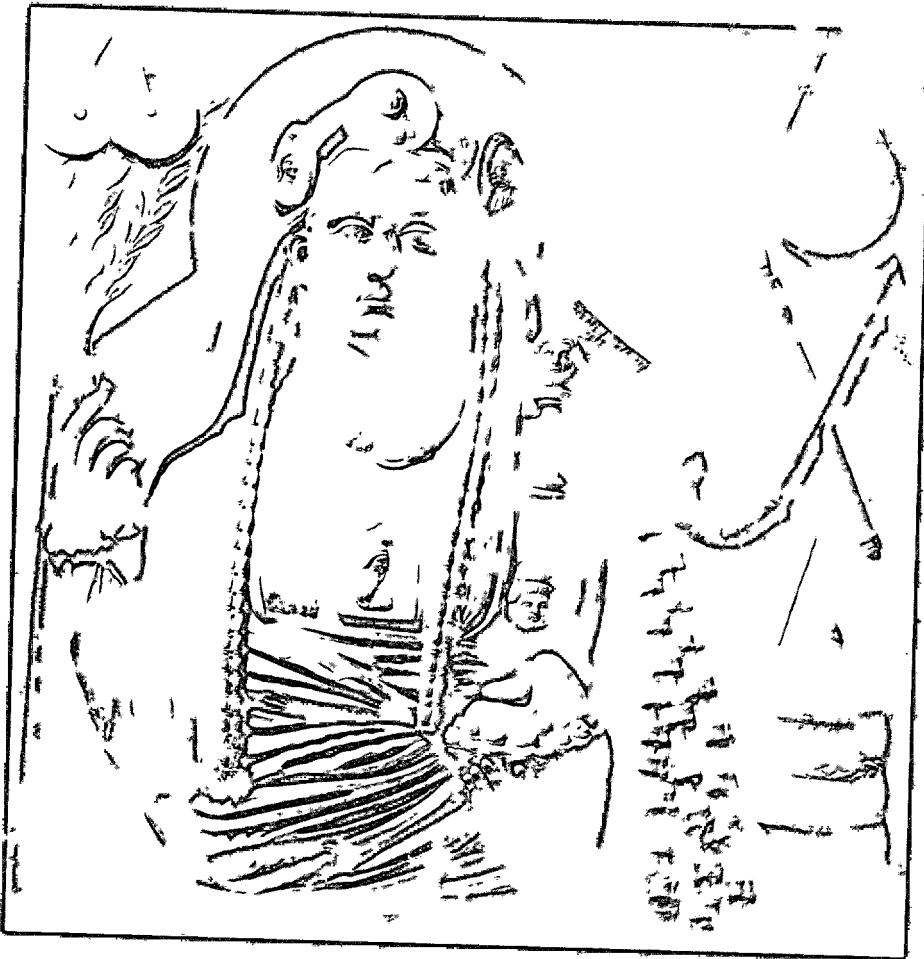
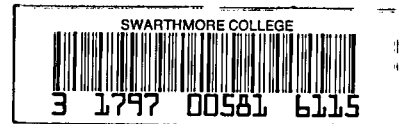


RELIGIONS OF ROME

Volume 2 • A Sourcebook



MARY BEARD, JOHN NORTH
AND SIMON PRICE



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This book reveals the extraordinary diversity of ancient Roman religion. A comprehensive sourcebook, it presents a wide range of documents illustrating religious life in the Roman world – from the foundations of the city in the eighth century B.C. to the Christian capital more than a thousand years later. Each document is given a full introduction, explanatory notes and bibliography, and acts as a starting point for further discussion.

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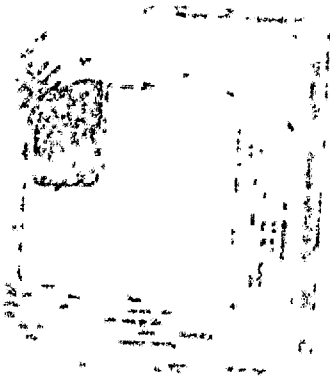
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VOLUME 2

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Contents

Acknowledgements viii

Preface ix

Conventions and abbreviations xiii

- 1 Earliest Rome 1
- 2 The deities of Rome 26
- 3 The calendar 60
- 4 Religious places 78
- 5 Festivals and ceremonies 116
- 6 Sacrifices 148
- 7 Divination and diviners 166
- 8 Priests and priestesses 194
- 9 Individuals and gods: life and death 216
- 10 Rome outside Rome 239
- 11 Threats to the Roman order 260
- 12 Religious groups 288
- 13 Perspectives 349

Glossary 365

Deities and their epithets 369

Bibliography 371

1 *Literary texts* 371

2 *Secondary literature* 375

Details of illustrations 402

Index of texts cited 405

General index 410

10 Rome outside Rome

This chapter is concerned with Roman religion outside Rome – with how far the deities, practices and rules of the religion of the city of Rome came to be extended to the communities of the empire as a whole. The Romans never seem to have had a methodical policy either of imposing their own religion on the peoples they conquered or of accumulating defeated gods in their own capital city. All the same, a complicated relationship grew up between the religion of Rome and the religions of Italy and the provinces. This chapter explores the development and character of that relationship. First (10.1), the particular influence of an archaic religious law, that of the sanctuary of Diana on the Aventine (1.5), is traced from the early Latin League to later *coloniae* in the provinces; 10.2 is concerned again with Roman colonies, both in Italy and overseas, and with the extent of their borrowing from Rome; 10.3 illustrates two religious aspects of Roman conquest abroad – the development of a cult of the goddess ‘Roma’ in the provinces, and Roman assimilation of the gods of their conquered enemies; 10.4 explores how far priests of the city of Rome claimed authority (or were influential as models of priestly behaviour) outside Rome itself; 10.5 and 10.6 collect some of the best evidence of provincial reactions to the presence of Rome and Roman rulers in the provinces, East and West.

See further: Vol. 1, ch. 7.

10.1 The rules of Diana on the Aventine

According to Roman tradition, the temple of Diana on the Aventine was founded by King Servius Tullius (see 1.5d and 1.7a) as a religious centre for the Latin League. The rules established for this sanctuary, regulating for example sacrificial practice and establishing the right of asylum (the right of fugitives to escape arrest), were explicitly extended to other sanctuaries in the Roman empire. It is very likely that other Roman institutions were similarly taken as models in founding Roman colonies in Italy and further afield (see 10.2).

Diana on the Aventine was identified – possibly from the time of the foundation of the temple – with Artemis of Ephesus. It is far from clear what exactly this claim amounted to; but the two cults certainly had features in common – both, for example, had the right of asylum.

See further: R. E. A. Palmer (1974) 57–78; on the overseas connections of Diana: Ampolo (1970); Gras (1987) 47–61.

10.1a *Diana on the Aventine Hill*

Dionysius of Halicarnassus is the only surviving writer to refer in any detail to the special rules of Aventine Diana, recorded (as Dionysius states) on an ancient inscription; though even he does not mention the extension of these rules outside Rome. For Livy's account of the establishment of the sanctuary, emphasizing particularly the connection with Ephesus, see 1.5d.

See further: Vol. 1, Map 1 no. 19; Scullard (1981) 173–4*; on the significance of Dionysius' use of the inscribed text: Gabba (1991) 138–9.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* IV.26.3–5

After saying this, he advised them to set up a sacred asylum from their common funds, at which the cities would come together and offer sacrifices each year, individually and jointly, and celebrate festivals. And if any quarrels should arise between them, they would resolve them during the sacrifices, by putting their complaints to the other cities for settlement. He emphasized these and many other benefits that would flow from the creation of a common council and thus persuaded all who were present at the meeting. Then, using the contributions brought in by all the cities, he built the temple of Diana on the Aventine, the largest of all the Roman hills. And he wrote laws on the mutual relations of the cities and regulated everything else to do with the festival and the meeting. And in order that the passage of time should not blot out these laws, he put up a brazen pillar on which he had inscribed the decrees of the meeting and the list of cities taking part in it. The pillar was still in existence in my time in the temple of Diana; the inscription was in the script used in archaic Greece. This in itself would provide no mean proof that Rome's founders were no barbarians; for if they had been, they would not have used the Greek script.¹

1. The text that Dionysius was reading was, of course, in Latin – but the script in which early Roman documents were written was very similar to Greek scripts. Interpreting the script as Greek, Dionysius finds this inscription useful evidence for the central contention of his history – that Rome was originally a Greek city, see 5.7a.

10.1b *Altar dedication from Narbo Martius (Narbonne) in Gaul*

The regulations inscribed on the altar dedicated to the divine power (*numen*) of the Emperor Augustus by the people of Narbo refer explicitly to the regulations of Aventine Diana. Narbo was founded as a Roman *colonia* in 118 B.C. The altar was established in A.D. 11 or 12, but the inscription itself is a later publication or re-publication of the original rules. The text that follows is on one face of the altar; on another inscribed face the composition of the board of knights and ex-slaves overseeing the cult of the *numen*, as well as the offerings prescribed, is laid out.

See further: Vol. 1, 329–30; Gayraud (1981) 358–66 (on Diana, 364–6); Fishwick (1987-) II.1.379–80, 502, 508; on the notion of law (*lex*) in this and the next document, Wissowa (1912) 473; Magdelain (1978) esp. 29–31. For a translation of the other inscribed face, Sherk (1988) 12–13.

ILS 112; *CIL* XII.4333

[The people] of Narbo dedicated [this altar] for the divine power of Augustus [2 lines erased] by the laws¹ written below.

Divine power of Caesar Augustus, father of the country, when to you on this day I shall give and dedicate this altar, by those laws and within those limits shall I give and dedicate it which I shall have declared here publicly to be the foundation of this altar and of its inscriptions: if anyone wishes to clean, refurbish or repair it – as a public service – that shall be a right and lawful act; or if anyone wishes to sacrifice an animal but does not expose the entrails,² the sacrifice shall count as still properly performed; if anyone wishes to make a gift to this altar and to enrich it, that shall be permitted and the same law shall apply to the gift as to the altar; other laws for this altar and its inscriptions shall be the same as for the altar of Diana on the Aventine. By these laws and within these boundaries, as I have said, with respect to this altar for Emperor Caesar Augustus, father of the country, *pontifex maximus*, holder of the tribunician power for the 35th year <A.D. 11 or 12>, and for his wife, children and clan (*gens*), and for the people and senate of Rome, and for the citizens and inhabitants of the *colonia* Julia Paterna Narbo Martius,³ who have bound themselves for ever to the cult of his divine power, I give and dedicate, that you may be favourable and propitious.

1. The word law (*lex*) here means not a law passed by an assembly, but one uttered formally by a magistrate, in this case a local magistrate of the *colonia*.
2. In some rituals the entrails (*exta*) were exposed in a pit (*magmentarium*) rather than returned to the altar; this clause makes that procedure optional.
3. This is the full Roman name for Narbo.

10.1c *Altar dedication at Salona in Dalmatia (A.D. 137)*

Salona was a *colonia* on the eastern coast of the Adriatic and, at the time of this dedication, the major city of the Roman province of Dalmatia. Here too, the regulations of Aventine Diana provided the model for the ritual of an altar.

See further: Vol. 1, 329–30; Laffi (1980); on Salona, Wilkes (1969) 220–38.

ILS 4907; *CIL* III.1933

In the consulship of Lucius Aelius Caesar (for the second time) and of Publius Coelius Balbinus Vibullius Pius <A.D. 137> seven days before the Ides of October <9 October>, Gaius Domitius Valens the *duovir iure dicundo*¹ pronounced the law written below, with Gaius Julius Severus the *pontifex* dictating the words to him:²

'Jupiter Optimus Maximus, when to you this day I shall give and dedicate this altar, in

accordance with those laws and those limits that I shall here this day openly declare, in accordance with the lowest visible part of this altar; if anybody sacrifices here with a victim, albeit he has not exposed the entrails, the sacrifice shall still count as properly performed.³ Other laws for this altar shall be the same as the law pronounced for the altar of Diana on the Aventine Hill.

By these laws, within these limits, as I have declared them, I give, grant and dedicate this altar to you Jupiter Optimus Maximus, so that you may be favourable and propitious to me, my colleagues, to the town councillors, the citizens and other inhabitants of the *colonia Martia Julia Salona*, and also to our wives and children'.

1. That is, a magistrate of Salona – literally 'one of the two men for administering justice'.

2. For law, see 10.1b n. 1.

3. See 10.1b n. 2; For the definition of acceptable procedure, compare 6.5.

10.2 Colonies of Rome

From the middle of the Republic on, settlements of Roman citizens (most commonly ex-soldiers, but also landless citizens from the capital itself) were established outside Rome. The legal and constitutional arrangements of these *coloniae* were modelled on those of Rome, and they were expected to replicate some (though not all) of the institutions of Roman state religion.

See further: Vol. 1, 328–34; on the administration of *coloniae* in general, Millar (1981) 84–5*.

10.2a *The constitution of a Roman colonia*

Urso was a Spanish town in the valley of the river Baetis (Guadalquivir) which formed a centre of resistance against the Caesarians in the Civil War. A *colonia* was sent there in 44 B.C., to be set up on confiscated land and much of the law constituting it survives on a bronze tablet discovered at the site. These chapters arrange for the religious institutions of the new town, including the creation of priestly colleges modelled on the Roman ones. The reference to the priests having the same rights as those of priests in every *colonia* suggests that these are, at this date, standard arrangements for every *colonia*. This text of the foundation charter was inscribed in the first century A.D.

See further: Vol. 1, 328; Mackie (1983) 62–3 and n. 31; 85–6; Lintott (1993) 137–40*; for a translation of the complete document (with extensive commentary) Crawford (1996) 1.393–454.

ILS 6087 paras. 64–7; CIL II.5, 439, 64–7

(64) The *duoviri*¹ who hold office after the establishment of the *colonia* shall, within the first ten days of their office, bring for decision to the town councillors, in the presence of not fewer than two thirds of them, the question of which days and how many days shall

be festal, which sacrifices shall be publicly performed and who shall perform them. Whatever shall have been decreed by the majority of those present at the meeting, that shall be lawful and valid, and those sacrifices and those festal days shall be observed in the said *colonia*.²

(65) Whatever sums are levied as fines related to the taxes of the *colonia*, no one shall have the power to use, give or assign them to anyone, except for the sacrifices offered in the name of *coloni*, whether within the *colonia* or anywhere else. Let no one take those sums in any other way without incurring liability, and let no one have the right or power to make a proposal about those sums to the decurions or to speak his opinion about them. And the *duoviri* shall without incurring liability give and assign those sums for those sacrifices that are offered in the name of the *coloni*, whether within the *colonia* or anywhere else, and they shall have the right and power to do so. And those to whom the sums are given are permitted to take them without incurring liability.

(66) Whosoever shall be appointed *pontifices* and *augures* from the *colonia Genetiva*³ by Caius Caesar (or by whoever establishes the *colonia* on Caesar's instruction) let them be *pontifices* and *augures* of the *colonia Genetiva Julia*; let them be *pontifices* and *augures* in the colleges of *pontifices* and *augures* of the said *colonia*, possessing all the best rights that pertain or shall pertain to the *pontifices* and *augures* in every *colonia*. Let those *pontifices* and *augures*, who shall be members of each college, and their children be sacredly guaranteed freedom from military service and public obligations, in the same way as a *pontifex* is and shall be in Rome, and all their military service shall be deemed to have been completed.⁴ Concerning the auspices and matters connected therewith, let the jurisdiction and the power of adjudication belong to the *augures*. The said *pontifices* and *augures* shall have the right and power to wear the *toga praetexta* both at Games celebrated publicly by the magistrates and at public sacrifices of the *colonia Genetiva Julia* celebrated by themselves; and the said *pontifices* and *augures* shall have the right and power to sit amongst the town councillors at the Games and the gladiatorial combats.

(67) Whosoever shall be chosen or co-opted as a *pontifex* or as an *augur* of the *colonia Genetiva Julia* in place of a deceased or condemned member, after the issuing of this law, let him be a *pontifex* or an *augur* of the *colonia Julia*, a *pontifex* or an *augur* in the college, possessing all the rights that pertain or shall pertain to the *pontifices* and *augures* in every *colonia*. Let nobody accept, choose or co-opt anybody into the college of the *pontifices* except when there shall be fewer than three *pontifices* from among those of the *colonia Genetiva*. Let nobody accept, choose or co-opt anybody into the college of the *augures* except where there shall be fewer than three *augures* from among those of the *colonia Genetiva Julia*.⁵

1. The standard title of the senior magistrates in a *colonia*, as in 10.1c.

2. Decisions about religious matters are thus entrusted to the town council, without apparent reference to priests or oracles.

3. *Colonia Genetiva Julia* was the Roman name of the town Urso (now Osuna) – Julia from Julius Caesar, the founder; Genetiva the specific name of the colony (whose precise significance is unclear).