinalem collem peruenit; ibique omnibus sollemniter peractis, eadem reuertens similiter constanti uoltu graduque, satis sperans propitios esse deos quorum cultum ne mortis quidem metu prohibitus deseruisset, in Capitolium ad suos rediit, seu attonitis Gallis miraculo audaciae seu religione etiam motis cuius haudquaquam neglegens gens est.

> (A sacrifice was ordained for the Fabian *gens* on the Quirinal hill. In order to carry it out, C. Fabius Dorso, dressed in the Gabine fashion and carrying the sacred vessels in his hands, came down from the Capitol, and passed through the camps of the enemy, unmoved by any words or threats, and made it through to the Quirinal hill; and when everything had been solemnly carried out there, he returned the same way with resolute expression and step, trusting that the gods would be favourable whose worship he had not neglected, even in the face of death. And he returned to his family on the Capitol, the Gauls being either too astonished by his miraculous audacity, or perhaps moved by a sense of awe, for they are a people not careless of religion.)

> (Livy 5. 46. 2–3)

A very curious episode, in particular if we think that exactly one hundred years later, the same family dedicated a temple to Iuppiter Victor (293 BC) (Ziolkowski 1992: 91), voted after the defeat of the Gauls at Sentinum, in 295 BC. It is difficult not to see a connection between these two events in which Fabii and Gauls are involved: it could be that both stories did occur, and that the Fabii 'remembered' the first event when they consecrated the new temple at the beginning of the third century. But we could also consider the earlier episode as a kind of 'invention of tradition' for the Fabii to justify their presence on the Quirinal: we were there then, we have every right to be here now.

The pattern of activity on the Quirinal is varied, confused and frag-mented. This obsession in these years with major building activities there – and I underline again the sense of the religious choice with not only new goddesses such as Salus, etc., but main gods of the community like Quirinus – needs to be explained. It appears that we are dealing with a sort of cultural reorganisation of the physical space of the area. All these new temples, placed along the main road in a very short span of time, denote a

clear, renewed interest in the area: it seems that there is a proper need not only to embellish the hill, but to mark with new connotations the political and religious identity of the area. Why? Is the Quirinal just a new area for investments? Or, as I prefer to believe, does it represent the new 'residential area' – Rome is growing and needs to construct new urbanistic space for the community – for those emerging social groups, like the new plebs, which have fought so much in these years to disassemble the archaic structure and mentality of the Roman republic?

This hypothesis can be supported by another episode of 295 BC, again known through Livy:

> eo anno prodigia multa fuerunt, quorum auerruncandorum causa supplicationes in biduum senatus decreuit; publice uinum ac tus praebitum; supplicatum iere frequentes uiri feminaeque. insignem supplicationem fecit certamen in sacello Pudicitiae Patriciae, quae in foro boario est ad aedem rotundam Herculis, inter matronas ortum. Verginiam Auli filiam, patriciam plebeio nuptam, L. Volumnio consuli, matronae quod e patribus enupsisset sacris arcuerant. breuis altercatio inde ex iracundia muliebri in contentionem animorum exarsit, cum se Verginia et patriciam et pudicam in Patriciae Pudicitiae templum ingressam, ut uni nuptam ad quem uirgo deducta sit, nec se uiri honorumue eius ac rerum gestarum paenitere ex uero gloriaretur. facto deinde egregio magnifica uerba adauxit. in uico Longo ubi habitabat, ex parte aedium quod satis esset loci modico sacello exclusit aramque ibi posuit et conuocatis plebeiis matronis conquesta iniuriam patriciarum, 'hanc ego aram' inquit 'Pudicitiae Plebeiae dedico; uosque hortor ut, quod certamen uirtutis uiros in hac ciuitate tenet, hoc pudicitiae inter matronas sit detisque operam ut haec ara quam illa, si quid potest, sanctius et a castioribus coli dicatur.' eodem ferme ritu et haec ara quo illa antiquior culta est, ut nulla nisi spectatae pudicitiae matrona et quae uni uiro nupta fuisset ius sacrificandi haberet; uolgata dein religio a pollutis, nec matronis solum sed omnis ordinis feminis, postremo in obliuionem uenit.

> (Several portents occurred this year, and with a view to averting them, the senate passed a decree that special intercessions should be offered for two days. The wine and incense were provided at public expense, and both men and women attended the religious functions in great numbers. This time of special observance was rendered memorable by a quarrel which broke out among the matrons in the shrine of Pudicitia Patricia, which is in the Forum Boarium against the round temple of Hercules. Verginia, the daughter of Aulus Verginius, a patrician, had married the plebeian consul, Volumnius, and the matrons excluded her from their sacred rites because she had married outside the patriciate. This led to a brief altercation, which, as the women became excited, soon blazed up into a storm of passion. Verginia protested with perfect truth that she entered the temple of Pudicitia as a patrician and a pure woman, the wife of one man to whom she had been betrothed as a virgin, and she had nothing to be ashamed of in her husband

or his honourable career and the office which he had held. The effect of her high-spirited language was considerably enhanced by her subsequent action. In the Vicus Longus where she lived, she shut off a portion of her house, sufficient to form a moderately sized shrine, and set up an altar there. She then called the plebeian matrons together and told them how unjustly she had been treated by the patricians. She said 'I am dedicating this altar to Pudicitia Plebeia, and I earnestly exhort you as matrons to show the same spirit of emulation on the score of chastity that the men of this city display with regard to courage, so that this altar may if possible have the reputation of being honoured with a holier observance and by purer worshippers than that of the patricians.' The ritual and ceremony practised at this altar was almost identical with that at the older one; no matron was allowed to sacrifice there whose moral character was not well attested, and who had had more than one husband. Afterwards it was polluted by the presence of women of every kind, and finally passed into oblivion.)

(Livy 10. 23. 4–10)

Verginia, a patrician woman married to a plebeian, Volumnius – consul in 307 and 296 BC, belonging to the Fabii's faction against Appius Claudius (Cassola 1968: 202–3) – was not allowed to sacrifice in the temple of Patricia Pudicitia in the Forum Boarium, because she was married to a plebeian. The outraged Verginia consequently decided to erect a new shrine on the Quirinal, within her husband's plebeian house.

If the event was taking place during the archaic period, we would have perhaps expected a plebeian temple on the traditional plebeian hill, the Aventine: it is evident that by the third century BC the new plebeians have 'expropriated' a new area of Rome. The fact that the Quirinal is inside the line of the *pomerium*, while the Aventine, the archaic plebeian hill, is still outside may also be important. But above all we have to read these anecdotes as a sign of the continuous struggle between patricians and plebeians. The story of Verginia – like the story of the Fabii mentioned above – also has a very interesting antecedent: the famous story of Verginia, a young plebeian woman, whose virginity and purity were put under threat by A. Claudius in 449 BC (Livy 3. 44–8). The episode caused violent rage among the plebeian community: the father of Verginia, L.Verginius, was one of the leaders of the *plebs*, as was her fiancé, L. Icilius. The consequences were dramatic: after a series of continuous clashes between the two parties, with an attempt by Claudius to discredit Verginius, the matter became of public interest. An initial attempted rape ended in the renowned secession of the *plebs* on the Aventine.

If we look at the two stories we see many aspects in common: names (the first Verginia opposed to A. Claudius, the later Verginia married to a political opponent of the later A. Claudius), the matter of the confrontation (the *pudicitia* of the first Verginia, the transfer of the cult of Pudicitia by

the later Verginia), and the struggle between patricians and plebeians. All
these common factors could be the result of a coincidence: or the later
story could have been constructed because of the earlier, or, more prob-
ably, the other way around. What is clear is that there is a link between the
two episodes: a link that suggests again an attempt during the beginning
of the third century to regenerate previous stories or to invent them to
justify the new course of events. The past is needed to sustain the argu-
ments of the present: the new plebeians are creating a new environment,
in opposition to the traditional patrician one. And the Quirinal is at the
centre of their attention.

This tension, this continuous conflict between the two groups, is well
represented and visually displayed through two plants, symbols of the
patricians and the plebeians. Pliny tells us:

> Inter antiquissima namque delubra habetur Quirini, hoc est ipsius Romuli.
> In eo sacrae fuere myrti duae ante aedem ipsam per longum tempus, altera
> patricia appellata, altera plebeia. Patricia multis annis prevaluit exuberans
> ac laeta; quamdiu senatus quoque floruit, illa ingens, plebeia retorrida
> ac squalida. Quae postquam evaluit flavescente patricia, a Marsico bello
> languida auctoritas patrum facta est, ac paulatim in sterilitatem emarcuit
> maiestas.

> (The shrine of Quirinus, that is of Romulus himself, is held to be one of the
> most ancient of temples. In it there grew two sacred myrtles, which for a
> long time grew in front of the actual temple; one was called patrician and
> the other plebeian. For many years the patrician flourished, healthy and
> vigorous; as long as the senate too flourished, it was great and the plebeian
> was shrivelled and withered. As later it grew strong and the patrician
> declined, so after the Marsic war the authority of the *patres* grew less, and
> gradually its grandeur faded into barrenness.)

> (Pliny *NH*, 15. 36. 120–1)

The two plants of myrtle were positioned in front of a *delubra* of
Quirinus–Romulus: it has usually been thought that Pliny refers here to
the main temple of Quirinus built by L. Papirius Cursus on the Quirinal.
Nobody has ever thought that the story, which underlines the symbiosis of
Quirinus–Romulus, could instead be related to another area, the *heroon* of
Romulus–Quirinus by the Volcanal.

The problem with the cult of Quirinus is that we have three possible
shrines: (1) the archaic sacellum on the Quirinal (Coarelli 1999c), whose
existence we know through later sources, in particular a passage of Livy
that mentions a meeting of the Senatus in *aede Quirini*, in 435 BC (Livy 4.
21. 10); (2) the *heroon*, by the Volcanal, of Romulus–Quirinus, whose
association, according to Coarelli (Coarelli 1983: 191–4), has to be dated
to archaic times; (3) the new temple on the Quirinal voted in 293 BC by

Papirius Cursus – it is interesting to note that Livy never mentions a 'substitution' for a previous temple (Livy 10. 46. 7).

The presence of an archaic shrine on the Quirinal is usually connected with the activity of Numa (see sources in Coarelli 1999c) or with historical events such as the previously mentioned passage of Livy (4. 21. 10). If we believe, as suggested above, that a great deal of the tradition in connection with Numa was actually 'invented' towards the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third centuries BC, the presence of a cult of Quirinus could also be part of the same process. As for the passage of Livy, he never actually says that the temple was on the Quirinal: he says that the senate met *in aede Quirini*. Could not this be a reference to the natural place for the Roman meetings in the Forum? Quirinus is undoubtedly connected with the archaic political activity of the Roman community (Kretschmer 1920; Coarelli 1983: 192–7) and his presence in the Forum should be considered almost inevitable. The Forum may have been the only sacred area connected to Quirinus during the archaic time and the two plants of myrtle may have been positioned in front of the Romulus–Quirinus area of the Forum, that being the right place for the display of the symbols of opposition between patricians and plebeians: the story of the plebeian myrtle becoming stronger than the patrician one could then also be dated to the end of the fourth century BC, when the very first Marsic war was fought.

This discussion – although tentative – would suggest that the first ever temple of Quirinus on the Quirinal was the one from the beginning of the third century BC. Its construction perhaps responded to the need to re-duplicate the god of the Roman community within the newly reorganised area of the Quirinal.

This double presence, in the Forum – by the Volcanal and in front of the Comitium – and on the Quirinal, is reflected also within the Roman calendar, where we have a double presence, on 17 February and 29 June, as reported in Ovid (*F.* 2. 475; 6. 795) and in some calendars (Ziolkowski 1992: 140). But this could be explained by the duplication of archaic and middle-republican levels. In the Forum we have seen the erection of a new Comitium and the creation of a shrine of Concordia by the Volcanal – therefore by the area of the cult of Romulus–Quirinus: on the Quirinal we have the duplication of the cult of Quirinus, to which we have to add the other duplication, sometime during the third century (Ziolkowski 1992: 60), of the cult of Hora Quirini, originally worshipped in the area of the Volcanal – Hora being traditionally identified with the *paredros* of Volcanus, Maia (Coarelli 1983: 189). These operations to replicate some of the most important gods of Rome have to be seen as an attempt to redefine the new boundaries of the Roman community in terms of both religious/political and geographical spaces.

Concordia – the Greek goddess of an ideal egalitarian society – is invoked to guarantee the cohabitation of two very different parties: Ovid actually mentions such activity:

> '... Iunius est iuvenum: qui fuit ante, senum.'
> dixit. et in litem studio certaminis issent,
>   atque ira pietas dissimula foret:
> venit Apollinea longas Concordia lauro
>   nexa comas, placidi numen opusque ducis.
> haec ubi narravit Tatium fortemque Quirinum
>   binaque cum populis regna coisse suis
> et lare communi soceros generosque receptos,
>   'his nomen iunctis Iunius' inquit 'habet.'

('... June is the month of young men, the preceding one of old men', Hebe said. And in the heat of their rivalry, they might have ended in a quarrel, and their disregarded respect turned to anger, but Concordia came, her long hair entwined with Apollo's laurel, patroness of our peaceful leader Romulus and his achievement. She told how Tatius and strong Quirinus had brought together their two kingdoms and peoples, and fathers-in-law and sons-in-law had been received in a common home, and said 'June gets her name from the union of these two.')

(Ovid *F.* 6. 88–96)

June is the month of the young, of the future: the Roman community is preparing for the next step, for renovating itself, perhaps through the new political activity, the elections of new consuls. The community is gathering under the protection of Concordia, and divisions are no longer accepted. Behind this division of the community into Sabines and Quirites, we have perhaps to see again the struggle between patricians and plebeians. If I am correct in believing that the newly emerging plebeians have taken hold of the hill of the Quirinal and created a new system of ideological and religious/political boundaries within it, the duplication of the traditional cults of Rome could be seen as an attempt to 'romanise' the new space and provide the Quirinal with all the proper 'certificates' of a new *romanitas*. Quirinus is now the god of the whole community: the old and the new.

It could also be that, from then on, the name of the hill was changed from the archaic Agonus to Quirinal, as we could gather from Festus (*s.v.* Quirinalis, quoted above). The archaic nature of the hill of Agonus/Quirinal needed to be re-exploited and rewritten, in order to guarantee the new presence. This is why figures like Numa Pompilius reappeared, this is why gods such as Quirinus were repositioned there as a guarantee of a new community, this is why the whole Sabine tradition was reconsidered. A few decades later the same Sabine region finally fell under Roman control and, interestingly enough, a new *tribus* was created (241 BC), its name being Quirina.

In this chapter I have attempted to return attention to a crucial period of history. The data are scarce and fragmentary, but, as historians and archaeologists, we have to accept the challenge and try to answer some questions. Using very different sources – as I have been doing in this chapter – is potentially hazardous: the literary sources are late and the stratigraphy of information they present is very complex. The archaeological evidence is almost non-existent. But the data, even if confused, are there. If we do not respond to them, we will always reconstruct a history made only of those events that are clearer to our modern perspective and mentality. The fact that the fourth and third centuries BC at Rome have left very little trace does not mean they did not exist. The signals left from the activity of those years are incredibly enthralling: the opposition between patricians and plebeians, the resurgence of a new *plebs urbana*, the publication of the calendar, the creation of new goddesses, the regeneration of certain urban areas, the expansion of Rome and its automatic entrance onto the international scene form a series of issues which need a great deal of attention.

A proof of our difficulties in dealing with this period of history is the general reaction of traditional scholars to the work of Wiseman on Remus (Wiseman 1995). His arguments – which I strongly support – in favour of a fourth-century BC invention of the myth of the twins, Remus and Romulus, are indicative of the new Roman mentality. Wiseman has conincingly proven that the confrontation between plebeians and patricians was one of the driving forces in the transformation of the Roman republic. These approaches are problematic because we must reconstruct history without history; the invention of what is for us a coherent historical account only emerged in Rome a few decades after the events described in these pages.

Rome, from the end of the fourth century, was constructing a new identity: as a physical space with a new forum and new temples; as a political space with new groupings; as a secular space with a public calendar and with the new political year marked by these new goddesses; as a cultural space with the rewriting of Rome's history and the history of its traditions. This complex operation utilised the old tradition, expressing it within a new vocabulary, in terms of politics, religion, urbanism and culture, a vocabulary produced and organised by a 'modern' Rome, perfectly aware of the set of new parameters that the Greek world of the fourth century had conceived.

7

PROPHET AND TEXT IN THE THIRD CENTURY BC

J. A. North

INTRODUCTION

IN 213 BC, a year when Hannibal was still campaigning successfully and threateningly in South Italy, the Roman praetor M. Aemilius[1] conducted an investigation of a type we are seldom informed about in the surviving texts of Roman republican history:

> he decreed that whoever possessed prophetic books or written rituals of sacrifice should surrender those books or writings to him before the Kalends of April, and that no one should sacrifice in any public or sacred place using a new or foreign ritual.
>
> (Livy 25. 1. 12)

The occasion of this edict was an outbreak of popular religious feeling, ascribed by Livy to the women of Rome in particular and treated in terms of a widespread public demonstration of non-Roman religious practices; Livy himself is notably vague about the exact nature of this outbreak,[2] but it is noteworthy that sacrifice in private is not covered.[3] Livy mentions one of the results of the inquiry and of the collecting of texts when he refers back to this incident in his account of the following year (212 BC) and has reason to mention a seer called Marcius:

> This Marcius was a famous seer, and when there had been an inquiry into such writings on the authority of a *senatus consultum* in the previous year, they (Marcius' prophecies) had come into the hands of Aemilius the praetor, who was dealing with the matter. He had immediately passed them on to the new praetor Sulla.[4]
>
> (Livy 25. 12. 2–3)

We shall return later on to the issues raised by the Marcian prophecies themselves, as Livy reports them (see below); for the moment, it is only necessary to notice that although the context in 213 BC was the suppression of undesirable religious innovations, the actual text confiscated at that time was destined to play a quite different and very significant role in Roman religious life.

The main issue to be considered in this chapter might be put like this: was the search of 213 BC in fact a very unusual moment of republican history, in which a prophetic text came briefly into prominence? Or is it rather a clue that the picture of middle republican religious life offered to us year by year by Livy is a carefully edited product, and that here for once we are getting a glimpse of the richer variety of religious activity normally hidden from the historian's eyes? The first task is to collect the evidence that might inform us about the attitude of mid-republican Italians to the use of prophetic texts; the second is to ask whether such attitudes were in any way distinctively Italian, either in the sense that Italian attitudes are distinct from Roman ones, or that Romans and Italians together are different from contemporary Greeks; the third is to ask how the results relate to Livy's tradition.

One characteristic of the tradition, to which I have drawn attention before,[5] may be relevant at least to one version of this comparison: Roman tradition – in this respect quite possibly differing from Italian tradition – shows a remarkable shortage of identifiable, major prophetic figures in historical periods, the authoritative voice of the prophet seemingly being replaced by 'committees' of experts or at least unspecified groups (e.g. the *haruspices*).[6]

The lack of prophets on the one hand and the prominence of prophetic texts on the other might be connected, though are by no means necessarily so. It would be unlikely that an inspired individual prophet would attribute his insights to ancient texts; and also unlikely that those who preserved, produced, interpreted and declared the contents of ancient texts would claim to be doing so under the direct influence of inspiration. One would normally associate the lone prophet with inspiration, the group activity with knowledge, experience and 'rational' interpretation. On the other hand, the distinction is in fact anything but absolute: first, the two traditions could perfectly well have coexisted within the activity of the same individual, let alone within the same society; secondly, the inspired prophet could well have generated texts that would be preserved as a record of his lore; and, thirdly (to see the same point the other way round), a claim for the legitimacy of a collection of sacred texts might be made by attributing them to ancient prophetic utterance, as was of course the case with the Roman Sibylline Books themselves, at least in later republican times.[7]

A possible model for the character of Italian religion in the period could be derived from the backward deferral of religious authority of which the books are such a clear example: a problem is brought to the consuls; the consuls consult the senate; the senate consults the *decemuiri sacris faciundis*; the *decemuiri* consult the books; the books contain the recorded prophetic utterances of the Sibyl herself; the Sibyl had derived her powers

from the god. The prophetic word comes back to the senate and it is they who make the decisions. As a religious situation it seems the precise opposite of direct inspiration from the divine.

THE *HARUSPICES*

There is only one surviving example of a prophetic text, actually produced in a particular situation by the *haruspices* when consulted by the senate. It comes not from the period we are dealing with, but from Ciceronian Rome:

> Because a groaning sound was heard in the territory of Latiniensis: (20)
> Compensation is due to Jupiter, Saturnus, Neptunus, Tellus, the Gods of the Heavens (20)
> the games have been celebrated without sufficient care and polluted (21)
> sacred and holy places have been profaned (9)
> envoys have been killed against all faith and right (34)
> trust and sworn oaths have been neglected (36)
> old and secret sacrifices have been celebrated without sufficient care and polluted (37)
> in order that murders and perils should not be caused by discord and dissension among the senators and leaders; and that there should be no shortage of divine help in preventing the power falling to a single man and the army from weakening and losing its strength (40)
> in order that the republic be not harmed by secret plans (55)
> in order that honour should not be increased for men of low worth and political failure (56)
> in order that the basis of the republic remain unchanged (60)[8]

There are two very remarkable points about this response as reported by Cicero. First, it contains a very full range of types of haruspical material: it identifies the gods to whom ritual action is owed; it explains what the significance of the prodigy is in terms of human errors and religious crimes; and it interprets the prodigy as a set of warnings about the future, admittedly unspecific but definitely predictive in form. The second point is that throughout the speech Cicero attributes no credit to any individual priest – the *haruspices* remain an anonymous group. In respect of this latter point, Cicero is fully in the tradition of the historians who must have supplied Livy with his material, for they too almost without exception speak of the *haruspices* as a group without identifiable members – unlike the major Roman *collegia*, whose members are carefully recorded when they are appointed, when they die and when they take any distinctive action. The first point, however, is quite different: the overwhelming majority of annalistic notices in the third and second centuries, as recorded by Livy, give no indication that the *haruspices* were interpreting or

predicting; they simply seem to recommend *remedia* – rituals to appease the gods. It is, however, noticeable that exceptions to this are even rarer in the third century than in the second, and increase only towards the end of the second century.[9]

Bruce MacBain attempted to analyse all the instances.[10] For the period 300–43 BC, he gives altogether twenty-four cases where there is some indication that the *haruspices* attempted prophetic interpretation on the basis of a prodigy. In some cases the prophetic element is vestigial, amounting to little more than the suggestion that a prodigy was a threatening event. The chronological breakdown of these *responsa* is as follows:[11]

3rd century BC	Two (from the same set of prodigies)
2nd century BC	Eight (of which only two in the period 200–167 BC, for which Livy's evidence is extant)
1st century BC	Fourteen (all between 99 BC and 43 BC)

The one set of third-century data is in all respects eccentric compared to the rest of the tradition. In the first place, most of the evidence comes from Dio Cassius as reported by Zonaras (8. 1. 13), not from Livy. Secondly, the prophet is named as Manius, and his interpretations are specifically stated to be different from all the other seers who interpreted the same prodigies at the time. Peter Wiseman in a recent discussion (1995: 117–25) has drawn special attention to this text and argued that the whole incident marks a critical phase in the development of the myth of Remus. However that may be, the incident stands out as highly unusual in our records, though of course it too raises the basic issue in the sharpest form: should we reject this evidence on the grounds that it does not fit the tradition? Or should we rather note that the censorship normally imposed by the Livian tradition has, for once, been lifted?

Is the conclusion to be that the practice of prophecy became more frequent in the late second and first centuries BC than it had been previously, as the evidence above *prima facie* shows? Or that prophecy was always practised, but that the annalistic tradition deliberately excluded such elements from what it chose to record? In order to test this issue what we need ideally is evidence that has come not through the Roman annalists at all, but from an independent source of information. Normally this is exactly the control that historians of early Rome so notoriously lack, and that gap leaves much of the development of religious activity before the second century BC, as of other areas of Roman life, at the mercy of theory and guesswork. In this case, there is just a possible glimpse of something different. The glimpse, if it really is one, comes from the famous collection of documents from Tarquinia republished in Mario Torelli's *Elogia Tarquiniensia* (Torelli 1975). Among those documents, imperial in date in their surviving form, there is a series of notices that

seem to constitute a list of *haruspices* with reports of their activities. Of the four entries, two have the name or part of it preserved ('P. Coelius Etruscus' and '...]scus'), in others no part of the name is preserved – Torelli calls these Anon. 1 and Anon. 2 – and it is, as it happens, these anonymous entries that concern us.[12]

Each notice uses the perfect tense in the third person singular to report the acts of the man being celebrated; the recorded achievements seem both to be located in Rome and to be 'religious' in their context – or at least the vocabulary employed is full of words commonly used in Roman religious texts. But lines 3 to 4 of the first fragment (Torelli's Anon. 1) refer on Torelli's view to something more wide-ranging in its implications, also specifically located in Rome:

Post o[bitum huius]
sub Xvros ea discipulin[a relata est].[13]

Torelli takes the phrase *ea discipulina* as referring to the whole discipline of Etruscan haruspicy, as it does in the familiar phrase *disciplina Etrusca*; he therefore interprets the whole sentence to mean that after the death of the particular *haruspex* recorded here, the whole discipline and hence all the activities of the *haruspices* in Rome passed under the control of the *decemuiri sacris faciundis* (Torelli 1975: 132–5). This interpretation is fundamental to his case in two respects: first, the fact that the college is called *decemuiri*, not *quindecimuiri*, shows that the reform belonged in the pre-Sullan period, which is when the number was increased and the name changed;[14] secondly, the measure is on this view one concerning all *haruspices* from any of the Etruscan cities, which provides much-needed confirmation that the documents are pan-Etruscan, not specifically Tarquinian. There is little if any reason to doubt that he is right in identifying the *decemuiri* in question as the Roman college of priests; but it is far less certain what role they were playing in these events.

Torelli's view is open to several serious objections. Assuming that the reconstruction 'post obitum' is right, the context would suggest that this was some great final achievement of the *haruspex*, or perhaps a posthumous recognition of his glory, which crowned his career as a living man. Torelli's interpretation does indeed imply that haruspicy was put under decemviral control when the *haruspex* died, but why should that reflect any glory on him in particular? The authors of these inscriptions could surely never have said that after this man's death, the rest of the Etruscans were no longer competent to maintain their own discipline and that it had consequently to be subordinated to the Roman priesthood.

The second problem on Torelli's view is that there are major historical problems about the alleged transfer. His theory is that the *haruspices* were subordinated to the *decemuiri* at some point before the Social War

and that later on, when all Etruscans became Roman citizens, they were
formed into a regular *ordo*, still within the authority of the *decemuiri–
quindecimuiri* (Torelli 1975: 117–18). There must therefore have been two
major reforms of the group, once before, once after the Social War, neither
mentioned in any other text, despite the existence of a whole Ciceronian
speech *(de haruspicum responso)* on the *haruspices* (see below). Worse
than this, the only passage in which there is a reference to supervision of
the *haruspices* and their *disciplina* by Roman priests is the *senatus
consultum* mentioned by Tacitus *(Ann.,* 11. 15) when the *princeps* Claudius
became disturbed by the decline of this ancient Italian tradition.[15] This
quite specifically refers to the responsibility of the *pontifices*, not the
decemviri. Surely, if Torelli's interpretation were right, this responsibility
would automatically still have been allocated to the *quindecimuiri sacris
faciundis*.

  There is a deeper objection still to the theory, which concerns the
implications of a transfer to the *decemuiri* if it had ever taken place. If
for whatever reason the senate had decided that some degree of control
needed to be placed over the activities of the *haruspices*, the natural
transfer would have been into the authority of the *pontifices*, as we later
find. There would indeed have been a great deal of sense in subordinating
their activities to some Roman group of priests, since as foreigners they
might potentially give bad or treacherous advice.[16] To have placed them
under the *decemuiri* in particular, however, would have represented a
public statement that their practices and learning were foreign, an *externa
religio*, on the analogy of Greek or eastern cults. At least after the Social
War, this seems a quite inconceivable step, since the Etruscans were
already by then Roman citizens themselves. But even if the date is earlier,
as well it may be, the action still seems unexpected and senseless. The
peculiar situation of the *haruspices* and at the same time their peculiar
value to the Roman authorities lies precisely in the religious ambiguity
of their practices, in the indeterminacy of their relationship to Roman
religion itself. They were at the same time foreigners as a source of alien
wisdom, and yet not foreigners and so to be trusted as the adepts of an
Italian religious tradition. The Romans recognised that their institutions
had been influenced by Etruscan ways centuries ago; that they had been
the valued advisors of the Roman state in many times of danger; and yet
their advice derived from alien writings in an alien language. The strength
of their position lay in the balancing of these factors. To have subjected
them to the control of the *decemuiri* would have been to destroy just that
balance and so have disrupted a carefully fostered relationship.

  My final objection returns to the texts. Both the notice on Anon. 1 and
that on Anon. 2 use the same word, *discipulina*, to describe the achieve-
ments of the men in question. As we have seen, Torelli takes the sense in

Anon. 1 to be the whole discipline of the Etruscans, and this is indeed the normal sense of the word in most other texts.[17] In the case of Anon. 2, however, the force of *discipulina* seems to be something else. The text in Torelli's version is as follows:

[...7...]Romae] uitio m[onuit rogasse]
[...12...]m comiti[a inauspicato (?)]
[et placand]a numina Arusan[ia(?) iussit]
[signumque I]ouis et Iustitiae et[iam]
[eo loco con]secrandum; discipul[inam]
[haruspicii su]i carminibus edidit.[(interuallum)]
[Romae trigin]ta annis ampliu[s artem]
[suam docuit].

Much of this is deeply problematic,[18] but whatever the exact meaning of the words

discipul[inam
...12...]i carminibus edidit. [(interuallum)]

may have been, the sense must surely have been that he published his own 'discipulina' in verse, including presumably 'augurales diuinationes', of the kind mentioned in line 2 of the notice of Anon. 1. If so, then the same sense could belong to the word in the notice for Anon. 1 – it was his teaching, his prophetic texts that were added to the decemviral collection. This would indeed, be a legitimate tribute to him after his death and far more compatible with the Roman tradition of allowing the *haruspices* honour, but independence from Roman priestly authority.

There is another use of the word *disciplina* that offers crucial support to this interpretation, also in an Etruscan context. In the so-called prophecy of Vegoia (or Begoe), of which a text is preserved among the writings of the *agrimensores*,[19] we have a prediction as to the disastrous consequences that would follow on the moving of the land boundaries as laid down by the gods. The last line tells the reader to heed the message of the text:

Pone disciplinam in corde tuo.

(Place the teaching in your heart.)

Here there can be little doubt that the reader is supposed to memorise not the entire wisdom of the Etruscan peoples, but rather the teaching that Vegoia has been expounding in the text. The content provides a suggestive indication of what might have been in the other two *discipulinae* we have discussed: Vegoia does not just prophesy, she places her predictions within a cosmogonic framework as has long been clear from the character of the opening words:

You know the sea was separated from the sky. So when Jupiter took the land of Etruria under his protection, he laid it down and ordered that the fields should be surveyed and the fields marked off.[20]

The rest of the text concerns the sacredness of the boundaries and hence the danger of interfering with the ownership and control of land in Etruria. The opening cosmogony is not complete and must at least have included the separation not just of sea from sky but of land from sea; but in any case the implicit argument is that the marking off of boundaries is a religious matter of the profoundest antiquity, so that the land-tenure arrangements of Etruria are tied in with the initial divisions made by the creating deities.[21] Vegoia's teaching covered all these matters.

There is another connection between the *discipulina* of Vegoia and that mentioned in the notice of Anon. 1. According to a note of Servius, commenting on *Aeneid*, 6. 72, Vegoia's prophecy too was placed among those kept by the *decemuiri sacris faciundis*. When would this have happened? The most favoured dating of the text of Vegoia itself is about the time of the Social War, on the grounds that it would have been used to resist attempts to interfere with Etruscan patterns of land-holding, most probably by Livius Drusus in 91 BC. However, it clearly must have been claimed at the time to have been a far more ancient prophecy, or it would not have carried any weight; and there is nothing in the content that is incompatible with its having been written centuries before the 90s BC.

The dating in fact turns on the phrase within the prophecy: 'at the very end of the eighth *saeculum*'.[22] This is, of course, the date at which the prophecy is supposed to be coming true, and it has often been fixed by the evidence of Plutarch, *Life of Sulla* 7, which talks of 88 BC as a crucial year in the cycle of Etruscan centuries.[23] However, it has always been clear that the doctrine attributed to the *haruspices* by Plutarch in this passage was far from the normal Etruscan secular view, or that it is at least under serious Stoic or Pythagorean influence.[24] Turcan[25] has argued very convincingly that the sequence of the later Etruscan centuries ought to be: eighth *saeculum* 284–164 BC; ninth *saeculum* 164–44 BC; tenth and final *saeculum* from 44 BC. If he is right, then, (1) 88 BC had no special Etruscan significance, at least in respect of the sequence of the *saecula*; (2) the special connection with Drusus' legislation would have to be dropped, though no doubt the text would still have contained a useful warning against the consequences of any attempt to interfere with the boundaries laid down by the gods at the beginning of time and might have been used politically at different dates; but the most dangerous point of the predicted time would have lain in the past, not in the first century BC, so the warning would, to say the least, have been blunted by the first century BC. If Turcan's dating is right, then the text we have of Vegoia's prophecy too originated in the third to early second centuries BC.

At first sight it may seem counter-intuitive that haruspical prophecy should become more, not less, prominent in the late republic. If so, it could be argued that there must have been haruspical interpretations throughout the third and second centuries BC, whether the historians record them or not. In this case, these interpretations must have been eliminated from the record by the annalistic tradition. We would thus have an answer to our problem. However, for several reasons, this line of argument should be treated with extreme reserve. First, it is not true that the Romans all became more and more rationalistic as time went by, so there is nothing improbable, let alone impossible, about a prophetic tradition becoming more powerful, not less so, in the course of time; secondly, there is some suggestion that the Etruscan tradition was deliberately revived in the middle of the second century, in which case it is unsurprising if it comes to be taken more seriously;[26] finally, it is quite possible that before Etruria became properly Roman, after the Social War, the Romans were reluctant to take the *haruspices'* prophetic ideas too much on trust, however good they may have been thought at proposing the best *remedia* for prodigies.

The reasonable conclusion must be that we have here two opposed conceptions of the same set of data. In the Roman historiographic tradition, anonymous groups of Etruscan diviners produced helpful advice, but little or nothing in the way of doctrine or interpretation. In the tradition reflected in the entries from Tarquinia, famous named Etruscan seers made a successful career in Rome influencing Roman activities by their skills and achieving recognition within Rome, in one case even by the acceptance of their teaching in the city's collection of prophetic texts. The contrast seems very revealing and fits the pattern for which this chapter is arguing well enough. It does not of course let us see which of these two perceptions was nearer to the truth.

THE MARCIAN TEXT

The other text, together with that of Vegoia (see above), which Servius claims was kept in the Sibylline collection was the prophecies of Marcius. In the case of these texts, we have at first sight far better and more straightforward information to use. Livy in a famous passage claims to quote the actual texts as they were passed on to the praetor of 212 BC by the praetor of 213 BC:

> There were two of these prophecies by Marcius, the first of which gained authority because the events predicted had already happened; this brought credence to the second one, whose time of fulfillment had not yet arrived. The first one foretold the disaster at Cannae; more or less in these words: 'Flee the River of Canna, Trojan-born, lest the foreigner force you to join

battle in the plain of Diomedes. But you will not believe me; not until you have filled the plain with your blood, and the river has borne many thousands of your dead, from the fruitful earth down to the great sea. Your flesh will be food for the fishes, birds and wild beasts that live in those lands. For it is thus that Jupiter has spoken to me.' And the plain of Diomedes the Argive and the river Canna were recognised by those who had fought there as being close to the scene of the disaster.

(8) Then the other prophecy was read out, harder to understand not just because the future is less certain than the past, but also because it was written in a more complex style: 'Romans, if you wish to drive out the enemy from your land, the plague that came from faraway lands, I bid you vow to Apollo annual games which will be celebrated for him joyfully; the people shall bear part of the cost from public funds, but private men shall contribute for themselves and their families. In charge of the conduct of the games shall be the *praetor* who is the chief judge for the people and commons <i.e. the urban *praetor*>; the *decemuiri* shall perform the sacrifices, by the Greek rite. If you perform all this rightly, you shall ever rejoice and your power shall be dominant. For the god who shall extinguish your wars shall be the one who in peace cultivates your fields.'

(Livy 25. 12. 2–10)

It is not possible to prove that this text as we have it is anything more than a paraphrase by later historians of the original text; but there is no reason to doubt the very unusual and circumstantial story of the finding of the text or the general tradition that this was the prophecy that led to the creation of the new games to Apollo in 212 BC.[27] It is for instance a very convincing touch that, having once accepted the genuineness and importance of the Marcian oracles, the situation was regularised by consulting the Sibylline Books and subordinating the new games to the authority of the priesthood with special responsibility both for Apollo and for the Greek or so-called Greek rites:

(11) They took one day for rituals of expiation after this prophecy. Then next day the senate decreed that the *decemuiri* should inspect the Sibylline Books on the subject of the Games for Apollo and the rituals that should be followed. When the books had been inspected and a report made to the senate, they decreed that the games for Apollo should be vowed and performed and that at the time of the performance the *praetor* should receive 12,000 asses for the rituals and two greater victims. A second decree was passed that the *decemuiri* should sacrifice by the Greek rite with the following victims: for Apollo a gilded ox and two white gilded goats; for Latona, a gilded heifer.

(Livy 25. 12. 11–13)

There are admittedly very serious problems in accepting these traditions as they stand. Many historians have suspected that there is a

deep confusion in the whole tradition about the origins of these games, because of an alternative report of a consultation of Delphi by Fabius Pictor, also leading to rituals for Apollo (Livy 23. 11. 1–6).[28] Livy's account of the Marcian texts themselves is also full of difficulties. He gives one text relating to past events, which is allusive and fairly complex, though not obscure in any serious way; then he says that the second text is more difficult because it foretells the future and was written in a more complicated style. Then he quotes the second text, which turns out to be simple, prosaic and with hardly a shred of prediction in it; in fact, it reads rather suspiciously like a Roman priestly decree. It is hard not to think that there is some dislocation in the story here and that the complicated text on which Livy was commenting has disappeared from the text we have. However, since the difficulty here is a lack of correspondence between what Livy says he has to report and what his text actually contains as it has come down to us, this point does not affect the credibility of the tradition itself. The first oracle could still be what he claims, at least in a modernised version. If so, it is therefore not at all implausible that the text should have found its way into the official collection of oracular utterances, as Servius (on *Aeneid*, 6. 72) reports that it did (see above). As is the case with the Vegoia text, we are, of course, left with the possibility that this happened at a later date, since we know that the collection eventually accumulated dubious materials that were edited out at a later date still. It is here that the analogy of the anonymous Etruscan prophet is so suggestive: if one set of prophetic utterances was added to the collection, the case for accepting the others is greatly strengthened.

THE SIBYLLINE TEXT

So far, the cases considered have all consisted of texts (or alleged texts) of Italian origin, coming from outside the officially recognised Roman prophetic corpus and apparently achieving recognition within it.[29] There is one case, however, that provides a quite different situation, that of a Greek text apparently deriving from the Sibylline Books themselves. In fact, the only section of the Sibylline Books to have come down to us is preserved by Phlegon of Tralles,[30] who wrote a Book of Wonders in the early second century AD. The text is very erratic and full of lacunae, but there is no reason to doubt its claim to have been part of the official collection kept by the *decemuiri*. What is more, we can fix approximately the point at which it reached its present state. Only the first half of the surviving oracle concerns this argument:

> Since I know the fates and know where each man's destiny shall take him,
> and know the wonders and griefs Fate has in store, all these things I can

reveal through the power of my <prophetic> loom, if you will think on these in your heart, trusting the power of the loom. I tell you that a woman will give birth to a hermaphrodite, having all the parts of a male but also those of a female. I shall not hide but explain in detail the sacrifices for Demeter and for chaste Persephone. The Goddess herself is the mistress of the loom, if you have trust in these things, for the most holy Demeter and the chaste Persephone. First you must collect a hoard of coins, from the cities and from yourselves as you wish; then order the performing of a sacrifice for Demeter, the Mother of the Maiden. Then I bid you thrice nine bulls at public cost ...

<center><seven lines of text are missing>[31]</center>

... sacrifice splendid <heifers>, with fine horns and white hides, the ones you judge most beautiful of all. Tell the maidens, of the number I mentioned before, to perform the sacrifices by the Greek rite, calling upon the Immortal Queen with sacrifices, chastely and purely. After this, let there be sacred gifts from your wives and let them carry torches for the most holy Demeter, trusting in my loom.

The ritual content of this text certainly cannot be earlier than the third century BC, because the central role is played by Demeter (Ceres) and Persephone (Proserpina) as a mother/daughter pair on the Greek model, and this is echoed by the groups of maidens and wives in the ritual; this form of their cult did not reach Rome until the middle of the third century, and is referred to as the Greek cult of Ceres as opposed to the older Roman version.[32] More specifically, the rituals referred to seem to be those celebrated repeatedly in the years between 133 and 91 BC as a means of dealing with the prodigy of the hermaphrodite.[33] The date Phlegon gives for the oracle is in fact 125 BC, which falls precisely in the relevant period.[34] It seems quite certain therefore that the present state of the oracle must have been reached in the first half of the second century. We do not know when it was first used, but 133 BC provides the best *terminus ante quem* we have.

Two other ritual events seem to provide a *terminus post quem*; these are the only other occasions on which there were ceremonies recorded to deal with the prodigy of the hermaphrodite, in 207 and 200 BC; that is, late in the period of the Hannibalic War and again at its very end. The character of the rituals on these occasions seem very closely related to some of the oracle we have, so it is a highly likely hypothesis that some version of it was already extant and in use.[35] But the very characteristic features of the role played by the two goddesses and the younger and older women are absent from the record, so that even if there is some continuity in text and ritual practice, there must at the very least have been additions to the prophetic text. Since one of the notable characteristics of the text is the fact that it has an acrostic, any addition would have implied extensive reconstruction of the whole prophecy.

On the question of prophecy, the Sibylline Books are no more prone than are the *haruspices* to produce recognisable predictions, and seem to have been overwhelmingly concerned with the recommendation of *remedia* for the prodigies about which they were consulted. However, the surviving text does have a curious relevance here. One famous line (l. 69) says:

> Tros indeed shall free you from your troubles, at the same time from the land of Greece.

This seems completely ambiguous between (1) 'the Trojan shall free you from your troubles and simultaneously from the land of Greece' and (2) 'the Trojan, being simultaneously from the land of Greece, shall free you from your troubles'. Also, since all or any Romans might be called 'the Trojan', the line could have been applied to different occasions or different leading Romans; the *decemuiri-quindecimuiri sacris faciundis* might have produced it (e.g.) in *c.*83 BC with reference to the return of Sulla from Greece. However, if the text was in fact published in 125 BC, it is not easy to see what reference it might have had at that particular moment.[36]

We do not in fact hear of any occasion on which this prophecy was produced for any purpose whatever; perhaps it never was so used. But there certainly were occasions on which prophetic utterances did come from the Books and played a significant role in decision-making by the Romans. Once again, as with the case of the *haruspices* (see above), there seems to have been an element of prophetic utterance as well as ritual advice, but it often seems to have been played down or ignored, if the evidence we have should be trusted. Once again, it is in the last century of the republican period that we find the greatest concentration of exceptions to this rule.[37] To sum up this section, then: our one example of a Sibylline oracle seems to have reached its present form around the first half of the second century BC; overwhelmingly it is a catalogue of rituals, but with prophetic elements worked into the text.

CONCLUSION

As was suggested at the beginning of this chapter, the evidence on which it has to be based is very elusive and much of it, even where its implications seem clear, cannot be dated at all closely. It is in general clear that both early Romans and early Etruscans had a bookish religious tradition in which texts and written records played an important role, and that in one form or another this continued to be true throughout the middle republican period. That this extends to prophetic texts of one kind or another, not just to priestly and historic records, is clear enough not just

from the character of the Etruscan Books, but for instance from the Etruscan tradition of the seer who dictates his lore to a recorder: this is vividly illustrated in the famous mirror (Figure 7.1) from Bolsena of the early third century BC, showing Cacus as seer, his scribe with a written text in front of him and the two Vibennae set to ambush them.[38] The mirror reflects precisely the ambivalence mentioned above between the written text and the inspired seer: the Vibennae, like others in other stories,[39] need to seize the person of the prophet to control the message; meanwhile the message itself is being translated into writing; that is, into a form accessible to routinised religious practice.

It is therefore completely unsurprising to find written prophetic texts being taken seriously in various contexts in the third/second century BC. The examples we have collected, extant or referred to, are at first sight a very miscellaneous group:

1. Existing sacred texts being adapted to new purposes (Sibylline text, first produced in 125 BC).
2. The work of prophets from Etruscan, Roman or Italian traditions being accepted within the Roman collection (the Vegoia text, the Marcian oracles).
3. The work of an individual *haruspex* being accepted in the Roman collection (the discipline of Anon. 2).
4. Unofficial texts known to have been circulating in the third century (discovered by the *quaestio* of 213 BC).

In one case, we have reason to think that the author was known and recognised at least in the conception of the Etruscans who recorded the event. In two cases, Roman ritual practice is substantially modified by the texts – a new set of annual games and a new ritual programme result allegedly from the use of such texts. There were of course also other occasions when innovations arose from the Sibylline collection, but when we have no access to the text produced or to its history.

One more incident in the early second century deserves to be remembered in this context. That is the occasion, relatively well recorded in this case, when Numa's books of religious and philosophical lore were discovered in his coffin, or rather in a separate coffin next to his, on the Janiculan Hill in Rome itself (Livy 40. 29; Pliny *NH*, 13. 84; Plutarch *Life of Numa*, 22. 5–8). So far as our sources allow us to see, no question was raised at the time or later in antiquity about the genuineness of this discovery[40] – sceptical though modern commentators inevitably are.[41] But the Roman praetor of the year nevertheless publicly destroyed them, on the grounds that they were dangerous. The incident seems to be the mirror image of the ones we have been considering: in all the other cases, the books are taken seriously and even preserved in public collections; in this

Fig. 7.1 Bronze mirror from Bolsena, ancient Volsinii (*Etruskische Spiegel* V (1897): Pl. 127): dated to the late fourth or early third century BC. The foreground figures are named, in Etruscan letters, as Cacu (with the lyre) and Artile (with the tablet), suggesting the writing down of prophecy. Two warriors, half-concealed, are named as Caile Vipinas and Aule Vipinas (the two Vibennae), evoking the capture of the prophet. A fifth unnamed figure (a satyr?) peeps from behind. Diameter: 0.15m

one they are condemned on a single – avowedly cursory[42] – reading by the praetor. It could, of course, be said that both sets of incidents imply that written religious documents were taken extremely seriously in this period and seen as potentially either a menace or an asset. Livy's account is at least very suggestive: he does not raise the possibility that the texts could have been a fraud; nor does he face the awkwardness of the connection with Numa, the founder of the very religion whose institutions are supposedly under attack.

Some, at least tentative, answers to the questions asked at the beginning of this discussion can be offered. It seems likely that the events of 213 BC should be understood as revealing a richer variety of religious life than the rest of Livy might have led us to expect. There seems to be a pattern in the evidence clear enough to suggest that there were various active traditions in the production of sacred texts in this period, some officially sanctioned, some outside the city's control. It seems very likely that the practice of the period was to place all texts that won official approval, whatever their origins, under the control of the *decemuiri sacris faciundis*. There do seem to be some distinctively Italian elements in this practice of collecting texts, despite the fact that Greek rituals and traditions form an important element of the texts themselves: the Greek cult of Ceres in the Sibylline text, the role of Diomedes in the Marcian text. It is important to remember that the Romans had their own perception of Greekness that sometimes owed little to the Greeks themselves (Scheid 1998a). Finally, flimsy though the clues may have been, there does seem to be substantial reason here to choose one of the alternative explanations of the nature of the received tradition. The indications seem to be that the religious life the Romans knew was richer and more varied than the one the annalists chose to report, that the production of prophetic texts was actively pursued in this period, and that these texts were both known to the authorities in Rome and sometimes recognised by them. Their tactics in dealing with the cult of Bacchus come powerfully to mind here: they must have known of its existence in Italy for many years, during which they took no action (North 1979). Once the decision had been made to act, they made a sharp distinction between the acceptable, to be placed under official control, and the unacceptable, to be destroyed totally.[43] Their attitude may puzzle us by its extremism and unpredictability, but it can leave us in little doubt that we are examining an area of some sensitivity in Roman life. Written prophecies and teachings might be good or bad, but they were evidently not a negligible factor.

8

THE GAMES OF HERCULES

T. P. Wiseman

IN 78 BC, the year of Sulla's death, a moneyer called M. Volteius issued the following series of denarii (figure 8.1):

1. *Obv.*: Laureate head of Jupiter r. *Rev.*: Capitoline temple; below, M.VOLTEI.M.F.
2. *Obv.*: Head of Hercules r. *Rev.*: Erymanthian boar r.; in exergue, M.VOLTEI.M.F.
3. *Obv.*: Head of Liber r., wearing ivy-wreath. *Rev.*: Ceres in biga of snakes r., holding torch in each hand; behind, control-symbol; in exergue, M.VOLTEI.M.F.
4. *Obv.*: Helmeted bust r., draped (helmet bound with laurel-wreath); behind, control-symbol. *Rev.*: Cybele, wearing turreted crown and veil, in biga of lions r., holding reins in l. hand and *patera* in r. hand; above, control-numeral; in exergue, M.VOLTEI.M.F.
5. *Obv.*: Laureate head of Apollo r. *Rev.*: Tripod with snake coiled round front leg and rearing head above; on l., S.C; on r., D.T; in exergue, M.VOLTEI.M.F.

What these images have in common was recognised by Mommsen in 1860: they represent, he thought, the *ludi Romani* (in honour of Jupiter), the *ludi plebeii*, the *ludi Cereales*, the *ludi Megalenses* and the *ludi Apollinares*.[1]

There are some problems, however. First, can the tetrastyle temple on the reverse of no. 1 really be that of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitol? Perhaps it can; as Michael Crawford points out, 'since the temple had been destroyed and not yet rebuilt at the time of this issue, the representation is not necessarily accurate'. Next, whose is the bust on the obverse of no. 4? Duncan Fishwick suggests the 'Cappadocian Goddess', whose cult was similar to that of the 'Phrygian Goddess' Cybele. In the civil war of 88 BC she encouraged Sulla in a dream to smite his enemies; Plutarch's account, which probably comes from Sulla's memoirs, identifies the goddess as 'Selene, Athena, or Enyo', and the garlanded helmet is indeed sometimes found in the iconography of Athena.[2]

What surely confirms Mommsen's hypothesis is the combination of

Fig. 8.1 The coins of M. Volteius (British Museum).
1. *Obv.*: Laureate head of Jupiter r. *Rev.*: Capitoline temple; below,
M.VOLTEI.M.F.
2. *Obv.*: Head of Hercules r. *Rev.*: Erymanthian boar r.; in exergue,
M.VOLTEI.M.F.
3. *Obv.*: Head of Liber r., wearing ivy-wreath. *Rev.*: Ceres in biga of
snakes r., holding torch in each hand; behind, control-symbol;
in exergue, M.VOLTEI.M.F.
4. *Obv.*: Helmeted bust r., draped (helmet bound with laurel-wreath);
behind, control-symbol. *Rev.*: Cybele, wearing turreted crown and veil,
in biga of lions r., holding reins in l. hand and *patera* in r. hand;
above, control-numeral; in exergue, M.VOLTEI.M.F.
5. *Obv.*: Laureate head of Apollo r. *Rev.*: Tripod with snake coiled round front
leg and rearing head above; on l., S.C; on r., D.T; in exergue, M.VOLTEI.M.F.

images on issue no. 3. In the late third century BC (the evidence comes
from Naevius), Liber had his own *ludi* at the Liberalia; by Ovid's time, he
had lost them and now shared the games of Ceres.[3] Evidently the same
was true in 78 BC, since he shares the coin issue with her as well. So four
of the five issues represent major annual *ludi*, identified by the divinities
in whose honour they were held. But what about Hercules?

Mommsen assumed that Hercules must represent the *ludi plebeii*,
otherwise absent from the list. But the *ludi* of Flora and of Victoria are
absent too, so that in itself is not a sufficient argument. More important
is the fact that the *ludi plebeii*, like the *Romani*, were centred on a 'feast
of Jupiter' (*epulum Iovis*) and were therefore presumably thought of as
offered to that god.[4] Certainly there is nothing in our surviving sources to
connect the Plebeian Games with Hercules. The logic of the Volteius coin
issue seems to require that in 78 BC there were games of Hercules com-
parable with those of Ceres, Apollo and the Great Mother.

Certainly there were games of Hercules at Rome in the first century BC
Two late republican inscriptions attest them. The first was found on the
Via Appia between the sixth and seventh milestones:

<div align="center">

]R.MAG.LVDOS

her]COLEI.MAGNO

]NEO.FECIT

</div>

The first letter is thought to be the remains of a *cognomen*. In the third
line Mommsen read '[in theatro lig]neo'; Whatmough (1921) suggested
'[in circo Flami]neo', which may be preferable in that the temple of
Hercules Magnus Custos stood in the Circus Flaminius. The god's cult
day was 4 June, on which date the late imperial calendars report 'ludi'
(*fasti Silvii*) or 'ludi in Minicia' (*fasti Filocali*). The Severan marble plan
identifies as 'Mini[cia]' the rectangular portico north of the theatre of
Balbus, not far from the probable site of the Hercules Custos temple
(modern Via Arenula); Filippo Coarelli plausibly suggests that by the late
empire the Porticus Minucia *frumentaria* provided a better site for games
than the Circus Flaminius piazza.[5]

The second inscription comes from the Caelian, near Quattro Coronati:

<div align="center">

MAG.HE[rc

SVFFRAGIO.PAG.PRIM[i creati

LVDOS.FECERV[nt

</div>

Here too we have games given by *magistri*, and it seems that the men in
charge are not only *magistri He[rculani]* but also *magistri pagi*, their
responsibility defined both topographically and by reference to the god.
The nearest parallel may be the *ludi Tarpeii* or *Capitolini*, set up in honour
of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitol and organised by a *collegium* of 'those
who lived on the Capitol and the *arx*'.[6]

Games held in a portico, or in a piazza like the Circus Flaminius (which despite its name was not a race-track), were clearly not *ludi circenses* with chariot racing.[7] Theatrical performances would be possible, and perhaps a small-scale *venatio* (Augustus once flooded the Circus Flaminius to show crocodiles), but these local games were clearly on a less ambitious scale than the series of great annual *ludi* entrusted to the aediles. If the *ludi Tarpeii* are indeed analogous, then they may have consisted of amateur athletics and boxing.[8]

The *magistri* in the second inscription were the first to be elected by their *pagus*. Mommsen thought that this might mean they were the first elected after Clodius restored the *collegia* in 58 BC. However, the ban in 64 BC had exempted religious associations, and we know that even before Clodius' law was passed Sex. Cloelius, as *magister collegii*, was holding *ludi compitalicii* in honour of the Lares.[9] But whether or not that was the occasion, the wording of the inscription makes it clear that some sort of change had taken place in the selection of those responsible for the games of Hercules.

That may offer a solution to the dilemma presented by our two near-contemporary sources of information: the coins of Volteius imply games like the *ludi Romani* and the other annual festivals put on by the aediles; the inscriptions attest games put on by *magistri*, evidently on a much smaller scale. Is it possible that the games of Hercules were at first what the coins imply, but were then reorganised as merely local and entrusted to *magistri* elected by their fellow-*pagani*?

The hypothesis is in two parts: first, that major *ludi* of Hercules had been instituted before 78 BC, and second, that they were soon afterwards 'demoted' to local games of a particular *pagus*. Neither event is attested, but it seems to me that both are perfectly possible.

Sulla took the gods seriously. In the dedication passage of his *Memoirs* he advised Lucullus to regard dreams as reliable divine messages, and the *Memoirs* themselves were full of prophecies, portents and communications from the gods. Fortuna, Venus, Apollo and Bellona feature particularly, but they were not the only deities he honoured. In 79 he consecrated a tithe of his whole property to Hercules, with huge banquets for the populace, and it is possible to conjecture why the hero-god was important to him.[10]

The campaigns in the War of the Allies which made Sulla's reputation as a general, and won him the consulship in 88 and the command against Mithridates, were concentrated in Campania; also in Campania, at Mount Tifata, he defeated the armies of Norbanus and the young Marius in 83; and it was to Campanian Cumae that he retired, after laying down his power, to spend his last years writing his memoirs.[11] Campania, and the Bay of Naples in particular, was a part of Italy particularly associated with

Hercules. It was at the Campi Phlegraei that the hero met and defeated the rebellious Giants, at Bauli that he penned up the cattle of Geryon, at Pompeii that he held his triumphal procession; he built the causeway across the Lucrine bay, and he founded the town named Herakleion, the Roman Herculaneum.[12]

Sulla derived his *cognomen* from 'Sibylla'. The Sibyl's home at Cumae, which was Sulla's home too in his retirement, was a part of this Herculean neighbourhood. A pair of huge tusks was preserved there in the ancient temple of Apollo, and identified as those of the Erymanthian boar.[13] Since the boar was what M. Volteius chose to use on the reverse of his issue no. 2, it must somehow have symbolised the games of Hercules at Rome.

Ovid is explicit that it was on the instructions of the Sibyl that Sulla set up the temple of Hercules Magnus Custos in the Circus Flaminius:

> Altera pars circi Custode sub Hercule tuta est,
>   quod deus Euboico carmine munus habet.
> muneris est tempus, qui Nonas Lucifer ante est:
>   si titulum quaeris, Sulla probavit opus.

(The other part of the circus is under the protection of Guardian Hercules; the god holds office through the Euboean oracle. The time of his taking office is the day before the Nones; if you are enquiring about the in- scription, it was Sulla who approved the work.)

(Ovid *F.*, 6. 209–12)

Since the inscription from the Via Appia specifies Hercules Magnus as the recipient of games, it is reasonable to infer that the games were set up at the same time as the temple, as had happened a century earlier with the Magna Mater and the *ludi Megalenses*. No doubt 'Hercules the Great Guardian', like his neighbour Bellona, played some part in Sulla's per- sonal myth.[14] What part it was we do not know, but the events of 89 and 83 BC offered plenty of opportunity for the protective hero to earn his temple and his games.

But what happened afterwards? Why should the games have been reduced to the humbler sphere of the local *magistri*?

Here we must remember the ideological sensitivity of *ludi*. The *ludi plebeii*, for instance, represented plebeian freedom – either from the Tarquins or from the patricians, according to the alternative origin stories offered by a Ciceronian scholiast. The *ludi Romani* were the subject of a dispute between the plebeians and patricians at a turning point in the 'struggle of the orders', the election of the first plebeian consul; the story cannot be made sense of in Livy's abbreviated account, but the games were evidently thought to be an important issue. The *ludi Florales* were founded by plebeian aediles, and paid for with fines exacted from land

owners encroaching on public land; for over sixty years the senate refused
to recognise the games, and only yielded when a famine was attributed to
the goddess's anger.[15]

A similarly contentious background may be inferred for the *ludi
Apollinares*. In 213 BC the urban praetor carried out a police action, on
the senate's instructions, against 'prophets and sacrificers' in the Roman
Forum. These people were evidently considered a threat to the authority
of the senate and magistrates, and their prophetic books and sacrificial
manuals were duly confiscated. The following year, however, it was
announced that two important prophecies of Cn. Marcius had been
discovered among this material. The senate ordered a consultation of the
Sibylline Books; the Sibyl evidently agreed with Marcius, and the games
of Apollo were set up as a result.[16] It is natural to infer that the Senate was
alarmed by the prophets' influence, and made sure that any innovations
that had to be conceded would be carried out under senatorial control.
That is, the *ludi Apollinares* were set up in order to forestall something
more dangerous (see also North, Chapter 7 in this volume).

The vicissitudes of the games of Liber may give us some idea of what
that 'something more dangerous' was. As we noted in the context of
Volteius' coin issue no. 3, the Liberalia had been *ludi* in the time of
Naevius, but the games were later merged with the *ludi Cereales*. The
Naevius fragment – *'libera lingua loquimur ludis Liberalibus'* – suggests
that the games exploited the ideological implication of the god's name,
and therefore that their suppression may have had a political dimension.
The most likely context for it is surely the consuls' crack-down on the
'Bacchanals' in 186 BC, a particularly brutal example of senatorial auth-
ority being exerted over what could be perceived as a rival focus of
loyalty. The leader of the Bacchic cult was a 'prophet and sacrificer', just
like those supposedly subversive characters in the Forum in 213 BC.[17]

If that could happen in the second century BC, perhaps it could also
happen in the first, but in the opposite ideological direction. What we have
inferred from the combination of Volteius' coins and the *magistri* inscrip-
tions is a 'demotion' of Sullan games. The likely context for that is the
reform movement of 70–67 BC, when the Sullan oligarchy was tainted
with gross corruption and abuse of power, and Sulla's more contentious
legislation was reversed.[18] There would have to be a good reason to take
the god's games out of the hands of the aediles, but what the reason was
we can only guess. Since Sulla's *ludi Victoriae* continued as a regular part
of the aediles' annual programme, mere association with the dictator was
clearly not enough to justify it.

The Victoria games celebrated the battle of the Colline Gate, which
could quite reasonably be presented as a victory over an external enemy.[19]
If the Hercules games were associated with specifically civil war cam-

paigns, or with victories over allies who accepted the Roman citizenship in 89 (and were now at last enrolled by the censors of 70–69), one can imagine hostile tribunes not wanting the spilling of citizen blood to be publicly commemorated. No offence to the god, who would still be honoured on 4 June, but his games would now be a local affair rather than a celebration by the people as a whole.

We cannot know whether it happened like that; but some such hypothesis seems to be required to make sense of the conflicting evidence we have. Perhaps the games of Hercules may count as another example of the inextricable interrelation of 'religion' and 'politics' in the Roman republic.

9

LOOKING BEYOND THE CIVIC COMPROMISE:

religious pluralism in late republican Rome

Andreas Bendlin

> It is the nature of models that they are subject to constant adjustment,
> correction, modification or outright replacement ... The familiar fear of
> *a priorism* is misplaced: any hypothesis can be modified, adjusted or
> discarded when necessary. Without one, however, there can be no expla-
> nation; there can be only reportage and crude taxonomy, antiquarianism in
> its narrowest sense.[1]

OVER THE LAST FEW decades, a steadily growing body of archaeological
and epigraphical evidence has begun to leave its mark upon the study of
Roman religion in the republican period. Nevertheless, until now the
discipline has been distinguished rather by the periodic reinterpretation of
by-and-large familiar sources and the subsequent cyclical need to modify
one's preconceived interpretations. This is neither surprising nor, as the
motto quoted above suggests, a bad thing. For as long as historians of
republican Roman religion do not have at their disposal a truly compre-
hensive array of data, they inescapably depend on model-building. For
that reason, any new contribution may profitably start from assessing
the respective assumptions, merits and shortcomings of its predecessors's
views before suggesting modifications to, or even outright repudiation
of, current orthodoxies. Neither *Forschungsgeschichte* for its own sake
nor mere reportage of the evidence engenders real progress; only their
combination can achieve that end. This is why my contribution starts by
outlining the respective theories of two German historians of Roman
religion, Johann Adam Hartung and Georg Wissowa. These are then
contrasted with the views of what has been labelled 'the new orthodoxy'.
My summary treatment of this present-day consensus cannot claim to do
justice to the ramifications found in current scholarship and is not intended
to degrade individual positions. Having considered their respective merits,
I shall argue that these scholars's thoughts on the subject are flawed in
fundamental respects. That critique will then lead to the presentation of an
alternative, namely a 'market model' of late republican religion.[2]

The study of Roman religion as an academic (rather than a merely anti-
quarian) discipline was first put on the map in early nineteenth-century
Germany.³ Johann Adam Hartung's *Die Religion der Römer*, published in
1836, is an early example of the more systematic study of Roman religion.
Following the hellenist Karl Otfried Müller's idea that any deity or cult
should be understood as determined by its local environment,⁴ Hartung
took the history of Roman religion as the history of one particular local
religious system, that of the city of Rome. In order to describe the ele-
ments which constituted that religion's character or identity (*Wesen*),
Hartung essayed a reconstruction of the authentic religious feelings of
Rome's first inhabitants, using the metaphor of an ancient temple which
had lain buried underneath an edifice of later distortions and which had
to be rediscovered by the historian.⁵ In many respects, Hartung was intel-
lectually indebted to the Enlightenment's views on the origin of religion;
thus he opined that Roman religion evolved from 'primitive' belief in
natural forces to a stage which conceptualised personalised deities in a
polytheistic pantheon, only to be destroyed by the impact of monotheism.⁶

Hartung's Romans, however, although looking back to the savages
of eighteenth-century literature, also anticipated later scholarship: their
religious behaviour was unsophisticated and prosaic, practical and utili-
tarian; it was directed at pleasing the gods who guaranteed the Roman
state's greatness, but lacked any of the theological reasoning or mytho-
logical speculation which allegedly characterised Greek religion.⁷ He
also anticipated the idea that any authentically Roman religious senti-
ment which existed at an early stage, an objective and rational religious
behaviour rather than subjective religiosity, later vanished beneath the
indigenous ritualistic formalism of a priestly class. At this later stage, it
was deprived of any cognitive significance and lacked any intellectual
elaboration, and thus the populace fell prey to the advent of foreign deities
and rites. According to Hartung, the Romans in more than one respect
alienated themselves from their ethnic religious roots.⁸

In his *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (first edition 1902, second edition
1912), for many generations of European and American scholars the
standard introduction to Roman religion, Georg Wissowa adopted and
perfected not only Hartung's metaphor of the collapsed temple but also
the latter's premise that the Romans' ancient, and therefore authentic,
religion should be recovered as it had existed prior to any internal
deterioration or falsification through outside influences (Wissowa 1912:
1–2). The ultimate goal of Wissowa's research was the reconstruction of
the religion of the Roman people (*Volksreligion*). But in the face of the
unsurmountable difficulty of recovering reliable information concerning
that *Volksreligion* he explicitly contented himself with what the frag-
mented evidence seemed to allow, namely presenting a picture of Roman

state cult (*Staatskultus*), which, on his view, was the codified reflection of the *Volksreligion*.[9]

It is all too easy nowadays to postulate a strict dichotomy between the religion of the state and the religion of the people; not so for nineteenth-century German scholars, influenced by the philosophical tradition of Herder and Hegel. In the wake of the European nation-state's formation, they held that the religion of a people, the *Volksreligion*, was an immediate expression of its character, the so-called *Volksgeist* (Manuel 1959: 291–304). Herder's and Hegel's accounts of the national states of the nineteenth century idealised the state as an organised realisation of the *Volksgeist* and its religion as the ideal abstraction of the *Volksreligion*. Never mind that, according to Hegel, the Romans, unlike the Greeks, lacked the *Volksgeist*; or that Hegel described Roman religion as utterly dreary and utilitarian, devoid of the creative spirit of the Greek nation, a point of view readily adopted by Wissowa's teacher Theodor Mommsen.[10] In a truly Hegelian sense, to both Hartung and Wissowa, the religious manifestation of the Roman idea of the state was an institutionalisation, or codified abstraction, of the Romans's earliest *Volksreligion*. State cult, as the expression of the people's institutionalised religion, and the state, as the institutionalised people, were inextricably linked (Rüpke 1997b: 4–7). Hartung described the state as a 'church' and the ancient Romans as its members; to Wissowa they constituted a 'congregation', with the state priests and the senate as their quasi-council. Given this close correspondence between the Roman state and religion, there simply was no need to differentiate between public and private religion – at least not until Rome's alienation from its ethnic roots (Hartung 1836: I, 205–31, 260; Wissowa 1912: 43–7).

Wissowa owed this view to Mommsen, to whom Roman religion was a national religion (and thus a pronouncedly patriotic affair) whose ethnic character – materialistic, formalistic and legalistic rather than imbued with any spiritual dimension – reflected the legal foundations of the Roman nation-state.[11] To Wissowa and his contemporaries, Roman religion was an ethnic religion which had become tainted by contact with beliefs that were irreconcilable with the Romans' prosaic and legalistic character. The religion of the Roman people was a peculiar local one that lost its communal identity once it became exposed to the outside world. As such, it was unsuitable for an expanding city-state (Rüpke 1997b: 7–10).

Still, Wissowa tried to rehabilitate Roman religious behaviour as an expression of the Roman character whose allegedly prosaic nature others, superimposing their own cultural conceptions of religion, had supposedly been unable to grasp. State religion (*Staatskultus*) may not have provided the emotional experience and belief of a true religion in a Judaeo-Christian sense. But just as the Roman state was a true reflection of the

Roman people, so the ritualistic system of state religion which Wissowa attempted to reconstrue could be regarded as reflecting a genuine Roman religious sentiment. Having arrived at this Mommsenesque picture of a ritualistic and legalistic religious system, Wissowa concluded that different and mutually incompatible conceptualisations of 'religion' or 'belief' lay behind Roman and modern religious sensibilities, and suggested that it would be anachronistic to expect the ancient Romans to display exactly those religious sentiments that characterised Wissowa and his contemporaries; as we shall see below, this suggestion has readily been taken up lately.[12] The title of Wissowa's manual, *Religion und Kultus*, betokened his desire to differentiate 'cult' from 'religion' and immediately marked the latter as a problematised category. Wissowa avoided cognitive categories such as 'belief' or 'subjective feeling', since these could be considered as belonging to the domain of modern religiosity rather than to a system of ritual performance as found in ancient Rome. To Wissowa, deeply influenced by a nineteenth-century concept individualisation, personal belief and redemption as the essentials of religiosity, the fundamental cultural alienness of the Roman system of ritual performance and alleged cultic formalism seemed apparent.

The differences between Hartung's essayistic overview and Wissowa's scholarly synthesis must not veil one fundamental concurrence in approach, namely their focus on the reconstruction of the origins of Roman religion. The paradigm for these scholars was the religion of an idealised stage in Roman history when an 'authentic Roman religion', defined in nineteenth-century terms of 'ethnic purity', had not yet been superseded by external 'corruption'. This search for an undiluted religious past, however, resulted in the inescapable consequence that any later development in Roman religion, that is any development in the historical periods for which there was evidence, had to be defined in terms of decline (Wissowa 1912: 60–72). By the late third century, on this view, Roman religion, alienated from its origins, had degenerated into a lifeless ritualistic construct, a convenient elite instrument in political conflict. Widespread scepticism among the aristocracy as a result of the reception of Greek philosophy and the impact of new cults from the east, the fossilisation of traditional religious practices unsuited for providing an emotional experience – all these elements seemed further proof of the decline of republican Roman religion. As a corollary, scholars came to perceive later religious differentiation in the imperial period as a continuation of the republican 'decline' – a 'crisis' to which Christianity conveniently provided the ultimate answer.[13]

This picture has now come under attack. To earlier generations, the interpenetration of religion and politics appeared to prove the former's

abuse by a manipulative elite. Likewise, religious institutions in the city-state were regarded as an imposture by detached intellectuals. On the new consensus, the interrelation of the religious and the political cannot properly be explained by the modern conception of their separation. Rather, these were inextricably linked facets of one and the same cultural phenomenon. As magistrates and priests, members of the Roman elite would feel that their religion was an integral element in the definition of their position in society; and we would underestimate the importance these people attached to their religious roles, if we understood their behaviour and reasoning solely in terms of intellectual detachment. Indeed, the active, and sometimes aggressive, appropriation of religious rituals and ideas in the political arena proves that religion was an accepted part of the Republican elite's mind-set. Their behaviour attested to the societal centrality of religion in public life.[14] Thus the link between magistracy and priesthood formed one crucial element in the self-definition of the Roman elite. What has been called 'the civic compromise' (hence the reference in my chapter title) symbolises the elite's perception of an inseparable connection between priestly and civic office, between religion in the city-state and political life, in short: between religion and the state.[15]

Conceptualisations of ritual have also changed. A certain punctiliousness over ritual detail does not, as the dichotomy between dreary ritual and proper religious feeling might imply, preclude a cognitive comprehension of ritual forms. As ritual is capable of conceptualising one's position in the social world, it must be revalued in terms of this more dynamic view rather than with reference to its origin or an alleged unchangeable meaning buried in the distant past.[16] In particular, scholars now stress the extent to which the stability of ritual forms, their orthopraxy, was compatible with the fact that its meaning in society could change over time. The openness of Roman sacred law and ritual to creative change and adaptation was a prerequisite of its preservation.[17] The adaptation of civic religion to outside influences is therefore a central element of its vigour rather than a symptom of decline.[18]

Finally, the negative appreciation of formalism in Roman religion arises, so it has been argued, from the misapplication of modern and inapplicable notions of 'religion' and 'belief' to ancient cult and ritual. Wissowa had already challenged the applicability of the term 'religiosity' to what he saw as a cultic system devoid of spirituality in the Christian sense. Similarly, those scholars who had deplored the absence of any forms of subjective piety, individual belief systems or private mental states from the religion of the Romans[19] were now accused of succumbing to anachronistic assumptions guided by Christianising or, more generally, western European preconceptions.[20]

This accusation has been highly salutary but, unfortunately, has turned into a kind of shadow-boxing. For it inadvertently implies that such assumptions as outlined above can arise only from a Christian or westernised intellectual tradition. I would suggest that 'a Schleiermacherian tradition of defining religion' is a more precise description of this phenomenon, since that phrase is less overdetermined. It refers to the definition of religion by Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834): in an unhappy liaison of German Protestantism and the Romantic Age, he defined religion as a *Gefühl schlechthinniger Abhängigkeit* (feeling of absolute dependency). By introducing the subjective and existentialist component of 'feeling', Schleiermacher reduced religion to a predominantly private spiritual experience of the divine. Religion was, for the first time in the history of humankind, exclusively presented as an internalised belief system detached from any non-private religious institutionalisation; it was removed from the realm of societal communication.

This concept of religion not only informed Protestant theology but also influenced historians of religion in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Schleiermacher's definition of religion as an internal feeling was easily compatible with the notion of individual faith and salvation. Thus this definition, once the eighteenth-century distinction between culture and religion had been internalised, was readily adapted to the needs of those theologians, historians and sociologists who defined the essence of religion as a 'feeling' central to any true religious experience. Transcending its Romanticising origins, Schleiermacher's definition of religion as an entirely private, and so *a priori* non-social, belief system thereby achieved wider acceptance.[21] Obviously, Wissowa's, or the new orthodoxy's, polemic against the notion of 'religiosity' or 'belief' has this Schleiermacherian tradition in mind.

Could the new orthodoxy's re-evaluation of late republican religion represent a paradigm shift? Unfortunately, current views, although they rectify many, and avoid most, of the problematic conclusions of past scholarship, fail to disentangle themselves fully from those very traditions they have set out to abandon. At the same time, they create their own shortcomings. In the attempt to escape the misleading dualism between a Schleiermacherian notion of 'religion' and the accusation of meaningless formalism in ritual, the significance of a category such as 'belief' (as a private mental state of subjective religiosity) itself has been challenged: the argument that Roman religion did not meet the needs of a more individual religion is contested on *a priori* grounds with the rejoinder that categories of individualised religious commitment or private religiosity should not be applied to the study of ancient Roman religion at all.

This present-day consensus does not deny the existence of the various

forms of private religion for which there is ample evidence: religious action took place in the context of the daily life of individuals, family groups or voluntary associations, addressing the realms connected with all aspects of the life cycles of a Roman citizen. The Roman distinction between the *sacra publica*, the rituals of civic religion, and the *sacra priuata*, the rites performed by individuals or nuclear groups, would thus symbolise the parallel existences of these two domains of religious life.[22]

However, the new orthodoxy claims that the realm of the *sacra priuata* – those areas which earlier scholars had depicted as alternative realms where true religious experience could be found in separation from the fossilised religion of the state – did not provide any distinct or clearly differentiated religious biographies, individual moral value systems or any kind of private spirituality; hence religion did not constitute a separate and independent domain for the individual in republican Roman society. Rather, so the new consensus asserts, the *sacra priuata* were subordinated or secondary to, and indeed merged in significance with, public religious concerns. If any religious identity emerged, it was synonymous with a wider societal identification. Just as the individual was embedded in the institutions of the civic realm, so was his or her religion; just as the aristocratic elite was in control of political power, so it mediated between the gods and the citizenry.[23] On this interpretation, any individual religious behaviour amounts to the participation in a collective religious belief system which becomes homologous with civic religion in the city-state: individual religious behaviour and the civic religious community inevitably reinforce one another.[24]

However, this model is seriously flawed in several respects. Its reductionist use of 'religion', almost exclusively attacking a Schleiermacherian, and thus *a priori* limited, tradition, does not live up to its own methodological premises. To be sure, we may up to a point fruitfully question 'the received idea that th[e] verbal concept [of belief] corresponds to a distinct and natural capacity that is shared by all human beings'.[25] Unfortunately, however, the re-evaluation of 'religion' and 'belief' which results from such a critique is itself inconsistent. Despite the fact that the traditional Schleiermacherian notion of religion is a creation of the eighteenth century, no one has doubted its validity when it is applied to, for instance, Christian belief systems in the Middle Ages. Apparently, it is only with respect to non-Christian ancient culture that scholars routinely make the *a priori* assumption that those internalised motivational processes commonly called 'emotion', 'individualised mental state' or 'private belief' must not be the object of the study of religion. This assumption provides the justification for the neglect of internal psychological processes and reinforces the focus on the external aspects of human behaviour.

What seems to have gone unnoticed is that scholars, in sharing this

assumption, attack only one particular notion of belief, the Schleier-
macherian, which they unwittingly permit to dominate their discourses.
Rather than moving beyond a past intellectual tradition, they still operate
in the framework of that very tradition: for when reacting against the
application of a Schleiermacherian notion of belief to Graeco-Roman
antiquity, the underlying parameters of their evaluation of terms such as
'belief' remain those 'Christianising assumptions' which these scholars
claim to have overcome.

How are we to resolve the dichotomy between a Schleiermacherian
private belief world and the individual's embeddedness in a public
religious system? We need a conceptual category which does not entail
any Christianising undertones of faith or internalised religious dogma.
Such a category, by its very nature, allows the identification of crucial
issues, namely the neglect of purely individual motivational processes
and the concurrent marginalisation of private religious behaviour as if it
were a mere extension of civic religion. For with a view to contemporary
society, no one but persistent opponents of psychology could reasonably
deny the relevance of separate internal motivational operations – our
emotions and cognitions – for our societal behaviour in general and our
belief systems in particular. When making the *a priori* assumption that
with respect to religion in Graeco-Roman society one can attribute such
emotional processes only to religious behaviour linked to the civic domain,
scholars implicitly postulate that the ancient mind was fundamentally
different: not only in that the ancient meaning of religion differed from
ours but also because the ancients would *a priori* not have been interested
in conceptualising separate private belief systems or distinct mental states
in the way we do.

Recent methodological justification of the 'otherness' of the ancient
religious experience[26] must succumb to an obscurantism not dissimilar to
that of Wissowa's attempt to explain the otherness of Roman religion by
reference to the Romans' alleged legalistic character. But such a view
engenders the assertion that the ancient world differs from ours not only
culturally but also *psychologically*. On methodological grounds, this view
is just as problematic as the position the current consensus is reacting
against. For it replaces the traditional Schleiermacherian assumptions
about the importance of separate religious identities in religion by the
assertion of their relative unimportance for Roman religion. Either
position starts from preconceived perceptions; either adheres to circular
thinking which is intertwined with its respective interpretative precon-
ceptions. Hence, so far, the repetitive asseveration of the lack of distinct
belief systems or metaphysical speculation in Roman religion, rather than
any methodological explanation of such a position.

Most contemporary scholars of Roman religion are more cautious than

their nineteenth-century predecessors in divulging their opinion about the supposed psychological conditioning of a people which meets the criteria of this new paradigm. Yet even though the proponents of this new paradigm sidestep that issue, the conclusion which must implicitly be drawn seems inevitable: a religious system whose parameters are organised with a view to a communal religious identity and public ritual performance rather than to separate and individualised motivations – with the result that individual religion can become homologous with the religion of the city-state – such a religious system entails with regard to its agents the complementary view that they are as practical, juridical and functionalistic as their religion. We have gone full circle: Hartung, Mommsen and Wissowa, not to mention their successors, would emphatically nod in agreement.

This amount of unexpected contact between old and new paradigms has gone largely unnoticed. Discussion about the place of belief in Roman religion, whose alleged lack earlier generations had bemoaned, has been liquidated by questioning the validity of the category of 'belief'. Likewise, the supposed absence of primarily individualised personal commitment in religion has been turned into a virtue. Indeed, this new emphasis on the close interpenetration of religious and socio-political realms in the Roman republic echoes a general tendency in the study of Graeco-Roman religions to amalgamate religion and culture and make civic culture in the ancient city-state dominant over individual concerns.[27]

To Hartung and Wissowa, state religion had been the institutionalised reflection of the Roman *Volksreligion*. On the new 'civic model', civic religion *was* the religion of Rome. 'Local religion' has thus become homologous with 'civic religion'. As these examples elucidate, at stake is not the existence of a public system of organised religion in the city of Rome, *sacra publica*, whose reality no one would deny, or the existence of *sacra privata*, but their respective status, or in other words the false normativity attached to the modern model of civic religion.

This new orthodoxy has provoked occasional criticism. For instance, it has been argued, albeit inconsistently, that personal morality, marginalised by the model of civic religion, in fact was a significant element in the religious lives of the Romans;[28] or that the normativity attached to the 'civic compromise' proves deficient in accounting for marginal religious groups and individual religious concerns, or when it needs to accommodate the potential or the reasons for change (Woolf 1997: 76–83; Rüpke 1999).

But the fundamental criticism regards the issue of 'crisis and decline' of late republican religion, which had featured so prominently in past accounts. This issue seems to have been shifted rather than truly resolved. For as the advocates of the model of civic religion surmise, it is a result of

the differentiation of religious choices in the Mediterranean world from the fourth century onwards at the latest that civic religion, no longer sufficiently able to incorporate new choices, would itself disintegrate. The exponents of this model must envisage these developments within the strict limits of civic religion in the ancient city-state; any development beyond these limits can only be perceived in terms of the system's failure to integrate increasingly differentiated choices. According to this 'civic model', in the late Roman republican and triumviral period deviation from public religion became manifest through the increasing emergence of autonomous religious groups and practices, and through the development of religious expertise independent of traditional religion. Simultaneously, philosophical reflections on religion were marked by a highly rational and sceptical attitude. All of this promoted a structural differentiation of the religious system, a veritable religious pluralism, and a changed evaluation of religion's role in society which the 'civic compromise' at Rome, previously able to exert control over a plurality of religious forms – and that is the crucial point – could no longer fully integrate.[29] Ultimately, religious development was moving from the embedded religion of the traditional city-state to the differentiated religion of a complex empire-wide and socio-politically fragmented environment. Religious development became synonymous with the disintegration of civic religion (North 1992; Rives 1995).

On such a view, the history of religion in the ancient world would indeed become the history of the destabilisation and eventual dissolution of civic religion (Bendlin 1997: 47, for a critique). This tension in the model of civic religion becomes fully apparent once the model is no longer exclusively applied to the socio-political local context of the classical city-state, but instead is employed with a view to a supra-regional context of change and differentiation in the Roman empire. The terminology used can describe more complex religious phenomena only as deviations from the approved norm; and the category of 'religious pluralism' and the notion of 'differentiation' receive an implicitly negative connotation that arises from the constructed dualism of traditional (or embedded) and new (or disembedded) religion.[30] Incidentally, this scenario recalls Wissowa's concept of Roman religion as a local religion that, once exposed to the outside world, lost its communal religious identity, or the nineteenth-century idea of alienation.

Hence the civic model's fundamental incompatibility with social structures that exceed a certain level of complexity. The model's emphasis on religious homogeneity in a closed system, based on the conceptualisation of Roman religion as undifferentiated and collective plurality of public activity, has gone too far in replacing differentiation by a holistic concept of societal uniformity in the Roman city-state. This concept

works only as long as it is possible to marginalise factors that introduce a certain degree of complexity. When this strategy fails, the chosen model of civic religion needs to be abandoned.

My solution to this dilemma is based on the assumption that the pairs 'religion and society', 'religion and politics' or 'religion and culture' are not, as their homology in the 'civic compromise' implies, undifferentiated; rather, I contend that we must recover the categories of 'religion' or 'belief' as independent terms of reference before we are able to make sense of religion in late republican Rome. In short, we need to redifferentiate religion from other areas of society. As we do so, however, I do not wish to imply that, for instance, the republican senate did not occasionally encroach upon religious cults in Rome and Italy, even though that encroachment may have been unsystematic, following the constraints of daily political requirements rather than systematic religious policies. At the same time, under the republic there was no official religious calendar or other such document which either positively prescribed attendance at civic rituals and festivals or necessitated the participation of Roman citizens in particular cults.[31] Indeed, the concept of daily worship would have been unfamiliar to pagan Romans of the late republic (Nilsson 1945).

This is not to deny that under certain circumstances the Roman senate demanded collective worship. Under the republic, the occasions on which the active participation of Romans or Italians appears to have been required included *supplicationes*. At stake was the communal restoration of the *pax deorum* through the procuration of portents, once it had been established that these portents related to the *populus Romanus* as a whole rather than to a particular individual.[32] According to Mommsen, such state encroachment upon Roman citizens was foreign to the formalism of old republican religion, when magistrates and priests conducted rituals and sacrifices on behalf of their fellow Romans. In marked contrast to these religious traditions, from the third century onwards public *supplicationes*, conducted *Graeco ritu* or moulded on the precedent of Greek ritual tradition and involving the populace, would herald the hellenisation of Roman religion.[33] However, the modern classification of *supplicationes* as Greek rites is problematic, because although such expiatory rituals were sometimes performed at the suggestion of the *X(V)viri*, they could also be proposed by the pontiffs or the *haruspices*. In addition, *Graecus ritus* connoted to the Romans a certain type of ritual procedure rather than the ritual's place of origin (Scheid 1995; 1998a). Wide communal participation was also stipulated in traditional Roman rituals of procuration such as the *sacrum novendiale* or the *ver sacrum*, the offering of the produce of one entire spring to Iuppiter.[34] Here, the state's exceptional encroachment upon its own citizens and upon the Italians can be explained by a certain

proportionality in religious thinking: since these rituals responded to portents addressing the entire *populus Romanus*, the Roman senate resorted to increasing the number of possible participants – the more people involved, the more successful the procuration would be (Diels 1890: 85; Gwyn Morgan 1990).

Was the populace involved on other occasions? Livy's account of the reception of the goddess Mater Magna at Rome in 204 (29. 14. 10–14) might be taken as the reflection of a civic orchestration of public participation. And the occasional exclusion of foreigners and slaves from public religious ritual entails the civic authorities's creation of a platform for ritual participation of the freeborn.[35] With the rise of autocracy, civic interference in the religious life of Roman citizens becomes more apparent, as the Roman senate involved the population of Rome in rituals related to the (future) emperor and his family. The triumviral edict of 42, which ruled that all citizens celebrate the birthday of Divus Iulius or otherwise be accursed and, if of senatorial status, fined (Cassius Dio, 47. 18. 5) constitutes one early example of this development. The details for the funerals for members of the imperial family, namely the Parentalia for Lucius and Caius Caesar or the honours for Germanicus, entailed the closing of temples and positively encouraged public participation at the funeral ceremonies. The *honores* for the deceased Lucius included further specifications regarding expenses and ritual regulations for those who wished to perform a private sacrifice at the altar.[36] The libations to the *genius* of the Princeps at public and private banquets following the senatorial decree of 30 may have been felt to be obligatory to all citizens (Cassius Dio, 51. 19. 7; Fishwick 1987–92: 84 with n. 10).

The new orthodoxy's position entails the implicit assumption that measures such as these successfully imposed a prescribed religious behaviour on all levels of society (see further below). But the success of the senate's interference with the religious life of the inhabitants of the city of Rome is doubtful. Livy's preoccupation with the frequency of attendance at collective religious rituals implies that in reality the numbers of those participating would have varied. On the same principle, Augustus stressed the exceptional frequency with which all Roman citizens had made supplications to the gods on behalf of his health (Livy, 3. 63. 5, 5. 23. 2–3, 10. 23. 2, 27. 51. 8–9, 45. 2. 7; Augustus *Res Gestae*, 9.2). Conversely, it is noteworthy that senatorial or imperial encroachment concerning religious activity very often was limited to calling upon the elite's participation. The (alleged or actual) neglect of a family sacrifice by an equestrian was instrumentalised by Cato the Elder when expelling L. Veturius from the equestrian order. Although it must remain questionable whether Veturius's failure to perform a family rite was used among the censorial charges which led to his expulsion from the *ordo*, Cato no

doubt used that incident for a further illustration of this equestrian's moral degeneracy.[37] When the Roman people, rather than an individual's religious behaviour, were concerned, elite participation was instrumentalised too: in 207 the civic authorities ruled in response to portents that the Roman upper-class matrons should from their own funds contribute *stipes*, to be offered to Iuno Regina (Livy, 27. 37. 8–10). The consuls of 169 demanded sacrifice from *cuncti magistratus* (Livy, 43. 13. 8). Disobedience to the triumviral edict of 42 resulted in fines for senators, whereas the rest of the population merely incurred curses. These curses, no doubt, were taken seriously by many. My point, however, is that it was thought impractical, or impossible, to punish popular disobedience by less symbolic or more direct means. Similarly, the specifications concerning imperial funerals in the Tabula Hebana contented themselves with monitoring the *equites Romani*, even though the absence of individual knights could be excused by ill health or the obligation towards *domestica sacra*.[38]

The fact that civic control would often be limited to the Roman elite betrays either a lack of interest in systematically imposing elite expectations on the urban population at large or the realisation that such imposition would be otiose. Consideration of the organisation of large-scale religious events exposes the limits of models which claim the centralisation of religious behaviour, or indeed of any socio-political and cultural behaviour, at Rome. The acts of the *Ludi saeculares* of 17 document the genres of communication which applied in a city of nearly 1,000,000 inhabitants. Consequential on receiving instructions from the senate and Augustus, the college of *XVviri* announced the sacrifices and *ludi* in a *contio* and published the ritual programme and the code of behaviour at the rituals in an *album* for further dissemination.[39]

Contio and *album* are the instruments through which religious information was transmitted in an oral society. The announcement of *feriae* by the Rex sacrorum to a late republican urban populace on the Nones of each month also suggests that legal and religious information of this kind was normally passed on orally (Varro *LL*, 6. 28; Macr. *Sat.*, 1. 15. 12–13; Scheid 1992: 119–21; Rüpke 1995: 212–14). Yet the attendance of the city population at the *Ludi saeculares* could not be taken for granted. Rather, the functionaries of civic religion organising this occasion, the *XVviri*, resorted to competitive means of attracting potential attendants. The reorganisation of the Augustan *ludi* with a view to the theological and political aims of the regime has often been discussed. But in terms of publicity also the *ludi* were instrumentalised to activate popular approval of the Augustan regime, to act as a means of integration (cf. Kloft 1996: esp. 66–8). Hence the stress on the singularity of the occasion: *quod tali spectaculo nemo iterum intererit, neque ultra quam semel ulli mor[talium*

eos spectare licet ludos] (lines 54, 56). The freeborn population was encouraged to come in great number (10, 21). Trombonists were employed for advertising (86–8). Fumigants for purification were promiscuously distributed in front of the temples of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus and Iuppiter Tonans on the Capitoline hill and that of Apollo on the Palatine (29–33). Certain religious and legal restrictions applying to the attendance of rites were temporarily abolished, thus enabling as many freeborn as possible to attend *propter religionem* (52–7, 110–14). Yet on this occasion the priestly organisers' success in instrumentalising such marketing strategies resulted in the partial failure to cater for the demands of the city population (Cancik 1996: 108–9): due to the need for the fumigants distributed in the city, the *XVviri* had to stipulate that no one be permitted to collect the fumigants more than once or to send their wives (64–6).

To the question of whether the political authorities' attempt to achieve their desired goal and to communicate their political message that underlay the ritual form was successful, the answer is usually in the affirmative. Such a perspective, which portrays ancient religious or political ritual as *représentation collective* of a communal identity (a view that owes much to the influence of neo-Durkheimianism and American cultural anthropology), would have to postulate *a priori* ideological congruity at the object level and exclude from its analysis dissenting voices. The citizens of the city-state share in the intersubjective symbolism of civic behaviour, civic secular or religious rituals of the festive calendar, or the religio-political rituals conducted by magistrates and priests. On this interpretation, religion has become an entirely public affair.

However, the orthopraxy of ritual behaviour can conceal the simple fact that individuals made different sense of the 'meaning' of ritual. By assuming that rituals and their exegeses constituted a communal Roman sense of identity or 'Romanness', some misrepresent the creation of what is after all contextual meaning, and therefore fluid, as fixed. I presume that the presupposed homology of civic and individual religious behaviour in the 'civic compromise', and its corollary, the denial of distinct private religious identities, has led to this conclusion.[40] A related and, in terms of communication theory, extraordinarily problematic assumption is that communication of goals through ritual can achieve more than an imperfect resemblance between the communicator's aims and the audience's thoughts. This assumption is particularly problematic because it must remain doubtful whether ritual is capable of representing a meaningful form of communication at all (Hardin 1983; Bourque, Chapter 2 in this volume). This is why other disciplines tend to abandon that assumption in favour of the idea that any communication is an inferential process, not a straightforward semiotic affair, and that all societal assumptions about religious 'meaning' follow abductive rather

than deductive reasoning, particularly when confronted with underdetermined ritual structures.[41] Put differently, a model which makes a wide range of religious behaviour secondary to the realm of civic religion must presuppose a high degree of congruity of communication about religious concerns. Yet how could such congruity exist when communication is by definition not a linear act but a messy affair with a high degree of irritation and only partial success?

In addition to these theoretical considerations, the demographic data ought to make us doubt any wide-reaching assumptions concerning a homogeneous political and religious community. In the second and first centuries, Rome had long outgrown the confines of a nuclear city-state. The reported census figures of 70/69 amount to nearly 1,000,000 Roman citizens who were registered, and those figures certainly do not represent the full number of Roman citizens at that time (Brunt 1987: 91–9, 376–84). Furthermore, an exceptionally large number of Roman citizens lived too far away from Rome to profit from the corn dole or participate in civic life. As a corollary, political *contiones* were held in front of a heterogeneous and ever-changing *plebs urbana*. In the rapidly expanding Roman empire, the idea that the city of Rome could provide a physical focus of civic identity would become increasingly unreal.[42]

Hence it seems unlikely that the urban space of Rome constituted a public forum for 'Romanness' or determined a Roman religious identity, when by the end of the late republic the *urbs* was not only a focus of political communication – in the form of *comitia*, *contiones* or *quaestiones* – but also a huge and wealthy centre of juridical and economic life, entertainment, recreation and religious activity for nearly one million inhabitants, differentiated in terms of ethnic origin, custom and occupation: during the final two centuries of the republic, the city of Rome turned into a metropolis whose demographic dimensions were exceptional by any standards.[43]

As a corollary, the exact constitution of Rome's population was notoriously hard to determine. This was so because high mortality among the urban population on the one hand and large-scale migration on the other (the latter ensuring the rapid growth of the *urbs* under the republic) entailed a constant change in the composition of the city populace. Both those who already inhabited the capital and those who migrated to Rome as a result of the socio-political upheavals in late republican Italy, or through internal migration between the urban centre and the surrounding hinterland, did so because the urban centre not only provided a huge market for various kinds of commodity, but also generated an ever-increasing demand for economic and cultural production as well as consumption. They were not primarily attracted by Rome as the political centre of the Roman empire.[44]

In the context of the city of Rome's demographic expansion and its cultural differentiation during the second and the first centuries, claims of 'Romanness' or any definite statements about a core of religious and cultural identity would have been constantly challenged by an influx of competing forms of communication. As a matter of fact, from the late third century the city of Rome provided a backdrop to a plethora of different communicative signs, both religious and secular, whose over-abundance in the urban space, which lacked efficient control mechanisms for scrutinising the truthfulness of oral or literary propositions, precluded the emergence of unchangeable orthodoxies.

Another aspect concerns the living conditions in the city of Rome. Here, a close relation can be established between the low degree of sanitation and high mortality (Scobie 1986). Recent studies have highlighted how the latter could be determined by seasonal influences, with mortality reaching a peak in the summer months (Scheidel 1994; 1996: 139–63; Shaw 1996). Malnutrition and its consequences for the living standards and the life expectancy of those living in Rome have been addressed (Garnsey 1999: 41–2, 43–61), while the mortality rates of the elite can be shown not to differ significantly from those of the lower strata of society (Scheidel 1999). Most importantly, scholars have started to consider the implications of these data for the life cycles and rhythms of the urban population: Brent Shaw's suggestion that the marriage cycle of Roman women corresponded with the demands of an agrarian economy may lead to a re-evaluation of many other cyclical, and thus pervasive, patterns of people's behaviour, thereby undermining the primacy that both the literary sources and ancient historians assign to the religio-political amalgam embodied in the 'civic compromise' (Shaw 1997). Of course, there is always a danger of letting modern demographic methodologies reinforce one's own cultural preconceptions regarding ancient attitudes towards living conditions and mortality rates (Laurence 1997: 11–14, for a critique of Scobie 1986). However, the ancient evidence permits us to find the ancient Romans themselves being concerned about health, distressed in the presence of death and inquisitive about the well-being of their friends and relatives.[45]

The case for a link between these vital concerns and religion is strong. For it is exactly the Roman gods' link with those mundane concerns for daily life that we encounter, for instance, in Cato's *De agricultura* or Plautine comedy;[46] or in the genre of votive dedications (see also de Cazenove, Chapter 5 in this volume). A remarkable votive relief (presumably dating to the early first century) shows a bearded dedicant, accompanied by the god Mercury, kneeling in distress before Aesculapius and the three nymphs.[47] Neither the relief's exact Roman provenance nor its dedicant's identity is known, but the votive clearly records recovery

from illness through divine power. Artistic representations and votive inscriptions, both in Greece and in Roman Italy, regularly linked the nymphs with the gods of healing and cures by water.[48] Similarly, inscriptions, cash offerings as well as terracottas – anatomical votives, statuettes and swaddled babies – indirectly prove the healing power of the god Aesculapius on the Isola Tiberina at Rome from the late third century.[49] This is not to suggest that our votive relief needs to have originated on the Tiber island, although it is tempting to link the iconography of Aesculapius and the nymphs (water) to that sanctuary. Rather, worth stressing is the religious atmosphere at Rome which created this private votive relief and a sanctuary that, in imitation of the architectural and cult traditions of the great Greek Asclepiadic shrines at Epidaurus and Cos, was a place of medical expertise to individuals, very likely to include incubation, and worship of the god's power to cure and save.[50] In fact, the modern distinction between these two domains is misleading, as the god's belief therapies, communicated to individuals through dreams and apparitions, would be regarded as no less rational than a professional medic's profane prescriptions.[51]

This emphasis on the existence of individual belief systems in Roman religion does not entail returning to a Schleiermacherian position. Rather, it instrumentalises the insight that we cannot dichotomise individual mental states and public religious behaviour, subjective religious experiences and their societal communication (Knoblauch 1998). Neither does this position entail the assumption that the Romans were fervent believers or that they had deep spiritual inclinations; we are all too often incapable of reconstructing their individual religious belief systems. However, the *a priori* exclusion of the category of private religious belief, of personal commitment, individual morality or spirituality is, as I have argued above, equally unwarranted, starting as it does from problematic methodological preconceptions. I suggest instead that we must abandon the traditional dualism of civic religion and private cult, of *sacra publica* and *sacra priuata*, and the subsequent subordination of one to the other, which has characterised the study of Roman republican religion for too long. In other words, I argue that neither was there a subordination of religious life in the city of Rome to the civic domain (the 'civic compromise') nor were the *sacra publica* of Rome's civic religion simply an elite creation which happened to be employed almost exclusively by and on behalf of the members of that very elite.[52]

Rather, we must try to reinvestigate the traces which individual private concerns, motivations and mental states have left in our sources, as they instrumentalised a wide range of religious options and made full use of the cultic infrastructure of the city of Rome. The constructed dualism of 'public' and 'private' is unsuited to provide a methodological framework

to support this reinvestigation. For it may be a truism that people's religious choices were influenced by societal expectations (a key argument in the attempt to define Roman religion as a public, societal affair) which were created not in a vacuum but at the intersection of public and private domains. However, only when taking into account the difficulty of communicating religion mentioned above do the limitations of the model of civic religion become apparent: the life at the intersection of the public and the private cannot have resulted in the homology of these domains; on the contrary, it led to the creation of innumerable religious hybrids of societal as well as sub-societal expectation and individual realisation. The concern for public and private health was no doubt institutionalised by what we tend to label 'the state religion', which introduced and fostered the cults of deities such as Aesculapius, Apollo or Salus in times of plagues (e.g. 180: Livy, 40. 37. 2). Yet we can fully appreciate these deities and their cults only when conceptualising to what extent the concerns for private well-being or individual *salus* in the daily lives of the inhabitants that surface in literary texts or votives adapted and further developed public religious forms.[53] The Capitoline Hill was the religious and political centre of the civic life at Rome. Yet Seneca can depict a situation where, as a matter of private religious routine practice, Iuppiter is looked after by a *nomenclator*, a *horae nuntius*, a *lector* and an *unctor*, while coiffeurs and maids serve Iuno and Minerva; where individuals ask the deities for their support and advice on legal quarrels; where an aged actor performs for the triad while women sit in the sanctuary and believe they are loved by Iuppiter.[54] Religious hybrids such as these resulted from the instrumentalisation of the public domain by private concerns; students of Roman religion shun them as marginal to their systematisations, yet hybrids such as these may in fact have been the rule in the polytheistic society of late republican Rome.

Mention of private religious choices introduces the issue of their practical differentiation in the religious topography of late republican Rome. It would be disproportionate to the realities of financing temples and cults in the city of Rome to believe that their maintenance ever relied solely on the civic domain or on elite euergetism. Cicero, for instance, while implying that the Roman custom of collecting *stipes* was wide-spread, accepted it for the cult of the Mater Magna yet wanted to have such practices banned in the case of other cults; he not only believed the collection of money to be reflective of superstition but also thought that it was economically detrimental.[55] More important than such occasional collecting of *stipes* was the regular income a temple received. The late republican statute of the temple at Furfo made detailed provisions regarding the use to which its financial property should be put, thereby guarding itself against private

and civic misappropriation of what the statute's authors expected to be a significant amount of money. With the same protectionist intention, the late republican *Lex Ursonensis* ruled that a *stips* given to a temple had to be used for that temple and its cult only.[56] The case of the refurbishment of the temple of Aesculapius on the Isola Tiberina in the first century, financed entirely from *stipes*, shows that such *stipes*, comprising cash donations, votive offerings and fees, could be considerable.[57] The flourishing of the healing cult associated with Aesculapius on the Isola Tiberina in the second and first centuries also meant that a large number of worshippers brought massive financial income, which remained the property of the temple.

A temple like the shrine of Clitumnus near Spoletum, administered by the nearby community of Hispellum, prospered mainly due to its wealthy urban clientele, as the existence of *sacella*, *stipes*, inscriptions and material dedications suggests.[58] Presumably it was the temple's function as an oracular shrine that attracted urban worshippers. Rome itself never possessed a central cultic site where priests used sortition to divine the gods' will, but the practice was well known there and presumably widespread.[59] 'Traditional' Roman temples could also rely on income through private votive dedications: *togae praetextae et undulatae* literally covered the golden cult statue of Fortuna in the Forum Boarium, while during the *rites de passage* connected with someone's birth or reaching adolescence, or on the occasion of a person's death, the sacred precincts of Iuno Lucina, Iuventas and Libitina could expect to receive *stipes* that were deposited in the temple treasuries.[60] The great Italo-Roman shrines, such as the temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus or the sanctuaries at Tibur, Praeneste and Nemi, were renowned for their wealth in land, material dedications and money (e.g. App. *BC*, 5. 24. 97, 5. 27. 106; Bodei Giglioni 1977: 51–4; Blagg 1986: 214–18).

In fact, archaeological finds throughout republican Latium show votives and *stipes* at the shrines of a bewilderingly wide range of deities (Bouma 1996: III). The range, and also the standardisation, of the votive repertoire suggest that the functions that worshippers wished to ascribe to individual deities would often overlap with those of other deities and their cults. This makes structuring the Roman pantheon in terms of distinct functions very difficult indeed: worshippers would, for instance, be able to turn to a large number of deities when seeking health (de Cazenove, Chapter 5 in this volume); at the same time, the very lack of one divinity's monopoly, and the absence of any general monopolisation, must have created competition regarding the services on offer.[61] In this respect, it is probably fair to say that many of these cults were nothing but compatible variants on a standard religious culture that offered broadly similar services. In some cases, Roman temples may even have accommodated

their own archives and served as deposits – their function as places of consultation must have accorded them a considerable influence beyond a purely religious function (Beard 1998: 93–9). Moreover, *aedes publicae* charged individuals for the use of the temple's infrastructure. Worshippers had to pay for what was on offer, in terms of both temple personnel and the paraphernalia required for daily cult practice, which ranged from the supply of sacrificial animals to the provision of warm water. In the words of their Christian critics, the pagan gods were *uenales* – 'marketable' and 'venal'.[62]

This decentralised system of cultic and possibly financial as well as administrative responsibilities created a 'market' of small religio-economic entities semi-detached from, rather than conceptually em-bedded in, the civic system. The market-place metaphor referred to here has been used with regard to the differentiation of religious choices from the early second century and the alleged evolution from a state monopoly on religious identities to their fragmentation in the late republic;[63] it has been employed to label the religious atmosphere of the Roman empire, where different cults and religions were in competition for adherents to their respective cause. Whether the metaphor of the market-place is applicable to the religious realities of later antiquity, however, remains to be seen;[64] and whether the metaphor should at all be used within the context of the *a priori* dualism of embeddedness and differentiation is doubtful. My employing the market place model does not intend to postulate any dualism of that kind. I wish to describe the scenario outlined before in terms of a religious economy where there existed a market of customers and a range of cults and temples to serve that market. Whereas others may use the metaphor of the market place with reference to the emergence of exclusive commitments, it is here used with regard to a situation of non-exclusivity which takes for granted multiple religious involvements and the employment of a wide range of services offered by temples and cults in a standard polytheistic context. This scenario describes a provider/consumer behaviour which is not unlike that found in non-religious economies, ancient and modern, where dualistic, and thus exclusive, choices as postulated by models of 'civic religion' are an exception rather than the rule.[65] In short, I envisage a deregulated religious pluralism where worshippers with variable commitments and hetero-geneous needs instrumentalise a plurality of decentralised and non-exclusive providers of material as well as immaterial commodities.

The prosperity of these religio-economic entities was contingent upon the attraction of a particular cult or divinity to worshippers, and depended on the continuous economic support of the temple's wealthy urban clien-tele, whose contributions sustained the sanctuary. For the later second and first centuries, this dependence is documented by the demise of those

extra-urban sanctuaries of Italy that failed to achieve integration into the framework of a local *pagus* or to come under the patronage of the urban elites, once urbanisation and migration transformed the Italian landscape. But the same kind of dependence applied in the city of Rome. Following Augustus's dedication of the temple of Iuppiter Tonans in the vicinity of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, the old Iuppiter, appearing to the Princeps in a dream, complained that competition with the new cult decreased his own revenues; as a result, the imperial patronage of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus immediately reintensified. In his temple at Pompeii, the old god was less fortunate, since the cult statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus was replaced by one of Iuppiter Tonans and deposited in the temple *fauisae* (Suet. *Aug.*, 91. 2; Martin 1988: 255).

The market model allows us to conceptualise both the competition between different religious choices, cults and gods and the disappearance of some of these choices as natural processes in a self-regulating system. Elite laments about the demise of traditional gods and their cults in the late republic must be seen in this context of the religious system's constant optimisation in times of changing fashions (e.g. Varro *RD*, frg. 2a Cardauns; *LL*, 6.19; North 1976: 11–12). Cicero's complaints about the desuetude into which the *auspicia priuata* apparently had fallen by the mid-first century should not be taken as a symptom of the supposed decline of religious practice (Cic. *Div.*, 1. 27–8, 2. 73–4; *N.D.*, 2. 9; Dumézil 1970: 618–20). The appearance of more expedient methods of divination meant that augury was in danger of losing out to the competitive services offered by professional *haruspices*, astrologers or *harioli*.[66]

Both Hartung's and Wissowa's model of *Staatsreligion* and the model of civic religion are based on the notion of religious centralisation; hence their inability to account for the decentralised processes of choice, fashion and competition between individual Roman deities or their cults and temples. Using the metaphor of the market place, I have tried to find a place for these religious developments, which do not seem, as often assumed, a phenomenon of the imperial age but appear in the late republican material record too. My account is intended to present a picture of religious pluralism in late republican Rome which any focus on the 'civic compromise' must, for the reasons outlined above, marginalise. Only the twofold strategy of deconstructing and replacing the traditional dichotomies enables us to visualise the religious plurality at Rome in the late republic as an historical instance of religious pluralism and to reconstrue a more realistic image of Roman republican religion.

10

WORSHIPPING MATER MATUTA:
ritual and context

Christopher Smith

INTRODUCTION

THIS LAST CHAPTER IS not intended as a conclusion, since much of the
purpose of the book is an attempt to suggest new readings, new in-
determinacies in our approaches to Roman religion. It runs against the
grain of the other chapters to attempt a false sense of closure. Instead, this
chapter focuses on one cult, that of Mater Matuta, and summarises the
archaeological evidence from Satricum and Rome before endeavouring
to open up some wider issues concerning the way in which polytheism
works, and the relation of the literary accounts of Mater Matuta to cult and
ritual.

Many of the concerns of previous chapters are echoed or reflected here,
though I have permitted myself the liberty of pursuing the theme into the
imperial period, partly as a reminder of the artificiality of the periodisation
within which the volume works. Above all, however, I want to reflect
upon two themes which have characterised the volume: evidence and
interpretation. The two are inseparable, of course, but I also want to
suggest that at times they are identical. The evidence we have for Roman
religion is often ancient interpretation – indeed Roman religion some-
times seems as if it *is* interpretation, not a transcendent reality which we
struggle to grasp or recreate, but a series of ancient readings of reality of
the world. The question posed by this formulation of how to respond to a
religion that is partly constituted by interpretation is not a new one but
remains a fundamental one, which this volume can only begin to answer.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE
FROM SATRICUM

The temple of Mater Matuta dominated the site of Satricum about sixty
km south of Rome.[1] The identity of the temple's dedicatee is made
reasonably certain by the combination of literary testimony in Livy
(6. 27. 8, 6. 33. 5, 28. 1. 2) and an inscription convincingly restored as a

dedication to the deity. The material record does not contradict the identification.

In terms of archaeological finds, we have at Satricum both the various phases of the temple and three major votive deposits. The chronology is deeply disputed, but for our purposes here, we may pass briefly over this difficult area. The first temple was preceded by a smaller building, sometimes called the *sacellum* or *oikos*; the first votive deposit certainly began before the first temple, and may have continued after its construction, which is placed either early or late in the sixth century. There was a second temple phase which appears to have replaced the first temple after its destruction, towards the end of the sixth or beginning of the fifth century; this temple is thought either to have been destroyed early in the fifth century or to have been still standing when the city was sacked in 207 BC.[2] The second votive deposit is dated to the fifth century; the third votive deposit to the fourth and third centuries. The deposits are near the temple, and have been exhaustively examined by Bouma (1996), who identifies many separate deposits within the second and third of the series, representing individual moments of ritual deposition.

I wish to focus here on the two major types of evidence from the temple area, the figurative decoration on the roof and the material in the votive deposits.[3] The first votive deposit contains material spanning a long period, and is comparable to other deposits from the archaic period, for instance at Rome, as well as with the material found in contemporary graves at Satricum and elsewhere.

Pottery is the predominant offering, both full sized and miniaturised, and can be divided into that relating to eating and drinking, and that connected with the individual – *aryballoi, alabastra, lekythoi, pyxides* and so forth. The former class is always in locally made impasto; the latter increasingly only in imported pottery (Corinthian, Laconian, Attic black- and red-figure ware, Italo-Geometric, Etrusco-Corinthian and bucchero). We also find significant quantities of offerings relating to weaving, in the form of spools and spindle whorls; bronze jewellery, some iron weaponry (interestingly, apparently never both in the same offering); bronze cast and sheet figurines; and some small finds of amber, bone, glass faience, silver and gold.

Votive Deposit II is far better known, thanks to Bouma's patient excavation and exhaustive catalogue of over 2,000 objects; the third votive deposit awaits final publication. Nevertheless it appears that one can trace certain continuities and ruptures in the record. Functional pottery, concerned with eating and drinking, continues throughout, but the deposition of items concerned with personal care, and metal apart from the sheet figurines, appears to tail off in the sixth century, and although there are some examples in the fifth and fourth centuries, they are fewer in number.

In Votive Deposit II we begin to see the dedication of terracotta statuettes, largely of women nursing children; and in Votive Deposit III we find the presence of anatomical votives. Finally, sheep, cattle and pigs are offered throughout, as attested by faunal remains. Bouma (1996: I, 233–4) has suggested that in some cases a full *suouetaurilia* of pig, sheep and cattle may have been offered. These three animals predominate, but there are also individual offerings of dog, fox, deer, hare and turtle (Bouma 1996: I, 419–81).

The temple roof decoration appears to have five phases. The first is non-figurative and the last too fragmentary to reconstruct with certainty, but the second seems to have a representation of Heracles with Athena, the third represents the story of Perseus and Medusa, and the fourth has an elaborate Amazonomachy and Gigantomachy, with Heracles and Athena appearing in both (Lulof 1997).

The evidence from Satricum is important and exciting; we have more information for this site than for most in Latium, and over a longer period (Smith 1999). Bouma's excavations and the painstaking reinterpretation of finds from the turn of the century allow us to build up a picture of the cult, but they also offer a series of contrasts and comparisons with the evidence from Rome, to which we now turn.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FROM ROME

The evidence for the cult of Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium at Rome is similar in many ways to that at Satricum, though some of the similarities reflect the wide-spread model of the development of Latin religious sites.[4] A seventh-century votive deposit and associated huts were replaced by a temple in the mid-sixth century; a slightly larger temple was constructed after a fire towards the end of the same century. Quite why and when this cult became so intimately connected with Fortuna, who shared the site and the festival day, is unclear. The sources attribute both to Servius Tullius, and Coarelli argues powerfully for the pairing having genuinely archaic origins, though Fortuna does not appear on the old *feriale* calendar. A temple to Mater Matuta is attributed to Camillus in 395 BC, and we know that a double temple was reconstructed after a fire in 213 BC. There are various imperial phases before the development of the church of S. Omobono in the sixth century AD.

The votive deposit is particularly important for our purposes, since it reveals so many similarities with the Satricum evidence, though unfortunately the recovered deposits do not continue into later periods in the same quantity as at the Latin site. To summarise, the deposit contains a very similar range of imported pottery, miniaturised local pottery (including representations of sacrificial cakes), jewellery and some weapons,

statuettes and sheet bronze figurines, and spinning equipment. The animal remains included all the animals found at Satricum, though without the full *suouetaurilia* deposits that Bouma identifed at Satricum. The majority of the animals were very young, suggesting sacrifices in the March/April period, before the Matralia festival of 11 June; some were gravid, carrying young when sacrificed.

To some extent, of course, we have to acknowledge that this range of cult activity was probably common to a variety of other cults as well (see Bendlin, Chapter 9 in this volume). Votive deposits in the archaic period are generally similar to each other and to the goods deposited in contemporary burials, and we can seldom be sure that what we have recovered represents the whole of a deposit, so that minor differences may be due to the circumstances of recovery. At the same time, the sheet bronze figures and the presence of some representations of mother and child even in a relatively early deposit are significant indicators.

The sixth-century terracotta decoration of the temple has some similarities with Satricum too, in particular the striking statue of Heracles and Athena. There may also be some form of rape scene, which Coarelli (1988: 226–30) suggested might refer to Eos' seizure of Kephalos, which would fit with an identification of Mater Matuta with a goddess of dawn. The myth was illustrated at Cerveteri from the same period, but our evidence – one tiny terracota fragment – is too exiguous to permit further speculation.

At Rome we have details of the cult practices, which are of course missing for the Latin site, though they are from a much later date. Two rites are associated with Mater Matuta; in the first, a slave girl (normally forbidden to enter the temple) is brought in and then driven out with rods by women who have been married once only (*univirae*), who also offer special rustic cakes, representations of which we have seen in the archaeological record (Plut. *Camillus*, 5.2; *Quaest. Rom.*, 16; Ovid *F.*, 6. 551–8); in the second the same women present their nieces and nephews and pray for them (Plut. *Camillus*, 5. 2; *Quaest. Rom.*, 17; *Mor.* 492D; Ovid *F.*, 6. 559–61).[5] For all the speculation which Bouma (1996: 251–62) and Boëls-Janssen (1993: 341–53) report, the rites remain mysterious, but it seems reasonable to see aspects of fertility and the preservation of young children as part of the cult at Rome. The evidence of the sacrifice of young animals and the dedication of objects connected with food and weaving, the domestic tasks of the *matrona*, fit with this assumption, though the sacrifices of wild animals and the presence of weaponry suggest that it would be wrong to identify a single core element to the exclusion of all else. Obviously aspects of the cult and the myth surrounding it may have developed over time, but some of the essentials seem to have been present from the archaic period. Putting this evidence together with that from

Satricum allows us to build a more nuanced account of the common aspects of Mater Matuta, and to develop models for understanding such a complex cult.

MATER MATUTA IN A POLYTHEISTIC CONTEXT

Recent work by Champeaux (1982) and Boëls-Janssen (1993) has focused attention on the interconnections between the various female deities in Latium in the archaic and republican period. Taken in the wider context of these deities and rituals, the cult of Mater Matuta becomes contextualised in a system which will be taken here as synecdochic for the polytheistic religion of Rome.

That Mater Matuta shared important characteristics with other deities is indicated by the way that her temple at Rome was paired, possibly from a very early date, with the temple of Fortuna.[6] This religious association requires explanation, but also imposes a sense of aggregation of meaning from antiquity. The model here proposed is taken from literary criticism, that of the intertext.

Hinds (1998) has explored the tension within current approaches to Latin literature between those who focus on authorial allusion, and those who emphasise the reader's ability to perceive and appreciate 'accidental confluence' and the use of *topos*, and to find his or her reading enhanced. As Hinds puts it (1998: 48), 'The intertextualist critic reacts to the *impasse* on the poet's intention by de-emphasising the irretrievable moment of authorial production in favour of a more democratic stress upon plural moments of readerly consumption – on the grounds that, in practice, meaning is always constructed at the point of consumption.'

This pattern of tension can also be found in the interpretation of religion, though modified. There is of course no single author of an ancient religion, though it is interesting that Lycurgus at Sparta, Numa at Rome and similar religious founder figures had imposed upon them precisely this 'authorial' authority. Modern accounts of religion, however, which stress functional, or political, or self-promoting intentions to (for instance) temple dedicators, necessarily do veer towards the attribution of an author. Hence, Curti (Chapter 6 in this volume), by making the sequence of temple foundations on the Quirinal part of a deliberate plebeian appropriation of an area of Rome, makes a claim for a wide authorial intent, as does Wiseman (Chapter 8 in this volume) in discussing the intervention of Sulla in the games of Hercules. One can make the same argument about those who refurbish temples which are connected in some ways to their own family history, or if for example we read the history of the *Area Sacra di Largo Argentina* as an extension of political com-

petition.[7] In this context, ultimately, the massive intervention of Augustus into religion becomes a kind of culmination of authorial intentionality – the deliberate construction of a network of temples, imagery and religious practices that reflect on the glory of the Julii and the *pietas* of the emperor.

Such an interpretation is deeply problematic, however, and it is interesting to note that Beard et al. in their now standard account of Roman religion (1998) work hard to limit reference to the authorial Augustus, often eliding the Augustan period with the imperial period, or making the Augustan Age the actor and not Augustus himself. Whilst the contribution of Augustus to the religious reformation of Rome is massive and undeniable, as we shall note below, it is not the whole story. Religion must have worshippers or consumers to survive. For Bendlin (Chapter 9 in this volume), the market place is a perfect analogy for religious activity.

In the republican period, what must make an author-centred view of religious practice untenable as the end of interpretation is the long duration of temples and cults after their foundation, when any specific 'allusion' is bound to be overlain with subsequent 'accidental confluences'. Hinds properly refuses to insist on either model as correct in a literary context, and in the context of religion this constructive ambivalence is also valid. As Hinds puts it, the 'control exercised by the alluding poet can be destabilized ... by the circumstances of reception' (1998: 143); so tradition and ritualisation positively destabilise the persistence of intention at the point of dedication of a temple, for instance, allowing for the negotiation of additional meanings. Moreover, as each part of the whole of Roman religion evolves and develops, with the addition of new temples, new gods, new historical circumstances, the experience of part and of whole must change and evolve, as it must also do through the transformation of any individual, most basically from girl to woman, boy to man.

Neither Champeaux nor Boëls-Janssen in their largely synchronic works can deal fully with this element of change and flux, not least because both works have the merit of taking into account the larger Latin context, and we are as yet unclear as to the modalities of interpenetration of Latin and Roman religion in the republic. In a sense their volumes represent, as far as possible from this distance, the ideal worshipper, aware both of allusion and of intertext, and in their entirety; no individual could experience all these ramifications. That, however, does not disqualify the existence of these relationships, or their accessibility to some individuals at some points in time. If, as Hinds comments (allusively) on allusive discourse, 'one can never step into the same river twice' (1998: 47), then it is also true that one can never have the same religious experience twice. The infinite play of interpretation is most problematic as a concept if it is read as the equal validity of all interpret-

ation, and the equal accessibility of all interpretation to all readers at all times.

The cult of Mater Matuta can be variously contextualised. Boëls-Janssen discusses women's religious life from two angles: the rituals and ceremonies of private life – virginity, menarche, the marriage ceremony and the state of marriage, birth and death – and those of public cult. Aspects of fertility and childbirth on the one hand and public security on the other combine in the worship by women, and the worship of female deities, in a concern for guaranteeing the future of the civic community (Boëls-Janssen 1993: 469–77). In some cults the various aspects were or became inseparable. I wish to focus briefly on the Matronalia festival to give an indication of the sort of analysis that I am pursuing here.

The ancient rite of the Matronalia on the first of March (the beginning of the archaic year) is interpreted by Boëls-Janssen (1993: 309–19) as in essence a private ceremony for the celebration of marriage, when a husband gives presents to his wife, and a wife proclaims the praises of her husband, appropriately enough taking place as a new year starts. The festival became associated with the cult of Juno Lucina, whose temple was dedicated by the *matronae* of Rome, allegedly in a year, 375 BC, in which no magistrates were elected.[8] Thereafter, through the associations of Juno Lucina, the festival took on connotations as a celebration of childbirth.

Horace makes full ironic use of both aspects in his *Odes* 3. 8, in which he presents Maecenas as being astonished at the bachelor poet apparently celebrating the festival of the Matronalia. Horace is in fact celebrating the new year, and the anniversary of his escape from a falling tree which had almost killed him (cf. *Odes* 2. 17). The poem at a personal level celebrates not birth but salvation, and at a civic level not marriage but peace in the empire.

Finally, Ovid in the *Fasti* (3. 167–258) asks Mars, whose month has just begun, why he shares this day with Juno Lucina. A variety of reasons is given, among them the anniversary of the day when the Sabine women stood between their Roman husbands and their Sabine relations and brokered peace; a celebration of Ilia's conception of Romulus and Remus; the fruitfulness of spring; the fact that childbirth requires fighting and praying (*militiam uotaque partus habet*); and the love which Juno as Mars's mother has for brides and mothers.[9] This example shows the way that an associative reading of the cult is possible in literature, and, I would argue, in worship too.

This minor case study returns us to several aspects of our theme. First, there is a range of shared customs and associations across the female deities of central Italy. The Matronalia has two customs in addition to those mentioned above; men dressing as women, and *matronae* serving

meals for slaves. The element of cross-dressing is found also in the cult of Fortuna, where the cult statue at Rome, S. Omobono, is covered in male clothes.[10] The preparation of a meal for slaves is the antithesis of the way the *matronae* chase a slave from the temple in the Matralia. Moreover, in terms of the cycle of the year, the Matronalia takes place at the beginning of a new year, the Matralia near the summer solstice. Finally, Juno Lucina is usually regarded as the deity closest to the Etruscan goddess Uni, celebrated at Pyrgi for instance, and also associated in the *interpretatio graeca* with Eilythuia (goddess of childbirth) and Leucothoe (goddess of dawn). The Pyrgi complex, as Coarelli showed (1988), is parallel in many ways to the S. Omobono complex with its association of Fortuna and Mater Matuta. Outside Rome, for instance at Praeneste, Fortuna is clearly a *kourotrophos* (child-nurturing) deity, and in this way part of the class of deities that includes Mater Matuta and Juno Lucina. Mater Matuta's affinities with dawn take us back to Pyrgi, and the link with Uni/Juno Lucina, and Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.*1. 12. 28) and Ovid (below) identify Mater Matuta with Ino and Leucothoe.

Even greater depth can be added to our interpretation through a further analysis of the specific relationship between Mater Matuta and Fortuna at Rome. Boëls-Janssen sees Mater Matuta as a protector of nursing mothers, and a deity of healing, which fits well with the anatomical votives at Satricum, and the *kourotrophos* statuettes. The etymological connection with *matutinus* 'of the dawn' and the bronze cast figurines with the halo effect at Satricum, which are taken similarly to refer to the dawn, are another side of the same deity. There is no clear space therefore for Fortuna to take her role as a goddess of the rearing of children. However, Fortuna is directly related to the upbringing of one particular child, Servius Tullius, whose miraculous birth and rise to the kingship at Rome are related by the ancient sources to his patronage of the cult of Fortuna at S. Omobono (Coarelli 1988: 301–28; Cornell 1995: 130–41). As mentioned above, this cult has the unusual feature that the statue wears a *toga undulata et praetexta*. From Varro (*ap.* Non. p278L) we learn that this was a regal toga, and Boëls-Janssen suggests that Mater Matuta preserves children and their mothers through the earliest days until they come under the protection of Fortuna as political beings. Thus both deities protect the future of the city in different ways.

One last connection deserves mention, and that is the proximity of the S. Omobono complex to the Porta Carmentalis, and presumably the shrine of Carmenta.[11] If Coarelli was right to see the Porta Carmentalis as part of the route of the triumph, and thus to make the crowning procession of a victorious general's career pass near the temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta, then we might also reflect on the presence of the *lapis Satricanus* with its military concerns in the temple of Mater Matuta (Torelli 1997:

172–3). The collocation would be parallel to the calendrical placing of the festival of Juno Lucina on the first of March, Mars' day, as Ovid indicates. The reuse of part of the terracotta roof of the first temple in the road leading to the temple gains also in significance if this was a triumphal route, again similar to the Via Sacra.

Here we must return to the subject of the terracotta roof decoration at Satricum. The presence of Heracles and Athena at S. Omobono and at Satricum is striking and hard to dissociate from connotations of victory and triumph (Lulof 1997; Torelli 1997). Both schemes appear to have an element of violence, particularly sexual violence. The processional scenes at S. Omobono, which appear to be from a mould also used at Veii and Velletri, would seem to fit into ideas of divine and royal triumph – there is perhaps a constructive ambiguity about the level at which they operate.[12]

If these scenes in some sense represent the triumph of good over evil, there must be an enemy, and the identity of the enemy is much disputed, with the decoration being seen either as Roman propaganda against the Volscians, or as anti-Roman propaganda stemming from a Campanian-centred group.[13] There are other ways of constructing the meanings of these schemes, however, that are less specific to particular conflicts and particular opponents. Although the decoration was often short-lived, due to the recurrent fires that destroyed so many archaic temples, the persistence of the theme of a struggle between a hero and a symbol of destruction, carried through into the cataclysmic conflict between gods and Giants or Amazons, suggests that at some level the decoration expressed themes that transcended the purely contingent circumstances of their creation.

A recent and quite brilliant account of the iconography of the ciste from Praeneste in the fourth to second centuries BC offers a completely fresh way into the iconography of temple decoration. Maurizio Menichetti (1995) has shown the way in which the ciste offer reflections both of the male world of valour, with a particularly strong reference to a Hercules figure, and to a female world of rites of passage culminating in marriage. Acts of sexual violence abound here too, as well as military images; but on a single cista one can move also into realms of sport, and female beautification or auguries of marriage. Menichetti shows a world in which the age group is a crucial structuring factor; but overall these moments of crisis, *rite de passage* and ritualised violence are intended to contribute to a civic outcome, in which the community achieves good order and perpetuation. Interestingly, the ciste show quite clearly that this is not simply a male world; in fact it makes no sense without the balancing world of women.

If we turn from the ciste back to the general world of women's religion, and to the specific case of Mater Matuta, we can see the significance

of Menichetti's analysis. Boëls-Janssen has shown the rich texture of women's religion on a private and a state basis. Every moment of a woman's life was marked in some way, and whole areas of experience were ritualised, differentiated and celebrated. In addition, women's worship cannot be dissociated from issues more usually associated with men and the state – war, triumph, political leadership and so forth. At Rome, the collocation of the Porta Carmentalis/Triumphalis near the twin temples of Mater Matuta and Fortuna, representing aspects of both individual and communal success in a part of Rome dominated by the figure of Hercules, who is himself represented as escorted by his mentor and protector goddess, sets off an almost endless series of echoes and allusions.

At Satricum, the temple of the great female deity of Mater Matuta also houses a dedication by the *suodales* of a prominent figure to Mars, god of war. The *suodales* might be a sort of age group or band of soldiers. Versnel has suggested that they should also be identified as *iunii*, young men, and develops the theme of the instruction of the young under a *magister*.[14] Here the association between Mater Matuta and Mars makes sense as a pair of rites of passage – the baby across the dangerous first days of life; the boy across the difficult and testing transition into adulthood – precisely the same pairing which Boëls-Janssen sees between Mater Matuta and Fortuna, with the military aspect enhanced by the nearby Porta Carmentalis.

This deep and rich set of associations makes it hard to push a single interpretation of the terracotta decoration of the temples as reflecting pro- or anti-Roman sentiment. The enemy must be constructed within the terms of the kinds of virtue that are being celebrated at all levels of the ritual act. I would contend that the temples may well make tension and conflict such a key theme on the outside because harmony and community are so important inside.[15]

Threats to the community are manifold, and do not simply reside in military enemies. Illness and agricultural failure also threaten it (see Bendlin, Chapter 9 in this volume). Bouma (1996: I, 267–75) argued that the worship at Satricum moved from an emphasis on 'nature' to one on 'society', and Torelli (1997) stressed the position of the Matralia festival within the wider, agriculturally driven archaic calendar, adding that it became increasingly involved in the elaboration of military and indeed regal success. In fact, as both note, the distinctions are impossible to maintain.

Similarly, concern with the individual and concern with the community, a polarity which dominates the cult of Mater Matuta and indeed many of the other female deities of Latium, are indissociable. Juno, for instance, is located on the Capitoline as a poliadic deity, but as Juno Lucina brings

children into light in birth. The Satricum temple mediates this tension by representing the hero who saves the community, and we can see very similar imagery on the Praenestine ciste which celebrate the fallen warrior or the beautiful wife, and bring within touching distance the personal with the divine, individuals and gods together.

The worship of Mater Matuta is saturated in meaning, as are the rites connected with her worship, and the buildings which housed that worship. This does not mean, of course, as we said at the outset, that all this meaning was available to all worshippers at all times, though it is equally fallacious to try to order these different aspects into some sort of chronological evolution.[16] In a sense we have a very complex set of associations around a very simple cluster of key concerns. What is interesting is precisely that complexity, the deep and rich texture that I spoke of above. I would argue that this was the product of continuing active engagement by worshippers as well as priests in the ritualisation of the central aspects of personal and communal life in a Latin city. The multiplicity of interpretations and allusions is potentially deeply empowering, and reacts against the apparent function of religion within and for the state. There may be consent and complicity, but there is unlikely to be consensus. In the following section, we turn to literary references to Mater Matuta, in order to trace further aspects of the presentation of the deity.

LITERATURE AND MATER MATUTA

Denis Feeney's superb recent account of the centrality of Roman literature within the definitions and transformations of religion is a timely counterpoint to the work of this volume. Feeney undermines traditional accounts of Roman religion which displaced belief, and focused on a wholly manipulated civic religion, or which sought for a genuine primitive element which had been overlain by subsequent decadent development (see also Bendlin, Chapter 9 in this volume). Feeney emphasises multiplicity of interpretation, and goes further than Beard et al. by insisting that this multiplicity is endemic to polytheistic ritual, and not a product of development, that 'exegesis and interpretative dialogue help constitute Roman religious practice, rather than being something extraneous or added on' (Feeney 1998: 38).[17] With this in mind, I wish to turn to the presence of Mater Matuta in Latin literature – and one absence – before attempting in my conclusion to indicate how this literary production and reception might be in part a model for and in part an outcome of Roman religious thinking.

Lucretius is the first Roman writer to mention Mater Matuta:[18]

> tempore item certo roseam Matuta per oras
> aetheris auroram differt et lumina pandit,

aut quia sol idem, sub terras ille reuertens,
anticipat caelum radiis accendere temptans,
aut quia conueniunt ignes et semina multa
confluere ardoris consuerunt tempore certo,
quae faciunt solis noua semper lumina gigni;
quod genus Idaeis fama est a montibus altis
dispersos ignis orienti lumine cerni,
inde coire globum quasi in unum et conficere orbem.
nec tamen illud in his rebus mirabile debet
esse, quod haec ignis tam certo tempore possunt
semina confluere et solis reparare nitorem.
multa uidemus enim, certo quae tempore fiunt
ominibus in rebus. florescunt tempore certo
arbusta et certo dimittunt tempore florem.
nec minus in certo dentis cadere imperat aetas
tempore et impubem molli pubescere ueste
et pariter mollem malis demittere barbam.
fulmina postremo nix imbres nubila uenti
non nimis incertis fiunt in partibus anni.
namque ubi sic fuerunt causarum exordia prima
atque ita res mundi cecidere ab origine prima,
conseque quoque iam redeunt ex ordine certo.

(Lucretius 5. 656–79)

(Likewise at a fixed time Matuta sends abroad the rosy dawn through the coasts of heaven, and spreads the light, either because the same sun, returning again beneath the earth, seizes the sky in advance with his rays, fain to kindle it, or because the fires come together and many seeds of heat are wont to stream together at a fixed time, which each day cause the light of a new sun to come to birth. Even so story tells that from the high mountains of Ida scattered fires are seen as the light rises, and then they gather as if into a single ball, and make up the orb. Nor again ought this to be a cause of wonder herein, that these seeds of fire can stream together at so fixed a time and renew the brightness of the sun. For we see many events, which come to pass at a fixed time in all things. Trees blossom at a fixed time, and at a fixed time lose their flower. Even so at a fixed time age bids the teeth fall, and the beardless youth grow hairy with soft down and let a soft beard flow alike from either cheek. Lastly, thunder, snow, rains, clouds, winds come to pass at seasons of the year more or less fixed. For since the first-beginnings of causes were ever thus and things have so fallen out from the first outset of the world, one thing after another they come round even now in the fixed order. (Bailey's translation))

Book 5 of Lucretius' poem might be thought of as being all about birth, growth and decay; the subject is the creation of the world, and of humanity in the world, and of the mortality of the world and the decay of humankind

under the baneful influences of civilisation. The presence of Matuta in this discussion of the dawn thus inevitably calls to mind other aspects of this deity. The depth of reference is perhaps even greater than that, however. Whether Matuta was always a deity of dawn, or gained those associations through the assimilation to a Greek deity, is unanswerable, but Lucretius seems to allude to the Greek world when he commences the passage with a reference to the Homeric way of opening a new day,[19] and proceeds later to talk about events at Mount Ida in Troy (one home of Cybele or the Magna Mater). Birth is not far from Lucretius' mind either; in one explanation, the sun seizes the sky, in another the seeds of fire flow together, and line 662 ends with the climactic *gigni* – the daily rebirth of the sun.

As we have seen, however, the Matralia is not just a birth ceremony but a ceremony for the early days of a child's life, thus taking the child onto the path of growth and development, and it is notable that Lucretius develops this passage not with the continuation of a concern with the moment of birth, but with the cycle of life, beginning with plants that grow and die, and then moving to the growth of a boy from teething to puberty; and finally to the cycle of the seasons, and of all things. So every moment of birth becomes part of this great cycle of life, and when we think of the way that Matuta acts as a goddess of dawn, but also as a goddess of fertility and of growth, we can see that Lucretius can be read as meditating on the widest possible significance of this particular deity as standing for the eternal circle of existence – a truly transformative reading of the hackneyed Homeric line 'when rosy-fingered Dawn arose anew'.

Ovid's account of 11 June (*F.*, 6. 473–648) is a complex pattern of allusion and cross-reference, which has been well explored by Herbert-Brown (1994: 145–56).[20] The whole passage is held together by the figure of Servius Tullius; he founds the temple of Mater Matuta, and it is his statue in the temple of Fortuna, buried under togas. Ovid equates Mater Matuta with the Theban aunt and wetnurse of Dionysus, Ino, who on arrival in Italy, fleeing from the vengeful Juno, becomes a divinity of the sea (Leucothoe in Greek), and her son Melicertes becomes the god of harbours (Palaemon/Portunus).[21] The toasted cakes which she makes when she arrives at the house of Carmenta explain the cakes still offered;[22] the exclusion of slaves is explained by the gossipping of a slave to Ino's husband; the importance of the aunt-nephew/niece relationship is explained partly by Ino's role in trying to bring up Dionysus, and also by Ovid's sad phrase *ipsa parum felix uisa fuisse parens* – Ino proved a hapless mother.

From the woman who tries to do good to the woman who personified evil; in his account of Fortuna and the mysteriously draped statue of Servius, Ovid passes swiftly over the explanations that Fortuna hid the features of the man she had loved for shame, or that the people had

covered over his features after his death to avoid being reminded of their grief, and focuses on the dreadful tale of Tullia, who drove over her father's body after assisting her husband Tarquinius Superbus to gain the throne. Servius was no ordinary king, we are reminded – his father was Vulcan, and his conception and birth miraculous.

As Herbert-Brown shows, the real key to this strange mix of stories comes at the end, with the description of an altar of Concordia which Livia dedicated on 11 June within the Porticus Liviae, itself dedicated on 7 January 7 BC by Livia and Tiberius. The site of the portico was the massive house of Vedius Pollio, which was bequeathed to Augustus, but which he destroyed in a protest at its luxury. The portico and the preceding house must have been very close to the traditional site of Servius' palace on the Esquiline.

Aspects of Ovid's account become clearer; he omits to point out, for instance, that the women who worshipped Mater Matuta had to be *uniuirae* – Livia was famously not *uniuira*. On Herbert-Brown's reading, Ovid found himself somewhat embarassed because the altar and portico complex was constructed after the collapse of Tiberius and Julia's marriage, and subsequent familial ruptures, and thus if it was intended to celebrate the Concordia of the ruling family (so different from that of Servius' own), it rather failed. Hence he refrains from driving the point about Concordia home, and refers instead to Augustus' own brave censorship, showing by example a rejection of excessive luxury.

Whatever one may think about the specificity of historical circumstance that Herbert-Brown posits, it remains interesting that the account of the Matralia will not stay fixed where one might have expected it in a festival for the care of children, but spreads out into Fortuna, who shares the day, and thence to another deity of conjunction, Concordia, who unites opposites and promotes peace. Livia's own determination to insert herself into this rich space of child nurture and civic success gives us another reading, which itself will not stay fixed. Livia may have wished to stress her role as a mother, and the familial success of the Augustan household, as opposed to the Servian one, but the choice of a vast site of republican (and regal?) luxury sets up a further tension between civic success and personal wealth.

Before moving on to a last Latin treatment of Mater Matuta, I would like to signal an absence which seems to me to have interesting ramifications for our larger theme. In the Ludi Saeculares[23] and Horace's accompanying *Carmen Saeculare* for 17 BC, a variety of prayers and sacrifices was made. Amongst them, the Fates (Moirai) and the goddesses of childbirth (Ilythiai) were worshipped on the nights of 31 May and 1 June. Augustus dictated a prayer for the *matronae* to make to Juno Regina during 2 June, and sacrificed to Terra Mater at night. On 3 June,

Augustus sacrificed to Apollo and Diana, using the same twenty-seven cakes of three sorts as he had offered to the Ilythiai. An edict was delivered on 11 June announcing for the following day, the 12th, chariot racing and a hunt, and the ancient *lusus Troiae*. The ceremonies concluded.

Beard et al. have discussed the extraordinary nature of the cultic activity (1998: I, 201–6), and Feeney (1998: 28–38) has explored the complex relationship of the poem to the ritual. My point here is to note how the whole performance embraces the Matralia on 11 June, and how close the cultic connections are between the festivals celebrating the Matralia and Fortuna. The presence of the *matronae*, the cakes and a pregnant sow, the concern with childbirth and the continuing health of the Roman people, all tie in clearly to the sorts of concern and the kinds of ritual which we have been discussing – so, why not Mater Matuta, why no Fortuna? Even in Horace's poem, Ilythia is given the choice of being Juno Lucina or Juno Genitalis, not Mater Matuta. Yet the deities can hardly be out of favour, given that in a few years' time Augustus and Livia will use them in another complex interweaving of history, myth and cult.

No answer could be definitive, but some comments are merited. First, the patterns which we have traced of birth, nurture and fortune are found not once but many times over in Roman religion, and can be explored in many different ways. Our formulation is not dominant but part of a multiplicity of formulations, each valid for its own time and place. At the same time, there is no reason why the timely incorporation of our nexus of rituals within the Ludi Saeculares should not be significant – another layer of meaning which does not need to be spelt out because it is always there. The *matronae* who pray to Juno Regina will pray a few days later to Mater Matuta, and for similar things; the Moirai or Parcae to whom Augustus prays for good fortune to the Romans will be reinforced by the beneficent actions of Fortuna. When Livia associates herself with the older, more traditional nexus, some may still have thought at some level of the formulation of the Ludi Saeculares, but the key is more the vitality of this request, this prayer, this ritual for the yoking of private and public.[24] Finally, the Ludi Saeculares, which clearly represent a tremendous effort to create a new synthesis clothed in tradition, also represent a way in which Augustus can engage with rituals that belong to women. Augustus (and for that matter Livia as a divorcee) have no place at the temple of Mater Matuta at Rome, but in his prayers and offerings he replicates the female cult, breaking down another boundary, to emphasise his deep continuity with the past.

Did any of this matter sufficiently to affect anyone's thoughts or attitudes outside the moment of the cult? We have seen that Lucretius uses the significance of the cult to make his larger poetic point, but Ovid has a particular necessity to discuss the cults in his calendrical poem when he

comes to the day. One last reading, of Persius' second satire, may suggest that the cults and their associations remained good tools for thinking.

Persius' second satire has not been the critic's favourite. It slides rather uneasily from being a critique of what people pray for to being a denunciation of the way they pray, with luxurious offerings instead of sober reverence (*sanctosque recessus mentis et incoctum generoso pectus honesto*, 73–4). Juvenal's tenth satire is an obvious parallel, though the *topos* goes back to ps.-Plato *II Alcibiades*, and Hooley (1997: 175–201) develops the Horatian borrowings. Of the many ways of reading the poem, one takes us directly back to our theme.[25] The prayer is addressed to Macrinus, who is celebrating his *dies natalis*. The first topic is wicked prayers – to see another's downfall, to gain inheritances, as if the gods will heed such requests. Persius goes on (31–40):

> ecce auia aut metuens diuum matertera cunis
> exemit puerum frontemque atque uda labella
> infami digito et lustralibus ante saliuis
> expiat, urentis oculos inhibere perita;
> tunc manibus quatit et spem macram supplice uoto
> nunc Licini in campos, nunc Crassi mittit in aedis:
> 'hunc optet generum rex et regina, puellae
> hunc rapiant; quidquid calcauerit hic, rosa fiat.'
> ast ego nutrici non mando uota. negato,
> Iuppiter, haec illi, quamuis te albata rogarit.

(Look! A grandmother or pious aunt takes a baby from his cradle. First with lustral spit and finger of ill fame she purges his wet lips and forehead, repulsing expertly the burning Evil Eye. Then she dandles him in her arms, and her humble prayer launches the feeble hope towards the estates of a Licinus, the mansion of a Crassus. 'May a king and queen choose him for their son-in-law; may girls run after him; may roses grow wherever he treads.' But I do not delegate my prayers to a nurse – Jupiter, refuse her these prayers, even though she asked you whilst wearing white.

(my translation))

The presence of the aunt, and the prayer over the young baby, are part of the Matralia; the apotropaic anointing reminds one of the chasing of the slave from the temple, which perhaps symbolises a similar warding off of evil. As the poem progresses, a farmer prays for success on his farm by squandering all his livestock in offerings: *da fortunare Penatis, da pecus et gregibus fetum* (45–6). There are hints perhaps of the triumph; the gods' faces are covered in gold taken from enemies (*auro … ovato*, 55), Calabrian wool is stained with *murex* (65; the purple dye was used on the *triumphator*'s cloak).[26]

To return to the prayer of the grandmother and aunt, the presence of a king and queen is striking. Kissel has nothing to the point; the regal

aspects, so prominent in other readings of Fortuna (where Tarquinius Superbus is the undesirable son-in-law to Servius Tullius), are without parallel. Boëls-Janssen makes the point clearly: 'n'est ce pas sous-entendre qu'aux *Matralia*, les matrones recommandent leurs neveux à Matuta dans l'espoir qu'ensuite Fortuna les bénira et leur accordera un destin de rois?'('does this not imply that at the Matralia, the women commend their nephews to Matuta in the hope that afterwards Fortuna will bless them and give them a royal destiny?') (1993: 370). The rest of the prayer reinforces the point; the child is prayerfully sent to the estates of Licinus (a Gallic freedman who served as procurator in Gaul under Augustus) and Crassus, the hugely wealthy late republican politician. This is not what one should ask from life, or Fortuna. By chance such wealth came to one man, Augustus, whose wealth was even greater than both; but he of course sacrificed a part of it, Vedius Pollio's great house, in 7 BC to build a portico on the spot where King Servius Tullius met his end, and within the portico, on the day of the Matralia and of Fortuna, Livia dedicated her altar to Concordia.

This is not to say that Persius' second satire is about Mater Matuta and Fortuna, or that Persius hoped that an attentive reader might spot the distant intertext with Ovid's *Fasti*, or immediately think of Augustus and Vedius Pollio when the poem mentions neither. What I argue for here is a reading of Persius' satire in terms of what Hinds calls a 'non-inert reading of a commonplace' (1998: 46). If Persius' poem can bear the weight of this interpretation, it is only because of Roman literature's serious, persistent and complex engagement with a religious turn of mind, itself rich with *topoi*, and alive to their manipulation.

CULTURES, CONTEXTS AND BELIEFS

The subtitle of Feeney's book on Roman religion is an appropriate heading for a summation, and an indication (neither prescriptive nor comprehensive) of the sorts of direction which the study of religion in archaic and republican Rome might take. In this chapter I have explored Hinds' work on intertext and allusion in literature as a model for religious thought, using Feeney's discussion of the importance of literature as part of the Roman religious mentality. My intention has been to suggest not that the Roman religious mentality is primarily literary in character, but that experience and the description of experience share similar patterns of intertextuality and allusiveness.

The introduction of the Satrican material is one deliberate sort of intertext. The two temples are different in many ways; there is no pairing with Fortuna, for instance. None the less, setting the two alongside each other enriches the possibilities of interpretation for both. Themes of dawn,

kourotrophia, healing, motherhood are all present; but so too, I argue, are concerns with war and civic success; and this combination has been presented as a sort of leit-motif of Latin religious practice through analogy with the Praenestine ciste, and specifically of the matronal religion of Rome. As I have noted above, the modalities of interchange between Latin religious centres are not well understood, but there are patterns here which are deeply suggestive of common expressions of the interaction between male and female worlds. One area which deserves greater study is the exploration of the culture of Latium, especially in the republic, and of how Roman religion responds to the continuing development of cult practices outside the city. The introduction of healing cults in the countryside, or the increasing emphasis on healing within existing cults (as at Satricum), is well known but not fully understood; nor can we yet see how the iconography at Praeneste fits into the turbulent history of that city's relations with Rome.

Another key issue in the context of 'cultures' is the way that Greek influence entered and reshaped Latin religious sensibilities. Again, the Praenestine ciste are a remarkable example of the influence of Greek culture, but the Satrican temple roof is an earlier and striking instance of the way that Latins were finding in Greek myth means of expressing complex concerns, and indeed at Satricum we have perhaps three rather different schemes within a century. Our earliest literary evidence for the *interpretatio graeca* of Mater Matuta is Cicero, but the archaeological evidence from Satricum and S. Omobono at Rome would seem to show that the juxtaposition of Latin and Greek conceptualisations of the divine and their impact in the world go back to the sixth century at least. What happened in between? Curti has demonstrated (Chapter 6 in this volume) that the continuing interaction between Greece and Rome was an important feature in the transformation of the urban landscape during the struggle of the orders, whilst North (Chapter 7 in this volume) has shown the significance of early Italian writings and Greek influences on the interpretation of prophecy. The appearance of the remarkable phenomenon of Roman literature, so allusively alive from the very beginning, must find a place in this context. Feeney (1998: 68) describes the contact zone between Roman and hellenic cultures as 'contentious and volatile' rather than 'a developing process of assimilation', and both he and Hinds focus on Ennius as a key figure; but Ennius famously had three hearts, *tria corda*, Latin, Oscan and Greek, and if the contact zone embraced the Latin and Italic worlds as it surely did, then it is precisely to places like Satricum, full of Greek iconography even in periods when it was constantly at threat from a Roman army on one side and a Volscian army on the other, that we need to look.[27]

Competing cultures are part of the context within which Roman

religion must be studied, and all of the chapters in this volume present various other contexts – archaeological, literary, political, regional, even cross-cultural (Bourque, Chapter 2 in this volume). The contextualisation of religion, however, can be pushed further. In this chapter, it has been suggested that Hinds' model of the literary intertext offers a way of expanding the understanding of possible experience. It is not simply at the Ovidian level that multiple exegesis is possible; it is characteristic of this polytheistic system. Clearly this may be a problem for an authoritarian society, and North (Chapter 7 in this volume) has shown ways in which this problem arose and was dealt with. As I have noted, however, the complexity of context is empowering, especially if one reinscribes belief into the system, not in terms of faith necessarily, but more in terms of a kind of Foucauldian analysis of power and resistance at the level of the individual.[28] One might take Augustus' attempt to incorporate the Matralia within his own conception of the Ludi Saeculares as exemplifying the persisting significance of this female worship. The Matralia exists within the Ludi Saeculares, and continues afterwards; Livia associates herself with the Matralia because it retains significance; the distant echoes of a vivid collocation of maternal hope, personal and civic success and the rejection of luxury are heard in Persius' second satire. These are not objects of belief, but ways in which to believe, or perhaps better, to think in a ritualised way, and they require a willingness to embrace different contexts.

Bell writes of a 'ritual mastery,' 'a basic social mastery of the schemes and strategies of ritualization', which allows the social body 'to appropriate a field of action structured in great measure by others'. Individuals must be enabled 'to deploy schemes that can manipulate the social order on some level and appropriate its categories for a semicoherent vision of personal identity and action' (Bell 1992: 215–16). It seems to me that this could be one way of thinking about Roman and Latin religion; the negotiation of consent and compliance that itself constructs the capacity to resist and recreate.

All three literary accounts of Mater Matuta have something of this. Lucretius takes the goddess as part of the exemplification of an eternal law of birth, growth and decay. Ovid's account of 11 June might be read as an extended exploration of functional and dysfunctional personal relationships. Newlands (1995: 226–9) makes this too monodirectionally critical of Livia's Concordia dedication. As I would read it, Ovid makes all the relationships play off each other – Ino and her husband, her children and Carmentis the hospitable prophetess; Fortuna and Servius Tullius, Servius Tullius and his daughter; Livia and Augustus – and a touch of the frugality-versus-luxury theme throughout, as Ino/Mater Matuta bakes her cakes in Carmentis' hearth, the slave-girl Ocrisia conceives Servius amid

the ashes of another hearth, and Augustus destroys the dangerous legacy of Vedius Pollio. Perhaps only Ovid's extraordinary mind could have made of a festival of women and their children a delicate construction of grief redeemed and unresolved (though this must have been a part of any ritual concerned with young children), and even perhaps hinted at the sorrows of the imperial house without revealing them – but what of the prayer of the aunt in Persius? 'May this boy grow up to be a king, rich, lucky in love' – a prayer rejected in favour of a handful of grain, another rejection of luxury. The women and Persius are both enabled to read the festival in different ways.

Of course these are three highly wrought accounts by literary figures of huge ability, but as Bourque (Chapter 2 in this volume) and many anthropological studies have shown, people bring to and take from the same ritual different experiences and emotions. The Satrican evidence too shows just as much sophistication in the archaeological record of temple decoration and votive deposition in relation to the breadth of issues which the worship of Mater Matuta can cover, and this chapter has been only a partial study of one of many deities and many cults. What Ovid makes of the Matralia and what Persius' aunt makes of it, and what someone from Satricum made of it, could never be the same, but it is precisely the specificity of each individual's circumstances, and the capacity of Roman religion for multiple exegesis and intertextual transaction, that allow for what Hinds calls a 'dynamics of appropriation'. Roman religious literature takes part in a way of thinking much more widely shared over place and time, which evolves from the interpretative negotiations that constitute Roman ritual mastery.

NOTES

1 INTRODUCTION

I am grateful to Mark Pobjoy and Christopher Smith for reading and improving this introduction; the errors remaining are my own.

1. For example, Brouwer 1989; Dubourdieu 1989; Scheid 1990; Simon 1990; Clauss 1992; Dorcey 1992; Ziolkowski 1992; Boëls-Janssen 1993; Mastrocinque 1994; Capdeville 1995; Takacs 1995; Winkler 1995; Bellelli and Bianchi 1996; Lane 1996; Simón 1996; Spaeth 1996; Wilkins 1996; Prosperi Valenti 1998; Various Authors 1998.

2. Compare Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who, writing of the need to support local archaic histories (*tas archaias kai topikas historias*) with more than local oral or written traditions, says: 'Among such testimonies I am convinced that the first and most valid of all are the ceremonies connected with the established worship of the gods and other divinities which are performed in the various states. These both the Greeks and the barbarian would have preserved for the greatest length of time and have never thought fit to make any innovation in them, being restrained from doing so by their fear of the divine anger' (7.70.2–3, tr. Cary, Loeb).

3. Beck 1998: 116–17.

4. Plut, *Rom.* 21, 3–8; see also his *Greek* and *Roman Questions*. See Beard et al. 1998: II. 349–64.

5. Cic. *Div.*, 2, 51 ('mirari se aiebat [Cato] quod non ridebat haruspex haruspicem cum vidisset').

6. On 'doing it right', see Livy, 22, 9, 7–10, 10 (on the 'sacred spring of 217 BC). Here, as elsewhere, the Romans showed great pragmatism in reconciling the dictates of piety with the limitations of the practical world in which they lived: see also Livy, 34, 55, 1–5 (on expiation fatigue), and on Roman religious pragmatism, Turcan 1998: 9–27.

7. See Strabo, 5. 3. 10 (237C), on the continuity of some religious worship at Fregellae, perhaps at a supra-*polis* level, after the destruction of the city in 125 BC: 'it [Fregellae] was once a noteworthy city and formerly held as dependencies most of the surrounding cities just mentioned – and at the present time the inhabitants of these cities meet at Fregellae both to hold markets and to perform certain sacred rites – but having revolted, it was demolished by the Romans' (tr. Jones, Loeb).

8. See also Vetter 1953: no. 1 (the 'Cippus Abellanus'). This text regulates the ownership and management of a sanctuary of Herakles on the borders of the territories of Nola and Abella in Campania. Not only the sanctuary (space and physical structures) is to be held in common; the sanctuary's treasure is to belong to both parties as well. Compare also Livy, 8, 14, 2, on the enfranchisement of Lanuuium in the aftermath of the Latin War (338 BC): 'To the Lanuvines the citizenship was given and their own cults restored, along with the provision that the temple and grove of Iuno Sospita should be the common property of the inhabitants of the municipality of Lanuuium

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together with the Roman people' ('Lanuuinis ciuitas data sacraque sua reddita, cum eo ut aedes lucusque Sospitae Iunonis communis Lanuuinis municipibus cum populo Romano esset').

9. See Ziolkowski 1992.
10. For the 'invention of tradition', see Hobsbawm and Ranger 1984.
11. See Dench 1995.
12. Polybius 6. 56, another example of ancient 'anthropology'.
13. See Beard et al. 1998: II. 12.1a–b, and 2.7, respectively.
14. For stories of treacherous Etruscan seers, see the story of the consultation following the story of the head of Olus (see Glinister, Ch. 4 in this volume, n. 32, for the references); and the origin of the statue of Horatius Cocles in the *comitium* (Gel., *NA*, 4. 5. 1–6).
15. I adopt a position set out by T. J. Cornell in a paper on 'Annales and Historiae' given at a conference on 'Lost Roman Historians' at Nottingham in July 1998.
16. Apart from Bendlin's sustained, restrained polemic, there are other signs that the pendulum is starting to swing the other way: J. S. Richardson spoke in sceptical terms of the complete banishment of belief during an intervention at the conference, after Bendlin's and Bourque's papers.
17. See especially now for the idea of 'situatedness', and the intertexts which it necessarily generates, Fowler 2000: ch. 1.
18. See a similar strategy in Wiseman 1995.
19. See, in addition to the texts cited by Smith, Martindale 1993 and Fowler 2000: 111–67.
20. *Epistulae Pontificum Romanorum* 1, 603 Thiel. See also Beard et al. 1998: 1, ix–xii, and works there cited, on Gelasius' more famous attitude to the Lupercalia.
21. See also Hopkins 1999.

2   AN ANTHROPOLOGIST'S VIEW OF RITUAL

1. One might equally say that this will demonstrate the anthropological assumption that a ritual cannot be properly understood without considering its context.
2. I lived in Sucre from July 1989 to September 1990 while doing fieldwork for my PhD. I returned to Sucre during the summer of 1996.
3. His other duties included ringing the bells before mass, sweeping the church and assisting the priest during the mass. He also led prayers for the dead and dying when the priest was absent from the village
4. In Latin American Catholicism, each separate image of Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary or a saint is believed to have an individual identity and is responsible for the care of certain things. For example, the Virgin of Las Lajas in Colombia is believed to help maize plants to grow, while the Lord of the Earthquake in Patate (the district capital) is said to help livestock. The effectiveness of a saint, Virgin or Christ will vary according to the faith of the devotee. Moreover, some saints, Virgins or Christs are said to be more effective for some people than others. A certain amount of experimentation takes place in deciding which saints work best for each person.
5. A complete analysis would also consider Corpus Christi in the light of other community celebrations.

4   SACRED RUBBISH

I thank Helle Damgaard Andersen, Ed Bispham, Guy Bradley, Astrid Lindenlauf, Gretchen Meyers and Rob Witcher for valuable comments.

1. The deliberate sealing of a votive deposit can be seen at Narce, where, in the second century BC, following the destruction by fire of an important suburban sanctuary, the

votive deposit was covered with layers of fill, making the sacred objects inviolable. See de Lucia Brolli 1990: 67.

2. On the identification of sacred buildings of the archaic period, see Damgaard Andersen 1993: 86.

3. Bouma 1996: I, 242–6, provides some further examples; many more could be added.

4. Moscati 1983: 69, 74. There are no significant finds of the Roman period (Moscati in Colonna 1985: 86).

5. Savignoni and Mengarelli 1901: 514–59; 1903; Andrén 1940: 385; Bouma 1996: III, 66.

6. Bouma 1993: 291–3. Bouma 1996: I, 242, restates his belief that Votive Deposit II at Satricum was created by worshippers who 'took [architectonic] objects from the at that time ruined temple and buried these, together with other gifts, in a sacred environment'.

7. For the precise circumstances of the find, see Colonna 1964: esp. 53ff, 58; 1965: 202: 'Le lamine auree vengono da un contesto di materiali di natura e destinazione esclusivamente architettonica, sepolto in occasione di una "colmata", effettuata nell'area tra i templi A e B probabilmente nel III sec. a.C.'; 1985: 134: 'Al momento della scoperta le lamine giacevano, avvolte a pacchetto, in una specie di ripostiglio, costruito nel III secolo a.C. sotto il nuovo pavimento della piazza con materiali di spoglio del demolito tempio B'.

8. Cristofani 1990b argues that the first phase of the building dates to 540–530 BC. However, Colonna 1991 favours the traditional dating of the temple, on the basis of archaeological evidence showing two clearly differentiated phases.

9. Colonna 1991: 53. The fill is estimated at c.30,000 cubic metres of earth by Ioppolo 1971–2: 17. The period of the raising and levelling operation is still debated, but a commonly accepted date is the early fifth century BC.

10. The terracottas were found beneath the eastern cella of the republican temples in 1938, and first reported by Colini 1938. For finds of architectural terracottas during later excavations (in the southeast corner of the podium), see Virgili 1977: esp. 28.

11. Pensabene 1993: esp. 23–5, 35–6; Pensabene et al. 1995: 458–9, figs 1n, 3n, 4.

12. Giglioli 1919: fig. 2 shows the lower part of two later votive statues, then the upper and lower parts of the Apollo, then the surviving part of the statue of Heracles; finally there are two more votive statues of later date. 'Fragmentation' (the deliberate breakage of objects) is currently much debated: it was discussed at a panel session during the Fifth Annual Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists (September 1999).

13. Giglioli 1919: 14–17, esp. 14–15, figs 2–3. It was the scatter of material on the lower slopes here (Cannetaccio) that directed attention to the Portonaccio area.

14. Their good state of preservation, and the fact that they were found with votive statues, led some scholars, including Giglioli 1919: 37 and Andrén 1940: 4, to conclude that they were not from the ridge-pole of the temple, but rather had been displayed on the ground. The S. Omobono Heracles and Athena group has also been seen as a donative rather than roof decoration: Cristofani 1990b: 33–6; Bartoloni 1987: 144; cf. Colonna 1987. However, Sommella Mura 1993 proved that the S. Omobono group was positioned on the roof as a central acroterion, as fragments of a related acroterial base have been found.

15. Most forcefully argued by Edlund-Berry 1994. Some scholars deny a ritual character to the deposits here; and note that de Grummond 1997 questions many of the assumptions made about the destruction of the site.

16. Von Mehren 1993: esp. 140, and n. 6: 'It seems as if this dump [CA 2] ... served as a depository for selected architectural terracottas from the Upper Building, placed there with great care and covered with stones.' Von Mehren reports that more than 55 per cent of the frieze plaques had been moved from where they fell.

17. Digest 11. 7. 36 (Pomponius, Quintus Mucius, book 26): 'Cum loca capta sunt ab hostibus, omnia desinunt religiosa uel sacra esse, sicut homines liberi in seruitutem

perueniunt: quod si ab hac calamitate fuerint liberata, quasi quodam postliminio reuersa pristino statui restituuntur' ('When a place is captured by an enemy, it always ceases to be religious or sacred, just as free men become slaves: but if the place is rescued from this unfortunate state, it returns, as it were, by a sort of *postliminium* and is restored to its former state' – tr. Hine). See Watson 1992: 57; Dumézil 1970: 427.

18. A famous instance is the sack of Cremona in AD 68, when soldiers burned down the despoiled temples and only that of Mefitis outside the walls survived; the unfortunate citizens were left to pay for the rebuilding of their ruined shrines (Tac. *Hist.*, 3. 33–4). On the sacking of cities, see Ziolkowski 1993; cf. Laurence 1996.

19. The deliberate destruction of Fregellae represents an extreme case of total obliteration of a city and its shrines, but this took place in a very specific political context: see Coarelli and Monti 1998; Coarelli 1986. For a later period, we know from Frontinus (?) in Agennius Urbicus, *On Disputes over Land* (Thulin 1913: 48 4–12), that provincial governors were generally instructed to preserve sanctuaries.

20. Macr. *Sat.*, 3. 9. 2; Pliny *NH*, 28. 18, citing Verrius Flaccus. Macrobius 3. 9. 7–8 gives the text (for Carthage). See Basanoff 1947. Aside from cases of *euocatio*, we know very little about the fate of cult statues in Italy; few have been found *in situ* in archaic or republican sanctuaries (but this is partially explained by the fact that many were made of wood: Pliny *NH*, 34. 34). App. *Pun.*, 127, describes the unhappy fate of one statue, the gilded Apollo which Scipio's soldiers (apparently ignoring orders) hacked to pieces at Cothon in 146 BC.

21. Dumézil 1970: 425; Alcock 1993: 140–1, 175–80, shows how the removal of cult images (in this case in Roman-period Greece) often had a specific political purpose. As well as demonstrating the power of Rome, it acted to break connections with the past and with past loyalties and relationships, and to weaken the sense of civic self-definition or ethnic identity 'in the interest of the new political order' (180).

22. Even in cases of *euocatio*, the continuing association of the deity with its original home is suggested by the fact that cult was performed 'according to the customs of those from whom they were taken' (Festus 268L: 'Peregrina sacra appellantur, quae aut euocatis dis in oppugnandis urbibus Romam sunt conlata, aut quae ob quasdam religiones per pacem sunt petita, ut ex Phrygia Matris Magnae, ex Graecia Cereris, Epidauro Aesculapi: quae coluntur eorum more, a quibus sunt accepta': 'Those are called *peregrina sacra* which were either brought to Rome when gods had been summoned away in the assaulting of cities, or which were sought in peacetime, on account of particular religious scruples, like the rites of the Magna Mater from Phrygia, Ceres from Greece, and Aesculapius from Epidauros: they are worshipped according to the customs of those from whom they were taken').

23. Dumézil 1970: 428–9. Festus 146L refers to 'municipal cults which they had from the start before they received the Roman citizenship, and which the pontiffs wished to continue observing and carrying out according to the traditional forms': 'Municipalia sacra uocantur, quae ab initio habuerunt ante ciuitatem Romanam acceptam; quae obseruare eos uoluerunt pontifices, et eo more facere, quo adsuessent antiquitus.' Similarly, Tac. *Ann.*, 3. 72, notes that all the sanctuaries and cult statues of the gods in Italy were subject to Roman jurisdiction and authority: 'Repertum est aedem esse apud Antium quae sic nuncuparetur cunctasque caerimonias Italicis in oppidis templaque et numinum effigies iuris atque imperii Romani esse.' See also de Cazenove, Chapter 5 in this volume.

24. Livy 42. 3. See Toynbee 1965: esp. 631–2; Scheid 1985: 26–7; La Rocca 1996; Ruga 1996.

25. The roof-tiles were not *buried* because they were still needed – the intention was to put them back up. Presumably they were eventually replaced, perhaps in the late republican or Augustan restorations the sanctuary underwent. Fragments of the Parian and Pentelic marble tiles survive.

26. Fulvius Flaccus himself suffered no immediate penalty for his sacrilege: he did not

have to resign his pontifical office, and was even allowed to dedicate his temple of Fortuna, and celebrate games. His fate was left to the gods to decide, and his suicide a year later was attributed to Juno's wrath (Livy 42. 28. 10–12). This is a common literary *topos*: cf. the divine punishment (a horrible disease) suffered by Sulla after his theft of the cult statue of Athena at Alalcomenae (Pausanias 9. 33. 6).

27. On the adoption by colonists of the Daunian cult of Athena Iliaca at Luceria, see Torelli 1984a, 1984b; d'Ercole 1990b.

28. 5. 40. 1–2: 'Omnium primum, ut erat diligentissimus religionum cultor, quae ad deos immortales pertinebant rettulit et senatus consultum facit: fana omnia, quoad ea hostis possedisset, restituerentur terminarentur expiarenturque, expiatioque eorum in libris per duumuiros quaereretur' ('First of all, he was a most assiduous worshipper [of the divine], he referred to the senate those things which then concerned the gods, and made a *senatus consultum*: all those shrines, as far as they had been in enemy hands, should be restored, their boundaries re-established and purificatory rituals performed, and the rite of expiation for them should be sought in the [? sacred] books through the agency of the *duumuiri*'). An early fourth-century restoration of the temple on the Palatine (discussed above) has been attributed to the aftermath of the Gallic Sack (Pensabene 1993: 23), although how much destruction this event actually caused is open to debate. Livy's use of the word *restituere* in this context need not imply *physical* restoration of sanctuary buildings.

29. This clearance represents an unusual instance of temple material being removed from the sacred precinct, though special circumstances may have operated here. The use of marshes and other watery locations (rivers, lakes, wells, springs, etc.) for the deposition of votive offerings is well known (Traina 1988: 120–4); this would appear to be a rare case of their use for material from a sacred building itself. De Cazanove 1991: 210 attributes a profane character to the Ostian marshes, but this is far from clear. (I thank M. de Cazanove for providing me with an offprint of his paper.)

30. Varro ap. A. Gell. *NA*, 2. 10. 3: 'Id esse cellas quasdam et cisternas quae in area sub terra essent, ubi reponi solerent signa uetera quae ex eo templo collapsa essent, et alia quaedam religiosa e donis consecratis' ('[Varro] said that this phrase [*fauisae Capitolinae*] referred to particular chambers and cisterns which were underground in the precinct, where it was customary to place the old statues which had fallen down from the temple, and certain other sacred things from among the gifts offered to the gods'). Verrius Flaccus, whose testimony underlies Paulus-Festus 78L, s.v. 'fauisae', tells us that the Capitoline *fauisae* were used to store objects that had outlived their usefulness. Hackens 1963 demonstrates that the term *fauisae* is not a generic one for a votive deposit, but only refers to the ex-cisterns under the Capitoline *area* and under or near other temples; their use as storage chambers for votives was a secondary development, which could only have been contemplated once their function as cisterns became obsolete, probably with the construction of the aqueducts (86).

31. They comprise part of a palmette and a large painted eaves-tile (from Via di Monte Tarpeo; Andrén 1940: 340–2). According to Colonna 1985: 70, only the latter can be ascribed with justification to the temple of Jupiter. The new (1999) excavations of the Capitoline temple may provide further material.

32. Cf. Varro *LL*, 5. 41; Livy 1. 55. 5–6; Pliny *NH*, 28. 15; Dio Cassius ap. Zonaras 7. 11. 5–8; Florus 1.1.7; Serv. *Aen.*, 8. 345; *Vir. Ill.* 8.4; Arnob. *Ad Gent.*, 6. 7; Mommsen 1892: 144.

33. Lucan *BC*, 1. 606–8, 8. 864. Dealing with lightning strikes in the appropriate way remained a significant concern as late as the fourth century AD (*C.Th.*, 16. 10. 1). On the phenomenon, see Mingazzini 1965; Albanese 1969.

34. The practice seems important, but aside from Livy, there are only brief references to it: Festus p160L, citing Cato, *Origines* 1.25 Chassignet=24P; Serv. *Aen.*, 2. 351. The principal discussion is in Catalano 1960: esp. 281–8, 324–34.

35. Livy 1. 55. 2–5; DH 3. 69. 5–6; Ovid, *F.*, 2. 639–78; Aug., *C.D.*, 4. 23. 3, 4. 29, 5. 22; at 4. 15 he calls it *lapis in Capitolio*.

36. There was in fact a shrine on the Capitol before the building of the temple: excavations uncovered a seventh or sixth-century BC votive deposit with associated structural remains; see Colini 1927: 383–9; Gjerstad 1960: 190–201; Sommella Mura 1976: 145–6; Bartoloni 1989–90: 753–4. The identity of the remains is disputed: they could relate to the open-air cult of Terminus (Lowe 1978: 143), although Colonna 1984: 401 identifies them with Romulus' temple of Jupiter Feretrius (Livy 1. 10; DH 2. 34. 4). Martínez Pinna 1981: 249–52 relates them to the temple of Jupiter. As the offerings cover a substantial time period this is unlikely to be a foundation deposit: Ampolo 1980: 570. Ampolo here interprets the remains not as the forerunner of the Capitoline temple, but as the *favissa* of one of the cult places exaugurated to make way for it; cf. Ampolo 1988: 158–9.

37. Even when an exauguration did take place, there was no guarantee that the god would acquiesce to it, as the story of Terminus shows. There are some archaeological examples of temples to a new deity being built on the site of an old shrine, like the temple of Victory on the Palatine (which is very unlikely to have replaced an earlier temple to the goddess), without any corresponding *literary* evidence for exauguration, which remains extremely rare.

38. By contrast, a private dedication (a *res religiosa*) was not formally divine property: Gjerstad 1960: 195–6; Wissowa 1912: 385ff. Note Festus 422–4L s.v. 'Sacer mons'.

39. *CIL* I.603 = *CIL* IX.3513 = *ILLRP* II.508. See Laffi 1978: esp. 135–40.

40. Hackens 1963: 92. He refers specifically to Christian destroyers of pagan temples, but the same superstitions might apply to sacrilegious pagan conquerors.

5 'RELIGIOUS ROMANISATION'

1. Alföldi 1965: 19 and following. If the festivals on the Alban Mount are those of the whole 'Latin nation' (*nomen Latinum*), there are also some sanctuaries looked after by two collectivities: after the Latin War, the temple and the sacred grove of Juno Sospita at Lanuuium became common to the *populus Romanus* and to the *municipes Lanuuini* (this last formulation shows moreover that there was no agreement made on a footing of equality; the inhabitants of Lanuuium no longer enjoyed their independence; they had been incorporated into the Roman state in 338): Liv. 8. 14. 2; cf. Cic. *Pro Murena* 90; Liv. 22. 1. 17 (Gordon 1938: 37–41; Coarelli 1987: 141–63). These cases of 'shared' cult places are not rare in pre-Roman Italy (de Cazanove 1993: 9–39, esp. p. 29 and following), a typical case being that of the sanctuary of Hercules between Nola and Abella (Franchi De Bellis 1988). On the religious ties between Rome and Lauinium, and on those between Rome and the Latin colonies, see below.

2. I use the word in the technical sense of ethnic units. The Greek *ethnos* translates the Latin *nomen*. Italy was, as is well known, divided into a certain number of *nomina*: there is a *nomen Latinum*, a *nomen Etruscum*, a *nomen Lucanum*, etc.

3. On the necessary 'naturalisation' of imported gods, see Scheid 1985: 96–100; cf. North 1989: 573–624, esp. p. 616 and following.

4. Val. Max. 1. 3. 1: 'Lutatius Cerco, qui primum Punicum bellum confecit, a senatu prohibitus est sortes Fortunae Praenestinae adire: auspices enim patriis, non alienigenis, rempublicam administrari iudicabant oportere.' See on this topic Scheid 1989: 631–59, esp. p. 636. Other interpretations have been advanced by Brelich 1955: 9–47; or again by Champeaux 1982: 78–80.

5. On the temples dedicated to the Capitoline Triad in Italy, see Barton 1982: 259–324, esp. pp. 259–66.

6. Festus, p. 146 L.: 'Municipalia sacra uocantur, quae ab initio habuerunt ante ciuitatem Romanam acceptam; quae obseruare eos uoluerunt pontifices, et eo more facere, quo adsuessent antiquitus.' On the religious aspects of municipalisation in the western provinces, see now Scheid 1999: 381–423.

7. We can call to mind in this connection another example of pontifical control operating

in the conquered area of Italy: in 211, before the capture of Capua, a plebiscite, followed by a *senatus consultum*, fixed exactly the terms of the capitulation, specifying the status of persons and possessions. As far as statues of gods and honorific statues (*signa* and *statuae*) are concerned, the college of pontiffs is to decide which shall be considered as sacred, and which as profane (*sacra ac profana*): Liv. 26. 34. 12. On the respective meanings of *signum* and *statua*, see Estienne 1997: 81–96, esp. p. 83 and following.

8. We could take the example of the sanctuary of Apollo, the most important of the pre-colonial cults at Pompeii. In the Sullan period, on the axis of the temple podium, a new marble altar was built which carries the following inscription: 'Marcus Porcius, son of Marcus, Lucius Sextilius, son of Lucius, Cnaeus Cornelius, son of Gnaeus, Aulus Cornelius, son of Aulus, *quattuorviri*, invited bids (for this altar) according to the decree of the decurions' (*CIL* 1², 1631 = 10, 800 = *ILLRP* 644: 'M. Porcius M. f., L. Sextilius L. f., Cn. Cornelius Cn. f., A. Cornelius A. f. IIII uir(i) d(e) d(ecurionum) s(ententia) f(aciundum) locar(unt)).' Whatever the exact status of the magistrates mentioned here (belonging to a hypothetical Pompeian *municipium*: Onorato 1951: 115–56; or to the Sullan colony: Degrassi 1962: 339), what is important here is to note that the city's most venerable cult, that of Apollo, continued to exist in Roman Pompeii, but after it had been in some fashion officially recognised. The whole sanctuary was not reconsecrated, only an altar (that is, all the same, the main focus of cult).

9. Chronology: Adamesteanu and Dilthey 1992: 81. Magistrates: Lejeune 1990, with earlier bibliography: pp. 15–17, inscriptions RV 1, RV 2, RV 17–42, RV 18, RV 28 and perhaps RV 3, RV 7 and RV 30; p. 37. There is some perplexity as to the nature, status and even identity of the *respublica* active in the sanctuary. Are these federal structures? Those of a people? A city? Are these institutions indigenous or Roman, or indeed in the process of romanisation? Is the sanctuary under the authority of the Lucani in general? Or a branch thereof, the *Utiani? Or again of an urban centre (various alternatives have been offered on the subject: Potenza, Serra di Vaglio, Tricarico)?

10. Dedications: Lejeune 1990: RV 32; 45; perhaps 31–43 and 46. For a first-century BC restoration: Torelli 1990: 83–93, esp. pp. 84–5. For the contrary argument that we are dealing here with a restoration by the consul of AD 37, Cn. Acerronius Proculus, see Adamesteanu and Lejeune 1971–2: 39 and following, esp. pp. 73–4.

11. *CIL* 10, 130–3. Note, though, that we are dealing, at least for *CIL* 10, 131 and 133, with euergetistic acts, where the magistrates have made their gifts *d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia)*.

12. De Cazanove forthcoming a.

13. I do not believe that there exists, however, in the current state of the material available to us, archaeological evidence which can be related to the suppression of 186 and the following years, either at Tiriolo itself (in spite of what Ferri 1927: 336–58 believes can be asserted) or elsewhere. In 1969 a subterranean chamber was discovered at Bolsena, in southern Etruria, which some have wanted to identify as a *Bacchanal*, a place for initiation into the Dionysiac mysteries (Pailler 1976: 731–42; Massa-Pairault and Pailler 1979; Massa-Pairault 1980: 177–204; Pailler 1982: 929–52 = Pailler 1995: 127–58; 1983: 7–54). On the contrary, and much more simply, we are faced with a cistern fed by the *impluuium* of domus 2 at Bolsena: de Cazanove forthcoming b.

14. Liv. 39. 23. 3: 'Sp. Postumius, the consul, had reported that while travelling in the course of the investigations, he had found that colonies were deserted on both coasts of Italy, Sipuntum on the Adriatic sea, and Buxentum on the Tyrrhenian' ('Sp. Postumius consul renuntiauerat peragrantem se propter quaestiones utrumque litus Italiae desertas colonias Sipuntum supero, Buxentum infero maris inuenisse'). Livy has specified just earlier that the investigations of the consul 'had been carried out with honesty and great care'. The investigation referred to is none other than the

quaestio extra ordinem de Bacchanalibus sacrisque nocturnis entrusted by the senate to Sp. Postumius Albinus and his colleague Q. Marcius Philippus (Liv. 39. 14. 6; 16. 12. Cf. Pailler 1988: 253–62; Venturini 1984: 74–109).

15. Costabile 1984: 91–100.

16. The term *Bacchanalia* refers at once to the ceremonies and to the cult places: Pailler 1986: 261–73 (= Pailler 1995: 159–68).

17. Since the only allied community to which the Roman senate was able to address the instructions contained in *CIL* 1², 581, and which was situated in the vicinity of Tiriolo, or whose territory even stretched that far, turns out to be, precisely, Vibo Valentia: de Cazanove forthcoming a.

18. See especially the treatment meted out to the twelve recalcitrant colonies: Liv. 29. 15. 9–10.

19. Liv. 39. 13. 14: 'a huge multitude, now almost another populace' ('multitudinem ingentem, alterum iam prope populum'); 15. 8: 'as far as their numbers are concerned ... they are many thousands' ('quod ad multitudinem eorum attinet ... multa milia hominum esse'); 17. 6: 'over 7,000 men and women were said to have conspired' ('coniurasse supra septem milia uirorum ac mulierum dicebantur').

20. Liv. 8. 16. 13–14; Velleius Paterculus, 1. 14. 3. I leave aside here the special cases of Sutrium and Nepet, founded (in about 383) in southern Etruria, probably on the northern limits of the territory of Veii, conquered in 396.

21. 'the city of Alba, ... which, having founded as colonies the thirty cities of the Latins, and having exercised continual hegemony over that nation, was destroyed by her last colony, and remains ... desolate'.

22. Liv. 27. 9. 7: 'at that time there were thirty colonies of the Roman people' ('triginta tum coloniae populi Romani erant'). This figure is certainly not valid only for the time of the Second Punic War. It is too significant not to have been artificially maintained.

23. Torelli 1984a: 325–36; 1984b: 20, 310; 1992: 47–64, esp. pp. 51–3; d'Ercole 1990a, esp. p. 287 and following; 1990b: 227–36. These different studies consider the presence of the Trojan legend at Luceria to be, essentially, a secondary elaboration which does not go back beyond the end of the fourth century, and is thus a consequence (and not a cause) of Roman interest in the Daunian city. For my part, I do not exclude the possibility that the Trojan legend, existing there already in some form, could have encouraged the events of 326–14, i.e. first, the Romano-Lucerian alliance, and later on, the foundation of a Latin colony 480 km from Rome, when Cales, the furthest away up to that point, was located less than fifty-odd kilometres from the frontiers of Latium: de Cazanove forthcoming c.

24. Strabo 6, 1, 14 (C264): 'For in Rome and also in Lauinium and in Luceria and in Seirtis Athena is named Ilias, as if she had been brought from Troy.'

25. Brown 1979: 4. In the imperial period, Obulco in Baetica set up a similar statue (of a white sow) to show that the town possessed the Latin right: *CIL* 2, 2126; Salmon 1969: 192, n. 239. We are dealing with copies of the group in bronze which Varro (*Res Rusticae* 2, 18) had been able to see at Lauinium, and whose image is preserved on some Antonine medallions (Castagnoli 1972: 64, no. 73; 78–9, figs 80, 82).

26. This second interpretation is in fact the older: Lycophron *Alex.*, 1253–60. I leave aside here the problem of the patronage of Venus – another mythical ancestress of the Romans – of the Latin colony of Venusia (founded in 291), which carries her name: Torelli 1984a: 325–36.

27. The bibliography on this subject is vast. Syntheses are furnished by Torelli, in Gros and Torelli 1992: 132–47; and Torelli 1988: 65–72. Note also that the famous formula of Aulus Gellius ('those colonies almost seem to be small copies and images of the Roman people') applies *stricto sensu* only to colonies of Roman citizens.

28. On the concept of the 'votive deposit', see among others Hackens 1963: 71–99; de Cazanove 1991: 203–14.

29. Marchi et al. 1990: 13 and fig. 15, pl. X. Some other anatomical ex-votos, now sadly lost, were found in a cave on M. Vulture, less than 20 km west of Venosa: Storti 1993:

44–7, with earlier bibliography.

30. D' Ercole 1990a: 183–225; cf. Bartoccini 1940: 185–213; 1941: 241–98.
31. Ansanto: Bottini et al. 1976: 359–524. Oscata di Sopra: Johannowsky 1991: 82. Casalbore: Johannowsky 1991: 66.
32. Hatria: *NSc*, 1901: 183 and ff; *Bull. Arch. Nap.* (n.s.) 3, 1854: 5; *Bull. Inst.* 1876: 191. Isola di Fano: *Bull. Inst.* 1875: 75–81; *NSc* 1899: 260–1. Pesaro: di Luca 1984: 91–107.
33. Torelli 1984a: 325–36; Menichetti 1990: 325; de Cazanove 1992: 107–15.
34. This last definition has established itself as a result of the fundamental article by Comella 1981: 717–803; he distinguishes three *facies* of votive deposits: 'Etrusco-Latio-Campanian', 'italic' and 'southern'.
35. Della Seta 1918: 116, even goes as far as speaking of a 'fetish for therapy' ('follia terapeutica').
36. Comella 1982–3: 216–44.
37. Thus, the burial of ex-votos at the sanctuary of Minerva at Lauinium, initially placed at the end of the third century (Fenelli 1981: 187), then towards the middle of the century (Fenelli 1984: 334), has been moved down as far as the beginning of the third century (Fenelli and Guaitoli 1990: 182). The burial would in this case be almost contemporary (although, as can be seen, the dating has oscillated) with the introduction of the cult of Aesculapius to Rome, while the deposit contains a small number of anatomical ex-votos (feet, legs, uteruses, breasts, phalluses: Fenelli 1981: 188).
38. de Cazanove 1992: 109.
39. There are barely any examples to mention in Latium: Antium, Ostia and Fregellae (Coarelli 1986).

7   PROPHET AND TEXT IN THE THIRD CENTURY BC

1. For the praetor's identity and post, see *MRR* I 263 and n. 2.
2. It is very likely, as often proposed, that they reflect Bacchic worship of the type destined for supression twenty-five years later and surely very well established by this date; see North 1979; Pailler 1988; Beard et al. 1998: I, 91–7.
3. Whereas the SC de Bacchanalibus (*ILLRP* 511 = Beard et al. 1998: II, 12.1b) specifically forbids celebrations whether in secret, in public, in private or outside the city – unless permitted by the senate.
4. P. Cornelius Sulla was praetor in 212 BC (*MRR* I 268).
5. North 1990a; but see also Wiseman 1992.
6. On the *haruspices*, see Beard et al. 1998: I, 19–20, 101–2, II, 7.4.
7. For the Sibylline Books, see Hoffman 1933; Gagé 1955: 24–38, 196–204, 432–61, 342–55, 677–82; Parke 1988: 190–215; Scheid 1998b; Beard et al. 1998: II, 7.5; for the date at which the Sibyl as such became associated with the books, see Radke 1963: 1115–17; the story is told in Gel. *NA* 1.19.2 and DH 4.62 = Beard et al. 1998: II, 1.8; it is notable that the old woman of the story is not identified as the Sibyl herself.
8. Composite text reconstructed from Cicero's speech *de haruspicum responso* (on the response of the haruspices) (the figures in brackets refer to chapters of the speech); see also Beard et al. 1998: II, 7.4a.
9. For an analysis of the evidence see the lists at MacBain 1982: 122–5.
10. In his numbering the instances are: a.4; b.2–5; c. 1–6; d.1–8; g.1–5. The last five are only speculatively attributed to the *haruspices*. Other texts listed by MacBain have no element of prophecy in them. The texts with prophecy implied are (in chronological order): Dio Cassius 8 (= Zonaras 8.1.3) (296 BC – two occasions); Livy 42. 20. 1–6 (172 BC); Pliny *NH*, 17. 244 (171/68 BC); Obsequens 18 (152 BC), 28a (130 BC), 28a (129 BC), Orosius 5. 10. 1; Strabo 6. 2. 11 (126 BC); Orosius 5. 15. 20–2; Dio Cassius 26, f. 87; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 83; Pliny *NH*, 2.98 and 147 (114 BC); Obsequens 29;

Pliny *NH*, 2.203; Obsequens 44 (102 BC); Obsequens 46 (99 BC); Obsequens 48 (97 BC); Plut. *Sulla*, 6. 6; Pliny *NH*, 2.98 (90 BC); Obsequens 37; Livy *Per.*, 63; Cic. *Div.*, 1.99; Pliny *NH*, 8.221 (*c*.90 BC); Plut. *Sulla*, 2–6; Diod. Sic. 38 f. 5 (88 BC – two occasions); Obsequens 56b (86 BC); Cic. *Catil.* 3. 19–20, *Div.*, 1. 19–20; Obsequens 61; Dio Cassius 37. 9. 2, 34. 3–4 (65 BC); Cic. *Har.*, *passim*; Dio Cassius 39. 20. 2 (56 BC); Phlegon *Olym.*, F. 13 (56/52 BC); Pliny *NH*, 2. 147 (54 BC); Obsequens 65 (50 BC); Dio Cassius 42. 26. 3–5 (47 BC); App. *BC*, 4.4 (43 BC).

11. The total number of consultations, reported or very probable, whether prophetic in character or not for the same three periods is: six, twenty-six and twenty.

12. The names of the two priests who are preserved could both apparently be the same, viz. Coelius Etruscus: this raises the possibility that this is not a list organised by members of the *ordo*, but rather a list by members of the same family. But there seems to be no way of testing this hypothesis.

13. 'After this man's death, the discipline was brought under the authority of the *decemuiri*.'

14. There can be no doubt that Sulla's law affected the four major colleges of priests and both reintroduced co-optation and increased the numbers of priests, though the first direct evidence of the new title '*quindecimuir*' is Cic. *Fam.*, 8. 4. 1 (51 BC) (North 1990b).

15. 'factum ex eo senatus consultum, viderent pontifices quae retinenda firmandaque haruspicum' ('as a result a decree of the senate was passed, that the *pontifices* should see to it that the role of the *haruspices* should be maintained and strengthened'). For Claudius' interests in matters Etruscological, see Momigliano 1934: 8–19.

16. As they are said to have done, e.g. at Gel. *NA*, 4. 5. 1–6.

17. For a study see the famous work of Thulin 1906–9.

18. The *numina Arusan[ia]* are totally unknown; the cult of Jupiter and Justice, though not in itself surprising, is not in fact attested in the republican period. For discussion Torelli 1975: 112–15; but any translation would be hazardous.

19. *Gromatici veteres* I.350–1 (Blume, Lachmann, Rudorff).

20. Weinstock 1955; Latte 1960: 288 n. 3.

21. For a speculative reconstruction see Pfiffig 1975: 157–8.

22. For the interpretation of the phrase 'prope nouissimum … saeculi' see Heurgon 1959: 42–3.

23. The scene as Plutarch reports it is unique in its character, with the *haruspices* giving the senate a lecture on the implications of Etruscan doctrines.

24. See on this point Turcan 1976: 1012–13.

25. Turcan 1976; but see also Valvo 1988.

26. Beard et al. 1998: I, 113. For the importance of Etruscan texts in the late Republic see Rawson 1978.

27. For the new games, see Wissowa 1912: 295, 455–6; Gagé 1955: 257–96, 395–418; Latte 1960: 223–4; Bernstein 1998: 171–86.

28. For full discussion and earlier bibliography, Bernstein 1998: 172–80.

29. The tradition about Marcius (sometimes two Marcii) is too uncertain to be sure whether the text would have come from inside Rome or from elsewhere in Italy, but Cicero at least (*Div.*, 1.89) regarded the Marcii as brothers, well born and Roman ('nobili loco natos apud maiores nostros').

30. Phlegon, *Mirabilia* 10 = Jacoby, *FrGrHist* IIB no. 257, f. 36 10.A.1ff = Beard et al. 1998: II, 7.5a.

31. The text has an acrostic, so the length of the gap is fairly certain.

32. Le Bonniec 1958: 381–400.

33. For a list of these occasions, MacBain 1982: 127–32.

34 . Phlegon dates the oracle to the consulship of Plautius Hypsaeus and Fulvius Flaccus (*MRR* I: 510). See Diels 1890; MacBain 1982: 129–30.

35. For the two rituals, see Livy 27. 37, 31. 12. 6–10. The fundamental discussion is still that of Diels 1890; see also MacBain 1982: 127–35.

36. Though the organisation of Asia Minor as a province in these years had implied activity in Pergamum, not least by the consul of 129 BC, M. Aquillius, who had been governor for three years, had been active in organising the new province, had received a cult in Pergamum (*IGRR* IV.291, ll. 37ff) and had only recently returned to celebrate his triumph (*MRR* I: 509). But even if Tros could be a reference to the people of Pergamum, the problem of 'out of the land of Greece' would remain a puzzle.

37. As, for instance, with the Sibylline prophecy concerning the restoration of Ptolemy Auletes: Cic. *Fam.*, I. 7. 4 (= Letter 18 (Shackleton Bailey)), *Pis.*, 48–9; *Rab. Post.*, 4.

38. Small 1982: 3–67; Beard et al. 1998: II, 7.1c, with further bibliography.

39. See e.g. the story of Numa and the trap set for Faunus and Picus Martius, who are made drunk, seized and chained before they will reveal the secret of how to summon Iuppiter down to earth: the story comes to us in Arnobius (*Ad. Nat.*, 5.1), quoting Valerius Antias (from Book 2, F6 Peter). For Ovid's version of the same story, see *F.* 3. 285–391. For a similar story, see Beard et al. 1998: II, 7.1b.

40. So the long report in Pliny is written wholly on the assumption that the antiquity of the papyrus is guaranteed by the connection with Numa; this same assumption was evidently shared by the second-century BC writers quoted by Pliny.

41. See for instance Gruen 1990: 163–70.

42. 'summis rerum lectis' ('having read the headings').

43. So the senatus consultum of 186 BC (*ILLRP* 511 = Beard et al. 1998: II, 12.1b) sets up elaborate regulations for the future 'licensing' of Bacchic ceremonials, at the very time when the cult's adherents were subject to intense persecution throughout Italy.

8   THE GAMES OF HERCULES

1. Crawford 1974: 399–402, no. 385.1–5, whose descriptions I repeat (except 'border of dots' for each type). *Ludi*: Mommsen 1860: 620–1 n. 451, followed by Crawford 1974: 402.

2. Crawford 1974: 400; Fishwick 1967: 152–4; Plut. *Sulla*, 9.4; *LIMC* s.v. Athena nos. 302, 305 (Thurii coins), Athena-Minerva no. 2 (Pompeii).

3. Naevius F113R (Festus-Paulus 103L), cf. Ausonius 7. 24. 29–30; Ovid *F.*, 3. 785–6. See now Wiseman 1998: 35–51.

4. Degrassi 1973: XIII.2, 449–52, 525–6 (*ludi Florales* 28 April–3 May, *ludi Victoriae Sullanae* 26 Oct.–1 Nov.). *Epula Iovis*: ibid. p. 509 (*ludi Romani* 13 Sept.), 530 (*ludi plebeii* 13 Nov.).

5. *CIL* VI. 335 = I^2 985 = *ILLRP* 703. Degrassi 1963: XIII.2, 248–9 (*fasti Filocali*), 269 (*fasti Silvii*); Coarelli 1997: 296–345 (Porticus Minucia), 498–503 (Hercules Custos temple); cf. Zevi 1993 (esp. 679–92), whose siting of the Porticus Minucia *frumentaria* inside the Circus Flaminius itself is refuted by Coarelli 1997: 304–10.

6. *CIL* VI. 30888 = I^2. 984 = *ILS* 6081 = *ILLRP* 701. Piso F7 Peter (Tert. *de Spect.*, 5), Livy 5. 50. 4 ('collegium ... ex iis qui in Capitolio atque arce habitarent').

7. *Pace* Coarelli 1997: 499, who restores the first inscription '... ludos [circenses ...]'.

8. Circus Flaminius piazza: Humphrey 1986: 540–5. Crocodiles: Dio 55. 10. 8 (2 BC). *Ludi Tarpeii*: Ennius bk i, fragment li Skutsch (Schol. Bern. on Virg. *Georg.*, 2. 384), 'sic ludos edidit ut caestibus dimicarent et cursu contenderent' ('he [Romulus] gave games such that men might struggle in boxing gloves and compete in running').

9. Cic. *Pis.*, 8, Asconius 7C (cf. 75C for exemptions); Pliny *NH*, 36. 204 (Lares); Lintott 1968: 77–83.

10. *To theion, to daimonion*, etc.: Plut. *Sulla*, 6. 5–7 (Sulla F8 Peter), 7. 2–6, 9. 3–4, 14. 7, 17. 1–2, 27. 3–4. Ibid., 6. 5 (Fortuna); 7. 6, 9. 4, 27. 6, 30. 2 (Bellona); 12. 4–5, 19. 6, 29. 6 (Apollo); 19. 5, 34. 2 (Venus); 35. 1 (tithe to Hercules). Cf. Velleius 2. 25. 4: Sulla thanks Diana for his victory at Mt Tifata.

11. 89 BC: Sulla F9–10 Peter, App. *BC*, 1. 50–1, Orosius 5. 18. 22, Velleius 2. 16. 2. 83 BC: App. *BC*, 1. 84–6, Plut. *Sulla*, 27. 4–5, Velleius 2. 25, Cic. *Phil.*, 2. 27. Cumae

villa: App. *BC*, 1. 104; cf. Val. Max. 9.3.8, *Vir. Ill.*, 75. 12 (Puteoli).

12. Diodorus 4. 21. 5–22. 2, cf. Strabo 5. 4. 4 (Giants); Servius on Virg. *Aen.*, VII. 662 (Bauli, Pompeii), DH 1.44.1 (Herculaneum).

13. Macr. *Sat.*, 1. 17. 27, Charisius *Ars Grammatica* 140B (Sibylla); Pausanias 8. 24. 5.

14. Ovid *F.*, 6. 209–12 (4 June), cf. 199–208 for Bellona; Livy 36. 36. 3–4 (Magna Mater, temple and games).

15. Ps. Asconius 217St (on Cic. *Verr.*, act. pr. 31); Livy 6. 42. 12–14; Ovid *F.*, 5. 279–330.

16. Livy 25. 1. 6–12, 12. 2–15. An ancestor of Sulla was involved in the consultation of the Sibyl (Macr. *Sat.*, 1. 17. 27).

17. See n. 3 above; exhaustive treatment of the events of 186 in Pailler 1988. *Sacrificulus et vates*: Livy 39. 8. 3, cf. 25. 1. 8.

18. *CAH* IX²: 210–15, 223–8 (Seager); 327–38 (Wiseman).

19. Velleius 2. 27. 1–2 on Pontius Telesinus as a quasi-Hannibal.

9   LOOKING BEYOND THE CIVIC COMPROMISE

1. Finley 1985: 66. All dates are BC unless otherwise stated. I am grateful to the editors and to Jörg Rüpke for their comments on an earlier version of this chapter. I owe a special debt to Antonia Barke and C. Robert Phillips III for suggestions and help. This does not mean that they necessarily agree with my views.

2. This chapter complements the arguments set out in a forthcoming book with the (provisional) title *Social Complexity and Religion at Rome in the Second and First Centuries BCE*, where many of the arguments presented here will be discussed in greater detail.

3. I content myself with presenting *exempli gratia* two German scholars. I have deliberately abstained from discussing the impact of that German tradition on nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholarship in Britain and France, or the formation of national traditions in the study of Roman religion. Treatment of these traditions can be found in the publication cited above, n. 2.

4 . Müller 1825: 239–45. For a reappraisal of Müller's concept of *local religion*, developed in the context of Greek religion, see Schlesier 1994: 31–2.

5. Hartung 1836: i.ix: 'es ist ein alter Tempel von einem Ueberbaue verhüllt worden, sodann sind beide eingestürzt, und wir haben nun die Trümmer des ersteren Gebäudes unter dem Schutte des zweiten hervorzugraben.'

6. Hartung 1836: i.9–22, put in context by Scheid 1987: 304–7. The eighteenth-century debates on the origin of religion are portrayed in Manuel 1959.

7. Hartung 1836: i.244–9. It is worth noting that Hartung later published *Die Religion und Mythologie der Griechen* (Leipzig 1865–73). That work's title alone signalled the alleged differences between Romans and Greeks.

8. Hartung 1836: i.249–60. This evolutionary scheme can later be found in e.g. Marquardt 1885: 5–30, 56–71; Aust 1899: 10–33, 57–90; Warde Fowler 1911.

9. Wissowa 1912: 7–10, 15: 'das letzte Ziel der Forschung, ... von einer Betrachtung der römischen Staatsreligion vorzudringen zur Erkenntnis der italischen Volksreligion' ('the last objective of scholarship, ... to advance to knowledge of the Italian *Volksreligion* from an examination of the Roman state religion') – a premise still adopted by e.g. Latte 1960: 11–13.

10. See Ulf 1982: 148–51 and Scheid 1987: 316–20 (on Mommsen) and Phillips 1991: 149–50 (on the modern idolisation of Greek mythology) for references.

11. E.g. Mommsen 1907: 390. For a critical discussion, see Ulf 1982: 148–52.

12. Wissowa 1912: viii: 'Wenn man ... an meiner Darstellung eine gewisse Veräusserlichung der religiösen Vorstellungen und Formen aus dem Gesichtspunkte des *ius pontificum* oder eine wenig Sinn für Religiosität verratende einseitig juristische Betrachtungsweise tadeln zu müssen meinte, so wird die Frage berechtigt sein, ob denn "Religiosität" wirklich ein völlig feststehender und für alle Zeiten und Völker

konstanter Begriff ist, und ob nicht, was man an dem Buche als Mangel rügte, vielmehr dem Gegenstande der Untersuchung zur Last fällt.' See n. 26 below.

13. Accounts which follow this line of argument include Warde Fowler 1911; Nock 1934; Taylor 1949: 76–97; Latte 1960: 264–93, continuing the tradition of Hartung and Wissowa.

14. Cf. Jocelyn 1966; 1982: 159–61; Liebeschuetz 1979: 1–54, esp. 15–20; Wardman 1982: 22–62. Kroll 1928 anticipates many of the arguments.

15. 'Civic compromise': Gordon 1990: 194–7. *Loci classici* are Cic. *de Domo*, 1. 1–2; *Leg*. 2. 29–31; Livy, 1. 20.

16. For powerful critique of the view that Roman religion was formalistic and unimaginative, see Dumézil 1970: 102–12; Linder and Scheid 1993; North 1976; 1986: 251–3; Ulf 1982: 153–63; Phillips 1986: 2692 with n. 43. For the revaluation of ritual, see Price 1984: 7–11; Beard 1987: 1–3; Feeney 1998: 115–36, among many others.

17. Beard 1987: 8–10; Hopkins 1991: 482–3; Scheid 1992: 122–4; 1993a: 116, 124–7. Sacred law and ritual: Radke 1980; North 1976: 3–9; Rüpke 1996.

18. Suffice it to say that many of these ideas were anticipated when scholars came to realise that the received evolutionary model of an authentic Roman religion being distorted in historical times rested on idealising yet unhistorical premises. See e.g. Michels 1962: 440–2, placed in context by Linderski 1997: 336–41; Scholz 1970: 81–8.

19. Critical prosopography: Phillips 1986: 2697–8 with n. 56.

20. E.g. North 1976: 9–11; 1992: 187–8; Price 1984: 7–19; Scheid 1981: 117–19; 1985: 7–22; Phillips 1986: 2697–711; Linder and Scheid 1993; Durand and Scheid 1994.

21. On the impact of Schleiermacher's concept of religion on religious studies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (e.g. William James, Rudolf Otto, Friedrich Heiler, Mircea Eliade and even Émile Durkheim), cf. Flasche 1989; Firsching and Schlegel 1998. Bremmer 1998: 24–31 discusses the inappropriateness of applying terms like 'the sacred' and 'holiness' to the area of ancient pagan religions.

22. E.g. Scheid 1985: 138–9; Linderski 1995: 593–4; Scheid 1997: 470–1, 475–6; Beard, et al. 1998: I, 42, II, 231–5.

23. E.g. North 1976: 1; 1992: 177–8; Price 1984: 7–15; Scheid 1985: 12–15, 129–47, esp. 133–40; North 1989: 598–9, 604–7; Porte 1989: 10–16; Linder and Scheid 1993; Beard 1994: 729–34; Rives 1995: 4–13; Beard et al. 1998: I, 42–54, esp. 42–3; Rosenberger 1998: 17–25. The arguments are anticipated *in nuce* by earlier scholars (e.g. Michels 1962) and can be traced back to nineteenth-century scholarship (Hartung, Mommsen, Wissowa: see above).

24. This view, congruous with the literary evidence as it may seem, is, as these scholars themselves have pointed out with exemplary caution, nothing but a model; moreover one that over the years has been adjusted and will no doubt be further modified in the future. Caution: e.g. North 1989: 582; Beard et al. 1998: I, 12–13, 49–50, 98, II, 231, 233–4. Modification: e.g. Beard 1989: 57–8, 61 n. 52.

25. Needham 1972: 191, approved of by Phillips 1986: 2696; 1997: 130 with 131 n. 7; Feeney 1998: 12.

26. E.g. North 1989: 605–6: 'The theoretical problem is whether the elements of religious life can be postulated *a priori* for any society, or whether they are different and specific in different cultural situations ... the Romans' religious experience was profoundly different from our own'; Linder and Scheid 1993; Durand and Scheid 1994; Beard et al. 1998: I, 49–50. See already n. 12 above.

27. The thesis that religion was more or less 'undifferentiated' from the political sphere amounts to its 'embeddedness' in the socio-political administration of the city. Rome: Scheid 1985: 12–15, 129; Beard 1994: 729, 734; Beard et al. 1998: I, 42–3, *passim*. Greece: Sourvinou-Inwood 1990: 322; Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel 1992: 92–101; Parker 1996: 5–7.

28. E.g. Liebeschuetz 1979: 39–54; Tatum 1993 – both accounts unduly restrict themselves to an analysis of Roman elite sources; hence the fruitless speculation as

to whether the Roman link between ritual and morality may have arisen from the heightened impact of Greek philosophy on first-century Roman elite thinking. Wiseman 1992 = 1994: 49–53 takes a broader, and more satisfactory, view. I am grateful to C. Robert Phillips III for obtaining a copy of Tatum's article for me.

29. E.g. North 1979: esp. 96; 1986: 253–4; Cornell 1991: 59; Beard 1994: 755–63; Beard et al. 1998: I, 149–56, 160–1. Cf. Scheid 1985: 133.

30. Cf. e.g. North 1976: 11; 1979: 96–7 with n. 77; 1992: 178–9, 183–6. According to Scheid 1985: 133, change is achieved rather by marginal groups among the Roman population; Beard 1994: 755–68 and Beard et al. 1998: I, 149–56 employ 'differentiation' to denote the alleged increase in fragmentation and disintegration of the religious system of late republican Rome; Rives 1995: 245 parallels 'pluralism' and 'anarchy'.

31. Cf. Rüpke 1995: esp. 283–6, 366–8, rebutting the view that the late republican *Fasti Antiates maiores* represent a religious document reflecting traditional Roman state religion

32. E.g. Livy, 7. 28. 7–8: 'non tribus tantum supplicatum ire placuit sed finitimos etiam populos, ordoque iis quo quisque die supplicarent statutus' ('[the senate] decided that not only the tribes should perform the supplication but also the neighbouring peoples, and established the order in which each should supplicate on which day'), 21. 62. 6–9: 'supplicatio ... uniuerso populo' ('a supplication ... by the whole people'), 27. 4. 15, 32. 1. 14, 34. 55. 4: 'edictum est ut omnes qui ex una familia essent supplicarent pariter' ('it was decreed that all who were of one household should supplicate together'), 40. 19. 5: 'per totam Italiam' ('through the whole of Italy'). Cf. Luterbacher 1904: 29–34.

33. E.g. Mommsen 1899: 568; Warde Fowler 1911: 226–7; Wissowa 1912: 399–400; Latte 1960: 242–63; Dumézil 1970: 567–71, at 569: 'Rome frees herself in this way from the rigid confines of formalism.' For a critical discussion, cf. North 1989: 604–5; Gwyn Morgan 1990: 32–3.

34. Livy, 21. 62. 6: *prope tota ciuitas operata fuit*; 22. 10. 1–6; Plut. *Camillus*, 8; Latte 1960: 124–5; Radke 1980: 110–16.

35. Exclusion: e.g. Livy, 21. 62; Zosimus, 2. 5. 1; Suet. *Claudius*, 22. Cf. Diels 1890: 96–98.

36. Parentalia: *ILS* 139–40; private sacrifice: *ILS* 139, 22–6; Scheid 1993b: esp. 195. Germanicus: Tabula Siarensis frg. b col. I (*Roman Statutes* no. 37), lines 1–14, modelled on the Parentalia for L. and C. Caesar; Tabula Hebana (= *Roman Statutes* no. 37), lines 54–62.

37. Cato, frg. 72 Malcovati⁴. The wording of the text (*quod in te fuit*, 'as far as the issue concerned you, Veturius') may suggest that Veturius's neglect of the *sacra priuata* was his own business, since in terms of sacred law Veturius himself, rather than the Roman people, would be held accountable by the gods; at least, this seems to be the meaning of the Latin phrase *sacra ... capite* (sc. Veturii) *sancta* ('the rites, established and solemn, for which you are held liable with your life, you abandoned').

38. *Roman Statutes* no. 37, lines 55–6: 'qui ordini[s equestris erunt ...] ... qui eor(um) officio fungi uolent et per ualetudinem perq(ue) domestic[a sacra officio fungi poterunt' ('also those who shall be of the [equestrian] order ... those who shall wish to perform their duty and [shall be able to attend] as far as the health and household [religious rites] are concerned': tr. Richardson, Crawford); cf. the Rome frg. (b) (= *Roman Statutes* no. 37), line 1.

39. Pighi 1965: 110, lines 24–8: 'Sacrificium saeculare ludosque ... de ea re quae more exsemploque maiorum in contione palam ediximus ... item in albo posuimus uti si qui a contione afuissent aut non satis intellexissent ... cognoscerent quid quemquam eorum quoque die facere oporteret' ('As to the secular sacrifice and the games ... we made a proclamation openly in a public meeting on that subject, after the custom and example of our ancestors ... we posted the same words on a white board, so that if anyone had been absent from the public meeting or had not understood clearly enough

... they might find out what each of them ought to do and on which day'). A new fragment of the *commentarium* reveals that the *ludi* were financed from public money in accordance with contemporary precedents, when the *antiquei librei* covering the procedure of earlier secular games could not be found: Moretti 1982–4: 366 (text). The nature of the *antiquei librei* remains disputed, but they are likely to have been *senatus consulta*; cf. Bodel 1994: 8–9, 90–1; Liberman 1998: 71.

40. E.g. Beard 1987: 1, 7–12, at 12: '[The ritual calendar] offered a pageant of what it was to be Roman ...: to perform the rituals through the year ... was to discover and rediscover that Romanness'; Beard 1993: 55–6; Wallace-Hadrill 1988: esp. 226; Hopkins 1991: 484–6.

41. Sperber and Wilson 1986; Boyer 1994: 185–223. I shall deal with this issue in greater detail elsewhere.

42. Cf. Cornell 1991 on the Roman city-state as an anachronism and an ideology. Citizenship detached from political participation: e.g. Millar 1998: 13–48. Limits of political participation: e.g. Hall 1998: 26–30. *Plebs urbana*: Pina Polo 1996: 129–34.

43. [Q. Cic.] *Comm. Pet.*, 54: 'Roma est, ciuitas ex nationum conuentu constituta' ('This is Rome – a community established by the gathering of peoples'); cf. Brunt 1987: 376–88; Purcell 1994: 648–58; Morley 1996: 33–54; Scheidel 1996: 167–8.

44. Bagnall and Frier 1994: 160–9 provide a welcome demographic comparative perspective on the effects of internal migration over short distances in Roman Egypt.

45. E.g. Cic. *Fam.*, 4. 5–6, 5. 16; Hinard 1987; 1995; Bagnall 1993: 184–8.

46. Cato. *Agr.*, 132, 134, 139, 141; Phillips 1997. Plautus: Hanson 1959: 72–82; Schilling 1979: 389–400.

47. *MEFRA* 39 (1921), 213 = Schraudolph 1993: 166–7 with pl. 13.

48. Greece: *SEG* I. 248; Paus., 5. 5. 10; Graf 1990: 178–83. Italy: *CIL* X. 6786–8, 6789–90, 6792–9 (Ischia, at the spring Nitroli); *CIL* XIV, Suppl. 1. 4322 (Ostia); *CIL* 6. 166, 549–50 (Rome); Schraudolph 1993: 149–69.

49. E.g. *ILLRP* 35–8; *Roma medio-repubblicana. Aspetti culturali di Roma e del Lazio nei secoli IV e III a.C.* (Rome 1973), 138–48; Pensabene et al. 1980; Bouma 1996: III, 91–3. In general, cf. Degrassi 1986.

50. The evidence for incubation under the republic is circumstantial: Festus, 268 L; Plaut. *Curc.*, 61–2, the latter depicting Greek incubation but showing Roman familiarity with the phenomenon. Later evidence is clearer: *CIL* VI. 8, 14 and 30844; *IGUR* 148 with Guarducci 1978: 158–66. There is little to recommend the view that the sanctuary on the Isola Tiberina was a 'prononciert aus der Menschenwelt ausgegliederte[r] Raum' ('an area distinctly separated from the human sphere'), characterised by its 'Lage im Draussen' ('peripheral location': Graf 1990: 160–7, 198–9).

51. Lloyd 1979: 37–49; Oberhelman 1993. The latter, at p. 145ff, shows how Latin literature since the late third century accounted for communication between the gods and individuals via dreams.

52. Rüpke 1997a: 321–8; 1999: 14–17, 22–3, possibly too extreme but providing a salutary corrective to the new orthodoxy.

53. *Salus*: e.g. Plaut. *Amph.*, 720, *Capt.*, 529, *Poen.*, 128, *Pseud.*, 709; Cato *Agr.*, 141, 3; Hanson 1959: 74–7; Winkler 1995: 27–30.

54. Seneca, *De superstitione*, frs 36b–37 Haase = 69–70 Vottero *ap.* August., *CD* 6.10. Cf. Seneca, *Epist.* 95. 47–50.

55. Cic. *Leg.*, 2. 22. 2, 40; Ovid *F.*, 4. 350–2; cf. Tert. *Apol.*, 13. 6.

56. *Lex Furfonensis*: *ILLRP* 508 with Laffi 1978. *Lex Ursonensis*: *Roman Statutes* no. 25, ch. 72.

57. Aesculapius: *AE* 1987, 53, with Degrassi 1987. The evidence for, and importance of, *stipes* and *thesauri* for the temple economy are significant. Full documentation and discussion will be provided in the publication cited above, n. 2; for the time being, note only the illuminating North African inscription *AE* 1908, 11: 'Religiosi qui stipem ad Aesculapium ponere uolunt in thesaurarium mittant ex quibus aliquod donum Aesculapio fiat' ('The devout, who wish to place a contribution in the temple

of Aesculapius, in the [god's] treasure, let them send something from which some gift may be made to Aesculapius').

58. Pliny *Ep.*, 8. 8, 5–7; Scheid 1996: 246–7, 250–3, 255–6; Dubourdieu 1997.

59. E.g. Plaut. *Cas.*; Cic. *Inv.*, 1. 101, *Div.*, 1. 34, 2. 85–8; Varro *LL*, 7, 48; or the late republican votive relief from Ostia dedicated to Hercules at the god's oracular shrine by the *haruspex* C. Fulvius Salvis: *AE* 1941, 67 = Schraudolph 1993: 133–4 with pl. 5; Ritter 1995: 95–8.

60. Calpurnius Piso, fr. 14 P = 21 Forsythe *ap*. Dion. Hal., 4. 15. 5. Cf. Plut. *Quaest. Rom.*, 88; Festus, 106 L s.v. *lucaris pecunia*, Bodel 1994: 13–18. Iuventas may also have received the *togae praetextae* of Roman boys when the latter began to wear the *toga virilis*: Aug. *C.D.*, 4. 11; cf. Festus, 92 L; Tert. *Adv. Nat.*, 2. 11. Needless to say, we do not know how commonly observed these customs were. Fortuna Virgo: Ovid *F.*, 6. 670; Pliny *NH*, 8. 194, 197; Arnob. *Ad. Nat.*, 2, 67; Bömer on Ovid *F.*, 6. 569; Gladigow 1994: 13–14.

61. It is thus conceptually unproblematic, and makes sense on archaeological and topographical grounds, to suggest (Häuber 1998) that the so-called '*favissae* of Minerva Medica' should be linked rather to the shrine of Fortuna Virgo on the Esquiline.

62. Tert. *Apol.*, 13. 6: 'exigitis mercedem pro solo templi, pro aditu sacri; non licet deos gratis nosse, uenales sunt' ('you demand payment for the land where the temple stands, and for entry into the shrine; one cannot know the gods for free, they are for sale'). For a list of fees, see e.g. *CIL* VI. 820.

63. E.g. North 1979: 98; 1992: 178–9.

64. Lieu et al. 1992: 1–8. Doubts: Goodman 1994: 1–19.

65. For this notion of the 'market model' of religion, see Gladigow 1990: 239–41; Iannacone 1995; Stark 1996: 191–208.

66. Greater expediency of the alternative forms of divination: Rüpke 1995: 577–8. *Haruspices*: e.g. Plaut. *Amph.*, 1132–3; Cato *Agr.*, 5. 4; *ILLRP* 186. *Harioli*: Montero 1993: 115–24 (with a problematic evolutionist perspective). 'Prophets': Wiseman 1994: 49–67; North, Chapter 7 in this volume.

10   WORSHIPPING MATER MATUTA

I am grateful to Profs H. M. Hine and G. D. Woolf for helpful comments on a draft of this chapter; all faults remain my own.

1. For a review of the evidence and the debates, together with further bibliography, see Smith 1999.

2. It is worth noting here that parts of the roof decoration from the first temple seem to have been used in the construction of the main acropolis road at Satricum, which perhaps functioned as a sort of Via Sacra – another form of 'sacred rubbish' as discussed by Glinister, Chapter 4 in this volume.

3. I have discussed the character and function of the acts of deposition at Satricum in Smith forthcoming.

4. For the S. Omobono evidence see Coarelli 1988: 205–417, and the catalogue *Il Viver Quotidiano*; summary in Smith 1996a: 159–62.

5. See Bettini 1991 for a lengthy discussion of the position of aunts in the Matralia. Bettini suggests that sisters prayed for each other's children and stresses elements of exchange and reciprocity which are purely speculative; the chapter is criticised by Saller 1997. On the importance of aunts in later times, see Seneca *ad Helviam* 14. 3, 19 (political support), Pliny *Ep.*, 4. 19. 1–2 (an aunt as a mother-substitute).

6. See Simon 1995 for another view stressing the appropriateness of double or twin goddesses (here Fortuna and Mater Matuta) for kourotrophic functions.

7. Most recently in Coarelli 1997: 275–345 with references to the extensive bibliography for this group of buildings.

8. See Cornell 1995: 399–402 for some of the chronological problems of the anarchy

years which are absent from other accounts. Varro (*LL*, 5. 74) and Ovid (*F.*, 3. 245–8) suggest or imply an earlier date.

9. Feeney 1998: 129 notes the Roman keenness for multiple exegesis, and applies this to Ovid's account of the Parilia in *Fasti* Book 4.

10. See on this Champeaux 1982: 300 and Boëls-Janssen 1993: 315–18.

11. Torelli 1997 uses this information to trace a combination of agricultural and initiatory rituals in the area; he might have added the Robigalia to his list, since the presence of sacrificed dogs in the S. Omobono complex suggests that we should also see the Porta Catularia in this area, where the *augurium canarium* for the warding off of mildew took place (Smith 1996b).

12. See essays in Rystedt et al. 1993 for a variety of approaches, and also Izzet, Chapter 3 in this volume.

13. Smith 1999: 462 for details.

14. Versnel 1997, reading the first damaged word of the inscription as IUN]IEI. De Waele 1996 has suggested SAL]IEI, which would in fact have quite similar results, since the Salii surely start off as some sort of initiatory age group, as indicated by their associations with dancing and weaponry.

15. See Izzet, Chapter 3 in this volume, on inside and outside distinctions in Etruscan temples. The expulsion of the slave from the temple of Mater Matuta is another instance of the articulation of this distinction.

16. See Smith 1996b, Laurence and Smith 1995–6, for similar arguments against an imposition of a 'primitive' mentality on early Roman religion.

17. North, Chapter 7 in this volume, similarly emphasises the importance of competing readings and writings within the context of Roman prophecy; another form of literature, but no less significant, and no less inventive. Indeed, one might consider the significance of the early literature which North has explored to the development of what Feeney 1998: 142 characterises as the contribution of Roman religious literature: 'the variety of written texts, the explosion of knowledge of all forms, had changed the whole set of imaginative and intellectual possibilities'.

18. *Matuta* is the accepted emendation by Pontanus for *matura* in the manuscripts.

19. Note that Homer refers always to Eos; Lucretius could have used the metrically equivalent Aurora here, but by choosing Mater Matuta signals the wider development of the following lines.

20. Note also the important discussion at Herbert-Brown 1994: 35–7 showing clearly that the older notion to be found in Wissowa that Ovid confused the Magna Mater with Mater Matuta must be rejected; and cf. Boudreau Flory 1984 for an earlier discussion of Livia's connections with the cult of Mater Matuta. Other important treatments include Newlands 1995: 226–9, who overemphasises, it seems to me, the negative aspects of the cult; compare Fantham 1992, and see below. Newlands focuses on Mater Matuta's prophecy of military disaster in the Social War (lines 563–8), which I would take as an allusion to the way that the goddess's care of children is repeatedly contextualised within the sphere of military activity. On Ovid's treatment of Servius Tullius see Fox 1996: 205–10.

21. Hence the significance of the worship of Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium, and of the parallel set of cults at Pyrgi, Caere's harbour site.

22. Note here the parallel with the clay cakes found in the Forum Boarium and at Satricum, and the proximity of the temple complex to the Porta Carmentalis, noted above.

23. The epigraphic evidence for the conduct of the Ludi Saeculares is translated at Beard et al. 1998: II, 139–44.

24. We do not know the exact date of the dedication of the altar of Concordia, and Herbert-Brown 1994: 155 suggests it may even have been after 2 BC; if it does belong to the same date as the Portico, 7 BC, then the reminiscence of the events of precisely a decade before may have been striking. For the importance of 7 BC (year 1 of the Fasti Magistrorum Vicorum) see Laurence and Smith 1995–6: 144–5, and see Fantham

1985 for Livia and Germanicus' dedication to Concordia in the Forum in AD 10, mentioned by Ovid at *F.*, 1. 639–50.

25. For this see Boëls-Janssen 1993: 370 and Brind'Amour and Brind'Amour 1971.

26. *Contra* Kissel 1990 on both points; but cf. Juv. 10. 133ff for the continuing significance of the triumph in satiric contexts.

27. Dench 1995 is fundamental for this process of an argument at Rome developing out of contact with Samnites and others, who were themselves evolving ways of using other cultures in their own self-representation.

28. See Bell 1992: 197–223 for a powerful attempt to read ritualisation in Foucauldian terms.

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