YALE CLASSICAL STUDIES 33

RELIGION IN REPUBLICAN ITALY

Edited by Celia E. Schultz and Paul B. Harvey, Jr

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This volume explores how recent findings and research provide a richer understanding of religious activities in Republican Rome and contemporary central Italic societies, including the Etruscans, during the period of the Middle and Late Republic. While much recent research has focused on the Romanization of areas outside Italy in later periods, this volume investigates religious aspects of the Romanization of the Italian peninsula itself. The chapters strive to integrate literary evidence with archaeological and epigraphic material as they consider the nexus of religion and politics in early Italy; the impact of Roman institutions and practices on Italic society; the reciprocal impact of non-Roman practices and institutions on Roman custom; and the nature of "Roman," as opposed to "Latin," "Italic," or "Etruscan," religion in the period in question. The resulting volume illuminates many facets of religious praxis in Republican Italy, while at the same time complicating the categories we use to discuss it.

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VOLUME XXXIII

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Edited for the Department of Classics by

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CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

cambridge university press
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge cb2 2ru, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521863667

First published in print format 2006

isbn-13 978-0-511-26019-3 eBook (EBL)
isbn-10 0-511-26019-9 eBook (EBL)

isbn-13 978-0-521-86366-7 hardback
isbn-10 0-521-86366-X hardback

Contents

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Acknowledgments

Though not technically conference proceedings, the essays collected in this volume were presented at a festive weekend gathering at the Whitney Humanities Center, Yale University in March 2003. All the contributors to this project thank those in the audience for substantial critical, collegial commentary. From the inception of this project there has been extensive consultation among the authors. The reader will frequently encounter in the notes to these studies references to consultation among the contributors and several citations of contributors' published and forthcoming studies – an index of the level of genial collaboration. All involved have deeply appreciated the friendly fashion in which the project proceeded.

Those who have contributed to the value of this volume as a whole are legion; the following friends and colleagues deserve formal thanks for their assistance: Cecilia Beer, John L. Berry, Larissa Bonfante, M. Rosaria Borriello and Stefano De Caro of the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Napoli; Guy Bradley, Monica Castillo, Thomas Chen, Annamaria Comella, Glenys Davies, Valeria Sampaolo for permission to publish materials from the sanctuary of Marica in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli; Nancy T. De Grummond, David D. Driscoll, Gary Farney, Barbro Santillo Frizell, Margarita Gleba, Karen J. Harvey, Carlo Livi, Donatella Mazzeo and Paola Matteo of the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale for permission to publish materials from Monte d'Argento; Brian E. McConnell, William E. Metcalf, Elisabeth O'Keef, Giorgio Pala, Silvio Panciera, Carlo Rescigno, S. Dominic Ruegg, Russell T. Scott, Martin Söderlind, Giuseppe Tonsini and Augusto Briotti of the Soprintendenza Archeologica per il Lazio for photographs of materials from Monte d'Argento and the Temple of Marica; Stefano Tortorella, Leni Wendt, Aidan Westin-Lewis and his colleagues at the National Gallery of Scotland; Susan Walker of the British Museum; and Valerie Warrior.

Finally, this project would not have developed if we had not had the support of John Matthews, Victor Bers, Susanna Morton Braund, and Kay

Claiborn of the Department of Classics at Yale University. Special help came from Ayelet Haimson Lushkov, Pramit Chaudhuri, Ornella Rossi, and Katherine Wasdin. To them we all offer our most sincere thanks.

Finally, in the time between the issuing of invitations to participate and the last stages of production for *Religion in Republican Italy*, contributors to this volume gave birth to six children. We wish to thank the babies for arriving safely. We also thank them for their foresight in always arriving after deadlines for the volume had been met.

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Abbreviations

I. INSCRIPTIONS are cited, unless otherwise indicated, by series volume and number of the inscription. Thus, *CIL* VI.6344 = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, volume 6, inscription number 6344. We cite by the accepted abbreviations the standard epigraphic publications. Note especially the following:

CIE	*Corpus Insciptionum Etruscarum*. Leipzig and Florence (1893–)
CIL I²	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, *volumen primus, editio altera*, ed. G. Henzen, C. Huelsen, T. Mommsen, and E. Lommatzsch. Berlin (1893–1943)
CIL I², 3	*CIL volumen primus, editio altera, addenda tertia*, ed. Attilio Degrassi and Joannes Krummrey. Berlin (1986)
CIL Imagines	*CIL Auctarium: Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae Imagines*, ed. A. Degrassi. Berlin (1965)
ET	H. Rix, *Etruskische Texte. Editio minor. I: Einleitung, Konkordanz, Indices; II: Texte*. Tübingen (1991)
ILLRP	A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae*, 2 vols. Florence (1957–1965), vol. I, 2nd edn (1965); vol. II (1963)
ILLRP add.	Silvio Panciera et al. "*Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae* [addenda]," *Epigrafia*. CEFR 143 (1991): 241–491
ILS	H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 3 vols. Berlin (1892–16)
Insc. Ital.	*Inscriptiones Italiae*. Rome (1916–)
REE	*Rivista di Epigrafia Etrusca*, appearing continuously in *Studi Etruschi*
TLE	M. Pallotino, *Testimonia Linguae Etruscae*, 2nd edn, Florence (1968)

II. ENCYCLOPEDIAS AND OTHER WORKS OF REFERENCE [as well as certain exhibition catalogues] are cited by the standard conventions. Note especially the following:

ANRW	*Aufsteig und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase. Berlin (1972–)
BTCGI	*Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirenniche*, ed. G. Nenci and G. Vallet. Pisa and Rome (1977–2001)
Civiltà	*Civiltà degli Etruschi*, ed. M. Cristofani. Milan (1985)
DKP	*Der Kleine Pauly*, ed. K. Ziegler, W. Sontheimer, and H. Gärtner. Munich (1975–9)
DNP	*Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmut Schneider. Stuttgart (1996–)
Enc. Virg.	*Enciclopedia Virgiliana*, ed. F. Castagnoli, M. Pavan, and G. Petrocchi, 5 vols. Rome (1984–91)
FGrH	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, 3 vols. Berlin (1926–57)
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, 8 vols. Zürich (1981–97)
LPRH	*Les Étrusques, Les plus religieux des hommes [XIIes Rencontres de l'École du Louvre*.], ed. F. Gaultier, F. and D. Briquel. Paris (1997)
LTUR	*Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, ed. E. M. Steinby, 4 vols. Rome (1993–2000)
MRR	T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, 2 vols. New York: American Philological Association (1951–2) *Supplement I* (1960); *Supplement II* (1986) Atlanta.
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P. G. W. Glare. Oxford (1982)
PIR^2	*Prosopographia Imperii Romani. Saec. I. II. III*. ed. E. Groag, A. Stein, L. Petersen, K. Wachtel et al. Berlin (1933–)
PLRE	A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, and J. Morris. (1971–92) *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vols. in 4: I (1971), II (1980), III (1992). Cambridge.

RE	*Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Mittelhaus, and K. Ziegler. Stuttgart (1894–1978)
THESCRA	*Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*, ed. V. Lambrinoudakis and J. C. Balty. Los Angeles and Basel (2004–)
TLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. Munich (1900–)

Introduction

Celia E. Schultz and Paul B. Harvey, Jr

The study of Roman religion as a topic worthy of scholarly inquiry in its own right – as opposed to being considered a farrago of quaint local traditions, folklore, and stray Etruscan influences (especially ritual) unsystematically presided over by imported Hellenic anthropomorphic deities – was established on firm foundations by Mommsen's study and explication of the Roman calendar in the first volume of the first edition of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (1863). Here Mommsen reconstructed the cycle of the Roman religious year by elucidating epigraphic fragments of ancient calendars with information scattered in our surviving literary sources. Mommsen's edition was followed, in due time, by a revised presentation in the second edition of *CIL* I (1893)[1] and by Georg Wissowa's magisterial handbook, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (1st edn., 1905; 2nd edn., 1912), still a fundamental reference work supplemented and complemented, not replaced, by K. Latte's *Römische Religionsgeschichte* of 1960.[2] At the time Wissowa was preparing a second edition of his handbook, another significant study of Roman religion founded on Mommsen's work appeared: Ludwig Deubner's discussion of the development of religion in early Rome in its own terms, not as a footnote to Greek religion.[3] While from the time of Wissowa and Deubner Roman religion has received consistent scholarly attention – with continuing interest in the Roman calendar and its importance for our understanding of religious activities in the public sphere of Roman life[4] – in recent years, the study of religion in ancient Italy has enjoyed a surge of interest. The appearance of many well received

[1] *CIL* I², "Fasti Anni Iuliani," pp. 208–339.

[2] Several reviews of Latte 1960 discuss Wissowa's earlier work in comparative terms. See esp. Weinstock, *JRS* 51 (1961): 206–15; J. H. Waszink, *Gnomon* 34 (1962): 433–53; A. K. Michels, *AJPh* 83 (1962): 434–44.

[3] Deubner, "Entwicklungsgeschichte der altrömischen Religion," *Neue Jahrbücher für d. klassischen Altertum* 27 (1911): 321–95.

[4] *Insc. Ital.* 13.II (1963): "Fasti anni Numani et Iuliani"; Michels 1967; see also Cooley's discussion in the present volume.

works on the subject – to name just a few: D. Feeney's *Literature and Religion at Rome* (1998); *Religions of Rome*, edited by M. Beard, J. North, and S. Price (1998); *Religion in Archaic and Republican Rome and Italy*, edited by E. Bispham and C. Smith (2000); J. Rüpke's *Die Religion der Römer* (2001); C. Ando's *Roman Religion* (2003); J. Scheid's *An Introduction to Roman Religion* (2003); J. P. Davies's *Rome's Religious History: Livy, Tacitus and Ammianus on their Gods* (2004) – suggests the vigor of the field.

Many analysts of religious activities at Rome and elsewhere in central Italy in the eras before the first century BCE have tended to project back into the poorly documented mists of the past the (largely) literary evidence of the ages of Cicero and Augustus.[5] The chapters in this volume were written in response to an invitation issued in the spring of 2002 to explore how recent findings and research inform our understanding of religious observance in Italy in the period from the fourth century BCE down to the last decades of the first century BCE, that is, the period of the middle and late Republic, with a particular emphasis on what (as far as the evidence permits) contemporary written and material evidence can tell us of religious praxis during that period. Our thought was to revisit the modern perception of the nexus of religion and politics in this period, with particular attention to Rome's interaction with her Etrusco-Italic neighbors – a subject out of favor until very recently, especially among Anglophone classicists. Archaeologists seem never to have forgotten the subject. We may now be able to see the process as involving not just Rome handing her cultural baggage down to lesser communities, but a process of interchange in both directions.

A further aim of this volume was to promote dialogue among groups of specialists that do not communicate as often or as widely as they might: Romanists and Etruscologists; philologists, epigraphers, and archaeologists. The task was taken up enthusiastically by the authors whose works are included here, as is evidenced by the significant number of cross-references among the essays in this collection. Though this volume is not the result of a prearranged conference, it benefited from an opportunity provided by the Department of Classics at Yale University in March 2003 for all the contributors and many others from the scholarly community to meet in a cordial atmosphere to discuss and debate the issues raised herein.

The papers published here should be read as reflecting an on-going dialogue among specialists in different fields of the study of ancient

[5] Notably, but scarcely solely, Georges Dumézil's *Archaic Roman Religion*, transl. Philip Krapp, 2 vols. Chicago (1970). Scheid 2003: 9 offers a similar observation. To a certain extent, also Wissowa 1912: 18–38, on Roman religion before the Second Punic War.

Mediterranean societies; these papers may enable, or at least encourage, a richer understanding of religious activities in Republican Rome and contemporary central Italic societies, as well as offering exemplary illustrations from older religious practices and institutions of the continuity in, and influence on, later, better documented eras. The contributors have interpreted the question set before them in various ways: topics range from a review of the evidence for an Etruscan female priesthood to a discussion of the development of a unified imperial culture in the age of Augustus. Even so, these essays form a tightly unified whole in terms of method, focus, and theme. To begin with, one of the fundamental issues addressed in this volume is what was the nature of "Roman," as opposed to "Latin," "Italic," or "Etruscan," religion in the period in question and, by extension, how these various ethnic categories have been treated in modern scholarship. In pursuit of an answer, each article integrates types of evidence often treated in isolation: literary, epigraphic, and archaeological. Thus, anatomical votives (Glinister), Etruscan and Italic religious traditions as reported by observers themselves and by Romans (Turfa, Lundeen, Schultz), and the archaeological remains of sacred places private and public (Klingshirn, Lundeen, Turfa, Muccigrosso, Harvey, Schultz) are all discussed with reference to the literary tradition and its reliability in testifying to religious practice. One of the most important results of this integrative approach has been that many of the studies here complicate the categories and methodologies traditionally employed in discussing religion in ancient Italy.

Given the dominant political and military role Rome enjoyed during the middle and late Republic, it is perhaps not surprising that another closely related issue addressed consistently throughout this volume is the Romanization of Italy, defined for the purpose of concision as the process by which Roman culture spread to other Italic peoples with varying degrees of ease and acceptance. Romanization has long been a popular topic for scholarly debate: just the last six or seven years have yielded a bevy of important works on Romanization in the wider empire, such as G. Woolf's *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (1998), R. MacMullen's *Romanization in the Time of Augustus* (2000), the collections of essays edited by S. Keay and N. Terrenato, *Italy and the West: Comparative Issues in Romanization* (2001), and A. E. Cooley, *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin?* (2002). The focus of many of these works is on the Romanization of other geographical regions in later periods than those examined here, and on other cultural markers than religious praxis. This circumstance is due perhaps to the fact that cultural transformation is often better documented in the provinces, where the differences between

Roman ways and those of native folk are more easily identified than they are between Roman and Italic practices, and in the Imperial period, for which evidence is much more plentiful than it is for earlier centuries.[6]

The Romanization of Italy has received some attention in recent years, most notably in some of the essays in Keay and Terrenato 2001 and other smaller scale studies such as Lomas 1993. For larger scale, broader surveys, one must look back to such works as E. T. Salmon's *The Making of Roman Italy* (1985) and the volume *Studies in the Romanization of Etruria* (1975), edited by P. Bruun et al. As in more recent investigations of Romanization in the provinces, these works focus on military and political issues, municipal and colonial (re)organization, prosopography, and linguistic matters. Though there is no doubt that religion was an equally important avenue for the negotiation of cultural change, it has been a somewhat underappreciated topic. Fortunately this circumstance has now begun to change, as is evidenced by J.-M. David's *The Roman Conquest of Italy* (1997), a series of studies by M. Torelli (1999b, 2000a), several contributions to E. Bispham and C. Smith's volume on *Religion in Archaic and Republican Rome and Italy* (2000), and numerous archaeological reports including those of the *Corpus delle Stipi Votive*. The present volume engages directly with these works as it strives not only to elucidate as much as possible the impact of Roman institutions and practices on Italic society, but also to demonstrate as far as the sources will allow the reciprocal impact of non-Roman practices and institutions on Roman custom.

In addition to thematic unity, the contributions to this volume are united in their focus on a particular aspect of religious life, namely ritual. The tendency of observers of another society's religion to focus on those aspects that are visual and liturgical (i.e. ritual), is well documented, and some commonalities can be identified. Often such observations are colored by the shock of encountering the utterly foreign. For example, Bernal Díaz del Castillo (d. 1581), chronicler of Cortes' conquest of the Aztecs, reported with horror native prayer-houses filled with idols of baked clay and demonic representations of unspeakable sexual acts. He described processions and sacrifices in terms of perversions of Christian sacred spaces (apparent altars) and symbols (apparent crosses).[7] Conversely, observation of a distinct, yet related, ritual tradition can also inspire horror at perceived deviation from expected norms. Charles Woodmason, "Anglican Itinerant," for example, in 1766, reported on the religious life of Irish Presbyterian emigrants to the Carolina colony. Those folk, he assumed, "had been educated in the

[6] Lomas 1993: 108. [7] Cohen 1963: 19–21.

Principles of our Church," yet the emigrants' religious practices were sorely below standard. What he saw in Carolina, therefore, was "the Scum of the Earth and Refuse of Mankind."[8]

The Romans themselves were subject to similar scrutiny, though the prejudice of race and class is far less acerbic than in the Christian examples above. Greek scholars observing Roman rituals noted their character, their foreignness, and the devotion of the participants, but in this case the observations were always made with a certain amount of respect, even if grudging. Polybius, who famously commented on Roman attitudes toward the gods, at several points in his *Histories* indicated his distaste for religious credulity in general (e.g. VI.56.13–15; XVI.12.6–7). As for the Romans in particular, their attitude and inclination was remarkable; indeed, it could be described by the term (not necessarily of positive connotation) *deisidaimonia*: "religious devotion bordering on superstition" (Polybius VI.56.6–7). Another outsider looking in, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, identified religious traditions and legends about the Romans and other Italic peoples in order to support (one might say "document") his understanding of Roman foundations.[9] Plutarch composed an essay of *Roman Questions*, paralleled by his *Greek Questions* and *Barbarian Questions* (the latter no longer extant), in which he explored the causes (αἰτίαι) of practices he found curious.[10]

The Romans also exhibit these habits in their own observation and interpretation of ritual. For example, we find an apt parallel to Polybius' assessment of the Romans in Livy's description of Etruscans as "a race dedicated more than all others to religious matters" (Livy V.1.6: *gens itaque ante omnes alias eo magis dedita religionibus*).[11] Furthermore the Romans were interested in explicating their own religious customs, as evidenced by the flowering of antiquarian literature in the last century of the Republic, most notably that of Varro.[12] This emphasis by ancient authors, both Greek and Roman, on Roman praxis and a relative lack of interest in belief, even at an official level, is often identified as a hallmark of Roman society.[13] The focus of our literary sources, compounded by the fact that archaeological

[8] Hooker 1953: 60–1.

[9] See Gabba's analysis of Dionysius' *Ant. Rom.* II.18–23: Gabba 1991: 118–36.

[10] Rose 1924.

[11] This passage is noted in Turfa's discussion, below pp. 78–9; Ogilvie 1965: 626 discussed the Livian narrative in context, but surprisingly did not comment on this statement.

[12] Rawson 1985: 233–49.

[13] Bickerman 1973: 11–14; Scheid 2003: 18–38; King 2003; Rüpke 2001: 179–81. We may recall what Cicero has the pontifex C. Aurelius Cotta assert as to the nature of his religious responsibilities: "to watch over most diligently public religious ceremonies and rituals" (*Nat. D.* I.61: *caerimonias religionesque publicas sanctissime tuendas*; see also *Nat. D.* III.5), that is, his public office did not require him to concern himself with beliefs or speculation in a providential divine order.

evidence for religious life largely comprises the remains of ritual, has necessarily directed the study of religion in the period of the Republic to questions of ritual, even though those rituals are not for us, as the Aztec and Irish Presbyterian rituals were for Díaz del Castillo and Woodmason, truly visible.

The unity of the essays collected here left the editors with various options for the arrangement of them. We have eschewed a strict chronological arrangement in favor of a thematic arrangement that permits a richer development of ideas across the volume. The contributions are arranged so that essays addressing at least one of three prominent themes are grouped together: the role of religion in the negotiation of identity; the importance of place in shaping the forms of religious observance and in determining a ritual's identification as Roman or not; and the close relationship between political power and religious action.

We begin with a group of essays that examine the way religious praxis helped to define ethnic identities, in the minds of both the ancients and modern scholars. In "Reconsidering 'religious Romanization'," Fay Glinister focuses on the current debate about Roman influence in religious praxis throughout the Italian peninsula, in particular the anatomical votives that have come to be viewed as sure evidence of Roman influence in a given region. Glinister integrates three different trends in the study of anatomical votives: examination of these items as evidence for medical knowledge in Hellenistic Italy, art historical analysis of votives from individual sites, and political interpretation of the phenomenon. Her study undermines the now commonplace assertions that the practice of offering anatomical votives was introduced to Italy through Roman expansion and that it is a hallmark of specifically Roman identity. She makes a strong case for terracotta anatomical representations as a wider Italic phenomenon.

In her chapter "In search of the Etruscan priestess: a re-examination of the *hatrencu*," Lesley E. Lundeen examines what we know, or think we know, about the *hatrencu*, a group of Etruscan women who have traditionally been understood as members of a female priesthood. Lundeen's article highlights the assumptions with which the relevant epigraphic material for the *hatrencu* has been approached. Most importantly, her study demonstrates the heavy reliance on extrapolation from Roman female religious activity, and she points out the tenuousness of those Roman models and of their application to an Etruscan context. The comparative approach can be expanded, Lundeen argues, beyond a religious and Roman context; she suggests looking further abroad to Asia Minor for comparanda outside the religious sphere.

Continuing with things Etruscan, Jean MacIntosh Turfa's contribution, "Etruscan religion at the watershed: before and after the fourth century BCE," surveys the evidence for Etruscan religion both before and after the important period of the late fifth century to fourth century BCE. Early archaeological evidence reveals a close personal relationship between worshippers and their gods, a picture that stands in contrast to the public aspect of Etruscan religion so prominent in Roman literary sources. Continuity and how it has been interpreted for Etruscan society by Roman observers and modern scholars is the important methodological issue this discussion brings to the fore.

Valentina Livi ("Religious locales in the territory of Minturnae: some aspects of Romanization") offers us a detailed study of the evidence of religious life in Minturnae both before and after Roman intervention in the area. Archaeological evidence indicates that, while the Romanization of the region had significant effect on the religious life of its inhabitants, it did not completely disrupt the traditional religious life of the indigenous Aurunci. Within the Roman colony of Minturnae, traditional Roman gods and temples were established. Outside the colony, Auruncan sanctuaries continued to be frequented by worshippers as they had been for centuries. Romanization in this instance did not mean the obliteration of local traditions, as our literary sources would have it.

In "Religion and memory at Pisaurum," Paul B. Harvey, Jr., studies a well known set of archaic Latin dedications from Pisaurum on the eastern coast of Italy. He suggests how those dedications may reveal something of the people who populated the original colony and, by extension, of evolving Roman colonial policies. This chapter then looks forward several hundred years to the Antonine age and to the appearance of an unexpected Latin deity in an inscription from Pisaurum. In light of the Latin origin of many of the colonists and of the revitalized interest in Latin antiquities in the time of Antoninus Pius, Harvey sees the existence of *cultores Iovis Latii* at Pisaurum in this late period as an example of "epigraphic memory" of municipal origins.

W. E. Klingshirn also traces out continuity in religious tradition, though he is equally interested in the development of that tradition over time and space. His chapter, "Inventing the *sortilegus*: lot divination and cultural identity in Italy, Rome, and the provinces," takes us from archaic Italy to imperial north Africa as it surveys the evidence for practitioners of lot divination. He demonstrates a shift in the nature of lot divination and the status of its practitioners when this practice is removed from its traditional locale.

Ingrid Edlund-Berry's article, "Hot, cold, or smelly: the power of sacred water in Roman religion, 400–100 BCE," examines the importance of place, particularly of watery places in Italic religion. The role of water is a rarely discussed aspect of ancient Italic religion, an unfortunate oversight given the ubiquity of water as a ritual ingredient and the sacredness of lakes, rivers, and springs in the Italic mind. Not the least of Edlund-Berry's accomplishments here is to assist our understanding of the sulphur spring deity Mefitis and to bring to our attention the association of pastoral herding (transhumance) and holy places associated with water.

The interplay of politics and religious action has often attracted the scrutiny of students of Roman religion. Wissowa, for example, was alert to the relationship among specific divinities, loci of worship, and the Romans active in promoting that worship.[14] More recently, R. E. A. Palmer has analyzed the evidence for so-called female shrines in Roman topographical and political context, as well as explicating the locales, political personalities, and antiquarian lore associated with an obscure Etrusco-Roman fertility deity.[15] John Muccigrosso's "Religion and politics: did the Romans scruple about the placement of their temples?" extends this tradition of close analysis of religious practice in political context, especially in the placement of public buildings of religious import. He therefore complements and advances A. Ziolkowski's study of architectural dedication and construction during the mid-Republican era at Rome.[16] Muccigrosso illuminates the importance of the Roman political officer in constructing holy places in the city in terms of the traditional paradigm of Roman family politics and the familiar nexus of religious and political–military activity at Rome. Muccigrosso's discussion, however, reminds us how important individual initiative and choice was in the construction of the physical fabric of religious Rome. As a consequence, the line is thus blurred between two categories of public and private religious action and thought often presented as being mutually exclusive.

Celia E. Schultz's discussion of "Juno Sospita and Roman insecurity in the Social War" takes a different approach to the question of Romanization. Though the process is usually presented on the model of the exportation of cultural habits, this discussion reminds us that Romanization could also mean the appropriation of another people's deity by the Romans. Schultz's essay looks at the episode of the refurbishment of Juno Sospita's Roman temple in 90 BCE, placing it in the context of Rome's military and

[14] Wissowa 1912: esp. pt. 2: 108–327.
[15] Palmer 1974b; Palmer 1974a: 187–206.
[16] Ziolkowski 1988.

political situation at the time. This discussion recalls the tension between the metropolis and Rome's presumably long-since incorporated old Latin allies. The religious undertones of that tension have not often been accentuated in studies of the Social War.[17]

The celebration of Secular Games in 17 BCE has often been discussed, but primarily for the role the poet Horace played: *carmen composuit Q. Horatius Flaccus*.[18] A. E. Cooley fittingly concludes this collection by focusing on the *ludi saeculares* to consider the impact of Rome's religious institutions on Italy in the Augustan period. In "Beyond Rome and Latium: Roman religion in the age of Augustus," Cooley shows how Augustus and his circle adapted the model of Rome's earlier integration of Latin peoples in the fourth century BCE to their needs for the creation of a "universalizing culture." One important aspect of Rome's effort to unify disparate ethnic groups was the minimizing of differences between Roman and Latin religious calendars. Under Augustus, Roman and Latin calendars were increasingly assimilated. Another important aspect of Augustus' efforts to create a unified imperial culture was the exportation of 'august(an)' gods throughout the empire.

On balance, what this collection demonstrates is that simple opposing categories of Roman and Etruscan, Italic and Etruscan, public and private are insufficient for analysis. We suggest that these discussions illustrate very well, to use William James's famous phrase, "the varieties of religious experience" in ancient Italy and that those varieties were not only mutually influential across space and time, but also witness a flourishing, many-faceted *koiné* of religious experience in ancient Italy.

[17] For example, De Sanctis 1976. [18] Fraenkel 1957: 364–82; Putnam 2000: 51–95.

CHAPTER I

Reconsidering "religious Romanization" *

Fay Glinister

During the latter part of the fourth century BCE in Italy, mass-produced terracotta votive offerings in the form of human body parts began to be dedicated in vast quantities at sanctuaries. They included representations of internal and external organs (wombs, hearts, and "polyvisceral plaques" showing grouped internal organs such as heart, lungs, liver, and intestines), heads and half-heads, limbs, digits, tongues, eyes, ears, external genitalia, hands and feet (the two commonest types of anatomicals), and "masks" (human faces on rectangular plaques). Associated terracotta offerings included models of swaddled babies, animal figurines, and representations of worshippers, predominantly small "Tanagra-style" statuettes of draped females (so called from the Boeotian town where examples were first found). Such votives, offered up as part of a ritual act, and then displayed in the sanctuary and/or ritually buried,[1] predominate in votive deposits of the Hellenistic period (down to c. 100 BCE), and are assumed to have connotations of healing and fertility, human and animal.[2] As most are mould-made, and judged to be of relatively small artistic merit, they are commonly thought to have been the inexpensive donations of the poorer members of society,[3] offered as requests or in thanks for a cure, or in connection with childbirth.

Several approaches have been taken to this material. Discussion of the place of anatomical terracottas in religion and society, and examination of them from a primarily socio-medical perspective – that is, analyzing

* I would like to offer my sincere thanks to Jean Turfa and Martin Söderlind, both of whom generously provided me with copies of forthcoming work on anatomical terracottas. All dates are BCE unless otherwise indicated. My title echoes that of De Cazanove 2000.

[1] Some types have suspension holes, others have flat bases (e.g. the votive uteri found at Ghiaccio Forte: Del Chiaro 1976: 27), indicating that they were intended for display, perhaps on shelves, before being collected together and buried within the sacred precinct.

[2] The practice continued at one or two shrines until the first century CE (e.g. Fontanile di Legnisina, Vulci); it is also attested in the West, particularly Gaul, during the imperial period.

[3] E.g. Turfa 1994: 224–5; but cf. Gatti and Onorati 1999: 17.

the material for what it can tell us of ancient medicine, and of common concerns for health and well-being in the religious sphere – has largely been the concern of Anglophone scholars such as Turfa, Edlund, Potter, and Girardon (see bibliography). A more art historical approach has been taken in scholarship which has produced indispensable detailed studies of the material from specific sanctuaries. This work provides typologies, but historical interpretation of the material sometimes takes second place to judgments over its relative artistic merit.[4] Both approaches have tended to minimize the political aspect, on which scholars such as Torelli and De Cazanove have concentrated. This latter work in turn has shown relatively little interest in the detailed social aspects of the genre. What follows attempts the combination and exploration of these three major approaches to the phenomenon of anatomical terracottas. It offers modifications to the accepted points of view, and in particular takes issue with the political interpretations which have been imposed upon this material, arguing that the distribution of anatomicals is not, as usually supposed, limited to central Tyrrhenian Italy, nor the result of Roman colonization of the peninsula.

"HEALING SANCTUARIES"

We can begin by examining the socio-religious and historical context in which anatomical terracottas were dedicated. They are often explained as offerings made as requests for a cure, or in gratitude after one (whether the majority of these offerings was made before or after the event remains quite uncertain). Most were probably bought "off the peg" from coroplasts, but certain examples with additional features indicate a consultation or commissioning process involving maker and buyer. Though examples are rare, there are some terracottas that depict medical conditions, such as varicose veins, while others show clear knowledge of human internal organs of various kinds. Strict anatomical detail is unlikely to have been important to the dedicant, however; what mattered was that the offering formed an appropriate symbol of the worshipper's intentions and requirements.

While it is certainly valid to attribute a healing connection to many anatomical terracottas, it is worth remembering that other, quite varied

[4] See the ongoing series *Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia*, including e.g. Comella 1986, Comella and Stefani 1990, Comella 2001a, D'Ercole 1990, and Guidobaldi 2002. While these useful catalogues do not wholly lack a socio-historical dimension – Pensabene et al. 1980, for example, includes an influential analysis of the background to these *donaria* (see below) – their approach inevitably tends to divorce the material from its true ritual and social context. For a critique of such cataloguing, see Lowe 1980: 216–17.

interpretations of these terracottas are possible. For example, although male genitals (and the much rarer female external genitals) may be connected with venereal diseases, or with aspects of fertility, they could also relate to rites of passage (e.g. puberty: examples are often infantile). Heads or half-heads could be associated with medical problems such as headaches or ear, nose, and throat complaints, but they could also simply represent the worshipper. Feet could symbolize pilgrims, pilgrimages, or secular journeys; hands could represent prayer, or the power of a god. Ears could imply the willingness of a god to listen to human requests. Figurines of domestic animals could have been offered in substitution for an animal sacrifice, or intended to symbolize a prayer for health and successful breeding of livestock. And so on.[5] In spite of these reservations, there is no doubt that the health-related interpretation remains the most plausible. Whether anatomical terracottas demonstrate specific *new* anxieties in regard to *sanatio* and fertility – as has sometimes been argued – is another matter, given that health and fecundity are universal human concerns. What anatomical terracottas do illustrate is surely just one way of expressing these concerns.

Some of the shrines where anatomical terracottas are to be found have firm healing associations (as at the sanctuary of Aesculapius on the Tiber Island), or likely ones (such as sanctuaries at salutary springs).[6] At some sanctuaries, the predomination of certain types of body parts, such as eyes, has been taken to suggest "specialization" in particular afflictions, and scholars have attempted to use this as evidence for "medical centers." Turfa, for example, noting quantities of models relating to pregnancy and childbirth in urban areas, hypothesizes "maternity clinics or hospitals in these cities or cult centers."[7] Part of the argument for the siting of "hospitals" at sanctuaries is that some anatomicals (e.g. uteri) show details which must have been observed during surgery or autopsies at "actual medical clinics,"[8] and that terracotta workshops are (probably rightly) thought to have operated in the vicinity of sanctuaries – but the artist could easily have made his or

[5] Further, quite different, explanations have been proposed, including a connection to Dionysiac cults. For discussion, see De Cazanove 1986: 34–6; Söderlind (forthcoming).

[6] For the Tiber Island, see Platner and Ashby 1929: 281–2, s.v. "Insula Tiberina"; Richardson 1992: 209–10, s.v. "Insula Tiberina"; Degrassi 1986; see also *ILLRP* 35–9. Turfa 1986: 207 argues that anatomical votives occur at sites of known medical cults and at suburban shrines with healing waters (Gabii, Ponte di Nona, Veii, Vulci: Porta Nord, Caere: Hera temple, Falerii Veteres: shrine of Juno Curitis) – but not in outstanding quantities. Anatomical offerings are absent, surprisingly, from the Temple of Apollo Medicus at Rome, vowed in 433 BCE in response to a plague (Livy IV.25.3); see Platner and Ashby 1929 15–16, s.v. "Apollo, aedes"; A. Viscogliosi, in *LTUR* I.49–54, s.v. "Apollo, aedes in Circo"; Richardson 1992: 12–13, s.v. "Apollo, Aedes."

[7] Turfa 1994: 230; cf. Potter and Wells 1985: 39. Comella 1981: 762 more simply postulates two basic types of cult; the first concerned with health in general; the second relating to fertility problems.

[8] Turfa 1986: 207.

her observations elsewhere. Furthermore, what little is known of the practice of medicine in Hellenistic Italy points to a rather home-based activity. Doctors do not seem to have occupied a position of any great significance, in contrast to the Greek world, and hospitals were a very late and limited development.[9] Activities at sanctuaries of Aesculapius are poorly attested for this period (as indeed are cult sites of this god), but if anything are likely to have involved incubation (the custom of sleeping in a temple so as to be cured via dreams) rather than professional medical treatment. In my view, then, the evidence is at present too flimsy to see specialist medical centers operating widely at sanctuaries.

It is important to note that, contrary to the assumptions of many scholars,[10] not every shrine where anatomical terracottas are found can be regarded as a healing sanctuary *per se*. Anatomical terracottas appear most often at sanctuaries without any clear health connections at all. (Furthermore, there are few if any sanctuaries where anatomical terracottas represent the *only* votives; at most sites, they are found alongside other offerings, such as vessels, coins etc.) In fact, anatomicals are so common in Hellenistic-period sanctuaries that the simplest and most logical explanation is that they represent the generic power of deities over the major aspects of human life.[11] Two facts support this suggestion. Firstly, where the deities to whom anatomical terracottas are dedicated are known (or can reasonably be guessed at), they rarely have specific or exclusive healing characteristics. Instead, their wide sphere of action made it acceptable and normal to offer them such gifts. Almost any god could be regarded as having healing powers. Secondly, anatomicals occur at many sites where we can trace long-term continuity of cult without any particular healing connection (for example at Montefortino di Arcevia in the Marche, Grotta Bella in Umbria, and the Grotta del Colle di Rapino in Abruzzo).

Such continuity of cult is worth highlighting, since the dedication of anatomical terracottas may in part derive from an indigenous archaic practice, rather than – as often assumed – originating outside the Italian peninsula. Bronze anatomical votives including human limbs, hands, eyes/masks, and male genitals are attested at least from the sixth century BCE.[12] These bronzes mainly appear in northern Etruria and Adriatic Italy,

[9] Nutton 1992: 36–7, 49; cf. Plin. *HN* XXIX.11.

[10] E.g. Potter and Wells 1985; the problem is rightly noted by Turfa 1994: 224.

[11] Fenelli 1975a catalogued 96 sites (plus other poorly attested finds); Turfa 1994: 224 noted over 130 sanctuaries with anatomicals; Söderlind (forthcoming) now lists over 230 sites; my own database, by no means comprehensive, lists over 290 separate sites where anatomical terracottas have been discovered.

[12] See Turfa (2005b). Cristofani 1985b: 3–4 also notes finds of heads, of the early fifth century, at Arezzo and Fiesole.

but nevertheless demonstrate the existence of an Italian element in the background of anatomical terracottas of the Hellenistic period.[13]

Anthropomorphic and animal figurines, which regularly appear alongside Hellenistic anatomical terracottas, are also well attested in an archaic central Italian context. Anthropomorphic ex-votos include cast bronze *kouroi*, attested in Roman and Latin shrines (e.g. the East sanctuary at Gabii, the Lapis Niger votive deposit at Rome, at Satricum, and at Lavinium), and the schematic "Segni group" votives (sheet metal human figurines) found in the Umbro-Sabine, Latial, and Padane areas in the sixth–fifth centuries BCE, for example at Carseoli (modern Carsoli) on the Abruzzo–Lazio border, as well as at the spring sanctuary of Montefortino di Arcevia.[14]

One may thus argue that anatomical terracottas do not in fact represent a form of offering dramatically new, in contrast to offerings typical of the archaic period (it is the widescale distribution of the offerings which represents the striking change). Rather, anatomical terracottas derive at least in part from existing votive traditions, which do not entirely disappear: a few anatomical votives in metal are found dating between the fourth and first centuries BCE,[15] while pottery, a staple donation of the archaic period rooted in Bronze Age traditions, continues to be offered to the gods during the Hellenistic period (though perhaps not in such large quantities as before).[16]

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ANATOMICALS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROMAN POWER

The pioneering studies of anatomical terracottas were undertaken by Fenelli (1975a and b) and Comella (1981). The latter divided Hellenistic votive ensembles into three distinct categories:[17]

(1) an Italic group (mainly comprising bronze figurines of deities);

[13] Cristofani 1985b: 4 observes that sanctuaries where anatomical bronzes are found are usually associated with water, to which purificatory (and sometimes therapeutic) powers are often attributed; see Edlund-Berry and Livi (Chapters 7 and 4, this volume), for further discussion of water-related cults.

[14] Landolfi 1988: 360–2, and pl. 301. However, the date of some 'archaic' bronzes is sometimes disputed, and they may continue into the Hellenistic period. Sheet metal figurines are perhaps the *ipsullices* or *ipsilles* of Paulus-Festus 93L (cf. Festus 398L).

[15] Turfa (2005b). Moreover, some Hellenistic terracotta-types derive from local typologies, in non-terracotta media (for example, certain Etruscan heads correspond to examples on mirrors, while some Veientine votive heads share prototypes with temple antefixes from Veii and Falerii).

[16] At Lavinium (north-east sanctuary), for example, the orientalizing votive deposit contains 30,000 miniature vases, the Hellenistic deposit just 6,700.

[17] Comella 1981: 758.

(2) a Magna Graecian and Sicilian group (including offerings of terracotta statuettes and busts); and
(3) an Etrusco-Latial-Campanian group (albeit not found exclusively in these zones), comprising anatomical terracottas; statuettes representing donors and swaddled infants; bare or veiled heads;[18] local and Greek-style figurines; models of animals, etc.[19]

Following a suggestion made by Torelli in 1973, Comella identified the diffusion of the "Etrusco-Latial-Campanian" category of material as a feature of the Roman conquest and colonization of Italy.[20] The assumption that the spread of these votives coincides chronologically and geographically with the extension of Roman political influence and of Roman religious ideologies is now a commonplace.[21] A neat summary of the basic argument appears in De Cazanove 1991, paraphrased here.

(1) Deriving from Greece, the earliest anatomical terracottas come from Veii and Lavinium, centers close to Rome and maintaining close cultural relations with it.
(2) The limits of distribution of these offerings coincide with the distribution of Latin colonies: the two most southerly cities where such ex-votos are attested are Luceria in northern Apulia (a Latin colony of 314 BCE: Livy IX.26.1–5) and Paestum, on the frontier of Lucania (a Latin colony of 273/2 BCE). De Cazanove also argues that anatomical

[18] The veil alludes to the custom of sacrificing with the toga draped so as partly to cover the head (in contrast to the Greek rite, in which sacrifice was made bareheaded); see e.g. Scheid 1995a. Veiled heads or figurines are frequently used as evidence that Roman religious practice has penetrated non-Roman areas of Italy (cf. Livi, Chapter 4, this volume), but despite use of the term *Romano ritu* for sacrificing with the head covered, it is far from clear that this was an exclusively Roman custom. There is little evidence, literary or iconographic, to show that only the Romans practiced this rite. (In fact, that the veiled sacrifice is part of Italic tradition too is the implication of Festus 430.30L.) Thus veiled images alone cannot be taken as evidence of the Romanization of religious practice in Italy. Indeed, veiled female heads of Etrusco-Latial-Campanian type occur in contexts which may be pre-Roman at, for example, Pietrabbondante in Samnium, and Montefortino di Arcevia in Picenum (the latter dated by Landolfi 1997: 176 to the third–second century).

[19] However, as has been noted by others (and as Comella herself was aware), these categories are not exclusive, but permeable. In southern Abruzzo, for example, significant quantities of anatomical terracottas of "Etrusco-Latial-Campanian" type appear in votive deposits which would be characterized by Comella as of "Italic" type, because they contain bronze figurines: Morelli 1997: 92.

[20] Torelli 1973: 138–9, 341–3; and cf. for example Torelli 1999a: 8, 1999b: ch. 2 ("Religious aspects of early Roman colonization"); Comella 1981: 775.

[21] See for example Coarelli 2000: 200: "questo tipo di ex-voto è caratteristica esclusiva della cultura laziale: esso costituisce in effetti uno dei più sicuri fossili-guida per identificare la presenza, al di fuori dell'area di origine, di coloni provenienti da Roma o dal Lazio." Menichetti 1990: 325 writes that the areas of diffusion closely follow the stages of Roman expansion; Edlund 1987b: 56 similarly argues that the appearance of anatomical terracottas should "be ascribed to the political and historical events of the period which correspond to the Roman expansion in Italy." Cf. Lesk 2002: 196–7.

terracottas are limited to colonies and to sites "in very close proximity to them."[22]

(3) Finally, it is from Rome that the diffusion of anatomical ex-votos spreads – because Rome is the principal focus of the irradiation of Hellenism in Italy.[23]

In Italy, then, the forerunners of anatomical terracottas belonging to the Etrusco-Latial-Campanian group are thought to have been found in the Eastern sanctuary at Lavinium, and in the Campetti sanctuary at Veii, the latter probably dedicated to the chthonian goddess Vei (the Etruscan equivalent of Ceres/Demeter). Comella suggests that the terracotta votive head originated in the fifth century at this latter site, influenced by southern Italian votives in Greek style associated with the cult of Demeter (e.g. female busts wearing the *polos*). From here, she believes, the tradition spread to Falerii, and possibly to Caere, to Carseoli, and to Campania (Capua and Teanum Sidicinum), where there were additional influences from Magna Graecia and Sicily. Limited to these sites during the fifth century, these votive heads then spread more widely across the Etrusco-Latial-Campanian area during the fourth century. This Comella attributes to the Roman conquest of Veii in 396 BCE, arguing that Rome played a role of primary importance in the diffusion of these offerings.[24]

The ultimate origin of Italy's anatomical ex-votos is widely assumed to be Corinth, which unlike other Greek sites had a tradition of offering anatomical votives in terracotta, in the context of a healing cult to Aesculapius (late fifth to late fourth century).[25] Lesk has recently argued that anatomical terracottas were first transmitted from Corinth to coastal sites in south Etruria, such as Gravisca, the port of Tarquinia.[26] Gravisca has a well-documented history of Greek contacts. Its *emporion* sanctuary was active from the archaic period, at which time it was frequented mainly by East Greek merchants, as graffiti and inscriptions attest. Sicilian-type votive masks have also been

[22] De Cazanove 2000: 75.

[23] De Cazanove 1991: 207: "C'est donc à partir de Rome, centre du pouvoir, que s'organise la diffusion des ex-voto anthropomorphes de grandes dimensions. Cela parce que l'*Urbs* est aussi, à l'époque républicaine, et de plus en plus, le principal foyer d'irradiation de l'hellénisme en Italie."

[24] Comella 1981: 772–5. Early votive heads and figurines found at Praeneste also show clear parallels with examples from Veii, according to Pensabene 2001: 69–70, cf. 99.

[25] Roebuck 1951: ch. 5: the Corinthian terracottas were mainly found in closed deposits, datable between the end of the fifth and end of the fourth century; the use of terracotta was apparently necessary because the poor quality stone in the area was unsuitable for sculpture. Elsewhere in Greece most anatomical offerings were in more costly materials such as marble or metal (though they could also be wax or wood); see Forsén 1996.

[26] Lesk 2002: 195–6.

found here.[27] Beside the altar to Turan (Aphrodite), offerings with a typology similar to that of Corinthian examples have been discovered *in situ*.[28] Corinthian offerings were pierced, so that they could be suspended for display;[29] unlike later Etrusco-Latial-Campanian offerings, certain early forms of Graviscan votives were also pierced. Lesk also notes breast votives, recovered from fourth-century strata in areas M and I of Building Gamma, which were mounted on plaques pierced for suspension – although in fact they had been deposited, following central Italian custom, close to an altar or cult statue.[30] She argues that these ex-votos "straddle the Greek and Italian traditions and illustrate the transition required to adapt the Corinthian type of anatomical votive to the type found in Central Italy."[31] According to Söderlind, there is a further possible Greek connection in regard to anatomicals from Falerii and Corvaro, which are placed on framed plates resembling Corinthian examples.[32] Apart from these examples, however, as Turfa observes, Corinthian anatomical terracottas are "somewhat different in style, [and] rarely include internal organs, which were popular in Etruria and Latium."[33]

Whether or not Lesk's interpretation is correct (and as stated above, I believe indigenous traditions play a larger part in the origin of anatomical terracottas than is usually accepted), it is significant that on all interpretations the findspots of the earliest anatomical terracottas lie outside Rome: in Etruria, and in Latium.[34] It is particularly important to note that the early Etruscan terracottas predate the major phase of Roman colonization. Moreover, in Etruria the few colonies are mostly late – certainly much later than the beginning of use of these votives. Rome is therefore not to

[27] Veii and Lavinium also have strong Greek connections. For Lavinium, see Castagnoli et al. 1975; a recent exhibition catalogue which provides abundant examples of Veii's debt to Greece is Moretti Sgubini 2001 (with further bibliography).

[28] Lesk 2002: 195; cf. Comella 1978 and 1981: 772.

[29] Pensabene et al. 1980: 32, fig. 3 (a red figure crater from Boeotia showing wall-hung leg and arm votives); Lesk 2002: fig. 1.

[30] Lesk 2002: 195 notes that breast votive DIV 2 is the clearest example of an offering designed to be suspended. See Comella 1978: pl. XXX.

[31] Lesk 2002: 195.

[32] Söderlind (pers. comm.); see Comella 1986 for examples from Falerii.

[33] Turfa (2005b).

[34] Admittedly mid-Republican Rome is relatively poorly known in archaeological terms; in most places the presence of modern buildings precludes intensive investigations, thus anatomicals have mainly been found in areas of the city which were not developed. Nevertheless, recent excavations appear to have made few substantial changes to the general picture – early anatomicals are still relatively uncommon in the *Urbs*, certainly in relation to the large size of its population during the Republic.

be identified as the overall point of origin of the Hellenistic anatomical terracottas.[35]

This conclusion is supported by re-examining the distribution pattern of anatomical votives. Existing distribution maps appear to link them conclusively to Rome, and to Rome-dominated and colonial zones.[36] Such maps, however, exclude the findspots of many terracottas. Following the lead of Fenelli and Comella, studies conducted until quite recently have paid little attention to areas of Italy other than Latium, Etruria, and Magna Graecia. The majority of detailed catalogues of anatomical terracottas from sites in central Italy concentrate on Etruria. This may result from the fact that many scholars interested in anatomicals have particular interests in the Hellenistic period, and a background in Etruscology. Thus two key elements tend to be excluded from the picture: the longer-term perspective (discussed above), and the wider Italian context.

In fact, it is important to highlight the ever-growing body of anatomical material from Appenninic and Adriatic Italy. A number of sanctuaries in Umbria, Picenum, and Samnium with finds of anatomical terracottas have failed to enter the scholarly consciousness.[37] The evidence from Abruzzo is particularly interesting. Abruzzo's dynamic Soprintendenza has over the past decade or so begun an impressive program of excavation and restoration, coupled with exhibitions and publications. As a result, for example, Comella's comment that the territory of the Frentani is scarcely affected by the anatomical votive phenomenon is now clearly out of date.[38] As Morelli points out, significant quantities of votive terracottas, until now rarely studied or published, have been discovered as a result of excavations at Iuvanum, Rapino, S. Buono (loc. Fonte S. Nicola), Schiavi d'Abruzzo, and Vacri (loc. Porcareccia); and through chance finds at Archi, Chieti (ancient Teate), Fresagrandinaria, Guilmi, Pollutri, S. Salvo, and Villalfonsina.[39] They prove that Adriatic Italy was deeply affected by what has been seen as the "obsession" with healing cults; but a glance at the map will suffice to show that few of these sanctuaries lie anywhere near significant

[35] Note that the majority of sites which can be identified as originators of particular anatomical models are Etruscan (Veii, Caere, Vulci, Tarquinii), though there are also models originating at Rome and Lavinium. See Turfa 1994: 231, table 20.1.

[36] A recent example appears as fig. 5.1 in De Cazanove 2000, based on the catalogues of Fenelli and Comella.

[37] E.g. in Umbria, Grotta Bella (near Ameria), and Mevania (modern Bevagna), where a mould for terracotta votives has been found; in Picenum, Isola di Fano (Pesaro), and Montefortino di Arcevia; in Samnium, Colle Sparanise (C36), etc.

[38] Comella 1981: 775.

[39] Morelli 1997: 89. On the material from Rapino, see now Guidobaldi 2002 (incomplete, however).

foci of "Romanization" such as colonies or roads. For example, the nearest known colonies to the isolated cave at Rapino, or the hillside sanctuary of S. Buono, are Hatria and Luceria – hardly close neighbors.

What is more surprising, and in some ways equally illuminating, is the distribution pattern of anatomicals in the area of Rome itself. Potter, discussing Fenelli's distribution map, commented that it demonstrates "how healing-sanctuaries clustered most densely in central and southern Etruria and in Latium, and especially within the environs of Rome."[40] Although it may be accurate to say that many more votive deposits containing anatomical terracottas are known in Latium and southern Etruria than in (say) Adriatic Italy, and that anatomical offerings appear in large quantities in these Tyrrhenian sanctuaries, two factors must be borne in mind. The first is the relatively high density of settlement in this area in antiquity, in comparison to other regions of Italy. Sanctuaries with large numbers of users (as in the case of Rome and its hinterland) mean sanctuaries with more offerings, period. The second factor is modern development (roads, housing, and industrial complexes) of the hinterland of Rome, which makes this in archaeological terms one of the most intensively explored areas of the Italian peninsula. Such exploration has naturally led to the discovery of far more deposits here than elsewhere. (Similarly, higher levels of ancient settlement and modern urbanization may explain the relatively greater density of finds in Campania, in the hinterland of Naples.)

It is worth noting that densities north and south of Rome are very different, which could well be explained by the fact that southern Lazio (the location of major archaeological sites such as Lavinium, Praeneste, Ardea, Satricum etc.) is far more industrialized, and therefore much better explored in archaeological terms, than northern Lazio (with the exception of the long-studied sites of the major southern Etruscan cities). In particular, the number of sanctuaries in the (very rural) lower Tiber Valley at which anatomical terracottas are attested is curiously low. They appear at Etruscan Veii, at Faliscan Narce (Monte Li Santi, a sanctuary by the River Treia) and at a few other sites, but given the proximity of this area to Rome, a much greater density would be expected, if Rome really was the motor driving their spread. Thus to my mind the distribution pattern provides no conclusive evidence that Rome was the epicenter of the anatomicals phenomenon.

Furthermore, there is a major obstacle to the making of direct connections between the growth of Roman power and influence, and the spread of

[40] Potter and Wells 1985: 36.

anatomical terracottas: the weakness of the current system of dating these objects. Anatomical offerings are mostly dated between the fourth and first centuries, and there seems little doubt that the practice rapidly declined thereafter. Within this timescale, more nuanced dating in many cases represents little more than guesswork based on stylistic considerations. (Close dating of objects on stylistic grounds remains a vexed issue in general.) Sometimes connections between areas of production can be established, assisting the development of chronological frameworks. For example, the polyvisceral plaques found at Fregellae and elsewhere in Latium are of the same type as those originally produced at Veii.[41] Some scholars have also attempted to create more precise chronological frameworks, notably Söderlind, who has examined the anatomical terracottas from Tessennano, comparing the style of votive heads with dated sarcophagi.[42] However, in the vast majority of cases, no more than generic attributions of style and date are possible. Hence the archaeological evidence does not clearly demonstrate whether votives found in given areas pre- or postdate Roman expansion there.

If the fifth-century prototypes are left aside, approximately thirty-one sanctuaries in fifteen locations, by my calculation, have anatomical terracottas ascribed to the earliest phase, the fourth century. Of these, there are rather more in Latium than in Etruria; in addition, there is a handful of sites in zones immediately bordering Latium and Etruria: Cales (Campania), Ameria (Umbria), Monteleone Sabino (ancient Trebula Mutuesca, Sabinum) and Pescorocchiano (a sanctuary of the Aequi/Aequiculi). However, this pattern could easily be the product of a series of generic datings by archaeologists (that is: anatomical terracottas date to the fourth–first centuries; hence, the anatomicals at my site date to the fourth–first centuries).

The dating of anatomical votives is a tremendous problem which cannot necessarily be solved even by careful excavation of their precise archaeological context, since many offerings were customarily displayed in sanctuaries, or collected together in storerooms, for decades, or even centuries, before being ritually deposited *en masse* into the ground.[43] Moreover, many of

[41] Turfa (2005b).

[42] Söderlind 2002; see also the earlier work of Hofter 1985: 110–17, based on stylistic, typological, and historical evidence.

[43] Potter and Wells 1985: 38 note that at Ponte di Nona the Hellenistic anatomicals were only buried in the late imperial period, possibly as late as the fifth century CE (cf. Potter 1989: 22). Similarly, the votive deposit at Vulci (Porta Nord) contains anatomical terracottas of the third–second century BCE, which were probably only deposited in the early imperial period (they were found in association with a Domitianic coin, and lamps of the second century CE); see Pautasso 1994.

the terracottas now in museums derive from sporadic finds, or from clandestine excavations, and often findspots and excavation circumstances are unknown or imprecise. There is little help in establishing chronology from other sources. Finds of anatomical terracottas from sanctuaries which we know to have been destroyed or severely damaged at a specific date are rarely of help,[44] since in many cases such sanctuaries continued to be the focus of offerings, and do not represent closed contexts. Inscribed dedications on anatomicals are extremely uncommon, ruling out the use of epigraphic evidence. (Exceptions include two uteri with dedications to Vei at the sanctuary of Fontanile di Legnisina (Vulci), and a heart dedicated to Minerva at Lavinium.[45]) Furthermore, references to anatomicals are almost entirely absent from ancient authors, an exception being St. Augustine's mention of offerings of models of genitalia (probably drawing on Varro).[46] Indeed, the literary record is largely silent on votive deposits in general, despite the fact that the custom of depositing sacrificial remains and other offerings was a fundamental and longstanding feature of ritual activity in Italy.[47]

One factor which has encouraged the idea of a major contributory role for Rome in the popularization of anatomical terracottas across Italy is the formal adoption at Rome of the Greek cult of Aesculapius in 291 BCE on the advice of the Sibylline oracles.[48] Given Aesculapius' role as a healing deity, his cult is often firmly linked to the explosion of anatomical terracotta dedications.[49] Although his official arrival at Rome postdates the beginning of the phenomenon, it could nevertheless be seen as the culmination of a period of growing interest in his cult. For various reasons, this is unlikely, making the deity something of a red herring.

[44] For example, Pyrgi, plundered in 384 BCE by Dionysius of Syracuse (Diod. Sic. XV.14.3ff.), Lucus Feroniae, sacked by Hannibal in 211 BCE (Livy XXVI.11.8), or Falerii, destroyed by the Romans in 241 BCE (Zonaras VIII.18).

[45] See Turfa (2005b), nos. 2–5 for these and others.

[46] *De Civitate Dei* VI.9: *Liberum a liberamento appellatum uolunt, quod mares in coeundo per eius beneficium emissis seminibus liberentur; hoc idem in feminis agere Liberam, quam etiam Venerem putant, quod et ipsam perhibeant semina emittere; et ob haec Libero eandem uirilem corporis partem in templo poni, femineam Liberae*. "They think that Liber was named from 'liberation,' because through him males when having sex are liberated by ejaculating semen. Similarly they say that Libera (whom they believe is the same as Venus) performs the same function among women, as they too emit semen; and on account of this the same part of the body is dedicated in the temple – the male's to Liber, and the female's to Libera."

[47] Obviously the general absence of literary references is not due to ignorance of votive deposits, since they continued to be created at a time when extant works were written; there must then be other reasons for their absence from the literature.

[48] Livy X.47.6–7; Livy, *Per*. XI; Val. Max. I.8.2; Ov. *Met*. XV.622–745 etc. The cult was becoming widely diffused at this time; see Edelstein and Edelstein 1945.

[49] E.g. by Potter and Wells 1985: 38; cf. Comella 1982–3: 217–44; Pensabene 2001: 111–12.

First of all, anatomicals dated from the fourth century onwards, that is prior to the arrival of Aesculapius, have been found at Rome in the sanctuary of Minerva Medica.[50] Moreover, while thousands have been dredged from the Tiber, many of these were found upstream of the Tiber Island; on the island itself, only a handful of anatomicals have been found.[51] Not only does the cult of Aesculapius reach Rome a century or so after the beginning of the anatomical terracotta phenomenon in Etruria, the god never enjoyed wide popularity in Hellenistic Italy. His cult is poorly attested even in Latium. It appears only on the Tiber Island at Rome (the only sanctuary where there is any evidence that "hospital" facilities existed in a sacred context), at Ostia, Antium, and at the Latin colony of Fregellae.[52] In this latter settlement, founded in 328 BCE, a temple to Aesculapius was built in the second quarter of the second century, and destroyed, with the town, in 125 BCE.[53] Most of the anatomical votives found here, however, seem to relate not to the cult of Aesculapius (evidently a rather late foundation), but to a pre-existing indigenous cult (perhaps that of Mefitis).[54]

There is even less sign of shrines to Aesculapius in Etruria – yet both Latium and Etruria are the areas where anatomical terracottas have been found in the greatest number.[55] As Turfa observes, "the absence of Aesculapius from Etruscan dedications suggests that, when his worship became popular in Latin territory, it was already superfluous for Etruria, which had had shrines and anatomical votives a century or more earlier, already linked to native god(desse)s."[56] Equally, in other areas of Italy, local deities were perfectly capable of addressing the health-related concerns of worshippers – something for which they had most likely been responsible for centuries prior to the introduction of anatomical terracottas. Thus anatomical votives are found in a wide range of sanctuaries, urban and rural (and in some cases

[50] Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978: 150–1 notes that the earliest (fourth-century) material bears comparison with Etruscan and Etrusco-Italic offerings; from the end of the fourth century onwards she sees the direct influence of Greek art becoming dominant. The majority of the offerings date from the second–first centuries.

[51] Pensabene et al. 1980: 10, with table 1 and fig. 1.

[52] Degrassi 1986; early Latin inscriptions mentioning Aesculapius are virtually all restricted to the vicinity of the Tiber Island: see *ILLRP* 35–40. According to Festus 268L, the rites of Aesculapius were *peregrina*, observed according to the custom of the people from whom they were received.

[53] For the town and the sanctuary, see Coarelli 1986, and Coarelli and Monti 1998.

[54] Lesk 2002: 197; Ferrea and Pinna et al. 1986: 143–4; Degrassi 1986: 151.

[55] De Cazanove 2000: 76. Note, however, the isolated presence of a bronze votive with Greek dedication to Aesculapius (third quarter of the fifth century), at what was probably a suburban sanctuary of Etruscan Felsina (Bologna). The Doric dialect and alphabet form suggest a Corinthian or Corcyran dedicant (perhaps a merchant frequenting the port of Spina); the inscription dates from the period when the cult of Aesculapius was being introduced at Corinth and Athens: Cristofani 1985b: 1–5.

[56] Turfa (2005b).

funerary), are offered to a great variety of deities, and are far from exclusive to "healing" gods, cults, or shrines. Almost any deity, male or female, could be their recipient, for instance Mater Matuta at Satricum; Diana at Nemi and Norba; Feronia at Lucus Feroniae and Trebula Mutuesca; Uni at Caere (Manganello), Pyrgi, Gravisca, and Vulci (Legnisina); and Juno at Gabii, Lanuvium, and Norba.[57] "Fertility goddesses" such as these were not the only ones to whom anatomicals were directed as gifts; nor did they receive *only* fertility-related anatomicals, nor indeed deal exclusively with "female concerns." Apollo and Hercules appear to have presided over female as well as male complaints, since both received breasts and uteri as offerings (Apollo at S. Giuliano; Hercules at Praeneste and Cora). Many different deities could receive anatomicals as offerings, because healing was considered to be within their normal range of capabilities; thus the importance of Aesculapius (and especially of a Rome-based Aesculapius) in the development and spread of anatomical terracottas should certainly be downplayed.

RELIGIOUS "ROMANIZATION"?

I want now to look further at the question of the role of Rome and Romans in the spread of anatomical terracottas. As mentioned above, although such terracottas are attested across central Italy, including areas little affected by colonization, many scholars consider that (in Torelli's words) "Latin colonization was responsible for propagating, well beyond the original borders of central Etruria, Latium, and Campania, the use of anatomic ex-votos, with all the possible implications of such use – a striking sign of Roman superiority both in the ideological and material sphere."[58] De Cazanove, similarly, describes Latin colonies as "religious staging posts of Roman expansion."[59]

Implicit in the argument of Torelli and others who espouse his theory is the idea that anatomicals were somehow foisted on local peoples by Rome.[60] Marxist historians such as Torelli have little problem with seeing Rome as an overarching entity, imposing its will upon Italy. Writing on "The Romanization of Daunia," he argues that specific cults were "developed by

[57] Cf. Gatti and Onorati 1999: 16.

[58] Torelli 1999b: 41–2.

[59] De Cazanove 2000: 75; cf. 74: "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), 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." On anatomicals and colonists, see now the interesting discussion in Söderlind 2002: 375–80.

[60] De Cazanove 1991: 207. On the ease of transmission of religious influences, see Söderlind 2002: 377.

the ruling Roman class" as part of a deliberate strategy to make colonies "centers of ideological integration" with indigenous peoples.[61] But to what extent Rome/Romans acted to create, or intended to create, a "Romanized" Italy, and to what extent this was the result of accidental processes (or indigenous adoptions), remains obscure. Personally, I doubt that the Roman state had any coherent policy for extending "Romanization" across the peninsula, if only because this entity comprised very many elite persons and groupings with various, often conflicting, motives and interests. Roman control of conquered Italian communities was in many cases limited to occasional interventions.[62] We do see evidence of "Romanization," such as the gradual Latinization of Italic languages from the third century (no doubt partly due to the growing presence in Rome's armies of allied Italian contingents).[63] But more than one influence is at work on Italy during the Hellenistic period – the Italian peoples were not simply the passive recipients of elements from "superior" cultures (Roman or Greek), but active participants in a dynamic mediterranean *koiné*. Moreover, Romanization and Hellenization need not be regarded as exact opposites. Rome itself was strongly influenced by Greek culture from a very early date, and, during the period under discussion, Romans continued to adopt and adapt elements of Greek culture. There is no straightforward dichotomy ("Hellenized" versus "Romanized"): the true picture is far more nuanced. Each region of Italy displays considerable variations, pointing to a complex series of social, economic and cultural transformations – as well as continuities – over generations. Each area responds to differing interactions and exchanges, including ongoing contacts and influences between the various peoples of Italy, independently of Rome.[64] In adopting elements of non-local cultures, Italian communities both assert their own cultural vitality, and restructure their own local identities. Thus the concept of Roman cultural hegemony,

[61] Torelli 1999b: 96. Earlier, he explicitly comments that the "profound economic and social transformations" of Romanization were "imposed on subjugated peoples" (89). If nothing else, we might wonder *where* such policies would or could have been formulated, in Republican Rome.

[62] According to De Cazanove 2000: 71–2, prior to the Social War Roman control in the religious sphere is limited to *municipia* and colonies. There is little evidence before the Bacchanalian affair that Rome ever imposed its religious sensibilities on the rest of Italy. Indeed Rome at times appears to demonstrate a lack of (religious) interest even in its own colonies: Pisaurum (founded 184 BCE) had been a colony for ten years before the contract for the Temple of Jupiter was even let; at Alba Fucens, Cosa, and Paestum, major temples were similarly late in coming (Livy XXXIX.44.10; XLI.27.11).

[63] Mouritsen 1998, in his analysis of the level of Romanization in pre-Social War Italy, notes the highly selective adaptation of Roman elements (such as magisterial nomenclature) by Italics (76–7), and the patchy take-up of Latin prior to the Social War (80–1).

[64] See for example Fischer-Hansen 1993 on the reciprocal relationships between Hellenistic-period Apulia and Etruria, perhaps connected with the activities of itinerant artisans.

which remains widespread in modern literature, requires rethinking; to return to anatomical terracotta votives, it is clearly naive to assume there was only one direction of influence (Rome outwards), especially as early as the fourth century.[65]

Anatomical ex-votos are found in a number of Latin colonies, such as Carseoli (303/2 BCE or soon after), Alba Fucens (303), and Luceria in Daunia (315)[66] (although it is worth stressing that there are many more where they have *not* been found, at least so far). But anatomicals were not produced exclusively in colonies; in fact Söderlind has suggested that some types were imported into colonies from indigenous producers nearby (with a corresponding influence from local to colonist, not vice versa?): in the case of Tessennano, anatomicals dedicated by colonists in the territory of Vulci were made by Tuscanian workshops.[67]

Anatomical ex-votos did of course come to feature in Roman and Latin religious practice. It is even possible that in some instances emulation of colonial practice encouraged the adoption of anatomicals in neighboring allied communities. But this would represent neither a conscious Roman policy, nor the spread of a distinctively Roman religious form. It must be emphasized that anatomicals are not and never were a specifically Roman form of dedication: at no time were they an exclusive feature either of colonies or of Roman religion. This throws serious doubt on statements such as this, from Torelli:

> Quando appaiono all'improvviso in un'area dove la *pietas* religiosa popolare conosceva altri modi di espressione, questi fittili marcano infatti la traccia della presenza di gruppi di origine romano-latina organizzati nelle tipiche forme della colonia latina o romana o della deduzione di cittadini romani nelle campagne.[68]

[65] Rome may be the focus of Hellenic influence on Italy (De Cazanove 1991: 207, quoted above, n. 23) by the end of the period under discussion, but surely not at the start. The Italic populations could be directly influenced by Greek culture (cf. n. 69): for example, on the basis of inscriptions in Marsic-Latin dialect (second half of the third century), Letta and D'Amato 1975: 179–83 and 208 argue that the cults of Jupiter, the Dioscuri, Apollo, and Hercules reached the Fucine area from Campania (possibly Cumae) in the fourth century or even earlier (but cf. the critique of Crawford 1981: 158).

[66] Carseoli: Livy x.3.2, x.13.1; Alba Fucens (Livy x.1.1); Luceria: D'Ercole 1990. The Belvedere deposit at Luceria contained around 1,500 offerings, one-third of them anatomicals.

[67] Söderlind (pers. comm). He argues that the end of the production of anatomicals is connected to the replacement of local Etruscan terracotta production by Roman Campana reliefs in the first century. We rarely know where anatomicals were actually made, although the normal assumption is that this was at or near sanctuaries, sometimes perhaps in workshops producing architectural terracottas.

[68] Torelli 1999a: 8: "When they suddenly appear in an area where the popular religious *pietas* knew other forms of expression, these fictiles in fact mark the trace of the presence of groups of Romano-Latin origin organized into the typical forms of the Latin or Roman colony or of the deduction of Roman citizens in the countryside."

Instead, anatomical terracottas belong to a *koiné* common to many peoples of Italy, who we know could be influenced by Hellenistic artistic forms independently of Rome, even in quite remote areas. This is amply demonstrated by the case of Pietrabbondante. This sanctuary, the chief shrine of the Pentrian Samnites, may also have been their center of political assembly; over this site Rome can have had little religious or political authority prior to the second century. Furthermore, the closest Latin colonies are Saticula (founded in 313 BCE), Beneventum (268), and Aesernia (264), at none of which, to the best of my knowledge, have any anatomical terracottas been found.[69] Yet anatomical terracottas, Tanagra figurines, and a veiled female head *have* been found at the sanctuary of Pietrabbondante.[70]

As we have seen, there is good reason to question the received view that the beginning of the diffusion of anatomical models coincides chronologically and geographically with the spread of Roman political influence. It is certainly true that the diffusion of these terracottas takes place against the backdrop of the Roman conquest. The heyday of anatomical terracottas sees the massive expansion of Roman power across the Italian peninsula, its beginning symbolized by the conquest of Veii in 396 BCE. But while this, and the development of the road network, may have created the preconditions (such as the freer movement of artisans and traders) for the wider spread of a hybridized Hellenistic culture that included these terracottas, it is highly unlikely that the Roman state was consciously responsible for shipping anatomical terracottas into colonial areas and beyond – their introduction was not a Roman priority.[71] If scholars wish to see the appearance of anatomical terracottas as a feature of the colonization movement, and of "Romanization," they must consider the processes that might have brought this about, and examine to what extent, if any, Romans (and who,

[69] However, a large deposit of anatomicals was found at Luceria (above, n. 65), and at Venusia (a colony of 291 BCE) votive uteri have been found: Marchi et al. 1990: 13.

[70] For a complete list, see Santangelo 1992: esp. 45–6. (Admittedly, since these votives cannot be precisely dated, they could belong to the period of Roman influence at this sanctuary, but this seems unlikely since this type of votive was declining in popularity during the second century.) The architecture of the sanctuary may also derive from direct Magna Graecian influences, not mediated via Rome – so La Regina 1976: 229; cf. Morel 1991; Mitens 1993; Mouritsen 1998: 66–7. But La Regina 1989: 421–2, followed by Coarelli, sees Roman influence at work, arguing that the form of Pietrabbondante's theater–temple complex derives from the curia–comitium typology present in Latin colonies, employed in sanctuaries such as Gabii and Praeneste in the second century. Coarelli 1996b: 4–6 regards La Regina's hypothesis as confirmed by the complexes of Cosa, Paestum, Alba Fucens, and Fregellae (although these are not identical to that of Pietrabbondante), and sees the ultimate origin of this architectural type as the *ekklesiasteria* of Magna Graecia and Sicily. Roman influence is of course more likely by this stage than earlier in Pietrabbondante's history.

[71] *Contra* Torelli 1999b *passim*, who sees Roman ideologies developing apace right across the peninsula.

then?) were responsible for the spread of these ex-votos inside and outside colonies.

DEDICANTS AND DEITIES

One further element must be considered in regard to the supposed Roman diffusion of the tradition of dedicating anatomical terracottas: the dedicants. It is widely assumed that anatomical terracottas, mainly mass-produced in moulds, are by and large the offerings of persons of fairly low social status, especially small peasant farmers and those "socially equivalent to the Roman *plebs*."[72] For Torelli, indeed, anatomicals represent the authentic voice of the lower classes.[73] The idea was first elaborated in depth by Pensabene, who connected the phenomenon to the emergence, from the fourth century, of the middle and lower classes, participating more actively in the life of sanctuaries.[74]

For the most part, I do not doubt that anatomical ex-votos were the dedications of the masses. The low social and economic status of the majority of dedicants might help explain why the anatomical terracotta, one of the most characteristic forms of religious expression in the archaeological record, goes virtually unrecognized in the (elite) literary sources. However, a note of caution should be adopted, since there are various problems with the standard interpretation.

For example, many of the offerings found in archaic sanctuaries were relatively simple and cheap: crudely made miniature pots, for instance, or offerings of grain. There is no reason to suppose that the humbler classes were not able to make such dedications. Hence the move to the use of anatomical terracottas implies neither a corresponding major change in the social status of dedicants, nor that sanctuaries were less exclusive and more accessible to the ordinary worshipper from the fourth century onwards. Moreover, the distribution of sanctuaries with anatomical terracottas shows that these offerings were as much an urban as a rural phenomenon (a fact which Pensabene attempted to circumvent by suggesting that offerings in sanctuaries at Rome may have been made by peasant farmers visiting for voting purposes[75]). Finally, the production of terracotta offerings was not entirely without trouble or expense. The cost of obtaining or producing purified clay, and the time required to make, fire, and finish the object

[72] Turfa 1994: 224–5. [73] Torelli 1999a: 8–9.

[74] Pensabene et al. 1980: 46–51. Cf. Torelli 1973: 138–9; Steingräber 1980: 246–9; De Cazanove 1991: 207; Morel 1992: 231; Gatti and Onorati 1999: 17; Pensabene 2001: 74, 78.

[75] Pensabene et al. 1980: 51.

(e.g. with painted details) must be factored in. There is some evidence, too, that certain anatomicals were more costly – those for example with additional detail modeled by hand, which may indicate a special commission. Potter sees "more affluent patrons" behind certain high quality (specially commissioned?) portrait heads at Ponte di Nona, and points out that a range of pieces and prices were probably available to patrons of the sanctuary.[76] All this means that many anatomical terracottas were probably never as cheap as tends to be assumed.

Furthermore, we should note that the – at least from the modern point of view – intrinsically worthless *fabric* of these offerings does not imply that their value as an offering was low. The use of terracotta for ritual purposes forms part of a longstanding central Italian tradition: from the archaic period for a considerable time temples were decorated with terracotta images of gods and heroes, and cult statues were also made in this medium (see e.g. Plin. *HN* xxxv.157 on terracotta statues of Jupiter and Hercules). Ancient eyes did not view terracotta as inherently poor-quality, cheap, or lower-class. The use of terracotta for prestige objects throughout the archaic and Hellenistic periods throws doubt on the assumption that the fabric and production methods of anatomical votives make them primarily the offerings of the poorer classes. In addition, De Cazanove suggests that identical categories of offering once existed in metal, but were smelted down, distorting our interpretation of the surviving offerings.[77] There is undoubtedly some merit in his argument, although it is hard to believe in the almost total destruction of Hellenistic-period anatomical votives in metal, when archaic bronze votives survive in such large numbers; hence metal anatomical votives can only ever have constituted a tiny proportion of the total.

It has also been argued that the majority of shrines at which anatomical terracottas are found belonged to deities with a special interest for the lower levels of society, such as Feronia and Diana, worshipped by slaves, or Ceres, associated with the Roman plebs. For example, Torelli has argued that at Veii there is an emphasis on the "ideological aspect of the plebeian status of the conquest."[78] All this, however, is far from certain – as we have seen, anatomicals are found at a large number of sanctuaries, dedicated to all manner of deities, not just those worshipped by the plebs. Moreover even deities typically characterized as "plebeian" frequently perform multifaceted functions, and consequently enjoy wide popularity, rarely restricted

[76] Potter and Wells 1985: 28–9. [77] De Cazanove 1991: 205; cf. Comella 1999: 11.
[78] Torelli 1999b: 29; see e.g. 24–5 on specific Veientine sanctuaries.

to one social class.[79] Thus we cannot be certain that elites took no interest in this form of devotion, and indeed, as Edlund rightly notes, "use of the finest of the urban temples for healing cults shows citizens as a whole were concerned with these forms of religious practices."[80]

Whatever the social status of the dedicant, anatomical terracottas do appear to be private rather than public offerings. This private nature further negates the idea that anatomicals represent a deliberate ideological or propagandistic "push" on the part of the Roman state. It is hard to see why – bar exceptional circumstances, such as the Bacchanalian affair – the state would be interested in the private religious lives of the masses.[81] As De Cazanove claims, "since the public cult of the Roman city-state is an essentially civic religion which concerns *stricto sensu* only the citizens [of Rome] . . . proselytism and 'missionary spirit' have absolutely no role to play in this context."[82] If the Roman state has little interest in public cult outside of Roman zones of Italy, it can have even less concern for the private and "popular religiosity" (as Comella puts it) represented by anatomical ex-votos. Scholars arguing for a connection between state-sponsored colonization and the rise in the use of anatomicals by private individuals have not created an adequate link between the two.

Alongside this, it is worth highlighting the prominence of women, human and divine, in these cults. The majority of deities known to receive anatomical votives are female, and especially fertility goddesses such as Uni, Mater Matuta, Diana, and Ceres – though fertility is of course not solely a female concern. In addition, deposits usually contain more female than male votive heads and statuettes, which might suggest that female worshippers predominate. Though the paucity of the evidence makes this a difficult topic of research, more study is needed here of the role of women, especially in connection with the presumed centrality of colonization in the spread of anatomical offerings. If anatomical terracottas represent a popular, private and perhaps especially female means of religious expression, how does this fit into the presumed colonial context? What role did women – Romans or natives – play in religious developments in colonies and their hinterlands? It is an obvious point that worries about *sanatio* and fertility

[79] On Diana, for example, see Glinister (forthcoming).

[80] Edlund 1987b: 55–6. In many cases, anatomical votives are found in the heart of a sanctuary, e.g. near the temple podium (as at Corvaro), perhaps demonstrating a connection with local officialdom. At any rate, it is hard to deny local elites a possible place in such dedications.

[81] Note the questions raised by Mouritsen 1998: 49–58 concerning the applicability of the Bacchanalian decree.

[82] De Cazanove 2000: 71.

are both important in a new colony,[83] and a general human concern, which helps explain the pan-Italian popularity of anatomical votives. However, the strong connection between women worshippers and these offerings, to my mind, further undermines the idea that Rome itself played any conscious role in promoting Roman religious ideologies via the medium of anatomical terracottas.

THE END OF THE ANATOMICAL TERRACOTTA PHENOMENON

Various arguments have been put forward to explain the disappearance of anatomical terracotta offerings from the later second century onwards.[84] It has been claimed, for example, that improved medical standards and the increasing availability of doctors lie behind the decline in use of anatomical ex-votos.[85] But medical practitioners remained a rarity, available to few – and their success rates would hardly have precluded the need for divine back-up.

The argument that the monumentalization of sanctuaries as a result of elite patronage may have forced humble local inhabitants away from their traditional sanctuaries is also unconvincing.[86] Firstly, such redevelopment is limited to a fairly small number of sanctuaries in restricted areas of central Italy, in particular the major suburban sanctuaries of Latium, such as Nemi.[87] Anatomicals, as we have seen, enjoy a far wider distribution than this. Secondly, the first century BCE onwards sees an increasing number of inscribed dedications at these suburban sanctuaries by persons of low status, such as freed slaves – one of the very groups assumed to have made dedications of anatomical terracottas.

Pensabene's view, widely accepted, is that the disappearance of anatomicals is linked to the decline of the Italian peasantry, as smallholders abandoned their farms and their cults and migrated to Rome (or into Rome's

[83] Note one of the early second-century inscriptions from a sacred grove near Pisaurum (where anatomicals have also been found): *salute* (*CIL* I².373). Most of these dedications, moreover, are to female deities (Harvey, Chapter 5, this volume).

[84] The end of the phenomenon is difficult to date, and may not be as sudden as is sometimes supposed. The longstanding re-use of moulds may mean that the practice continued well into the first century; even if the last datable pieces are stylistically of second-century date, they were probably buried considerably later – and the fact that they *were* ritually buried in itself suggests that they were still viewed as a valid expression of sacred activities until that time.

[85] Blagg 1983: 46 attributes it to "the spread of Greek medical knowledge to Rome . . . and an increased reliance in human rather than divine cure." Cf. Blagg 1985: 44; Potter and Wells 1985: 40; Girardon 1993: 31; Lesk 2002: 194–5. Discussions of medicine in Roman society, however (see Nutton 1992 and 1993) do not offer much support to these views.

[86] Blagg 1985: 44, 46; Lesk 2002: 195.

[87] Blagg 1985: 46.

armies), and land was concentrated in the hands of a small number of landowners employing a massive slave workforce (the *latifundium* system). However, this argument for the decline of anatomicals and the sanctuaries in which they were dedicated only really works on the assumption that the worshippers were of lower class and peasant status, an assumption against which I have cautioned above. Moreover, Pensabene's assumptions are hard to accept for (say) upland zones of Italy, where the quality of the land would have precluded the development of the intensive agricultural installations which supposedly destroyed the peasantry. Such social and economic developments have in any case recently been questioned – for Etruria, but with wider applicability – by Terrenato.[88] He sees continuity of land use, pointing out that the large areas of northern Etruria from which villas appear absent (such as the interior of the Cecina Valley) argue against the concept of a few elites controlling the majority of the land.

Certainly, the decline in use of anatomicals does appear to be bound up with changes to Roman society as a whole. The late Republic was a time of crisis and instability across Italy. The climate of insecurity created by the Social War and the civil wars may well have played a part in the disappearance or decline of certain cult sites where anatomical terracottas were traditionally dedicated; but this is not a convincing total explanation, because such socio-economic trends are not uniformly visible in all areas where anatomical terracottas are attested. Part of the answer may lie with changing fashions which are not ascribable to particular socio-economic or historical circumstances. Perhaps it simply became more desirable to make other kinds of offerings, or to record ritual actions epigraphically: as anatomicals declined in popularity, the use of inscribed dedications – lasting and unambiguous markers of bargains between men and gods – grew far commoner in both public and private ritual contexts.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has aimed to invite reconsideration of aspects of the discussion on anatomical terracotta offerings in terms of their background, spread, and use, and the role of Rome in all this. My main argument is that the model originated by Torelli and elaborated by Comella is now outdated, partly because an exponential increase in the available material has shown that anatomicals appear in regions far removed from the influence of Roman colonization. Secondly, I have argued that we cannot simply attribute the

[88] See e.g. Terrenato 1998: 101. Terrenato's view is, of course, not without dissenters.

spread of this form of offering to Rome, without considering the how and the why.

It is clear that, in order to study the history of anatomical terracotta offerings, both social and political elements need to be brought together. We need to look at the terracottas, and try to understand their role and meaning in the societies where they appear. Thus we return to the question: what is the motivation behind the spread of anatomical terracotta votives? As yet no truly satisfactory argument has been put forward to explain their religious, social, and political significance. Are they evidence of the enormous popularity of healing cults such as that of Aesculapius? Is there a new "obsession" with health in the Hellenistic period? It seems unlikely. For me, anatomicals (and associated terracottas) represent instead the medium for the expression of a much wider range of religious feelings. Comparative anthropological work suggests that healing cults come to the fore during moments of cultural change, and it is certainly true that the societies of Hellenistic Italy were undergoing great changes, in which the expansion of Rome undoubtedly played a part.[89]

However, as highlighted above, the Romanness of these votives is highly questionable. Some users could have perceived these terracottas as a Rome-sponsored form of ritual expression, and deliberately adopted them in order to associate themselves with the power of Rome – "conspicuous consumption" of the Roman way of (religious) life. That, however, is only likely to have been the case if anatomical terracottas were seen by them as specifically Roman in the first place – and there is no evidence that they were. Anatomicals appear no earlier at Rome than elsewhere (the earliest anatomical ex-votos come from outside Rome), and there is no real evidence for the theory that Rome is the focal point from which these terracottas originate and radiate out to Italian communities.[90] If what we are dealing with really is simply "popular religiosity," then why would Rome be interested in the diffusion of anatomical offerings? And why should they be regarded by modern scholars as such good evidence for the "Romanization" of Italy? Even assuming for the moment that anatomical terracottas were a specifically Roman form of dedication, spread via colonies, they represented private acts of worship, and are likely to have been voluntarily adopted, rather than imposed. The spread of anatomical dedications could not have been a process controled by the elite, or by officials of the Roman state,

[89] Stewart (2004).

[90] There may be parallels to be drawn here with the spread of the Bacchanalian cult. This was not initially from Rome, but took thorough hold there, and spread to many Roman and non-Roman areas in a way partly facilitated by the greater interconnectivity promoted by the Roman conquest.

or by "Rome" (that nebulous entity); instead it must have been the result of spontaneous local activity at various social levels. Demand for these terracottas must have been created by the example of the cult practices of ordinary worshippers, with artisans rapidly rising to the challenge of mass production. Simple domestic and religious concerns, rather than competition or conspicuous consumption, or desire to go along with foreign styles, were the primary cause of the adoption of anatomical terracottas. If colonies played any role at all in this process, it would only have been because their urban form – and their permeability – provided them with a wide sphere of influence.[91]

What we see with the introduction and spread of anatomical terracotta votives is Romans and Italians together adopting a new mode of devotion, forming part of a wider Mediterranean *koiné*, which provided new responses to largely traditional religious concerns. Perhaps the common custom of dedicating anatomicals at sanctuaries even operated as a unifying element in areas of Italy where there came to be considerable ethnic and social diversity as a result of the Roman conquest. The new votive forms have their roots in local as well as Greek traditions, and only represent a major change of emphasis in that *sanatio* as a divine function and as a popular concern visibly gains prominence, with the anatomical votives demonstrating a much stronger emphasis on health and well-being.[92] But these offerings do not represent a wholesale change in religious mentalities brought on by the Roman conquest – this is shown by the many instances of continuity of cult to existing deities (even, sometimes, at sanctuaries which had been destroyed). There is little evidence of new ritual procedures, or the abandonment of indigenous ritual practices in favor of Roman ones. The basic structures of religious practice in Italy remained unchanged by the Roman conquest, even if the ex-votos were of a new style, and the sanctuaries in which some were dedicated were gradually transformed by elites enriched through the profits of empire.

[91] We would like to know more, too, about the participation of local people (or other non-Romans/Latins) in colonies, which now appears much more plausible than was once thought. Note Torelli 1999b: ch. 2 ("Religious aspects of early Roman colonization") on indigenous cults and Latin colonists. Van Dommelen 1998 has highlighted the centrality of identity (sometimes involving (re)creation of identities) in colonial situations.

[92] New colonists might possibly have particular concerns for *sanatio* and fertility – but this alone would not explain the emanation outwards and adoption by locals of anatomical terracottas.

CHAPTER 2

In search of the Etruscan priestess: a re-examination of the hatrencu

Lesley E. Lundeen

Ancient and modern sources alike stress the Etruscan devotion to, and talent for, conducting religious rituals, particularly those involving divination,[1] and the prominent public roles enjoyed by Etruscan women.[2] Yet these two distinct, cultural features never appear to overlap; we have no substantial evidence at present for official Etruscan female religious activity.[3] Both the material and textual records are curiously reticent on this topic, offering only obscure hints and tantalizing possibilities. One case alone stands as possible proof of Etruscan priestesses: several late fourth- /early third-century BCE[4] funerary inscriptions from Vulci identify twelve women from a number of elite families as *hatrencu*. The term has been tentatively defined and accepted as a religious title, in turn linked, on the basis of Greek and Roman parallels, to an all-female religious association devoted to a deity who presided over traditionally feminine concerns.

The evidence concerning the term *hatrencu*, however, combined with new research on women in early Roman religion and new comparanda from further afield, strongly suggests that we should not assume that the term refers to a religious position, let alone that of a specifically female office. Instead, we find a broader range of possible interpretations, most significantly that *hatrencu* may in fact be a civic title. This finding highlights

[1] *gens itaque ante omnes alias eo magis dedita religionibus quod excelleret arte colendi eas* (Livy v.1.6). Seneca (*Q Nat*. II.32.2) notes that this devotion bordered on the superstitious. Etruscan *haruspices*, the *disciplina etrusca*, and the books of Vegoia were incorporated into Roman religion early on and were essential to maintaining Rome's safety and well-being. See Turfa, Chapter 3 in this volume.

[2] Literary, archaeological, and epigraphic evidence all depict Etruscan women as far more visible and active than their Greek and Roman counterparts. For Etruscan women: Heurgon 1964: 74–96; Rallo 1989a and 1989c; Bonfante 1994; Nielsen 1998.

[3] For Etruscan religion: Pfiffig 1975; Gaultier and Briquel 1997; and Jannot 1998. For Etruscan priestesses and female religious officials: Rallo 1989c: 155–6 and Nielsen 1990. Colonna has proposed that the rooms connected to Temple B at Pyrgi might have housed sacred prostitutes in the service of Uni/Astarte (Colonna 1985: 129 with bibliography on the site at 130). Glinister 2000a, however, has convincingly argued against this theory.

[4] All dates are BCE unless otherwise noted.

the *hatrencu* as an extremely localized phenomenon, particular to Vulci and comparable to the female magistrates found in Roman Asia Minor.

ETRUSCAN WOMEN AND RELIGION

The famed Etruscan queen Tanaquil stands as the most vivid image we have of an Etruscan woman. Livy's detailed account shows us an ambitious and proud noblewoman, instrumental in the accession of both Lucius Tarquinius Priscus and Servius Tullius to the Roman throne (Livy 1.34.4–10, 1.39.1–41.7). Livy's portrait owes much to legend. F. Glinister, however, has persuasively argued that Tanaquil's power and political activity reflect the historical reality of Roman archaic queenship, particularly with regard to issues of succession.[5] Archaeological evidence presents Etruscan women as exceptionally independent and visible, yet defined primarily by stereotypically feminine domestic duties such as weaving, familial concerns, and adornment.[6] Etruscan painting, sculpture, and drawing all emphasize the importance of the elite married couple, with husbands and wives honored equally as the dynastic founders of the Etruscan ruling families.[7] This evidence generally corresponds to Livy's portrait of Tanaquil, who exercises her power on behalf of her family and who, according to Plutarch and the elder Pliny, was famed for her wool working, the traditional occupation of the virtuous and dedicated *matrona*.[8]

As with most Etruscans, Livy notes, Tanaquil was also skilled in divination (*perita ut vulgo Etrusci caelestium prodigiorum mulier*, 1.34.9).[9] Livy's brief comment implies that Etruscan women were as active in, and as talented at, such practices as Etruscan men were reputed to be. If this is historically accurate, then Livy may provide proof of official Etruscan female religious activity, as has been thought by some scholars. For example, a

[5] Glinister 1997. See also Cornell 1995 and Haynes 2000 for more discussion on the historical accuracy of ancient texts when compared to related archaeological findings.

[6] Rallo 1989a summarizes the extant literary evidence for Etruscan women. Both Greek and Roman sources present an exaggerated picture of the immoral, luxuriating Etruscans, with women depicted as unduly involved in such male activities as drinking wine. While such characterizations stem from longstanding military and cultural rivalries, archaeological and epigraphic evidence has confirmed that many of the sources' specific accusations – such as mixed-gender banqueting – stem from the independence and prominence enjoyed by Etruscan women from the Iron Age on. See e.g. Rallo 1989c; Bonfante 1981, 1986, and 1994; Nielsen 1998; and Rallo in Torelli 2000b: 131–9.

[7] Bonfante 1981 and 1996.

[8] Plutarch (*Quaest. Rom.* 30) and Pliny (*HN* VIII.194) record that Tanaquil's distaff and wool were displayed publicly and that she was the first to weave a *tunica recta*.

[9] Livy 1.34.9 and 1.39.1–4. She read the future kingship of Lucius Tarquinius Priscus in the flight of an eagle and that of Servius Tullius in the flames encircling his head.

recent Italian publication on Etruscan women, intended for a general audience, calls Tanaquil a priestess as well as a queen.[10] Tanaquil, however, is the only Etruscan woman recorded as performing such a religious act and she does so in private, not public, settings. If the Etruscan priestess existed, she is not to be found in the literary record.

The physical image of the Etruscan priestess is as elusive as the literary version. Two striking funerary objects – a third-century Tuscanian mirror and a late archaic bronze figurine – may depict female *haruspices*, but they are the only such extant representations and neither figure can be securely identified. On the mirror, an unbearded person, labeled *ucernei* (probably a name but possibly a term as yet undefined), stands behind a group of bearded men as the famous Pava Tarchies performs haruspicy.[11] According to N. De Grummond, "The lady Ucernei, who stands next to Pava Tarchies, extends her right hand as if to touch him or perhaps even the liver, thus assuming an active role in the act of prophecy."[12]

In examining the widespread popularity of such scenes of prophecy on mirrors, and noting that half of the figures depicted, mainly deities, are female, de Grummond further argues that the women who owned these mirrors used them as instruments of prophecy.[13] This argument, however, does not distinguish between the use of mirrors in private settings (primarily as domestic objects) and their use in public ceremonies. Hence such scenes cannot be taken as evidence for an *official* Etruscan female role in divination. Moreover, *ucernei*'s body itself is mostly hidden by the other, male figures, making it difficult to ascertain this onlooker's gender conclusively.

Similar difficulties are presented by the only other possible representation of a female diviner: a late archaic bronze figurine, now in Paris.[14] It bears a striking resemblance to extant statuettes of *haruspices* except for its clearly defined breasts. Unfortunately, the uniqueness of the piece and, more importantly, its less than secure provenance make its authenticity questionable.[15] Ultimately, neither the statuette nor the Tuscanian mirror proves the existence of female *haruspices* or priestesses. If anything, they may simply represent elite Etruscan women.

[10] Albini 2000.

[11] Florence, Museo Archeologico inv. 77759. See the discussion in van der Meer 1995: 97–100.

[12] De Grummond 2000: 32.

[13] De Grummond 2000.

[14] Bibliothèque National inv. B.B. 862.

[15] Adam 1984: 214–15, n. 336. Nielsen 1990 points out that the statuette came from the modern eighteenth-century Caylus collection, arguing that, at the time this collection was assembled, contemporary forgers would not have been able to produce a piece of such high technical quality and would not have been aware of the many archaic aspects characterizing this piece.

Distinguishing between Etruscan representations of mortal women and goddesses is extremely difficult because the same attributes and features are applied to female divinities and elite women. Both goddesses and noblewomen appear in rich and fashionable apparel and often carry items such as pomegranates and eggs. Such similar presentation indicates that these attributes belonged primarily to the realm of contemporary elite fashion.[16] The result of this circumstance is that scholars often cannot agree whether an individual female votive figurine should be identified as an image of an elite worshipper, a priestess, or a divinity.[17] The same is true for interpretations of female funerary representations, whether painted or sculpted.[18]

As with extant Greek and Roman female representations,[19] only inscribed texts allow us to differentiate among these figures with some certainty. Etruscan epigraphy provides two possible official female religious titles: *ethviš* and *hatrencu*.[20] The first comes from a late first-century inscribed Volterran urn that reads *Thana Velui s ethviš avilš LXII r(il)*: Thana Velui, daughter of Sethre, *ethviš* for sixty-two years.[21] Nielsen points out two interesting, if superficial, possible links to the male position of *haruspex*. The first is the similarity between the word *ethviš* and *netšvis*, which is defined as *haruspex* on the basis of a bilingual inscription.[22] The second is the similarity between the headgear borne by the sculpted image of Thana Velui, reclining atop the urn lid, and the archaic statuette possibly

[16] Bonfante 1975: 31–66, 75–6.

[17] A notable example is a mid-fifth-century bronze statuette from the fountain sanctuary of Fontanile di Legnisina at Vulci. It clearly represents a woman of status, her outstretched hands holding an egg and a pomegranate. Though identified as Proserpina (Massabò and Ricciardi 1988: 35, n. 2, fig. 18), Haynes 2000 regards the figure as either a local elite worshipper or a priestess (284–5, fig. 230). If so, she may be making offerings to Uni or Vei, both of whom are attested at this sanctuary (Colonna 1988: 23–6; Massabò and Ricciardi 1988: 32–3, figs. 11–12). For Etruscan votive dedications in general see Fenelli 1975a; Comella 1981; Turfa 1986 and 1994; as well as Chapters 1 and 3 in this volume by Glinister and Turfa.

[18] See e.g. the Tomb of the Baron at Tarquinia. The female figure on the back wall has been variously identified as a priestess, a goddess, a heroine, and a relative of the deceased (Steingräber 1985: 291, n. 44, pls. 27–30; Brendel 1995: 192–4; Barker and Rasmussen 1998: 216–19, fig. 77). Cf. the banqueting wife on both the pediment scene from the contemporary Tarquinian Tomb of Hunting and Fishing (Steingräber 1985: 299, n. 50, pls. 41–51; Brendel 1995: 187–91) and the terracotta couple sarcophagi from Cerveteri (Louvre sarcophagus, Paris, Cp 5194; Villa Giulia sarcophagus, Rome, Brendel 1995: 231–2).

[19] For Greek female representations, see Kron 1996 and Reeder 1995. Sebesta 2001 reviews Roman female clothing in general. For Roman Republican sculptural representations of women, see Thompson 1996.

[20] See the discussion in Nielsen 1990.

[21] *CIE* 158; *TLE* 391. See *SE* 48: 380, n. 78 and *SE* 51: 249, n. 57. H. Rix and D. Steinbauer have proposed that *ethviš* is the gamonymic for *Ethv*, a name that has never appeared in extant Etruscan inscriptions (*SE* (1980) 48: 380, n. 78). Moreover, gamonymics are rarely found on Volterran epitaphs.

[22] See *TLE* 697 = *CIL* I^2.2127 = *ILLRP* 791, a bilingual Latin and Etruscan inscription from Pisaurum.

representing a female *haruspex* discussed above (p. 36).[23] Nielsen speculates that an *ethviš* could thus be a female *haruspex*, though she recognizes the absence of any conclusive evidence on which to argue this point.

The central relief on Thana Velui's urn may better allow us to define her title of *ethviš* as "priestess." An unidentified woman sits on an open air, four-wheeled horse-drawn carriage accompanied only by a young girl (presumably a servant) and escorted by two horsemen. We know that Roman *matronae* possessed the privilege of riding the four-wheeled carriage known as the *pilentum* to religious festivals and games and that the Vestal Virgins' religious office gave them the right to use the *pilentum, carpentum* (two-wheeled carriage), *plaustrum* (a wagon or cart), and even *currus* (chariot).[24] Extrapolating from this, it is possible that Thana Velui is depicted here on her way to participate in, or to conduct, a religious ritual in her role as *ethviš*.

Unfortunately, there is nothing to differentiate this depiction of Thana Velui from other existing representations of Etruscan women. Carriages appear frequently on Etruscan reliefs, funerary and otherwise, to transport figures within a wedding procession or to the underworld.[25] Above all, carriages were the prerogative of the elite and therefore signified status, appearing, for example, in both wealthy male and female burials from the eighth through fifth centuries.[26] Furthermore, mythological scenes – mainly Greek with some Roman and Etruscan, but many of uncertain origin – were popular on contemporary Volterran urns, and this particular scene may fall into this category. Once again, the Etruscan priestess escapes us.

THE *HATRENCU* AND THE TOMB OF THE INSCRIPTIONS AT VULCI

In our search for the Etruscan priestess, then, only the term *hatrencu* remains. It appears in twelve brief female funerary inscriptions, all from

[23] She also holds a pomegranate and a mirror, typical of female funerary representations. Nielsen 1990 has interpreted this striking headcovering as a bonnet used in scenes of private life on earlier Volterran urns. She also notes that it could be a Hellenized version of the traditional tutulus worn by matrons (Nielsen 1990: 56–8).

[24] Livy v.25.9: *honoremque ob eam munificentiam ferunt matronis habitum ut pilento ad sacra ludosque. carpentis festo profestoque uterentur.* Tanaquil and Tullia both ride in the *carpentum*. For Vestal use: Suet. *Tib*. 2; Tac. *Ann*. xii.42–3; Prudent. *C. Symm*. i.1089. See also the discussion in Bartoloni and Grottanelli 1989.

[25] See Rathje 1989 on the Murlo plaques; see also Holliday 1990.

[26] Bartoloni and Grottanelli 1989; Colonna 1997a.

Vulci.[27] The inscriptions are, for the most part, limited to the name of the deceased and her filiation, with the addition of the title *hatrencu* which may refer to an important position carried out by the deceased during her lifetime. Six of our examples lack a precise archaeological context and therefore will not be discussed here in detail.[28] The remaining six *hatrencu* all appear in the Tomb of the Inscriptions, excavated in 1957 in the Ponte Rotto necropolis, about 100 meters from a group of aristocratic family burials that includes the famous François Tomb.[29] Although plundered, the few grave goods left behind in Room II, along with several coins, indicate that the tomb was used from the late fourth century BCE into the Tiberian era.[30]

Using M. Nielsen's plan of the tomb (Fig. 2.1), we see that women labeled *hatrencu* make up a little over half of the attested burials and appear in four of the six chambers.[31] Two *hatrencu* belong to the Mura family (Table 1; Rooms (Chambers) I and VI; Epigraphic Appendix 7 and 20), two to the Zimaru clan (Table 1; Rooms I and IV; Appendix 9 and 14) and the last to the Prušlna family (Table 1; Room IV; Appendix 13). The name Ramtha Višnei appears outside the entrance to Room V with the letter "h," presumably an abbreviation for *hatrencu* (Table 1; Appendix 17).

Nielsen's proposed genealogy identifies three generations among the individuals named, dating between the latter half of the fourth and the latter half of the third century BCE.[32] Etruscan burial customs generally

[27] For Vulci, see Hus 1971; Riccioni in Ridgway and Ridgway 1979; Moretti 1982; Carandini 1985; Falconi Amorelli 1983 and 1987. Excavations conducted at Vulci thus far have been hampered by looting, the poor state of preservation, and modern settlement.

[28] See the Epigraphic Appendix at the end of this chapter for the inscriptions and relevant bibliography. Two of the unprovenanced inscriptions were found in the area of the necropolis of Mandrione di Cavalupo, one in the Ponte Rotto necropolis between the Tomba delle Due Ingressi (belonging to the Tetnie family) and the Tomba del Pronao Arcuato, one in the area of Camposcala, and one in the city itself. Another inscription on a fragment of nenfro is now lost. None of these can be dated individually (Pallottino 1963: 198).

[29] For the necropolis and a map, see Sgubini-Moretti, "La Necropoli di Ponte Rotto," in Buranelli 1987: 47–56. The Ponte Rotto necropolis was excavated by the Soprintendenza alle Antichità dell' Etruria Meridionale under the direction of R. Bartoccini and S. Paglieri between 1956–8.

[30] See Bartoccini 1961: 278–80; Pairault-Massa 1986b: 207–8; Buranelli 1987: 55; Nielsen 1989: 88 and 1990: 45–54 and, especially, Nielsen 1999: 69–78. The grave goods were found in Room II and seem to have belonged to Ramtha Ceisatrui, the Prušlna *materfamilias*. They consist of the following: twelve gold nails that probably attached a gold plaque to the wall recording the foundation of the family tomb (Colonna 1981: 35–7: the nails resemble those found in Area C at Pyrgi); an uninscribed sarcophagus, decorated in sculpted relief with scenes of an Amazonamachy on all sides; a pair of red figure stamnoi, and a duck askos. Amazonomachy sarcophagus (Villa Giulia, inv. 64174): Bartoccini 1961: 278–9, pl. 16:1, 16:3; Rizzo 1989: pl. 88c. Red figure stamnoi (Villa Giulia inv. 6419, 64168) and duck askos (Villa Giulia inv. 64170): Falconi Amorelli 1971: 266–7, pls. 74–7. For the coins, see Bartoccini 1961: 280.

[31] Nielsen 1990 and 1999.

[32] Nielsen 1990: fig. 2 and 1999: fig. 6.

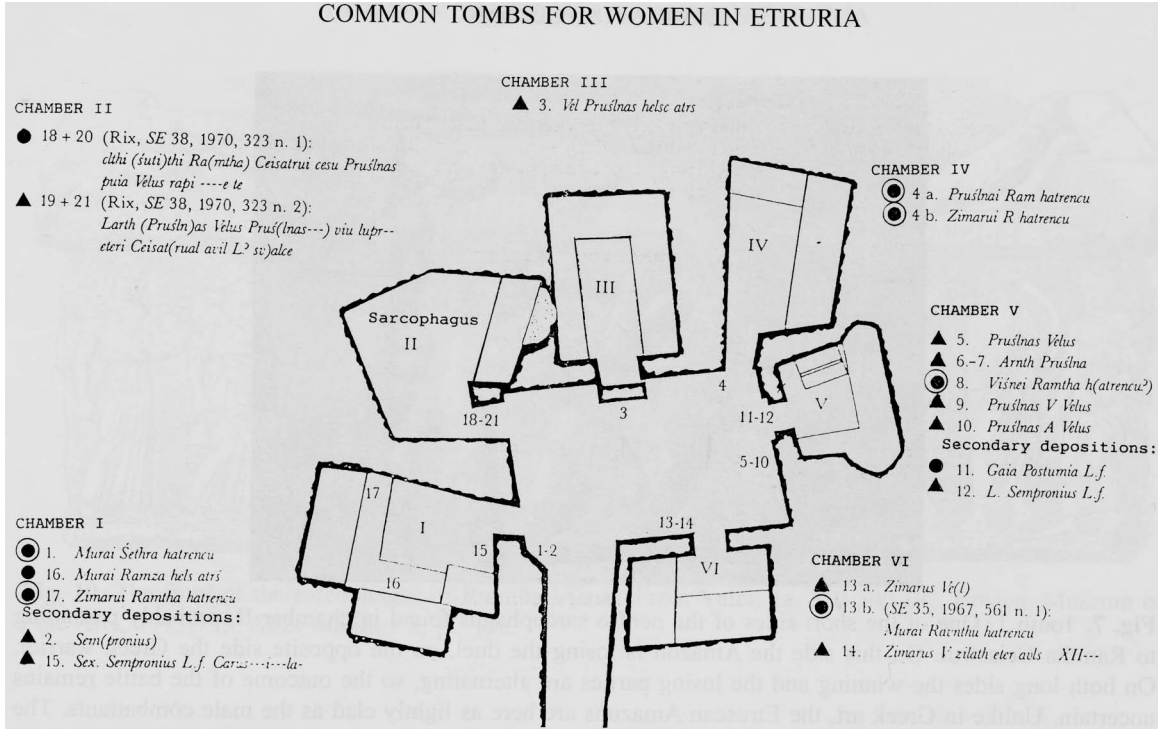

Fig. 2.1 A plan of the Tomb of the Inscriptions, Vulci, uses Latin numbers to label the burial chambers and Arabic numbers to designate the placement of the inscriptions. A black triangle indicates that the inscription names a man, a black dot indicates that the inscription names a woman, and a black dot within a circle indicates that the inscription names a woman as *hatrencu*.

dictated that husbands and wives be buried together, often in the same chambers as their children, and that family founders be laid in the innermost chamber or along the back wall.[33] Accordingly, the Prušlna family are not only the dominant clan represented here (appearing in Rooms II, III, IV and V), but they are also the founding family, with the founder himself, Vel Prušlnas (Appendix 12), buried in Room III, the chamber located farthest to the back. His epitaph includes the phrase *hels atrś*, translated either as "and his family"[34] or as "his own grave."[35] In this case, the *materfamilias* Ramtha Ceisatrui (Appendix 10), his wife, was buried in the next room, Room II, along with their son, Larth Prušlnas (Appendix 11).

At some point, the Mura and Zimaru families gained access to the tomb. Intermarriage with the Prušlna clan may account for this, though there is no record of such ties either epigraphically or by burial placement. The Prušlna family may have died out without occupying the remaining chambers, thus making it possible for the other families to acquire the tomb. Ramza Murai (Appendix 8), whose epitaph, like that of Vel Prušlna, contains the phrase *hels atrś*, may have been the first to secure and refound the tomb for her family, particularly since no Mura men are attested here. Ravnthu Murai and Vel Zimarus (Appendix 19–21) were buried in the same room along with a youth also named Vel Zimarus (Appendix 21), presumably their son. Marriage ties do seem, then, to have linked the Mura and Zimaru. Such ties may have granted the Zimaru the right to burial in this space. Pallottino further notes that the orthography of the inscriptions belonging to these two families is more similar in character than those written for the Prušlna clan.[36] Finally, four Latin epitaphs for members of the *gens Sempronia* appear in Rooms I and V (Appendix 22–5), dated between the second and first centuries. The relationship between this family and the Etruscan families, if one existed at all, is unclear; the Roman burials may in fact constitute a separate occupation altogether.[37]

[33] Moltesen and Nielsen 1996: 20–7.

[34] Pallottino 1963: 198.

[35] Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 169–71, n. 54.

[36] Pallottino 1963: 197. The Mura also appear in the nearby François Tomb, but the relationship between these two branches is unclear (*CIE* 5286, 5287).

[37] Nielsen 1999. See also Kaimio 1975: 180. A travertine slab inscribed . . . *C. Sempro(nius) Sex. f.*— (*CIE* 5313) was discovered about 20 meters away. This Sempronius may be related to those buried in the Tomb of the Inscriptions. Nielsen has argued that these Latin inscriptions can be dated, at the earliest, to the late second century, and she would prefer to locate them early in the first century. There would thus be a sizable gap between her date for the end of the Etruscan phase (250/200) and the beginning of the secondary Roman occupation (Nielsen 1999: 71–2). She suggests, however, that these individuals may be the descendants of the Zimaru, based on a linguistic connection she sees between the names Sempronius and Zimaru and on the tomb's stone sealing, decorated with an Etruscan Vanth. Despite contemporary examples clearly demonstrating such continuity, as

The most striking link among these three Etruscan families is that all have female members designated as *hatrencu*. In two rooms, in fact, *hatrencu* belonging to these different families are buried together in exclusively female chambers (Ramtha Prušlnai and Ramtha Zimarui in Room IV; Ramtha Zimarui and Šethra Murai in Room I). These groupings deviate strikingly from known Etruscan burial practices in two ways, namely the absence of male relatives and the joint burial of members of different clans. The unusual placement of these burials implies that these four *hatrencu* were unmarried and laid together because of their positions as *hatrencu*. Ramtha Prušlnai for example, the only Prušlna woman labeled *hatrencu*, is buried in the room next to that of the family founder (a prominent location), and is not laid next to any named relatives, male or female. Rather, she is buried alongside the *hatrencu* Ramtha Zimarui, thereby underscoring their joint membership in this group.

Being a *hatrencu*, however, does not solely account for the burial placement of any of the women labeled as such, and the relationship among most of the tomb inhabitants remains complicated. Significantly, two *hatrencu*, Ramtha Višnei in Room V and Ramtha Murai in Room VI, are buried with men, presumably their husbands and sons, in the customary Etruscan fashion.[38] Here, marital status seems to have taken precedence over their status as *hatrencu*. In the case of Ramtha Prušlnai and Ramtha Zimarui, in Room IV, the lack of specifically male relatives in their chamber may indicate that both died unmarried. The two may have been cousins or related in another distant manner.[39] Moreover, Ramtha Zimarui may have been placed in this chamber long after Ramtha Prušlnai, perhaps due to space constraints during the later occupation of the tomb. Viewed in this way, these burials can be seen to conform to standard Etruscan practice.

Finally, in Room I, we find two *hatrencu*, a second Ramtha Zimarui and a Šethra Murai, buried alongside a Ramza Murai. This last woman is not a *hatrencu*, but instead may have been the secondary tomb founder (see above, p. 41). Again, the *hatrencu* may be buried together because of their position, and Ramza Murai may have been buried with them because her position as tomb founder held similar weight. Yet, the two Murai must be

with the Tomb of the Volumnii, in this case there is too little evidence either to assert or deny a link between the Etruscan and later Roman occupants, particularly since the linguistic connection between *Sempronius* and *Zimaru* is tenuous.

[38] Nielsen 1990: 46 and 1999: 71. Ramtha Ceisatrui's epitaph, however, is the only inscription that identifies the deceased as married and names her spouse.

[39] The inscriptions for these two women are the only epitaphs not showing a genealogical link (Nielsen 1999: 73).

related and buried jointly because of that relationship. Ramtha Zimarui may also be related to the two cognatically.

The limited information we possess provides little assistance in determining why we find cognatic rather than agnatic burial placement, in securely reconstructing the relevant genealogies, and in defining the term *hatrencu* and its importance.[40] Our efforts are further hindered by the fact that it is unlikely that every person originally buried here was listed in an inscription. Such epitaphs designated important individuals within these three clans and most were written by or above the doorway to each room. The Tomb of the Inscriptions may well have been far more crowded and certain individuals may have been buried in one room or another simply because there was adequate space available in that particular chamber.[41]

DEFINING AND IDENTIFYING THE *HATRENCU*

However we reconstruct the intricate web of relationships represented in the Tomb of the Inscriptions, the burial together of so many seemingly unrelated women, many of whom bear the same obscure title, remains unusual. Since Pallottino first discussed these inscriptions, asking "si può pensare ad un preminente ed originario risalto delle deposizioni femminili?", scholars have tentatively defined *hatrencu* as "priestess" or a comparable female religious title following his line of reasoning, further positing that the *hatrencu* were members of a religious association of *matronae* devoted to a cult centered on fertility, family, and marriage.[42] While no extant literary evidence supports this hypothesis, two late fourth-century sarcophagi, also from the Ponte Rotto necropolis at Vulci, have been singled out as visual evidence for priestesses at Vulci. The first is the famous sarcophagus of Ramtha Višnai, wife of Arnth Tetnies.[43] Although the couple is depicted on the lid, only she

[40] There are examples, particularly from the later Hellenistic period, of married Etruscan women being buried with their natal families: Moltesen and Nielsen 1996 and Nielsen 1999.

[41] Pallottino 1963 points out that Room I, for example, consists of alternating benches for sarcophagi in addition to loculi for urns. For a near-contemporary tomb demonstrating overcrowding, see Moretti and Sgubini Moretti 1983 on the Curunas Tomb in Tuscania.

[42] Pallottino 1963. For recent works adopting this view, see Haynes 2000: 285–6. Etruscan scholars (particularly Nielsen and Pairault-Massa, whose specific theories on the *hatrencu* will be discussed below) often use the term "college" and even the Latin *collegium* (e.g. Nielsen 1999: 74) to describe the religious association of the *hatrencu*. In these contexts, the word functions as a general synonym for "official religious group." However, since the term is used in Italic/Roman studies for groups formally recognized under Roman law as official associations with an established and identifiable function, the phrase "religious association" is used throughout this discussion. For Roman matronal organizations: Gagé 1963: 100–53; Lefkowitz and Fant 1992: 155–7; Boëls-Janssen 1993: 275–81.

[43] Found in 1846, Ramtha Višnai's sarcophagus (Boston MFA inv. 1975) and the sarcophagus of her son and daughter-in-law (Boston MFA inv. 88.145 a–b) may have been placed originally in the Tetnie

was buried there. Reliefs decorate three sides of the sarcophagus. On the left end, two identical-looking women ride in a two-wheeled carriage, shaded by a parasol. We assume that one of these women is Ramtha Višnai, but the other cannot be identified. Several details, however, especially in light of the sarcophagus' Vulcian provenance, may identify the two as priestesses, specifically *hatrencu*.[44] The women's twin-like appearance perhaps indicates their position as priestesses of equal standing while the carriage in which they ride may refer to their religious duties.

On the main scene, in which the couple reunites in the afterlife, both husband and wife are accompanied by a retinue of servants bearing objects that symbolize their respective positions in society. In Arnth's case, these are symbols of public office, such as the curule chair. Ramtha's servants carry a cista, an oinochoe, a fan, a situla and a kithara. Such items bore ritual associations, possibly identifying Ramtha as a religious official, a position comparable to her husband's role as public magistrate. Because the couple was Vulcian, that position may have been that of *hatrencu*.

Similarly, the second Vulcian sarcophagus, uninscribed and now in Copenhagen, presents three identical-looking women riding in a carriage.[45] A servant follows with an oinochoe as the group processes towards several men, one riding in a chariot with the others on horseback. The three identical women, their use of a carriage, and the oinochoe again have led scholars to posit that they are priestesses.[46]

Yet, as with so many Etruscan female images, these various attributes may also identify these three women as underworld divinities,[47] or, more likely, as elite women. Such objects belonged to both the domestic and funerary realms as tools of adornment, wedding gifts, dowry pieces, and grave goods. The carriage likewise was integral to both wedding scenes and journeys to the afterlife.[48] On the final relief, from the right end of

and Tarna family tombs excavated in 1889 (Gsell 1891: tombs CXXXV and CXXXVI). See *Bulletino dell' Istituto di Correspondenza Archaeologica* (1846): 86; Comstock and Vermeule 1976: n. 383–4; Bonamici 1980: 20 and 24, n. 136. See also the discussion in Brendel 1995. The inscription (*CIE* 5312) reads *ramtha višnai arntheal tetnies puia* (Ramtha Višnai, wife of Arnth Tetnies).

44 See Nielsen 1999: 77.

45 The Helbig Museum, Copenhagen Ny Glyptothek, inv. H. 273. This piece was found in 1880 in the back of a three room hypogeum. See Moltesen and Nielsen 1996: 43–7 and Nielsen 1990.

46 Nielsen 1990.

47 Pairault-Massa 1997 has, in fact, interpreted the three women on the Copenhagen sarcophagus as the three forms of the goddess Hecate (Selene, Artemis, and Hecate) appearing in the context of an Orphic initiation ceremony (338–40, figs. 15–18). While the suggestion is intriguing, there is no specific evidence to support this conclusion aside from the fact that three identical elite women stand together.

48 Thus such scenes and attributes symbolically refer to marriage and death as female rites of passage (Nielsen 1999: 77).

Ramtha's sarcophagus, a bearded man rides in a chariot towards the reunion scene. He has been identified by some as Arnth who, however, appears clean shaven on the main scene. This discrepancy has led others to identify the bearded man as Ramtha and Arnth's son, Larth Tetnies. If so, Ramtha's twin on the left end may be her daughter-in-law, Thancvil Tarnies. The young couple had died sometime before Arnth and Ramtha and were buried in a similarly carved sarcophagus, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.[49] This scene thus would visually ensure Ramtha's reunion with them as well as with her husband.[50] Images of such family reunions were popular on contemporary and later Etruscan sarcophagi, thus this last interpretation is the most probable.

Given the popularity of reunion scenes, and the fact that many women who appear on funerary urns or sarcophagi are part of such scenes, the three identical women featured on the Copenhagen sarcophagus are probably deceased female relatives greeting their male relations in the afterlife.[51] Rather than provide illustrations of the *hatrencu*, these reliefs do little more than further emphasize the important visual role played by elite Etruscan women.

MATER MATUTA, DIONYSUS OR NEITHER?

Even if the women represented at Vulci and the women inscribed as *hatrencu* were part of an organization analogous to a religious association of Roman *matronae*, the nature of the group and the divinity they served remains obscure. Two deities, however, have been posited as the *hatrencu*'s divinity: Mater Matuta and Dionysus.

Pairault-Massa first proposed that the *hatrencu* were comparable to the Roman matrons who worshipped Mater Matuta.[52] The goddess was honored in archaic times throughout central Italy and was assimilated to Leucothea, who, according to the Greeks, was worshipped at Pyrgi.[53] During her festival, the Matralia, maternal aunts presented their nephews and nieces to the goddess, temporarily standing in for the children's mothers

[49] Gsell 1891: tomb CXXXVI. See *Bulletino dell' Istituto di Correspondenza Archaeologica* 1846: 86; Comstock and Vermeule 1976: n. 384. See also discussion in Brendel 1995.

[50] Nielsen 1999: 77 and Holliday 1990.

[51] Moltesen and Nielsen 1996: 46–7.

[52] Pairault-Massa 1986b: 207–8, n. 32. Boëls-Janssen 1993 similarly recognizes Mater Matuta's worship at Pyrgi (347–50).

[53] See Bouma 1996 for a recent treatment of Mater Matuta's worship at Satricum. Bonfante 1989 and 1997 discuss kourotrophic images possibly linked to Mater Matuta. For Pyrgi, see Colonna 1985.

and thus preserving and strengthening matrilineal family relationships.[54] Pairault-Massa bases her argument on a linguistic parallel between the Etruscan *ativu*(mother)/*hatrencu* and the Latin *mater/matertera* which is in turn founded on an inscription from the François Tomb similar in form to two of the *hatrencu* inscriptions (Appendix 1–2): *ravnthu seitithi ativu sacniša aturš*.[55]

Nielsen has taken up Pairault-Massa's linking of the *hatrencu* with Mater Matuta, but draws the connection differently. Noting that we cannot securely identify any of the *hatrencu* as maternal aunts (*matertera)*, Nielsen tentatively defines *hatrencu* either as *matrona* or *magistra*,[56] seeing comparanda in a pair of fragmentary Latin inscriptions from the Roman colony of Cosa (in Vulcian territory) set up by a group of matronal *magistrae* to an unnamed goddess.[57] Nielsen follows F. Brown, the excavator of Cosa, in identifying this goddess as Mater Matuta because of the similarities between the Cosan matronal inscriptions and contemporary dedications commissioned by *magistrae* to the goddess at Pisaurum.[58]

Of the two options she has identified, Nielsen favors *magistra* over *matrona* as the Latin equivalent of *hatrencu*. The former is a well-attested Roman female religious title that seems to refer to women active in daily cult administration.[59] The latter was more widely applied to any freeborn

[54] Matralia: Ov. *Fast*. VI.473–568; Plut. *Cam*. V.2, *Quaest. Rom*. 16–17, and *Mor*. 492D; Tert. *De monog*. 17. Only freeborn *matronae* who were also *univirae* could participate. See Pairault-Massa 1986b: 207–8; Kraemer 1992: 61–8; Boëls-Janssen 1993: 90–1, 263–4, 351–2.

[55] *CIE* 5247; Buranelli 1987: 144–5, n. 49; Pairault-Massa 1986b: 207–8, n. 32. For the *hatrencu* parallels, see Epigraphic Appendix 1–2.

[56] Nielsen 1990: 48–50 and 1999: 74.

[57] Nielsen 1990: 48–9 and 1999: 74. The inscriptions are as follows:

Matronae de[derunt-]/magistrae [curaverunt?] Titia L(uci) f(ilia [-]. (*CIL* I².1994)

M]atronae dederun[t- - -]/[C]osano(rum?) magistra[e - - -]/M(ania) Muccia C(ai) f(ilia) cu[raverunt? - - -]. (Cosa, inv. n. CB 580/693)

The latter is dated to between the late second and first centuries BCE on the basis of orthography and letter forms. My thanks to P. B. Harvey, Jr. for this information.

[58] Brown et al. 1960: 25–47, esp. 45–6. The Pisauran inscriptions are *CIL* I².372 and 379. See the appendix to Harvey's contribution to this volume for a text of the inscription. The excavators have also suggested that Temple D on the Cosan arx should be attributed to the cult of Mater Matuta, based on a tentative link between a marine frieze and fragments of a terracotta female statue.

[59] Roman female religious titles include *sacerdos* (priestess, often followed by the deity, temple etc. indicated), *magistra* (female chief or superintendent; high priestess; female expert or teacher) and *ministra* (assistant, particularly with regards to service towards a deity). *Sacerdos* refers to a position roughly corresponding to our idea of "priestess," while the latter two terms presumably designate women responsible for the regular maintenance of a particular cult. Our evidence for these positions derives mainly from epitaphs that often do not specify the official's marital status (Schultz 2006: 74–5).

married woman, not only those involved in religious rites.[60] Moreover, she rightly points out that if *hatrencu* were the Etruscan equivalent of *matrona*, then we would expect the term to derive from the Etruscan root *ati–*, meaning "mother," just as *matrona* itself derives from Latin *mater*. Defining *hatrencu* as *magistra* follows Pallottino's original identification of *hatrencu* as an official religious position but preserves Pairault-Massa's proposed link between the title and Mater Matuta. Nielsen further posits that the Cosan dedications may reflect an earlier joint worship between the area's Etruscan and Latin women; the cult's widespread appeal, its images of maternal security, and its emphasis on natal relationships, she argues, may even have helped strengthen ties by intermarriage between Romans and Etruscans (specifically Vulcians) after Rome conquered the region.[61]

In a more recent article, Nielsen builds on the *hatrencu*'s supposed connection to Mater Matuta and on the Roman identification of the goddess with the Greek goddess Leucothea, positing another deity for the *hatrencu*, namely, Dionysus.[62] According to Ovid and Plutarch, Semele's sister Ino nursed Dionysus as a child. She eventually became the sea goddess Leucothea. The maternal care she provided her nephew led to the ritual involving the *matertera* in the Matralia.[63] Consequently, Nielsen concludes that Dionysus may have been worshipped by the *hatrencu* in addition to, or even instead of, Mater Matuta. As Fufluns, the god was worshipped throughout Etruria, where he appears as a fertility deity associated with the underworld.[64] His cult was especially popular during the fourth and third centuries among the elite and is well attested at Vulci.[65] Roman sources testify to the cult's attraction for women and attest that women acted as both priestesses (*sacerdotes*) and cult officials (*magistrae*).[66] These officials may appear on fourth-century sarcophagi lids from Tarquinia and Chiusi depicting elite women with Dionysiac attributes.[67]

Pairault-Massa's and Nielsen's arguments linking the *hatrencu* to the cults of Mater Matuta and/or Dionysus are, thus far, the only theories defining the *hatrencu* as priestesses with a specific religious affiliation. Yet, the links

[60] *Pace* Staples 1998: 56. [61] Kraemer 1992: 63–4. [62] Nielsen 1990: 48–50 and 1999: 74–5.

[63] Ov. *Fast*. VI.473–568; Plut. *Cam*. V.2; *Quaest. Rom*. 16–17 and *Mor*. 492D. See also Pairault-Massa's analysis of the connection (1986b).

[64] *LIMC* V.3.531–40, s.v., "Dionysos/Fufluns"; Pfiffig 1975: 88–295; Cristofani and Martelli 1978; Pairault-Massa 1987; Colonna 1991b; Jannot 1998: 168–9.

[65] Cristofani-Martelli 1978; Pautasso 1994; Pairault-Massa 1997: 341–8.

[66] *CIL* I^2.581 = *CIL Imagines* 392 = *ILLRP* 511 (Tirolo); Livy XXXIX.8–19.

[67] See the so-called Bacca of Tarquinia from the fourth century (Torelli 2000b: 138). The deceased is depicted with the thyrsus, kantharos, and rich jewelry. See also the discussion in Nielsen 1990: 60–4.

between both of these divinities and the *hatrencu* are tenuous at best. Cosan colonists most likely married Etruscan women in the area and so Etruscan religious practices may somehow have been incorporated into Roman ritual activities.[68] In the absence of any evidence to support her claim, however, Nielsen's proposed connection between the matronal cult attested at Cosa and a similar pre-existing cult at Vulci must remain learned speculation. Moreover, Nielsen's identification of the unnamed Cosan goddess as Mater Matuta is based on the suggestion of the site's excavator, F. Brown. He asserted that the archaeological evidence "point[s] only to Mater Matuta,"[69] though he also admits that such evidence is "slight" and that "neither of [the relevant inscriptions] was found *in situ* nor in a demonstrable connection with Temple D" on the Cosan arx, which the excavators identified as Mater Matuta's temple.[70] In fact, there is no substantive evidence that this temple was dedicated to Mater Matuta or that the goddess was worshipped at Cosa at all.

Considering his popularity at Vulci, Dionysus seems a more plausible divinity for the *hatrencu* than Mater Matuta. Yet here, too, difficulties arise. Archaeological and literary evidence, particularly the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus*, show that the cult was a mixed-gender organization and may have been the only such group in which both men and women occupied the same leadership positions.[71] Pautasso's study of the extramural votive deposit at the Porta Nord at Vulci (third through first centuries) shows that while the votives exhibit a marked Dionysiac aspect, they appear to be oriented specifically towards male concerns regarding fertility.[72] If the

[68] Only one fragmentary Etruscan inscription has appeared at Cosa thus far (P. B. Harvey, Jr., personal correspondence, June 2003).

[69] Brown et al. 1960: 46. [70] Brown et al. 1960: 46.

[71] *CIL* I².581 = *CIL Imagines* 392 = *ILLRP* 511 (Tirolo): *sacerdos nequis vir eset; magister neque vir neque mulier quisquam eset* (l. 10). Livy XXXIX.8–19: Livy specifies that the cult came from Greece and entered Rome by way of Etruria. Pairault-Massa 1987 has argued that the cult became a means by which the Etruscan elite could consolidate and strengthen their position during this period of increasing Romanization. This political element led to the passage of the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* and its provision limiting the number of worshippers who could gather as well as the office of *sacerdos* to women. See also North 1979.

Euripides, in fact, portrays the cult as a mixed-gender association already in the fifth century BCE by emphasizing the participation of Tiresias and Cadmus. Hellenistic Greek inscriptions from Asia Minor, such as one from Miletus providing the origin on the city's *thiasoi*, also underscore joint female and male worship (Kraemer 1992: 38–40). Funerary images of men, for example, represent them with the same Bacchic attributes depicted in funerary images of women. See Colonna 1991b: 121–6, 130–1, n. 70 for examples.

[72] Pautasso 1994: 109–15. The god appears in numerous statuettes as do figures associated with him, such as Ariadne and Lycurgus. Although the votives include several swaddled infants and a breast, the overwhelming number of male figurines and the presence of an ithyphallic votive lead Pautasso to argue that Dionysus appears here as a god specifically concerned with male fertility.

hatrencu were part of a Dionysiac cult, we would expect the men buried in the Tomb of the Inscriptions to have participated as well. Yet, the only male epitaph to feature a title of any kind is that of the teenage Vel Zimarus (Appendix 21). This youth bears the title *zilath eterau*, a position Maggiani identifies with that of the Roman *praetor iuventutis*.[73] As such, the position most likely is an honorific one, conferring greater prestige on the family as a whole. Moreover, the *hatrencu*'s posited worship of Dionysus would not account for the separation between some of the female *hatrencu* burials and the male burials in the tomb.[74]

Votive material from Vulci offers little help in determining a link between the *hatrencu* and any specific deity. Both the deposit at the Porta Nord and the extramural deposit at Fontanile di Legnisina (fifth through second centuries), also at Vulci, are multi-divinity deposits,[75] further complicating our attempts to identify the *hatrencu*'s deity. Nielsen attempts to address these many possibilties, seeing "hints" that the *hatrencu* may have worshipped Athena, Aphrodite in her chthonic aspect, and Apollo and Artemis. These last two were both considered gods of prophecy in Etruria and an association with them would perhaps indicate that the *hatrencu* were prophetesses.[76]

Ultimately, what ties these various arguments together is the assumption that *hatrencu* denotes membership in an exclusively female, elite group that, while it may be particular to Vulci, addresses the traditional, universal feminine concerns of fertility, marriage, and motherhood.[77] This assumption is based largely on Roman comparanda. In much modern scholarship, Roman women are often presented as only marginally important to Roman religion as a whole. Their activites were largely relegated to female-dominated or exclusively female rituals and cults either devoted to goddesses, like Mater Matuta, with specific interests in domestic, "feminine" issues, or to foreign

[73] Maggiani 1998: 120, n. 110, fig. 7, pl. xc.

[74] Nielsen 1999: 74 concedes this point. See Turcan 1986: 227–46 for an example from Cumae.

[75] See Pautasso 1994 for evidence for the worship of Hercules, Janus, and the Lares, for example. Multi-divinity deposits were common in central Italy and demonstrate that a wide range of deities could be classified as healing or fertility gods and therefore could receive the same types of votives at a variety of different locations. See Comella 1981; Turfa 1994, 1996, and 2005b; Glinister in this volume. Because so many Etruscan divinities combined a variety of aspects and iconographical features derived from and influenced by Near Eastern, Greek, Italic, and Roman culture, distinguishing among these deities is difficult. See, for example, van der Meer 1995 and the articles in Bonfante 1986 and in Hall 1996a.

[76] Nielsen 1999: 75–6 and 110. She bases the connection between the *hatrencu* and Apollo and/or Artemis on a cippus inscribed for a Šethra Murai from the nearby François tomb (Buranelli 1987: 142–4, n. 48) that features Apollo and Artemis as musicians on each side.

[77] "Protettrici della fecondità maritale e dei matrimoni costituiscono un ambito cultuale in cui potrebbero essere collocate anche le *hatrencu* di Vulci." Nielsen 1990: 48.

cults offering a temporary escape from their restricted lives (but still linked to fertility), like that of Dionysus.[78]

Recently, a number of studies on women in early Roman religion have challenged this long-held position, not only re-examining the available literary evidence but also incorporating frequently overlooked archaeological and epigraphic evidence. The result is a far wider representation of Roman female religious activity that underscores the integral position of women in a greater variety of cults.[79] We also discover a far greater overlap between the Roman male and female religious spheres.

Roman women, for example, made dedications to and served male gods, such as Selvans and Hercules, and some of these dedications concern traditionally masculine issues (such as job security).[80] Men and women acted together, both as worshippers and as public religious officials (though not on equal footing), in a variety of groups. Male *magistri* assisted the priestesses of Ceres,[81] while priesthoods such as that of the *flamen Dialis* required the services of a married couple.[82] Several "women's goddesses," including Mater Matuta, appear in male dedications[83] and can be shown to have had an interest in public, political, and military concerns.[84] Surprisingly,

[78] In the few cases where women were involved in community-wide rites, their actions continue to be linked to fertility (human, animal, and agricultural). Those women who held public religious offices similar to those of men, like the Vestal Virgins, are considered exceptional and relegated to a liminal status still defined by men and by contemporary views on female sexuality. See Beard 1980 and 1995; Staples 1998.

[79] Dorcey 1992; Brouwer 1989; Bouma 1996; Schultz 2000 and in this volume.

[80] Dorcey 1992: 124–34 on female involvement in the cult of Selvans. See also female dedications to, for example, Juppiter (*CIL* 1^2.2171b) and Apollo (*CIL* 1^2.1928). For dedications by wet-nurses, see *CIL* 1^2.45; Schultz 2006: 54–5. Kampen 1981 provides an excellent overview of epitaphs specifically related to working women's professions. For cult area renovation and refurbishment, see, for example, *CIL* 1^2.981 dedicated to Hercules. Schultz 2000 persuasively argues that, while women appear to have been restricted from participating in certain rites performed in the worship of Hercules (such as sacrifice at the Ara Maxima of Hercules Invictus in Rome), Roman women were not barred from the cult in general. For anatomical female votives dedicated to Hercules, see Schultz 2006: 68 and Glinister this volume.

[81] *CIL* 1^2.677 = *ILLRP* 714 (Capua) and *CIL* 1^2.2699 = *ILLRP* 729 (Minturnae).

[82] Schultz 2006: 80–1. Another dedication from Cosa, CE 108 (forthcoming publication), records a dedication by a group of *magistri* to another unspecified divinity. In both this inscription and the Cosan dedication reviewed earlier (above, n. 57), a Calpurnius appears. If this is the same individual (the point is contested), the dedication may have been jointly recorded by both the *magistrae* (identified as *matronae*) and *magistri*, perhaps indicating a local mixed-gender college worshipping the same goddess.

[83] For example: Bona Dea: *CIL* 1^2.972 = *ILLRP* 56 = Brouwer 15; Juno Lucina: *CIL* 1^2.359 = *ILLRP* 162; Diana: *CIL* 1^2.610 = *ILLRP* 75.

[84] These goddesses include Juno Regina, Mater Matuta, and Fortuna. See, for example, Schultz's work on Juno Sospita in this volume as well as the discussion in Schultz 2006: 33–7.

some male dedications address traditionally feminine concerns: children, fertility, and the health and safety of the family.[85]

RE-EVALUATING THE *HATRENCU* ACCORDING TO NEW ROMAN MODELS

Because of Etruria's ties to central Italic culture and its contributions to Roman culture and religion, Etruscologists have relied significantly on Roman comparanda in analyzing Etruscan religious practices.[86] The assumptions that Roman women were largely confined to female-dominated cults focused on private domestic, sexual, and familial issues have greatly influenced studies on Etruscan female religious activity and, in particular, the identification of the *hatrencu* as priestesses in a women's cult. The re-evaluation of these Roman models forces us to revise our ideas concerning Etruscan women and religion. The *hatrencu* may, for one, have served a deity, female or male, who was not exclusively, or even primarily, concerned with women's issues, such as Hercle (the Etruscan version of Hercules), whose worship and popularity is well attested in Etruria and who appears on many mirrors made at Vulci specifically for women.[87] In the end, the evidence fails to suggest a link between the *hatrencu* and any one deity.

Rather than seeking to identify the *hatrencu*'s divinity, let us look at what the new models can tell us about the possible organization of the group. New evidence for more frequent Roman mixed-gender religious organizations and priesthoods suggests that the same would have been true in Etruria, particularly given the Etruscan emphasis on the married couple. But the burials of the *hatrencu* and their relatives in the Tomb of the Inscriptions do not fit this model. None of the men are identified as religious officials and we have two exclusively female chambers, both containing *hatrencu*. We would not expect such sex-segregated burials if the *hatrencu* were part of a mixed-gender cult, like that of Dionysus, or a joint male/female priesthood, like that of the Roman *rex* and *regina sacrorum*, because we have examples of male and female worshippers of Dionysus buried together and

[85] See two inscriptions from Norba dedicated by members of the same family to Juno Lucina (*CIL* I².360 and 359). Also n. 31 in P. Harvey's contribution to this volume.

[86] Greek and Near Eastern contacts had a profound and marked influence on Etruscan religion as well, though that influence has not been greatly explored in scholarship on this particular issue.

[87] Pfiffig 1980; van der Meer 1995.

male priests buried alongside their wives.[88] The joint burial of (seemingly) unrelated women, most labeled *hatrencu*, in all-female chambers implies that these burials were determined by their status as *hatrencu* and leaves this tomb as the only multi-family, female-dominated Etruscan tomb in which burial was determined primarily by cult affiliation.[89] This explanation, however, does not account for the *hatrencu* who appear outside of the Tomb of the Inscriptions (Appendix 1–6). Nor can we rule out the possibility that kinship relations account for the joint burial of these three families.

Instead, the majority of the burials attested here continued to follow Etruscan funerary customs privileging spousal and patrilineal relationships. The fact that two *hatrencu* were buried with men (and therefore were presumably wives and mothers) indicates that the status of *matrona* was neither necessary nor prohibitive for a woman to gain entrance into the *hatrencu*, an argument that draws further support from another Vulcian inscription (Appendix 6), now lost, reading *[-?-h]atrencu at[?]*. The last word could be restored as *ati* or *ativu* (mother).

The emerging picture of the *hatrencu* is of an office for which marital status and parenthood were not determining factors for eligibility and for which family ties may still have determined burial placement, although they may not have been explicitly recorded. In a Roman context, we may compare the priestesses of Ceres, epigraphically the best attested Roman female cult officials.[90] Some appear as wives and mothers, thereby indicating that many of these women were *matronae*. But the majority of these epitaphs lack a named commemorator, perhaps suggesting that the woman in question either did not have a husband or children or maintained only a distant relationship with them.[91] The office itself may have required its priestesses to distance themselves from their families, to relinquish their maternal and wifely duties, and probably to remain celibate during their period of service. As such, this priesthood would have been more attractive

[88] Turcan 1986: 222–46; Nielsen 1990: 52–3, 60–4; Colonna 1991b: 121–6, 130–1, n. 70.

[89] Nielsen 1999: 103–10: "The Tomba delle Iscrizioni of Vulci is the only one where we can be (almost) sure that it was the common title for many of the women, *hatrencu*, that was the reason why the Prušlnas allowed a wider circle of families to be buried in their family tomb" (104). She lists exclusion from male tombs, bilateral kinship, and matrilineal kinship as the other factors behind other extant female-dominated tombs.

[90] The cult of Ceres employed more than one priestess at any given period, making the number of priestesses recorded on epitaphs higher than those belonging to cults restricted in number and location. See Spaeth 1996 for general information on the cult.

[91] Schultz 2006: 79–80. Saller and Shaw 1984 have shown that the deceased's heirs usually erected the tombstone, typically mentioning this commemoration in the epitaph. For women, that commemorator tended to be a husband or child.

to single, divorced, and widowed women, explaining, at least in part, the markedly few tombstones with named commemorators.[92]

Although there is little evidence concerning the worship of Vei, the Etruscan Demeter/Ceres, at Vulci and throughout Etruria,[93] the Roman cult provides a far more useful model for the organization of the *hatrencu* than any of the cults associated with the group thus far. The Tomb of the Inscriptions features female epitaphs listing official titles but, in most cases, not family ties, contrary to traditional Etruscan female epitaphs, which usually include genealogical information.[94] The office of *hatrencu* may have required a similar separation or distancing from family, thereby making it more appealing to single, divorced, and widowed Etruscan women and creating closer ties among them. Those *hatrencu* placed in all-female chambers rather than in the traditional manner alongside their husbands, sons, or other male relatives may have been widows whose husbands were buried elsewhere, possibly on some faraway battlefield. These women may have been granted similar sarcophagi to that of Ramtha Višnai, substituting the artistic representation of spousal unity for the couple's separate burials.[95]

LOOKING BEYOND RELIGION AND ETRURIA TO GENDER AND POLITICS AT VULCI

We can now consider the possibility that the *hatrencu* were involved in, and essential to, important civic cults, beyond the private, domestic sphere. As for the specific nature of the group, the Roman cult of Ceres provides a compelling model, though this line of reasoning still rests on the acceptance of the standard definition of *hatrencu* as a religious title. Grammatically, *hatrencu* can be defined either as an adjective of quality or as a past participle, either transitive or intransitive.[96] It bears no resemblance to the Etruscan term for *magister*, *macstre*, but instead is comparable to *eterau* as used in the title *zilath eterau* (*praetor iuventatis*) borne by the teenage Vel Zimaru in Room VI.[97] In two cases (Appendix 1–2), the term *hatrencu* is followed

[92] Schultz 2006: 76–8. Similarly, she notes, the priestesses of Liber appear to have been older, even elderly women, most likely past their child-bearing years as well as widowed. If so, their priestly responsibilities, possibly including a vow of celibacy, would have been easier for these women to fulfill (Schultz 2006: 80).

[93] At Vulci, Vei's name appears on votive uteri deposited at Fontanile di Legnisina (Massabò and Ricciardi 1988: 32–3, figs. 11–12).

[94] Nielsen 1989: 81–2. Dedicants rarely are mentioned in Etruscan burial inscriptions.

[95] For Ramtha Višnai, see pp. 43–5.

[96] Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 100–5 and Salvucci 1998.

[97] Maggiani 1998: 120, n. 110, fig. 7, pl. xc.

by *sacniu*, usually translated as either the adjective or active past participle "consecrated." The juxtaposition of these two words implies that *hatrencu* is a title, the phrase indicating that the woman in question was consecrated as a *hatrencu*, a "sacred *hatrencu*," or that she performed an act of consecration as a *hatrencu*. In this case, the most interesting Roman comparison is the term *amata*, used by the Pontifex Maximus to address each Vestal during her initiation ceremony.[98]

The Vestal parallel still locates such terms in a religious context. Aside from *sacniu*, however, there is no substantive indication that *hatrencu* is an exclusively religious title. The term may be a posthumous honorific title, possibly religious but perhaps referring to the woman's age or her personal character.[99] The position of *zilath eterau* granted to Vel Zimarus probably falls under this same category, and such definitions better correspond to the customary Etruscan emphasis on family and domesticity in female epitaphs.

In light of our current Roman comparanda, Etruscan female religious activity probably encompassed traditionally masculine acts, gods, and concerns outside of the private sphere. The high status clearly accorded to the *hatrencu* may indicate that these women held an important, possibly more traditionally masculine role in Etruscan society at large. A Perusine urn from about 100 BCE (Fig. 2.2) uniquely represents the deceased, a woman named Larthi Paniathi, as a togate dignitary and thus she has been identified either as a priestess or, because of the musicians at her side, as a prophetess.[100] This urn is the most monumental of a series belonging to four or five generations of mothers and daughters, and it is the only one not to list a husband's name. There is, however, no evidence indicating a specifically religious position for Larthi Paniathi.

Instead of a cultic office, perhaps Larthi Paniathi's unusual outfit indicates that she held a public magistracy. While this suggestion is difficult to prove, it is no less supported by the evidence than efforts to define the *hatrencu* as religious officials. Male Etruscan epitaphs refer far more frequently to male political titles than to religious offices.[101] Even the

[98] Aul. Gell. *NA* 1.12.

[99] Although there are no Etruscan comparanda, we know that the qualities of deceased Roman and Greek women were often outlined in their epitaphs (Lattimore 1942: 299–300; Boëls-Janssen 1993: 229–52). See Nielsen 1989: 75–81 for the possibly high status of elderly women, particularly grandmothers and great-grandmothers.

[100] See discussion in Nielsen 1989: 88–9 and 1999: 110. The urn is carved out of travertine and shows Larthi Paniathi in front of a naïskos, flanked by four musicians and a wingless Vanth on each side. See also nn. 56 and 76 above.

[101] Pfiffig 1975: 44–9; Jannot 1998: 136–52; Maggiani 1998.

Fig. 2.2 The urn of Larthi Paniathi, early first century BCE, Perugia. Larthi Paniathi stands in the center.

well-known title of *haruspex* (*netšvis*) is attested only twice, both times on late funerary inscriptions that may have been influenced by the importance of the practice at Rome.[102]

Although there are no contemporary Italic parallels for female public magistrates, Roman imperial Asia Minor offers numerous examples of elite women acting in this capacity. Many of these women held the same offices as elite men and were publicly honored in dedications and public portraiture like their male counterparts.[103] Though the nature and extent of these positions are much debated,[104] it is likely that these women rose to prominence in the absence of their male relatives, who often were engaged in political, military, or economic activity outside of their own cities. These women assumed traditionally male civic responsibilities, securing the interests of

[102] *TLE* 524 = *CIE* 978 and *TLE* 697 = *CIL* I².2127 = *ILLRP* 791.
[103] Van Bremen 1996.
[104] Van Bremen 1983 and 1996; Veyne 1976; Boatwright 1991 and 2000.

their families by taking political office and acting as public benefactors.[105] While the effects of warfare and political instability have been identified as the cause of the greater social and economic autonomy enjoyed by Republican women in Italy,[106] it is rare to find women holding public office in the Greco-Roman world outside of Asia Minor.[107] It is possible that these female magistrates were engaged in a longstanding, regional tradition of female political and administrative activity, seen, for example, in the fourth-century Carian rulers Artemisia and Ada of Halicarnassus.[108] At the same time, we must recognize that these female magistrates often held different offices and were portrayed in different ways in each city, from Ephesus in Ionia to Aphrodisias in Caria.[109]

Given the high social standing and public visibility of Etruscan women, as well as the Etruscan emphasis on married couples as dynastic founders of equal status, Etruscan women may have had similar opportunities for public involvement in times of crisis. At the time the *hatrencu* were buried, the prominent city of Vulci would still have been recovering from the Gallic invasions and Etruria's loss of sea power while confronting Roman expansion and eventual conquest.[110] Many Vulcian men must have been absent, engaged in wars, business, and politics throughout Italy and the Mediterranean.[111] It would have been natural in these oligarchic cities for the elite women to take the place of their male relatives in both family and civic matters, just like the women of Roman Asia Minor. In some cases, such as that of Ramza Murai, they may even have founded new family tombs. If their husbands died away from home, these women would have been buried with their relatives, whether natal, cognatic, or both.[112] Such male absences may also account for other strikingly female-dominated Etruscan

[105] Eck 1980: 286–309, 312.
[106] For example, Pomeroy 1975; Evans 1991; Bauman 1992; and Kraemer 1992: 55–6.
[107] For prominent women in the imperial west, see Forbis 1990.
[108] Again, note Boatwright 1991. For women in Caria and, specifically, Aphrodisias, see Lundeen 2000.
[109] For Artemisia and Ada: Strabo XIV.2.17; Polyaenus VII.23.2; Hornblower 1982 and Waywell 1978 and 1994 on the statues from Halicarnassus. See Carter 1983: 271–6 and Kron 1996: 177 for Ada's statue at Priene. For the legendary fifth-century queen, Artemisia, see Herodotus VII.99, VIII.68, 87–8, 93, 101–2. For a later Roman literary example of the independent Carian woman, see Lundeen 2000: 71–4 on Callirhoe.
[110] See n. 27 above for Vulci. See Harris 1971a; Carandini 1985; Cornell 1995: 355–63 for the Roman conquest of Vulci in 280 and the founding of Cosa in 273.
[111] Harris 1971a.
[112] This theory may explain exclusively female tombs like that of the Tomb of the Amazon Sarcophagus in which two seemingly unrelated women, Ramtha Huzcnai and Ramtha Zertnai, were buried. See Nielsen 1999: 78–9 with refs.

tombs, all dated to between the second and first centuries, the majority from the area of Perugia.[113]

Defining *hatrencu* as a civic title better fits both the contemporary historical and the Etruscan cultural context for the inscriptions from the Tomb of the Inscriptions. This definition draws on Greco-Roman comparanda and makes use of more recent studies of women in early Roman religion as well as on women in imperial Asia Minor. The term *hatrencu* may still signify a religious office, an honorific title, a ritual term of address or even an adjective referring to the deceased's beauty or familial devotion. But the evidence at hand forces us to include the possibility that the term was a civic title which, in the ancient world, would also automatically possess religious and honorific aspects.

More importantly, defining *hatrencu* as a civic title or public magistracy comparable to those found in imperial Asia Minor underscores the group's exclusively local aspect. Etruria itself consisted of a number of city-states bound together by a general sense of culture, language, and religion. Yet each city acted as an independent state and each possessed a markedly individual character.[114] Local beliefs and practices in central Italy tended to survive over centuries, and the Etruscan cities' specific cultural differences probably remained strong long after the Roman conquest.[115] Despite the marked prominence of Etruscan women in general, Vulci seems to have had its own

[113] Again, Nielsen 1999 proposes several possible explanations for exclusively female tombs: female tombs created in response to all male tombs; female tombs containing burials based on bilateral kinship; and female tombs that appear to be matrilineal. In the first case, male and female members appear in separate tombs either because the men died elsewhere or because they preferred to be buried with their fellow soldiers, leaving their female relatives to be buried separately. Male absence due to military or business activity abroad likewise may account for female tombs exhibiting bilateral family ties, those that seem to be based on "matrilineal kinship," and for the increasing number of women being buried with their natal families. I hesitate to describe any of these burial chambers as all-female, however, since the majority were looted or disturbed and six contained uninscribed urns or urns with illegible inscriptions. While Nielsen herself admits these problems, she does not attempt to address them, even though her previous work on late Etruscan burials shows that women sometimes were buried in the same urns or sarcophagi with men but not noted in the accompanying inscriptions.

To my knowledge there is no comparable Roman tomb. As Nielsen 1999 has pointed out, there are few secure Republican Roman tomb contexts thus studied. Imperial examples form the bulk of our knowledge on Roman death and burial. For a comprehensive though general overview of Roman mortuary practices, see Davies 1977 and Toynbee 1971.

[114] Haynes 2000 provides a good, general overview. Also, Torelli 1995.

[115] For example, see the contributions to this volume by Harvey (on the survival of Latin traditions at Pisaurum) and Cooley (on the *ludi saeculares* – her piece not only demonstrates that Augustan religion incorporated Latin and Etruscan features but also that local cults and traditions persisted into the Augustan age).

distinct manner of emphasizing the position of its female elite at this time.[116] The particularly high status of elite women at Vulci is clear, for example, from the sarcophagi of Ramtha Višnai and of Larth Tetnies and Thancvil Tarnies, the three women depicted on the Copenhagen sarcophagus, and the *hatrencu*, who appear only at Vulci.[117] As in the cities of Asia Minor, local traditions and definitions of gender in Vulci must account for the mysterious *hatrencu*.

The archaeologically attested cultural *koiné* of central Italy, from Iron Age cremation burials to Hellenistic votives, not only justifies the use of Roman comparanda by Etruscologists but also makes active dialogue between Etruscologists and Romanists imperative. New archaeological and epigraphic evidence and new studies of textual sources have revised current thinking on Roman women and archaic religion. These new perspectives in Roman studies call into question the longstanding notion that the *hatrencu* were an all-female cult restricted to a female deity and to "women's concerns." We cannot securely identify the deity with whom the *hatrencu* were associated. If the group can be identified as a cult, then the organization may have been central to the city's political and civic well-being.

Our broader picture of the *hatrencu* enables us to expand the list of possible definitions for the term to include, for example, "adjective of quality" and "term of address." Most significantly, we can now expand the range of our comparanda to include examples from imperial Roman Asia Minor. The indigenous, Hellenized cities there resemble those of Etruria both in their shared general culture and their distinct local characters. Recent work on female magistracies attested there allows us to consider the word *hatrencu* as a civic title, perhaps even an official magistracy assumed by Etruscan women in their male relatives' absence during times of war or as standard practice. This comparison emphasizes the fact that, just as female magistracies are particular to Asia Minor but differ from city to city, so the *hatrencu* are characteristic of Etruscan female prominence but are a distinctly local phenomenon specific to Vulci.

The identity of the *hatrencu* will become clearer as new evidence from Vulci comes to light and as other material is revisited. Examining local representations of men and attested male offices likewise will provide a

[116] Underscoring the general Etruscan emphasis on women, Nielsen 1988–9 observes that "Where the Etruscan population or its cultural identity is not strong enough, the traditional burial form becomes difficult to maintain, and under these circumstances there is a tendency to give male burials greater priority" (62).

[117] Moltesen and Nielsen 1996: 47 note this specifically for the Copenhagen sarcophagus, commenting on its unusual female bias though the deceased probably was male.

clearer context for this work. The Etruscan priestess may have eluded us, but in her place the elite Vulcian woman begins to emerge.

EPIGRAPHIC APPENDIX

I. Hatrencu *outside of the Tomb of the Inscriptions*

1. *(ra)mtha papni armnes apu—/—hatrencu sacní(u)*
   Rix 1991, Vc 1.8; *TLE* 305; *CIE* 5245 (Mandrione di Cavalupo, inscribed on a fragmented block of nenfro, found in 1880).
2. *eca šuthi tarchas levial hatr(en)cu sacniu*
   Rix 1991, Vc 1.10; *TLE* 912; *SE* 31 (1963): 199, n. 538; *SE* 38 (1970): 324, n. 3 (Mandrione di Cavalupo, inscribed on a round capital of nenfro, found in 1953).
3. *—/larthal velušl/la hatrenc(u).*
   Rix 1991, Vc 1.61; *TLE* 316; Buffa 1935: n. 722; *SE* 31 (1963): 208, n. 3 and then *SE* 38 (1970): 324, n. 5; also see plan in Buranelli 1987: 51, between 8–12 (on a cube-shaped cippus found in 1931 during the Mengarelli excavations of the Ponte Rotto necropolis, between the Tomba delle Due Ingressi and the Tomba del Pronao Arcuato).
4. [*ec]a. šuthi. creici. th. h/atren(c)u. par. prili*
   Rix 1991, Vc 1.5; *TLE* 314 (Camposcala)
5. *eca [šuthi—(-)al se]thra[s ha]tre[nc]u*
   Rix 1991, Vc 1.69; *SE* 31 (1963) (urban area)
6. *—atrencu at—*
   Rix 1991, Vc 1.103; Bonamici 1980: 10; *SE* 48 (1980): 376, n. 72 (provenance uncertain; now lost)

II. Tomb of the Inscriptions

Bibliography: Falconi Amorelli and Pallottino, *REE*; *SE* 31 (1963): 185–98; Rix, *REE*, *SE* 1970: 323–5; Rix 1963,Vc, p. 112–16.

A. Etruscan inscriptions (following Rix 1963)

Room I

7. *Murai Šethra hatrencu*
   ET Vc 1.47
8. *Murai Ramza hels atrš*
   ET Vc 1.57

9. *Zimarui Ramtha hatrencu*
   ET Vc 1.58

Room II

10. *clthi [šuti]thi Ra[mtha] Ceisatrui cesu Prušlnas puia Velus rapi [—]e te[—]*
    ET Vc 1.59
11. *Larth [Prušln]as Velus Pruš[lnas – —]viu lupr[–] eteri Ceisat[rual avil [-sv]alce.*
    ET Vc 1.60

Room III

12. *Vel Prušlnas helsc atrs*
    ET Vc 1.48

Room IV

13. *Prušlnai Ram(tha) hatrencu*
    ET Vc 1.49
14. *Zimarui R(amtha) hatrencu*
    ET Vc 1.50

Room V

15. *Prušlnas Velus*
    ET Vc. 1.51
16. *Arnth Prušlnas*
    ET Vc 1.52 and 1.53
17. *Višnei Ramtha h(atrencu)*
    ET Vc 1.53
18. *Prušlnas A. Velus*
    ET Vc 1.53

Room VI

19. *Zimarus Ve(l)*
    ET Vc 1.54
20. *Murai Ravnthu hatrencu*
    ET Vc 1.55
21. *Zimarus V(el) zilath eterau –avi]ls XII[–]*
    ET Vc 1.56

B. Latin inscriptions

Room I
22. *Sem(pronius [?]) CIL* I².3347
23. *Sex Sempronius L. f. Carus I[—]I[—]la[-] CIL* I².3346

Room V
24.–25. *Gaia Postumia L. f.*
L. Sempronius L. f.
CIL I².3348

CHAPTER 3

Etruscan religion at the watershed: before and after the fourth century BCE

Jean MacIntosh Turfa

By the beginning of the fourth century BCE, the character of Etruscan religion had been established for centuries. Several generations later, though, the outward manifestations of popular belief and public cults had significantly changed, and appear (to us, in the light of surviving literary sources) to have drawn much closer to the cults of their Italic neighbors (or vice versa). Economic, social, and political forces in some ways prompted the change, but the situation was undoubtedly more complex and more evolutionary than it now appears. We must therefore rely on archaeological evidence to detect and assess that change; this chapter reviews that material, contrasting the archaeological and literary evidence.

Although Romans admired Etruscan religious expertise and credited the revealed scriptures of Etruria as sources for many Roman state rituals, the practices cited by ancient authors would be almost unknown if we had to judge from the material evidence alone. Apart from the Roman rites of city foundation, haruspicy and augury, the visible signs of Etruscan religion known to late Republican audiences were all tokens of the fourth century BCE or later, when temples, votives, and rituals were already rather homogenized. Roman scholars of the first century BCE still had access to Etruscan books and augural colleges (the *ordo LX haruspicum*, for example), but the great early sanctuaries (as at Veii) were in ruins or, as at Tarquinia (Pian di Civita and Ara della Regina), buried beneath fourth-century constructions. The material world of Etruscan religion (for us an archaeological situation) barely seems to intersect with the activities and institutions depicted by ancient authors, especially those of the middle and later first century BCE, who seem to us to have chosen a particular subset of traditions to commemorate the Etruscan heritage of Roman worship.

THE CONTRAST OF EARLY AND LATE WORSHIP

The phases separated by an apparent watershed of 400 BCE here will be called archaic (Iron Age to c. 480–460 BCE) and later (end of fifth to first century BCE). Before the fourth century, many cults (such as those of Uni, Menrva, Tinia, Vea) in Etruria were formalized and commonly disseminated throughout Italy under different names (Juno/Hera, Minerva/Athena, Jupiter/Zeus, Ceres/Demeter), resulting in the construction of sanctuaries of all sizes, and the earliest of the so-called Tuscan temples. In fact, for the archaic period, if we exempt the "Etruscan books," it appears that Etruria differed from her Italic neighbors in the use of scriptures and texts, the earlier inception of formalized religious monuments, and in the size and affluence of both sanctuaries and offerings.

Foreign cults, such as that of Dionysus/Bacchus, had been integrated into the lives of aristocratic (and probably commoner) Etruscans during the archaic period; the ample evidence is seen in funerary imagery and inscribed dedications.[1] Other foreign gods, such as Artumes and Aplu, Turms (Hermes), and the Dioscuri, are also attested by the end of the archaic period by dedications and in the iconography of architectural art. Greek myths were increasingly captured for extrapolation in Etruscan art, especially for the decoration of personal belongings and votives, although, in contrast, the use of myth in *funerary* art would not become prominent until after 400 BCE.

STATE CULTS AND PERSONAL BELIEFS AFTER THE FOURTH CENTURY

Wars effected deep changes on cults. The Gallic incursions at the opening of the fourth century destroyed northern cities like Marzabotto, for example, and the destruction of Veii (396 BCE) and Volsinii (263) left ruined sanctuaries in the wake of military caravans carting off the allegedly willing statues of Etruscan gods to adorn Rome (Livy v.22.4). After the watershed, Roman settlers, as well as native Etruscans, would continue to worship in the ruins of many such shrines, now concentrating on the healing aspects rather than the civic affiliation of the cults. Also, c. 384–383 BCE, Syracusan raids on the Tyrrhenian coast forced the remodeling of the rich sanctuaries on the beaches at Pyrgi, Punta della Vipera, and Gravisca; thereafter, the

[1] During the late period, the Bacchanalian conspiracy in 186 BCE is recorded by Livy (xxxix.9.1) as having been traced to Etruria, a hotbed of the cult and its attendant politics.

material value of votives, and the apparent wealth of the donors, seems, with some notable exceptions, to have declined.

The most obvious change in later Etruscan cults was the practice of offering terracotta anatomical models at a variety of shrines, none of them dedicated to Aesculapius.[2] At the point when the temple building programs in Latium, Campania, and the Faliscan territory were undertaken in the fourth century, most of the major Etruscan sanctuaries had completed their original architectural projects; the future would see some fine rebuilding, as at the Ara della Regina of Tarquinia. Although certain one-of-a-kind temples, marked by the terracotta pediments found at Chianciano, Talamone, and Civitalba, were new constructions, there would be no further innovations in design of religious architecture. In the popular media of painted vases, engraved hand-mirrors, and mould-made terracotta cinerary urns, a new (or previously invisible) spirit appears in the depiction of indigenous Etruscan myths like those of Tages, Cacu, and (probably) the hero with the plow.[3] In the more idiosyncratic renderings of such stories as the acceptance of Hercle (Ercle) into Olympus, or tales of the divine children of mortal mothers, longstanding familiarity with Greek myths was expressed in uniquely Etruscan statements.[4] Sometimes comical, the highly personalized iconography suggests that its commissioners felt a sense of intimate, almost familial understanding of their gods,[5] a picture contrasting that created of the Roman gods in art and literature. A more erudite Etruscan population, schooled in Greek literature and political changes that may have weakened the hold of aristocracies on the priesthood may partially account for the changes.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF ETRUSCAN CULTS

Nearly all our evidence for Etruscan religion derives from Greek and Latin authors, meager epigraphic documents, or archaeological and art historical finds. Recent research has made it possible to discern the character of Etruscan religion *in practice*. Traces of religious rituals have been identified

[2] A single votive bronze is a Greek dedication to Aesculapius at a sanctuary in the territory of Felsina/Bologna. See Cristofani 1985b and F. Glinister in this volume. For a listing of major Etruscan and Italic sites with anatomical models, see Turfa 2004b.

[3] See De Grummond 2002 and Sowder 1982.

[4] These narratives are engraved on hand-mirrors. See van der Meer 1995 and De Puma 1982.

[5] Mirrors, for instance, show family conferences over the impending hatching of Helen, the close, single-parent relationship between gods like Semla and Fufluns, or the delivery of Menrva from Tinia's head as if he were an Etruscan matron helped by midwives. Illustrations: Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 157–62, source nos. 38, 42, 43.

in contexts as early as the Protovillanovan (final Bronze Age) and Villanovan periods, in funerary cult and the practice of burying hoards (*ripostigli*) at the boundaries of settlements.[6] For the Iron Age through late Republican periods, archaeological sites in the territories of Tarquinia, Caere, and Veii may be taken to illustrate the evolution of public worship over the centuries and the changes that mark the fourth century watershed.

Tarquinia, where most authors placed Tages, the divine being thought to be the source of sacred Etruscan writings, has furnished the most impressive evidence – and puzzles – of early cult at the site of Pian di Civita that extended from the Protovillanovan into the Roman period.[7] Remnants of burnt sacrifices and votives deposited near a natural cavity mark a cult place where, during the ninth century, ritual activity continued with the unusual burial of a boy who died of a brain aneurism that had afflicted him with a short life of seeing and hearing things that others could not. Thereafter, in the eighth and seventh centuries, offerings were made near his grave, as well as occasional burials of infants with cranial deformities, interpreted by some as the ritual disposal of *prodigia*.[8] When masonry cult buildings were erected early in the seventh century, a channel was maintained for liquids to drain from an altar into the original cavity with its unique burial.[9] A deposit at the entrance to the cult building, c. 680 BCE, consisted of a sacrificial axe, and a shield and *lituus*-trumpet folded so that they could never be used again. The excavators interpret this offering as representing the civic, military, and religious authority of a ruler of the newly formed city of Tarquinia. A second pit held ten plates and two cups, all deliberately smashed after a communal meal. The god(s) worshipped at the site are unknown, although among the vases offered over the next centuries, one was inscribed to Uni.

Even if this was the burial place of the famous prophet Tages, linked to living worshipers by a libation channel, its significance seems to have been forgotten by the fifth century, thus long before any of the *surviving* accounts

[6] Damgaard Andersen 1993; Bartoloni 1989: 32–3; Bietti Sestieri et al. 1989–90; Maggiani 1997. Is it possible, on analogy to the theories of de Polignac et al. for early Greek sanctuaries (the Argive Heraion, for example), that some Villanovan hoards marked community boundaries with a gift to their divine patron? For full treatment of votives and their meaning in Etruria, see Turfa 1999/forthcoming.

[7] Bonghi Jovino and Chiaramonte Treré 1987: 81–202 and 1997.

[8] For further discussion of the burial, the boy with the aneurism, and the cult of Tages, see De Grummond 2006; Turfa 2006: 95–6. If this was the site of the Tages apparition, the preserved votives do not reflect any difference in the type or importance of this cult.

[9] The masonry is reminiscent of Punic/Phoenician pier and rubble construction, although there is no other evidence, architectural or votive, to link this to Punic cults. The burials of the boy and the four infants do not bear any similarities to the thousands of well-documented Punic *molk*-sacrifices of neonates in the tophets of Sardinia, Motya, and Carthage.

of Tages were recorded.[10] In the fifth century, the Pian di Civita sanctuary, variously remodeled, was eclipsed by the Ara della Regina temple complex farther along the city plateau.[11] Traces there of a sixth-century, canonical Tuscan temple with podium and frontal staircase were covered by a huge, new temple early in the fourth century. It, too, stood on a high podium, and is characterized by the terracotta *columen* sculptures of its gable, the famous winged horses from a goddess's chariot. The vicinity of the Ara della Regina also saw the erection of political monuments linked to the great families, of which the first-century CE Roman *Elogia Tarquiniensia*, perhaps restorations of Etruscan inscriptions, are the best-known remains.[12] A votive deposit has furnished a spearpoint inscribed to Artumes. A great number of post-400 BCE votives are terracotta heads, statuettes, and anatomical models, including many gravid uteri, which characterize a cult of healing and fertility linked to a great goddess.[13]

Veii provides examples of extramural sanctuaries that began as state or aristocratic cults, but during the fourth to first centuries developed associations with healing and purification. A major shrine, supported for centuries by famous families, was built at the Portonaccio site of Veii barely outside the city walls. In the mid-sixth century, it featured elaborate waterworks, a pool, and a temple of Tuscan design, with a broad, colonnaded porch and closed *cella(e)*;[14] the terracotta roofing system and its statues are well known. The Portonaccio, accessible to those about to enter the city (perhaps soldiers ready to be cleansed after shedding blood?) attracted many male worshippers, including Aulus Vibenna (Avile Vipiiennas),[15] and members of the Tulumnes family, perhaps relations of the king of Livy's story of 428 BCE, who made dedications to Minerva for centuries in Etruscan and later in Latin.[16] Turan and possibly Aritimi/Artumes were also venerated. Votives were deposited continuously from the seventh century, before there was a temple, and even after the destruction of the city in 396 BCE, when

[10] See, for the urban area of Tarquinia, M. Bonghi Jovino et al., in Sgubini Moretti 2001: 11–51.

[11] Comella 1982. See also Bonghi Jovino 1997; Colonna 1985: 70–8; and Bonghi Jovino and Chiaramonte Treré 1987: 355–76.

[12] Torelli 1975; see also Cornell 1978.

[13] Comella 1982; Bonghi Jovino 1976: pl. 21, fig. 3. Also Pallottino 1975: pl. 77.

[14] Colonna 1985: 99–109. The temple was built at the end of the sixth century and later remodeled: painted terracotta plaques were added to its interior during the fifth century.

[15] *mini muluv[en]ece avile vipiiennas. TLE* 35; *ET* Ve 3.11. See Cornell 1995: 135, 143–6 for background. Also F. Boitani in Buranelli 1987: 234, no. 93; *Civiltà* 1985: 277–9, n. 10.19. (*TLE* 942; *ET* Vc 3.9, which has the name *avles vpinas*, is discussed by Buranelli 1987: 234–5, no. 94.)

[16] (*TLE* 38, 36: *velθur tlumnes, karkuna tulumnes*) and *L. Tolonio*(*s*) *ded*(*et*) *Menerva*. Second half of the fourth century BCE. Colonna 1985: 105, 107, no. 5.1.F.4; Coarelli et al. 1973: 334–5, no. 484. *ILLRP* 237 = *CIL Imagines* 104. Gran-Aymerich 1997: 126–7, fig. 6c; Colonna 1983.

many suppliants were Latin colonists and anatomical models were offered in the ruins.

An extramural shrine linked to Ceres was found at the Campetti site. The shrine once included a large *bothros* and cave, and cult rooms evocative of south Italian or Sicilian shrines to chthonic Demeter. Thousands of terracottas were deposited during the fifth to second centuries, again outlasting the Roman conquest.[17] Study of the Veian votive material suggests that the votive head type in terracotta may have been invented at Veii, and many heads and anatomical votives produced in the sanctuaries of Latium, Campania, and the Italic hinterland were inspired by the styles of Veii.[18]

Both Caere and Tarquinia maintained port-cities that included different sanctuaries where practitioners of foreign cults informed native Etruscan practices.[19] There is no Italic counterpart for the sanctuaries of Gravisca, Punta della Vipera, and Pyrgi, all begun at the opening of the sixth century. At Graviscae, inscriptions in Greek and Etruscan identify Aphrodite/Turan, Hera/Uni, and Demeter/Vea (or Vei).[20] Two inscribed vases and the famous stone anchor of Sostratus name Greek Apollo. As foreign participation in the sanctuary waned at the end of the archaic period, dedications by native Etruscan women appeared, a nativization of the sanctuary at Graviscae.[21] By c. 270 BCE, the cult shrank to a small courtyard where anatomical votives were left in large numbers.[22]

Worship at Pyrgi shows a similar evolution from a precinct of *sacella* (c. 580 BCE) on the beach south of the port. A rare instance of divinatory rituals may be represented by metal, leaf-like *sortes* recently excavated there.[23] Later in the sixth century, a *temenos*, identified by literary references and inscriptions as the cult of Uni/Eileithyia/Astarte, was set between the shrines and the town.[24] Sometime around 510 BCE, Temple B and a

[17] Pfiffig 1975: 355–7, fig. 140; Vagnetti 1971: 88, no. N1, pl. 48. Also Comella and Stefani 1990. A *pocolom* inscribed for Ceres also bears the name of Tolumnius: *C<e>rere L. Tolonio(s) d(edet)*: *ILLRP* 64 = *CIL Imagines* 32; Vagnetti 1971: 176–7, no. 5.

[18] See Turfa 1994. This would be the late period continuation of Etruscan/Veientine influence on the cultic art of Italics, perhaps first illustrated in Livy's account of the workshop of Vulca of Veii at the end of the archaic period (see Gantz 1974–5).

[19] Riva and Stoddart 1996 view the *emporia* sanctuaries – Graviscae, Pyrgi, Punta della Vipera – as representing the symbolic boundaries of Etruscan civilization.

[20] F. Boitani et al. in Colonna 1985: 141–4. Moretti et al. 1970.

[21] Torelli 1977: 422, 428–9. Torelli 1997b makes a case for a cult of Adonis also.

[22] Comella 1978. Multiple terracottas from the same production runs, as well as lamps and a buried cist containing grain and a piglet may derive from a Thesmophoria-like rite: see F. Boitani and S. Fortunelli in Sgubini Moretti 2001: 125–35.

[23] Colonna 2006: 135–41.

[24] Colonna et al. in Colonna 1985: 127–41. Site reports in *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 1959: 143–263; 1970: suppl. 2; and 1988–9. Also Colonna 1984–5.

perimeter building with a row of identical cubicles were erected. The motel-like plan has suggested to some accommodations for *scorta pyrgensia* and sacred prostution.[25] The antefixes from its roof are unique, portraying celestial deities such as Usil, Thesan, and perhaps an underworld demon.[26] A major reworking of the sanctuary added, c. 460, the large Temple A, built on a canonical Tuscan temple plan. The gold plaques of Thefarie Velianas, buried when the shrine was dismantled, mark the one sure instance of a public *votum* by an Etruscan city or its erstwhile ruler.[27] After the sanctuary was dismantled (second–first centuries BCE), visitors continued to leave hundreds of anatomical and other terracottas around the dilapidated temples. The wealth and cosmopolitan character of the Pyrgi sanctuary, with riches that may have been part of the Caeretan state treasury (hence its sack by Dionysius), are not paralleled in contemporary Italic sites.

Etruscan funerary cult registers distinct contrasts with Italic practices. In addition to the altars and cult rooms of the Caeretan tombs,[28] discrete funerary sanctuaries are known, such as the Cannicella shrine in the Orvietan necropolis.[29] Set against the cliff-side, with a spring and water basins, a small cult room housed a nude female statue of late archaic date. Later antefixes may represent Aita and Phersipnei. The Etruscan deities Vanth and Letham, named on representations throughout Etruria, may indicate a framework of divine characters who already peopled the Etruscan underworld before Greek myth was introduced. Votives were left at Cannicella through the first century BCE, long after the demise of Volsinii, as Romans reused the tombs.[30]

In the funerary sphere, an iconographic paradox is the Archaic-period character "Phersu," a masked dancer depicted on the walls of the Tomba degli Auguri at Tarquinia (c. 520 BCE) and elsewhere.[31] He also presides over controversial scenes of torture or sacrifice, in which a man in a loincloth, with a bag tied over his head, seems to fight a large dog whose fangs

[25] But see Glinister 2000a for a critique of the assumption of sacred prostitution in Italy.

[26] Ridgway 1990.

[27] See also Colonna 2006. *Civiltà* 1985: 255, 259, no. 9.18. For background, see Colonna 1985: 127–41, and n. 24 above; also Pfiffig 1975: 64–5. For the inscriptions, see Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 64–8. A third, matching gold plaque is a separate dedication (only in Etruscan) by Velianas: see below, "Dedicatory Inscriptions."

[28] See S. Stopponi and G. Colonna in Colonna 1985: 116–26. Prayon 2000: 343; cult structures are also found in the region of the rock-cut tombs such as Castel d'Asso, Norchia, and Sovana (especially Tomba Ildebranda).

[29] Andrén 1967 and 1984: 30–3. Colonna 1985: 116–21, n. 6.1.

[30] Another funerary cult with a fertility goddess was in the necropolis of Sovana: Bianchi-Bandinelli 1929: 36–7, 126–7, pl. 30.

[31] Steingräber 1985a: pls. 20–2.

have drawn streams of blood. Phersu's name, derived possibly from Greek πρόσωπον, is, by way of Etruscan, thought to be the source of Latin *persona*.[32] The bloodletting sets his imagery apart from other funerary portrayals of professional entertainers.

Magic was not absent from pious Etruria, as is shown by archaeological finds: curses and charms such as lead curse tablets and inscribed figurines are yet another indicator of popular beliefs.[33] The *bulla* amulets worn by children, animals, and statuettes of gods were adopted by Romans as visible tokens of Etruscan belief and may indicate concern over magic or witchcraft.[34]

WRITTEN EVIDENCE

The archaeological evidence is an uncontrolled sample of past reality – the richest monuments have often attracted destruction or remodeling, and buildings and votives are seldom the best indicators of thought and belief. Ancient authors provide more data, but of course their versions have been affected by personal and political views and goals, and by the selective preservation of material evidence that resulted from both prosperity and the Roman conquest of Etruria. Until the excavations of the last century, modern approaches to Etruscan religion were dictated by the attitudes of its Roman, self-styled heirs[35] because, of all the revealed scriptures and privately written treatises of which our sources make mention, no originals have survived intact. One possible, complete document, a text of responses for divination by thunder (see below) comes to us only at third-hand, in a Byzantine Greek translation of a lost Latin translation by the late Republican Roman statesman and scholar, P. Nigidius Figulus (below).

EPIGRAPHIC SOURCES

The closest things we have to examples of the genres of *libri rituales, Acherontici*, etc., emphasize the importance assigned to the formal recording of a religious text. The so-called Capua Tile (*TLE* 2) retains the note (x.62)

[32] See Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 203; Szilágyi 1981; Jannot 1993.

[33] A few lead curse tablets have been found in wells at Populonia and Volterra, and lead effigies of a bound man and woman inscribed with their names (Zertur Cecnas and Velia Satnea) were cast into an archaic tomb at Sovana around 300 BCE. *CIE* 5211, 52, and 5234–5; Haynes 2000: 282–3, figs. 228–9.

[34] Palmer 1996 and 1989 (1998); Warden 1983.

[35] See Bonfante and Bonfante 2002 for bibliography and epigraphic examples; Thulin 1906; Buonamici 1939; Pfiffig 1975. More recent are studies by Camporeale 2000: 129–50; Torelli 1986a and 2000a: 273–89; Jannot 1998; the papers in *LPRH*.

ziχunce, "has written" (the name of the author is lost); the Zagreb mummy binding (*TLE* 1) states (1.21) *ziχri cn*: "let this be written." Other relevant inscriptions are the terse phrases incised on votive gifts, and the funerary inscriptions that commemorate priestly careers or length of life. Model livers constitute an additional category: notably the Piacenza bronze liver model,[36] and possibly the Magliano lead plaque (*TLE* 359), covered with a spiral inscription and perhaps shaped in the outline of a liver. This obscure text contains the term *aiser*, "gods," and names of some deities (e.g. Mariś). The Piacenza liver, not unlike (but not demonstrably related to) Near Eastern liver models, designates each marked section of a stylized sheep's liver according to which god(s) preside over it. Not all of these deities are otherwise attested in the votive inscriptions or iconography.[37]

Religious traditions of cosmology were expressed in reverence for the boundaries of space and time, as in the Prophecy of Vegoia, a Latin text of late Republican date (below). Boundary markers, inscribed on stones or *cippi* and marked with a symbolic surveyor's crosshairs, or the word *tular* ("boundary marker") are found from Etruria and the Adriatic to Carthage.[38] The famous Perugia *cippus* also demonstrates a system of sanctified boundary markers intended to resolve land disputes.[39] The *tular* markers and Cortona tablet[40] all predate the Social War and first-century land reforms in Italy and constitute evidence for a strong tradition of *limitatio* unbroken since the archaic period. A third-century *cippus* from Cortona (*TLE* 632; *ET* Co 8.2), inscribed twice with the phrase *tular rasnal* (boundaries of the Etruscan people), links this practice with the state and with ethnic identity.[41]

Funerary inscriptions provide serendipitous evidence in theonymics, which seem to have been used from the earliest days to the latest (though never to the degree practiced in Phoenico-Punic society). "Tanaquil," Etruscan Θ*anaχvil* (gift of Thana), is attested in inscriptions of the late seventh–sixth centuries BCE, the generation of the famous bearer of the

[36] Van der Meer 1987; Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 172–5, source 60, and n. 113 below.

[37] See van der Meer 1987 and his references for some of these; also Capdeville 1996; Colonna 1993; Cristofani 1992; and Morandi 1988. Martianus Capella's *Philologia* (later known as *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii)*, written in the late fifth century CE, has many of these gods embedded in its narrative.

[38] See Steingräber 2000: 302; Rendeli 1993; Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 183–5, source no. 68.

[39] Pfiffig 1961; Manthe 1979; Roncalli 1990; Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 176–8, source no. 64.

[40] The bronze Cortona tablet, found in 1992, was cast in the third or second century BCE to record a long mortgage- and land-transaction witnessed and recorded by high officials (including a *zilaθ meχl rasnal*). Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 178–83, source no. 65; Agostiniani and Nicosia 2000.

[41] See also Lambrechts 1970; Morandi 1987–8. Edlund-Berry 2006: 118 emphasizes the bounded character of the Piacenza liver.

name.[42] Other theonymics include (probably) Usile for a man;[43] and Thesathei (after Thesan, Dawn, a popular goddess).[44] These names seem to decline in the late period, but others appear, even in surnames, such as the Tiuza (from Tiur, Moon) family of Chiusi, in the heraldic inscription in the third-century Tassinaia Tomb.[45] Thania, or Thana, still appears as a theonym for women's names on scores of Hellenistic urns.[46]

Epitaphs of the late period identify a number of priests, including Lars Pulenas whose memorial scroll,[47] held by the effigy on his sarcophagus from Tarquinia, proclaims not only that he wrote on haruspicy (*ziχ neθśraχ*), but that he was an official of (*lucairce*) the cults of Catha, Pacha (Bacchus), and Culsu, and participated in other ceremonies, including the ancestor cult.[48] His genealogy is a reminder of one of the vectors by which foreign cults were introduced into Italy, for Lars' great-grandfather, Laris Pule, is styled Creices – "the Greek," possibly a relation of the Greek seer, Polles.[49]

A tantalizing set of inscriptions in the Tomba delle Iscrizioni (fourth through first centuries BCE) at Vulci has been proposed as evidence of a priestly college of women, under the term *hatrencu* (but see in this volume, the contribution of L. Lundeen).[50] Other religious terms are preserved by Roman grammarians in their accounts of the Etruscan terminology of religion, or its accoutrements, that continued to be used by Roman cults. For example, the terms *ais, aisar* ("god, gods"), or *camillus* (Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* II.22.2–3), were believed to have been inherited from Etruscan, but others, such as *cletra* (a ritual vessel) and the names of the gods Nethuns and Selvans, were borrowed by the Etruscans from the Italic languages, and

[42] One unusual text is on a sherd from a large *bucchero sottile* chalice of the early sixth century, found in Orvieto at the Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis and now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum. On the interior is a woman's name in the genitive, set in a rectangular box: "*θanakvilus sucisnaia*." All past references incorrectly inserted "*mi*" before the name, but this is corrected (with previous bibliography) by Bonfante 2004: 358–9 and Turfa 2005: no. 100 (inv. MS 1628). The basic reference for other early onomastics is Bagnasco Gianni 1996. Tanaquil is frequently attested in southern Etruscan inscriptions.

[43] After Usil, the sun-god, Bagnasco Gianni 1996: no. 47; *ET* Cr 2.64.

[44] The name of the noble lady whose funeral is commemorated in the Tragliatella oinochoe: *TLE* 74; Bagnasco Gianni 1996: no. 62; *ET* Cr 7.1.

[45] Rix 1963: 271, n. 14; Pallottino 1952.

[46] See the listings in the index of *ET*; compare Thalna, the sweet-faced birth goddess, Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 206, 162, source no. 43.

[47] Second half of third century: *TLE* 131; *ET* Ta 1.17; Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 149–51, source no. 31, q.v. for translations and commentary.

[48] If *aprinθvale* is correctly derived from *apa*, father, and parallel to Latin *parentare*. See Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 150.

[49] Briquel 2002; Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 150; Heurgon 1964: 236. A proverb named the original Polles as a prophet similar to the Homeric Melampus, and a gifted interpreter of bird-omens.

[50] Falconi Amorelli and Pallottino 1963; *ET* Vc 1.47–1.60.

serve as evidence of the close interactions between Italic and Etruscan cults during the proto-historic period.[51] The adoption of Saturnus in Latin, in contrast, marks a borrowing from Etruscan.[52]

DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS

Hundreds of short inscriptions mark vases and bronze figurines from votive deposits buried within the sanctuaries where they had earlier been offered and displayed. The earliest appear in the seventh century, already couched in standard forms, as typified by many from the Portonaccio deposits at Veii, e.g. *Mini muluvanice mamarce apuniie venale* (I was dedicated by Mamarce Apunie Venale (*TLE* 34).[53]

Generally, the inscriptions contain the name of the donor, sometimes the god, and occasionally a suggestion of the beneficiary or purpose: such as *clen ceχa* (on behalf of his/her son).[54] Both men and women made vows and followed their cures with public dedications of such token gifts. The bronze figurine of an *offrans* from Paterno di Vallombrosa (Arezzo, late third or early second century BCE) depicts a man holding a sheep liver, and is incised: *eit viscri ture/ arnth alitle pumpus* (Arnth Alitle Pumpus dedicated this *viscri*).[55] While some figurines represent gods with unequivocal attributes (double-headed Culsans, for example), others portray worshippers with hands raised or gesturing as if speaking.[56] In votive dedications, Etruscans, like their neighbors, addressed some gods as "father" or "mother" (as *ati Cel*, "Mother Earth").[57]

[51] See Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 186–91; *TLE* 801–58 *passim*. Other strong support for this is the well-documented practice of diplomatic marriages and gift exchange found in the elite tombs of the late Villanovan and Orientalizing periods, on the assumption that the brides (and husbands) transferred some of their own cults to their new homes.

[52] Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 204.

[53] The verb is also formed *mulvenice* and *mulu*: cf. *TLE* 57 from Caere, or Bagnasco Gianni 1996: nos. 58, 70, 91, 94, 136, 163, 187, 309.

[54] E.g. a figurine of Apollo given to Spulare Artemis by Fasti Riufri: *TLE* 737; *ET* OB 3.2; Cristofani 1985a: 206, 284, no. 100; Pugliese Carratelli and Pallottino 1986: fig. 124.

[55] Colonna 1985: 2, 31, no. 1.9; Dohrn 1968: 11, pl. 22, no. 3.

[56] The janiform dedication of Velia Cvinti to Culsans: *TLE* 640; *ET* Co 3.4; Staccioli 1994. Cristofani 1985a: 209, 285–6, no. 104; also from Cortona is Velia's dedication to Selvans, ibid. 212, 286, no. 105. Another is the "Ploughman of Arezzo": Cristofani 1985a: 166, 270, no. 54 (430–400 BCE) there identified as a farmer, although he is surely a priest. Pugliese Carratelli and Pallottino 1986: fig. 30; *Civiltà* 1985: 139–40, no. 6.3.

[57] For Cel, see the set of five bronze figurines from a deposit at Castiglione del Lago, which all proclaim *mi celś atial celθi*. Fourth century BCE: van der Meer 1987: 72–3, figs. 32–33. See Colonna 1976–7; cf. Haynes 1985: 294, no. 132. A bronze bird from Volaterrae announces that Fel Supri gave him "to Grandmother Cel" (*clz tatanus*). Second century BCE: van der Meer 1987: 73; after the translation of G. Colonna, "Fel Supri dedicated (?) on behalf of Vipinei (daughter) of Ulchni to Grandmother Cel." See Colonna 1985: 34, 49, no. 1.17.

After 400 BCE, the dedication of inscribed *bronzetti* increased, as did erection of inscribed statues in terracotta and stone, yet of the tens of thousands of anatomical models (third–second centuries BCE) only four are inscribed.[58] Two models of a *postpartum* uterus from the Fontanile di Legnisina (Vulci) were inscribed *vei* (to Vea), and at Tarquinia (Ara della Regina) a model knee was incised: *alce:vel:tiples*: (Vel Tiples dedicated). This dedication may indicate the relatively egalitarian nature of the cult, for Tiples, Etruscan for Diphilus, shows that the worshipper was a freedman of Greek origin.[59]

Major votive dedications name gods familiar in Roman or Greek versions, and many that were not: Tinia, Uni, Menrva, Turan, Vei, Catha, Culsans, Cel Ati, Tec Sans/Tecvm, and Selvans,[60] Thufltha, Fufluns, Artumes,[61] the Tiniasclenar,[62] Atunis, and Hercle.[63] Tiur (Moon) received offerings;[64] Usil (Sun), though, with a few other gods such as Cilens and Nethuns, is not named on extant votive offerings, although the Zagreb *liber linteus*, Capua tile and/or Piacenza liver show that they did receive cult offerings.[65] Perhaps the most famous votive inscriptions are the gold Pyrgi plaques inscribed around 500 BCE in Phoenician and Etruscan by Thefarie Velianas, who is

[58] One knee fragment, from Veii, Campetti area, has only traces of writing (. . . *fim*) (Ambrosetti 1954). A possible fifth inscribed anatomical votive is a conical bronze weight that might represent a human heart (on analogy to a terracotta inscribed in Latin, below). It states *ecn turce laris θefries espial atial caθas*, thus dedicated to Catha or her mother. See Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 145–6, source no. 23; contra, Maggiani 2003: 166 no. 4.

[59] Colonna 1988. *CIE* 10012; *TLE* 898; *ET* Ta 3.5; Comella 1982: 112, 115, no. D9 Fr.I, pl. 77c. Colonna 1966a: pl. 51. The only other inscribed anatomical model is a terracotta heart found at Lavinium (Pratica di Mare), in the Tredici Are sanctuary. It is inscribed: *SEN[-]NIA.MENRVA/ ME[-]ISA*, and dated to the third century BCE. Fenelli 1975b: 336, fig. 11. Other instances of foreign worshippers integrated into Etruscan cults are the inscriptions of Larth Telicles and Rutile Hipukrates of the seventh century BCE = *TLE* 761, 155 (Tarquinii); *ET* OA 2.2 and Ta 6.1.

[60] Van der Meer 1987: 144 and *passim*: this work is of course limited to gods also associated with the Piacenza liver inscriptions; other references are Pfiffig 1975: 231–366 and Colonna 1997b. On the formula *tinśvil* (gift to Tinia) inscribed on the fourth-century chimaera of Arezzo, see van der Meer 1987: 37 and Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 147–8, source 26. In Rome, Selvans had no female offrants, but many women in Etruria inscribed gifts to him: van der Meer 1987: 58–66. See Colonna 1966a. For comparison, Dorcey 1992: 124–34.

[61] But the only dedications to Aplu are Greek: e.g. the Sostratus anchor dedicated to Aeginetan Apollo at Graviscae: Gianfrotta 1975: 311.

[62] Sons of Tinia (=Dioscuri) on the sixth-century Oltos cup from Tarquinii: *TLE* 156; *ET* Ta 3.2; Pugliese Carratelli and Pallottino 1986: fig. 247.

[63] A more complex dedication to Hercle, still difficult to read, is a small bronze base, part of a larger object, said to have been found in Pompeii, and now in the Manchester Museum: Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 175, source no. 61; Turfa 1982: 183, no. 72, pl. 22e; Pallottino 1982 and 1983. Also Colonna 1987–8: 345, no. 126.

[64] Such as a basin at Orvieto Cannicella and a sixth-century bronze crescent from Acquasanta di Chianciano. Colonna 1985: 29, no. 1.4. See also van der Meer 1987: 133–5.

[65] Van der Meer 1987: 141 and *passim*.

identified as *zilaθ*, a title corresponding to Latin *praetor*, and to Punic MLK (king). These plaques are a rare surviving example of votive dedication by an individual in his magisterial capacity; they perhaps commemorate the dedication of a temple to Uni-Astarte.[66]

A set of fifth-century greaves inscribed to Menrva, c. 500–450 BCE, and dedicated at a Volsinian sanctuary have turned up at Perugia, in the tomb of a Roman who probably took part in the sacking of the city in 264 BCE.[67] This find may serve as evidence for popular Roman attitudes toward Etruscan religion because, even though dedicated to a goddess venerated by Rome, the greaves were taken as personal loot. This find also implies the commander's policy of allowing the ransacking of sanctuaries, because in other situations commanders could forbid it.[68] The votives of the temples of Carthage, for instance, were reserved for the state by Scipio Aemilianus,[69] so Menrva's greaves may have been awarded publicly to this officer at Volsinii – physical evidence of Rome's attitude to the religions of conquered Italy.

ALIEN WORSHIP: RECIPROCAL PARTICIPATION IN FOREIGN CULTS

Belief in one's own ideological system does not always preclude the observance of alien traditions when abroad, as in the dedication of Etruscan offerings in foreign sanctuaries as early as the eighth–seventh centuries. Some arms and armor may have been trophies dedicated by Greeks at Delphi, Olympia, and Samos,[70] but the many *fibulae* were probably donations of clothing or native costume offered by pilgrims or merchants from Italy.[71] The distinctive throne of Etruscan king Arimnestos was said to be the first dedication at Olympia by a non-Greek (Paus. v.12.5), and the treasury of Agylla (Caere) was remarked at Delphi also during the archaic

[66] *ET* Cr 4.4; Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 64–8; Turfa 2006: 101.

[67] The tomb of the Acsi family at Palazzone, near Perugia. Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 144–5, no. 22, fig. 23. See Ferruglio 1991 and Colonna 1998. Another instance of the Roman plundering of Volsinii is a pair of statue bases (fragmentary) inscribed in the sanctuary of Mater Matuta and Fortuna (Sant'Omobono) by the triumphator M. Fulvius Flaccus: M. Torelli 1973: 103–4, n. 89. A possibly related phenomenon is discussed by Flower 1998.

[68] Even for the sanctuary of Punic Apollo/Reshef, as Appian, *Pun.* 122 (609).

[69] *MRR* I.467, s.a. 146.

[70] Herrmann 1983; in addition to shields, helmets, and horse tack, there were also large vessels of Orientalizing type. Camporeale 2000: 83–5 makes the point that shields and large lances were parade armor only and cannot have been battlefield trophies; further, the *fibulae* actually are the remnants of valuable clothing or even robes made for a statue.

[71] Von Hase 1997 with earlier bibliography; also Gras 1985: 651–701 *passim*. *Fibula* types include some usually associated with female dress, thus representing Etruscan women pilgrims or travelers.

period (Strabo v.2.3). The presence of late archaic Vulcian tripods on the Athenian Acropolis might stem from an official presentation to Athena by some Etruscan state.[72] Foreign involvement in Etruscan cults seems to begin later (c. 580 BCE) than Etruscan visits to Greek sanctuaries, on the evidence of inscribed gifts left at Graviscae, Pyrgi, Caere (Manganello), and Spina by Greeks, Lydians, Carthaginians, and Italic peoples. Foreign interaction with Etruscan worshipers seems to have occurred almost exclusively during the archaic period.

LIBRI LINTEI, THE *CLAVUS ANNALIS*, AND RECEIVED "SCRIPTURES"

Long inscriptions in Etruscan are rare, in part due to a reliance on perishable media. The earliest known, however, the Capua tile (*TLE* 2; c. 480 BCE),[73] was incised prior to firing on one of a set of tile-like slabs of terracotta and was found in the necropolis of Santa Maria di Capua Vetere. The slab was designed to fit in a stack with others, held in place by dowels; its miniature inscription, a calendar of ceremonies, is written not only *boustrophedon*, but such that the plaque (or its reader) must be turned 180 degrees to read alternate lines. The date, c. 480, places the use of formal, written directions and certain rites (offering, sacrifice etc.) firmly in the archaic period. It seems hubristic to believe that we can link up our few fragments of religious texts with the great schema known to Roman authors, but just possibly the Capua tile represents a fragment of the *libri Acherontici* of funerary cult.

The Zagreb document, the remnant of a *liber linteus*, is also in calendrical format and may be a fragment of the *libri rituales*, woven during the fourth century BCE and inscribed (in black and red ink) during the third century or soon after.[74] Used during the Ptolemaic or early Roman period to wrap the

[72] Tripods (now fragmentary): Kunze 1951–3. A fifth-century Vulcian incense burner is attested by the find of one of its figurine-legs in Olympia, near the Altis, where it must have been dedicated: see Haynes 1985: 189, 288–9, n. 118.

[73] Capua in the early fifth century BCE was culturally Etruscan, and the findspot of the famous inscription has revealed traces of a sanctuary with architectural terracottas of the late sixth century depicting the infernal gods (Letham, Calu, Thanr, Larun). M. Bonghi Jovino et al. in Colonna 1985: 121–6, no. 6.2. See also Cristofani 1995: 66–78.

[74] Roncalli 1989 has suggested a third-century date based on letter forms; more recently, also with reference to letter forms, Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 183, source no. 67 dates the document c. 150–100 BCE. Radiocarbon dating of the textile produced a date of 390 BCE +/− forty-five years: see Srdoč and Horvatinčič (1986). I am indebted to Seki Radovčič for this rare volume. Roncalli 1980 and 1985:17–64; Pallottino 1986.

mummified body of a young woman buried in Egypt,[75] it was acquired there by a Croatian traveler who bequeathed it to the Zagreb National Museum in 1862. The repetitive phrasing of its list of public ceremonies and prayers fits the assumption that Etruscan rituals, like their Roman successors, had to be performed perfectly and without interruption in order to be efficacious. Its lines instruct priests to "be benevolent and bow to the temples of the people, to the cities and districts and hearths" (*haθrθi repinθi-c śacnicleri cilθl śpureri meθlumeri-c enaś śveleri-c* [I.7–8]). Many of the translatable sections are terse, for instance, *raχθ tura nunθenθ cletram śrenχve tei faśei* (Prepare the incense, offer with the decorated cup these breads). Sections are marked by dates in months and days: *celi huθiś zaθrumiś flerχva neθunsl śucri θezeri-c/ ctnam θesan fler veiveś θezeri etnam aisna [. . .] iχ huθiś zaθrumiś* (In the month of Celi [September], on the twenty-sixth day the offerings to Neptune must be made and immolated. And the same morning the offering to Veiovis must be immolated, and furthermore the divine service, as on the twenty-sixth day).[76]

The *libri rituales* are said to have contained formulae for prayers to avert the natural disasters that were announced by portents; vows and sacrifices formed part of this ritual (Val. Max. I.1).[77] The formulae of the Capua and Zagreb documents include phrases or repetitions similar to passages in the archaic Umbrian Iguvine Tables,[78] and if not exactly metrical, they do retain rhythms suggestive of oral recitation or chanting. Roman authors noted that ancient phrases, such as "may you be willing and favorable" (*volens propitiusque sis*, Servius, *ad Aen*. I.733), may derive from Etruscan formulae.[79]

Among the earliest preserved sources, Lucius Cincius Alimentus (cited by Livy VII.3.7) and Varro (*Ling*. V.46) referred to the most tangible evidence of Etruscan religion, such as the year-nails still visible on temples or famous statue(s) in public places. *Libri fatales* probably explained the practice of commemorating each year; further, Athrpa (Atropos) is depicted on a late fourth-century mirror (now in Berlin) hammering a nail in place of the ominous thread-cutting.[80] The notion that Etruscans originated basic Roman

[75] Can this period, 200 or more years after the writing of the book, be interpreted as the date by which the rituals or beliefs expressed in them had become outmoded?

[76] Translations follow those of Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 183–4, source no. 67; Rix 1997; for a more controversial translation, see Pfiffig 1969: 244–50.

[77] Cf. Lucan 1.584–637 for such a ritual.

[78] See Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 115.

[79] See Turfa 2004a.

[80] This is for two doomed couples, Turan and Atunis and Atlenta and Meliacr. Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 160, source no. 41; *ET* Pe S.12; Pfiffig 1975: 61–3; Beazley 1949: 12, fig. 15; Aigner-Foresti 1979; Bonfante 1998.

rituals is another theme that appears early and stays late. Lucretius (VI.381–2) implies the consultation of intricate formulae,[81] while Varro (*Ling*. V.143, *Rust*. II.4.9–10) credits Etruria with the vital state ceremonies of city foundation, sacrifice, and elite marriage.

MAIN LITERARY SOURCES ON ETRUSCAN RELIGION

The loss of Etruscan writings forces us to rely on extant Greek and Latin sources. Intensive studies of the classical authors form the basis of major works on Etruscan religion by Thulin, Pfiffig, van der Meer and others. Classical authors tended to emphasize either the other-worldliness or the otherness of Etruscans, even as they underscored the debt of Roman religious practice to its perceived Etruscan forebears. Thus, the picture that emerges from Roman sources is of an Etruscan religion that dealt with public, civic concerns. This political religion largely reflects the Roman authors' own interest in the civic, institutional nature of Roman religion and stands in sharp contrast to the highly personalized religion that we saw in the preceding survey of the archaeological evidence from earlier periods.

Prophecy was acknowledged as the origin and engine of Etruria's belief system; prominent among the practices cited by ancient commentators are Etruscan divination, ceremonies, and the doctrines of *saecula* and *termini*. If we cast our literary net to include historians and antiquarians, such events as early portents, Tanaquil's prophetic inspiration (Livy 1.34.9), the construction of the Capitoline temple (Livy 1.55.1–5; Plin. *HN* XXVIII.15), or Porsenna's despatching of the monster Olta with sacred lightning (*HN* II.140), contribute to our outsiders' view of Etruscan beliefs. The literary sources, however, cover a wide span of time and some of the most tantalizing information is preserved only in late antique works. With the exception of Figulus' publication of the Brontoscopic Calendar, *no* extant work deliberately recorded a complete Etruscan record.

While many authors, from Hesiod on, had something to say about the Etruscans, the first preserved references to Etruscan *religion*[82] appear only in the late Republican period, including a few passages in Greek texts. Obviously, these were not the sole commentators in antiquity – Livy, for instance, cites the otherwise lost reference of Cincius Alimentus, and the emperor Claudius' Etruscan books are beyond reach – but the contrast with

[81] His description of *retro volventem carmina* implies the use of scrolls with metric inscriptions or formulae.

[82] The Hellenistic poet Lycophron knew something of the Tages tradition: "Tarkhon and Tyrsenos" are mentioned in Lycoph. *Alex*. 1248.

the number and age of ancient sources that exist for Etruscan historical and social matters is sharp.[83]

Cicero's treatises on religion (c. 45–44 BCE) set an ambivalent tone. While his skeptical attitude was never far beneath the surface, he did express sincere admiration for his friend Publius Nigidius Figulus, a priest and student of Etruscan religion. The earliest surviving account of Tages and the Etruscan books comes from *Div*. II.23.50–1, while at II.24.51, Cicero smugly rehearsed Cato's famous comment: *quod non rideret haruspex haruspicem cum vidisset* – "how could one augur, when he sees another, not burst out laughing at their shared scam?"

Cicero's criticism is often aimed subtly at the written *disciplina*; at *Div*. II.38.80 he casts aspersions on the scriptures of "the boy who was plowed up" (*Etrusci tamen habent exaratum puerum auctorem disciplinae suae*),[84] hinting at the absurdity of a "ploughman" (*bubulcus*) making a mistake (ploughing too deep) and being rewarded with the little humanoid Tages. The passage ends with the note that these scriptures were updated with new information judged to be in keeping with original principles – thus subtly implying that even though divinely bestowed, the books were routinely compromised by emendation. Cicero's derisive comments on both augury and extispicy extended to historical events, as when his Hannibal doubts the value of "chunks of ox-meat" (*carunculae vitulinae*, *Div*. II.24.52).

At *Div*. II.18.42–3, Cicero prefaces his description of the Etruscan practice of dividing the sky into sixteen parts by declaring that, having demolished (*sublata*) divination by entrails, he will do the same for *ostenta* (portents) and augury (by lightning).[85] In *Har. resp*. (56 BCE), he alludes to *Etruscorum scriptis* (25), though the speech tells us little about Etruscan religion.[86] Cicero's contemporary, Varro (*Ling*. V.143), furnishes the first surviving citation of Etruscan primacy in the rites of city foundation and sacred boundaries.

Later generations of writers are responsible for some of the more famous pronouncements on Etruscan religion. For example, Livy (V.1.6): *gens itaque*

[83] The basic compilation of ancient passages is still Buonamici's *Fonti* (1939), although typographical problems require caution. On historiography of Etruria, see Harris 1971a: 4–31. On Claudius, see Briquel 1988.

[84] When useful, a more pious attitude appears as at *Nat. D*. (II.4.10–11).

[85] A reference to *prodigia* also casts these firmly in the framework of state cults; *Leg*. II.21 refers to Etruscan divination by lightning, and to *haruspices*, specifying *Etruriaque principes disciplinam doceto*. The public aspects of prophecy and religious ceremonies are borne out in the text of the Brontoscopic Calendar, which predicts factional strife, warring states etc. See below, pp. 79–80.

[86] Presumably the paradigm for state summoning of augurs was Etruscan. See Rawson 1978b: 140, 138–49. Reading the entrails of a sacrificed victim would entail considerable expense and a public ceremony, perhaps culminating in a shared feast and further opportunity to curry political/public favor.

ante omnes alias eo magis dedita religionibus quod excelleret arte colendi eas ("a people devoted before all others to religious rituals and even more so because they excelled in the technique of practicing those rituals"). The second book of Seneca's *Q Nat.* is a major source for Etruscan religion, especially on divination by observation of lightning (II.32.2), and includes this famous statement of the difference between Etruscan and Roman religion:

Hoc inter nos et Tuscos, quibus summa est fulgurum persequendorum scientia, interest: nos putamus, quia nubes collisae sunt, fulmina emitti; ipsi existimant nubes collide ut fulmina emittantur. Nam cum omnia ad deum referent, in ea opinione sunt, tamquam non, quia facta sunt, significant, sed quia significatura sunt, fiant

(This is the difference between us and the Etruscans, with whom resides the utmost learning for interpreting lightning: we believe that lightning is caused by clouds colliding, whereas they believe that clouds collide in order to create lightning. Since they attribute everything to the divine, they are led to believe not that events have a meaning because they have happened, but that they happen in order to express a meaning).[87]

Much of Seneca's information must have come from from secondary works on the Etruscan *disciplina*. Numerous treatises would have been available to him, for instance the writings of A. Caecina, to which he refers at *Q Nat.* II.39.1.[88] The details of types of lightning, gods, and meanings are rehearsed at II.39, II.41.1–2, II.45.3, and II.47–9. We cannot know how much of Seneca's commentary reflected or reacted to the contemporary work of the emperor Claudius, whose twenty-book *Tyrrhenica*, a history of the Etruscans written in Greek, has not survived.[89]

While several imperial and late antique authors have preserved additional data on Etruscan religion, one Byzantine author in particular must be noted, Johannes Lydus (490–560 CE). His antiquarian treatises offer several references to the figures of Tages and the founder of Tarquinia, Tarchon (*De Ostentis* II.6B, 2.3; *Mens.* IV.2),[90] as well as a translated version of a unique Etruscan religious document, the *Diarium tonitruale* (Brontoscopic

[87] My translation; Corcoran 1971: 150–1.

[88] Aulus Caecina, son of the defendant of Cicero's oration of 69 BCE, was known as an expert in the disciplina, and is also cited by Plin. *HN* I. *index auctorum lib.* II. Several aristocratic scholars who researched Etruscan teachings were active politically in the milieu of first-century BCE Rome. See Weinstock 1951 for discussion of several authors.

[89] Claudius is said to have studied with Livy, and his first wife, Urgulanilla, was Etruscan; it is often assumed that her family connections furnished Claudius with research materials. His speeches allude to Etruscan religion also, and he asked the Senate for help in preserving Etruscan *haruspicina* (Tac. *Ann.* XII.14–15; see also II.34, II.21–2). Suet. *Claud.* 41–2.

[90] Lydus: Baldwin 1991; F. Tinnefeld, *DNP* VII.550–1, s.v. "Lydos [3] Iohannes Lydos"; *PLRE* II.612–15, s.v. "Lydos"; Maas 1992. The text is available in Wünsch's 1898 edition of *De mensibus* and Wachsmuth's 1897 edition of the *Liber de ostentis*.

Calendar), said in its preface to be a translation or adaptation from the books of Tages, and made by Lydus from a Latin translation written by Nigidius Figulus.[91] Lydus' Greek (*De Ostentis* 27–38) is the only surviving text of this sort (fr. 83 Swoboda).[92] Organized in twelve lunar months beginning in June, the calendar seems to have been intended as a reference table for priests interpreting the phenomenon of thunder. Embedded in it is a wealth of serendipitous social, agricultural, religious, and medical information,[93] although its cryptic presentation gives no indication of how it was used or disseminated.

TAGES AND THE REVEALED "SCRIPTURES"

The story of Tages, as we have it, has clearly been condensed and Romanized (beginning with the Latinized spelling of his name, using the letter *g*); there is no certain example of his Etruscan name. An early surviving version (Cic. *Div*. II.23.50–1), as well as one of the latest versions (Lydus, *De Ostentis* II.6B, 2.3; *Mens*. IV.2), relates the myth of a child-like humanoid who resembled a wise old man in his teeth or gray hair and who sprang from the ground where an Etruscan plowed a furrow. Verrius Flaccus[94] said Tages was the son of Genius and was the grandson of Jupiter (Etruscan Tinia). Cicero places the legend at the site of the future city of Tarquinia, and Lydus says the plowman was none other than its founder, Tarchon (cf. Ov. *Met*. XV.552–9). The teachings dictated by Tages were shared by "all Etruria" (Cicero) or by the *duodecim populi* (Flaccus). In Lydus' fuller version, Tarchon posed questions to Tages, who answered in some arcane language, while the information was recorded in strange writing (*De Ostentis* II.6B) and then circulated throughout Etruria.

Cicero thought the scriptures thus recorded (*libri Tagetici*) dealt with the *disciplina etrusca* and especially *haruspicina*, divination by the entrails of sacrificed victims. Columella (*Rust*. X.337–47) attributed to the books rituals to avert disease or storms from crops, procedures that had been

[91] Figulus: P. L. Schmidt, *DNP* X.890–1, s.v. "Nigidius Figulus, P."; Liuzzi 1983: Della Casa 1962: Legrand 1931. Text: Swoboda 1889.

[92] See the edition of I. Bekker in Niebuhr 1837. This includes a modern translation from Greek into Latin, but readers are advised to refer only to the Greek text. A complete study of the Brontoscopic Calendar by the author of the present study is in progress.

[93] Turfa 2001/forthcoming; Turfa 2002/web. Heurgon 1959 and 1964: 227; Piganiol 1951. Weinstock 1951: 140 outlines the case for significant reworking of a genuine Etruscan document by Figulus; see also Harris 1971a: 6–8, 182, 321–2.

[94] As recorded in Festus' dictionary: *Gloss. Lat.* 492 Lindsay; see *Gloss. Lat.* 358 Lindsay for the oft-quoted description of the Etruscan *libri rituales*.

of vital importance in more primitive times.[95] Later authors (Lactantius, Macrobius, Lydus) associated the teachings with the full range of Etruscan *disciplina*: divination by lightning, thunder, entrails, or earthquakes, the rules for founding cities, and the system of the cosmic or celestial gods. (As Briquel has emphasized, later authors focused on the theme of received scriptures as a parallel to early Christianity, with its revealed and recorded prophetic base.[96])

A third-century lady's mirror found in a tomb at Tuscania, may, according to Pallottino, relate to the Tages myth.[97] A youth labeled *pava tarχies*, wearing the headgear of a *haruspex*, performs divination with a sheep's liver. He is accompanied by *avl tarχ unus* (also with priest's hat), a mature god (*veltune*), and other figures as the sun shines over his shoulder. While *pava tarχies* could mean "the child Tarchu/Tages," the scene is not a perfect match for the myth as we know it, and Torelli suggested that it represents the initiation of an Etruscan youth in the practice of haruspicy.[98] The Tages narrative, which should be associated with the Villanovan period and founding of Tarquinia (ninth century BCE), or with the first use of the alphabet in Etruria (late eighth century), has been correlated by some with the unusual burial of a child at Tarquinia (Pian di Civita (above, p. 65). Certainly, by the time of Cicero and Varro, that burial, and the art of the Tuscania mirror were no longer known. Presumably the continuing survival of the stories was owed to the collection of *libri*.

VECU/VEGOIA AND THE BOUNDARIES OF SPACE AND TIME

The myth of Vegoia's prophecy is known only from literary sources,[99] although the *tular* (boundary) inscriptions mentioned above attest circumstantially to the significance of her alleged teachings. (For full text and discussion of this document, see C. Schultz in this volume.) Recently the

[95] Specifically Tuscan rites to avert storms; animal sacrifices to ward off mildew etc., attributed to Tages; and use of herb (bryony) to protect against lightning strikes, attributed to Tarchon. Note that Tages and Tarchon are two separate characters in this passage.

[96] Briquel 1997; also discussed by Briquel in a paper ("Tages against Jesus: Etruscan religion in the late Roman Empire") presented at *The Etruscans Revealed* (International Symposium, University of Pennsylvania Museum, 29 March 2003).

[97] Pallottino 1979; Wood 1980.

[98] Torelli 1988; De Grummond 2002a: 71; De Grummond 2000.

[99] The source is the *Corpus Agrimensorum*, derived in part from late Republican originals; other sections by Frontinus, who wrote in the first century CE, and published under Domitian, 81–96 CE; the actual manuscript is of the sixth century CE, however. The main passage is Blume, Lachmann, and Rudorff (1848–52) 1967: 1.350–1. See the analysis of Harris 1971a: 31–40, who asserts the authenticity of the Etruscan original from which it is derived; Valvo 1988: 29–34; Pfiffig 1975: 160–1; Heurgon 1959; Turcan 1976. For full text and translation, see C. Schultz in this volume; Campbell 2000: 256–8.

figure of Vegoia has been identified on Etruscan hand-mirrors and a gold ring, all of the early third century BCE, on which a winged female is labeled *lasa vecuvi[a]* or *lasa vecu*, and is associated with Tinia, Menrva, and thunderbolts.[100] It may be diagnostic of some new development in society that artwork depicting or recalling both prophets, Tages and Vegoia, seems to have flourished in the generation that matured c. 300 BCE, a good two centuries prior to the first (preserved) references to them in Roman literature. Since the mirrors and ring belonged to women, the end of the fourth century may have marked some change in their civic status, perhaps the elevation of women to certain priesthoods or an historical event, perhaps a prodigy, to be commemorated with souvenirs.[101]

The prophecies dictated to Arruns by Vegoia ended up in the temple of Apollo Palatinus, where Tarquitius Priscus is said to have found and transcribed them in the first century BCE, a time when the extant prophecy's doctrine of divinely ordained land boundaries was highly topical. Likewise, the temporal quanta of Etruscan belief, the *saecula*, must have been discussed with a sharp eye to their applicability to current political changes – certainly they were published (or outright manipulated) by Sulla as announcing a regime change for the better (Plut. *Sulla* VII.6–9; Censorinus *DN* XVII.6). If Censorinus' (*DN* XIV.6 and 15) attribution is correct, then Varro is our first surviving source for the Etruscan doctrine of *saecula* and the limits exacted by the gods not only on space, but on human time, that of individuals as well as of whole peoples.[102] Valvo and others discuss the temporal concept in conjunction with the spatial system of cosmic limitation as expressed in the Prophecy of Vegoia,[103] a sort of "unified field theory" in Etruscan religion. The doctrine of the *saecula* undoubtedly appealed to late Republican analysts for its applicability to affairs at Rome, as much as for their *Schadenfreude* at the waning of the *nomen Etruscum*.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REALITY AND THE DOCTRINE OF *SAECULA*

According to Varro (Censorinus, *DN* XIV.15), the Etruscan gods allotted to each man twelve periods of seven years. By his seventieth year, he no

[100] De Grummond 2006: 30–1, 2000, and 2002a for full treatment of prophecy in relation to Pompeian iconography and popular divination.

[101] As noted by Rawson 1985: 27, the *ordo* of sixty *haruspices*, in place before the time of Sulla, would have initiated and trained noble Etruscan boys. Some event related to this group might have been commemorated with gifts to priests – and priestesses.

[102] Censorinus 17.5–6 is our source on the macrocosmic *saecula*, heralded by portents, of which ten were allotted to the Etruscan people and twelve to the Romans. He names Varro, but we cannot be certain that the passage is a direct quote.

[103] Valvo 1988: 19–53.

longer has the same dealings with the gods as other mortals; at eighty-four years, a man has taken leave of his mind and omens are no longer valid for him. Curiously, in the region of Tarquinia, a significant number (perhaps 30 percent) of epitaphs of the fourth century and later record the age at death,[104] and a hasty sampling shows a natural distribution of this formula across all age groups, with the exception of infants.[105] Yet even if the schema in Varro/Censorinus were to be believed, we remain ignorant of the personal impact or interpretation of this teaching recorded by the authors of the first century BCE.

CANONICAL TEMPLES, ALTARS, AND THE *FANUM* OF VERTUMNUS/VOLTUMNA

Vitruvius (*De arch*. IV.7) presents his famous specifications on temple architecture as if they were unequivocal and universal guidelines for a full array of cults. Vitruvius does not actually assert that his specifications were ordained by the *disciplina etrusca* and his temple does not appear in early precincts and never at all in many Etruscan sanctuaries. The distinctive appearance of the Tuscan temple – broad eaves, roof slope of a thatched hut, and deep porch – is a natural consequence of the special engineering its ground plan required. Nonetheless, we have no explanation for why this plan was created and maintained so rigidly.[106] Presumably, there was some liturgical requirement for its odd features, so like the regal houses of Latinus and Picus described in epic verse.[107]

The siting and orientation of temples, altars, and tombs was determined by the *disciplina etrusca* (Vitr. *De arch*. I.7.1–2). The alignment of the facades of temples and tombs seems to correspond (where space was available) to

[104] The formula occurs rarely in Heba and Chiusi, but seems to be a Tarquinian preference. This is admittedly a very hasty sampling, based only on about 150 entries in *TLE*, and ignoring all the later finds recorded in the *REE* (see e.g. *ET* Ta 1.218, *cippus* of Thana Spurinei, who died in the third-second century BCE, aged eighty-four). Only inscriptions with clear, relatively complete ages were counted for tabulation. Although early Christians recorded date of death (as the first day of their new life), Republican and imperial Roman epitaphs seldom furnish data closely comparable to the Etruscan inscriptions. See Salmon 1987; Scheidel 2001: 11, with latest references. (On catacomb inscriptions, see Scheidel 1996: 139–63, especially 148–53.)

[105] Even to one man, Felsnas Laris, who lived to 106: *TLE* 890; see Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 176, source no. 63, with full bibliography. Felsnas Laris was also a liaison to Hannibal.

[106] The dark back *cellae*, or *cella* and *alae*, seem to have developed from the plans of the *Breitraum* houses when huts gave way to rectilinear buildings with tiled roofs, in the mid-seventh century. These new structures necessitated the use of tie-beam trusses to withstand the weight of permanent roofing for a deep porch with a wide roof span. See Turfa and Steinmayer 1996.

[107] Verg. *Aen*. VII.170–91; see Edlund-Berry 1992: 212–13; Torelli 1997c for analysis.

the "seat" of the patron deity.[108] The notion of gods as "seated" in their temples and looking out at their suppliants suggests that they are expected to oversee what they are asked to protect. Vitruvius (*De arch*. I.7.1) hints at this when advising that temples be sited on the highest ground, from where most of the city walls can be seen. By contrast, many necropoleis (e.g. Castel d'Asso) were oriented to be visible from the city of the living. Likewise, Propertius' statue of Vertumnus (IV.2.6) may observe the Roman Forum from his perch on the *vicus Tuscus*.[109]

Mention of that deity prompts some commentary on the significance and cult of Voltumna/Veltune. Varro assumed this deity to be *deus Etruriae princeps* (*Ling*. V.46), yet the god is almost unattested in his homeland. Recent excavations by the University of Macerata[110] may have found the *fanum Voltumnae*, site of political machinations and backdrop for conspiracies of war (Livy IV.25.7, IV.61.2, V.17.6, V.23.5, VI.2.2), in a large site outside Orvieto (Volsinii) at Campo della Fiera. Deposits of fine architectural terracottas sold to museums during the nineteenth century may now be associated with a temple(s) somewhere on the site, which survived the destruction of Volsinii.

Yet what is available for the god himself (his name, too, is Latinized) is far less in quantity and type than is known for so many lesser gods. Even Propertius (IV.2) implies some uncertainty about his gender. The Tuscania mirror depicts a prominent male figure labeled *Veltune*,[111] but as yet no votive cult or other images are identified with this god. A similar situation exists for Nortia, the goddess of the year-nails, whose sanctuary has been identified at Bolsena (Pozzarello).[112]

HARUSPICY/EXTISPICY

It is no surprise that haruspicy should have come to the fore in first-century Rome (as it still does in popular imagination).[113] This would have been the

[108] From the seventh century BCE, the *dromoi* of tumuli align with the section of the sky/cosmos designated for the infernal gods. Aveni and Romano 1994a and 1994b; Prayon 1991; van der Meer 1979.

[109] Torelli 1966 and 1999b: 121, n. 17 on the physical, territorial aspects of divination.

[110] Stopponi 2002/web; also presented at *The Etruscans Revealed* (International Symposium, University of Pennsylvania Museum, 28–9 March 2003). Fragments of the terracotta roofing of this sanctuary have been identified by S. Stopponi, N. Winter, M. Gleba and J. M. Turfa in the collections of the University Museum, as well as Berlin and elsewhere. Publications are in preparation by Stopponi and Winter, and see Turfa 2005: cat. nos. 284–7.

[111] De Grummond 2002a: 71–2, fig. 17.

[112] Inscribed votives there name Selvans and Ceres. See Turfa 2004b; Acconcia 2000; Gabrici 1906.

[113] Today, haruspicy is featured in neo-pagan websites, although they may counsel "ooscopy," cracking open an egg, rather than animal sacrifice! Genuine haruspicy: Pfiffig 1975: 115–27. Rome: Guittard 1997.

most visual of references: the bloody task itself would be hard to ignore, and *haruspices* wore highly distinctive costumes. Bronze figurines depicting such priests were also frequent votive offerings from the fourth century.[114] The taking of auspices before special events or for the aversion of portents would have been witnessed by large numbers of people, with our aristocratic authors standing near the front of the crowd. The *disciplina* would thus be linked in public imagination with dramatic phenomena: battles, earthquakes, the birth of monsters, old-fashioned funerals. The Roman observers would perhaps enjoy a sense of knowledge of Etruscan religion, without ever having delved into its actual beliefs.

The late practice of offering terracotta anatomical models may also have been associated with lessons learnt in divination. In sacrificial victims, the liver (and later, in 275 BCE, the heart, according to Pliny, *HN* XI.186–7) was seen as a virtual model of the universe.[115] In the Etruscan universe, as in many societies, ill health or deformity may have been a sign that moral status is likewise imperiled, and the models almost never portray deformity, but would have proclaimed publicly a return to health both physical and moral, and the sacrificial dedication of a restored man, woman, or child to the god's service.

RELIGIOUS – OR ACCIDENTAL – CONSERVATISM?

The relatively narrow scope of native Etruscan myth remains unexplained and contrasts markedly with the variety of the Greek-inspired narrative adopted by Etruscan art after the seventh century. We know only one male prophet, Tages of Tarquinia, yet he was supposedly venerated in every Etruscan city. Additional doctrine is elaborated by just one nymph, Vegoia, perhaps one of the *lasas* often depicted on mirrors and urns. Were there really no other prophets competing for the ears of the Twelve Peoples? Late period art shows the monster Olta (probably), Cacu, and the hero with the plow, and probably one or two other stories as yet unidentified, but this is a small number for a whole nation whose cults were fully developed long before Greeks came to call. Were the majority of gods really the remote abstracts to whom Seneca alluded? Roman authors must, by lack of repetition, have unwittingly winnowed out much of the diversity of Etruscan myth and religion. Perhaps it was the Roman mind that needed the personal focus of

[114] Roncalli 1981; van der Meer 1987 and 1979; Torelli 2000c: 278–9, nos. 152–5.

[115] Van der Meer 1987: 3–18, 147–64. "Human" livers only appear in polyvisceral plaques, and are especially recognizable in examples of Caeretan design; hearts and uteri are the only viscera commonly modeled in isolation, and they, too, match Caeretan styles. Turfa 1994: 226 and 2006: 101, 104–6.

a Tages or Vegoia (Sen. *Q Nat.* II.32.2). As yet, there is no clear explanation for the dearth of native Etruscan myth in the rich repertoire of art, although Bottini has indicated an even bleaker picture for native Italic myth in art,[116] as if their early concept of the gods, like the *Di Involuti* of Etruria, was actually aniconic.

CONCLUSIONS

Etruscan religion constituted a paradox for the Roman observer in the first century BCE, both obviously foreign and deeply internalized. As the expression of a conquered, alien culture, it could be ransacked for use by the Roman state, like the statues from Veii and Volsinii. Yet the Etruscan legacy extended to the very core of Roman religion in rituals of city-foundation, purification, and divination. Much of the material noted by ancient authors addresses the *disciplina etrusca* thought to have been recorded at the beginning of Etruscan history, yet except for scriptures accessible to the priestly elite, most of the physical evidence of that period had disappeared or been obscured from view by the end of the fourth century. Therefore, for later Romans in the first century BCE (and afterwards), what they knew of Etruscan religious practices reflected a culture of oral and literary traditions rather than first-hand acquaintance with the material manifestations of the religious life of an earlier era.

The outward forms of Etruscan religion can all be traced to the dawn of the Iron Age, with formal cult places, votive rituals, and sacrifice all in place by the ninth century. Within one or two generations of the foundation of the great cities (eighth century BCE), architecture and votive/foundation deposits show the meticulous implementation of a formal *disciplina* and the involvement of the state, as suggested by the presence of Tarchon (?) in the Tages myth.[117] By the sixth century, the unique Tuscan temple design was completely formalized (there seem not to have been real intermediate stages) as at Veii Portonaccio. *Tular*-markers and the orientation of tombs and temples show that the cosmic division of the world, integral to the *disciplina etrusca*, was also already functioning.

The monuments familiar to late Republican commentators, however, apart from such landmarks as the Capitoline temple in Rome, all appeared after the archaic phase of Etruscan religion had ended. By the end of the

[116] Bottini 1994: 79.

[117] This is dramatically evident at Tarquinia Pian di Civita, but more information is emerging at other sites of the early seventh century, too.

fifth century, sanctuaries and temples in Etruria (and its Italic neighbors), while they continued to be built and beautified, were essentially variations on an established tradition. After 400, though, the votive repertoire of *bronzetti* and vases was greatly changed by the dedication of large numbers of terracotta anatomical models, eventually placed even in ruined shrines by both Etruscans and Latin-speakers (Veii, Gravisca, Pyrgi). Many of the thousands of later worshippers were Roman citizens/colonists – yet the authors never mention this phenomenon, or the exceptionally popular anatomical votives. Perhaps differences in social status applied.

There had earlier been a divide between Etruria and Italic lands in the material culture of religion, at least in affluence and the epigraphic markers that appear in smaller numbers and at later dates in Italic areas. It is still difficult to compare Italic cults of the archaic period with the lavish evidence of Etruria; few inscriptions older than the Iguvine Tables and Agnone plaque survive.[118] Where gods were "shared," as for instance Selvans, inscriptions show that gender and other status considerations affected the forms of votive religion differentially in Etruria, Latium, and other Italic areas.[119] The Italic sanctuaries tended not to reach the extent or monumental display of Etruscan shrines until after the archaic phase, as at Pietrabbondante, Rossano di Vaglio, Serra di Vaglio, Roccagloriosa, and Monte Sannace.[120] If we did not have the authors' accounts of the *disciplina etrusca* and their insistence on Etruria's reliance on the written word, we would interpret all these differences as mere consequences of the differing economic circumstances of Etruria and the Italic lands.

For aristocratic and "middle-class" Etruscans of the fourth century, theirs was a personalized religion in which they banqueted with ancestors and the chthonic couple in the Underworld (as depicted in the Tombe dell'Orco and degli Scudi at Tarquinia, and Golini at Orvieto, c. 350 BCE). Later Etruscans proclaimed their priestly activities in votives and funerary urns or used (but never donated) mirrors with images of gods that looked as if they were family. The only surviving images related to the famous aspects of Etruscan religion that appear in our literary sources (Tages, Vegoia, the yearnail and fate, as well as tokens of magic) all seem to have appeared c. 300 BCE.

[118] For inscriptions especially, see Prosdocimi 1989.

[119] For instance, in Etruria women as well as men made dedications to Selvans, but not in Rome. See van der Meer 1987: 58–66; Colonna 1966a. Cf. n. 60 above.

[120] At Satricum, a strong parallel to early Etruscan complexes, the first monumental building on the site of the Mater Matuta sanctuary came only in the second half of the seventh century, thus a generation or two later than the development of Etruscan shrines like Tarquinia Civita. Bottini 1994: 77.

Thereafter (third–second centuries) came the urns and mirrors that relate the few recognized "native" Etruscan myths. Piety did not decline in the later days of Etruscan culture, and had the climate been more favorable, we might have found copies of *libri lintei* buried with their owners, as we now see only representations (in Caere, Tarquinia, Chiusi).[121]

Scholars of first-century BCE Rome knew, or were, the aristocratic priests, familiar with traditions of the *libri Tagetici* and *Vegoici*, as well as other treatises written during the late period by men like Lars Pulenas. They repeatedly expressed respect for the primacy of Etruscan religion and divination, but what they inadvertently memorialized for us are the public aspects of ritual and utilitarian passages for divination and foundation rites. Roman interest in the public aspects of Etruscan religion reflects the political interest of our Roman authors in their own government and thus the more personal aspects of Etruscan religion were overlooked. E. Rawson and others[122] have suggested some reasons for certain politicians, at certain times, to claim either a link or a break with the *disciplina etrusca*. Control of the *disciplina* or of priests, such as assigning the Sybilline Books to the care of *decemviri*, would be of inestimable value to the Roman state: appropriation of these aspects of the *disciplina etrusca*, which in turn became the visible token of Etruria's religion, carried with it the connotation of Etruscan – and divine – support for the Roman system.

By the late Republic, many Romans saw a return to "native" roots as an antidote to the corruption of Asianism ushered in by Rome's eastern conquests. Scaevola's criticism of modern philosophers for relating fanciful myths of unrespectable gods[123] might be counteracted by the strict formulae of the *disciplina etrusca*, where worshippers would encounter nothing risqué and which probably involved many characters more respectable than Romulus-the-augur. There were still plenty of Etruscans in the political milieu of late Republican and early imperial Rome, as recent scholarship has amply demonstrated. The Julio-Claudian form of the *Elogia Tarquiniensia* attests, for example, to the abiding political cachet of Etruscan ancestry, whatever the date of their presumed Etruscan originals.[124] The translation into Latin of such Etruscan monuments, like the translations of the Etruscan books by Tarquitius, Figulus, and the others, would be a further claiming of conquered territory for Rome. Worship by

[121] Roncalli 1980 and 1985: 23.
[122] Rawson 1978b; Hall 1996b; Weinstock 1950 and 1951.
[123] Cic. *Nat. D.* III.5; see discussions of Pease 1955–8: II.984 and Rawson 1985: 300.
[124] Harris 1971a; Rawson 1978b and 1985: 309–12; Hall 1996b with further references; Macfarlane 1996; Torelli 1975. The deeds of the Spurinna family commemorated in the *Elogia* would have occurred during the fifth–fourth centuries BCE.

Latin-speaking colonists at the ruined sanctuaries of Veii, Pyrgi, or Graviscae was probably as much territorial as it was pious. Even respect for the *disciplina* and Etruscan *haruspices* has been identified by MacBain as a mode of claiming Etruscan culture and citizens for, as well as integrating them into, the Roman way of life.[125] Rome assumed control of divination, but continued to identify it as Etruscan, both an external authority validating the Roman state and a separate group to blame if problems occur. Beyond the rhetoric of politically conscious scholars, there need not have been any concerted effort to submerge evidence; the vicissitudes of history, both destruction and boom, and the fragile media of Etruria's scriptures, caused it to fade from view. For the guidance of the late and vanished Republic, a political *disciplina* would have to suffice.

[125] As demonstrated by MacBain 1982: 23–9, 60–79 for the acceptance of Italic as well as Etruscan *prodigia* by the Roman state, for the crucial period of the Social War and its aftermath.

CHAPTER 4

Religious locales in the territory of Minturnae: aspects of Romanization

Valentina Livi

In recent years, the territory of Minturnae has been the focus of research that has borne fruit in studies on the region's topography, on the findings of archaeological excavation, and on the re-examination of material and architectural evidence.[1] The present discussion considers the Romanization of Minturnae in terms of the region's various cult sites as they are known at present from archaeological material dating as late as the mid-first century BCE. Much of the relevant evidence for this study consists of published and unpublished material remains (terracotta votives and architectural pieces) now widely dispersed in museum collections throughout Italy and in the United States, as well as items known only from older and more recent excavation records.

An examination of the evidence for cultic activity in the area of Minturnae has shown, on the one hand, continuous activity at the older sanctuaries of the indigenous Aurunci (represented by the sanctuary at Monte d'Argento and by two archaic edifices in the sanctuary of Marica) down to the Roman period and, on the other hand, the inclusion in newer settlement areas of construction of typically Roman cult sites (such as the Temple of Jupiter and the Capitolium in the colony of Minturnae and the

[1] For the most recent scholarship on the period considered here, see Talamo 1987; Chouquer, Clavel-Leveque, Favory and Vallat 1987; Coarelli 1989; Arthur 1991; Pagano 1995, and Andreani 2003 for the topography of the area. See Arata 1993 and 1997, and Ruegg 1995 on the underwater excavations and surveys in the Garigliano river. Torre 1988, 1990, and 1998, as well as Coletti, Maestripieri, and Torre 1998, Morandini 1989, and Guidi 1991 discuss the excavations at Monte d'Argento. See Trotta 1989 and Laforgia 1992 for the temple of the goddess Marica, Rescigno 1993 and 1998 on its architectural terracottas, and Bonghi Jovino 1990a on votives in terracotta. On the Garigliano Bowl found near the temple and the lively debate over its interpretation, see Cristofani 1996, De Simone 1996, Mancini 1997, Vine 1998, Harvey 2000, and Morandi 2001. Small trenches made by the Soprintendenza Archeologica per il Lazio at Minturnae and near the temple of the goddess Marica remain unpublished apart from a mention in Bellini 1998c: 12. For the colony of Minturnae, see in particular the contributions of M. P. Guidobaldi and F. Pesando in Coarelli 1989a; Bellini 1998c and 2000; Pagano 1988; Salomies 1996; and Korhonen 1996 for the most recent epigraphic evidence; and Livi 2002 for the decoration in terracotta.

architectural decoration of those locales). Continuity of building activity at and near Minturnae in the second century BCE is attested by restorations, as in one of the buildings in the sanctuary of Marica, or by renovations on a larger scale, as in the Roman colony and at Monte d'Argento. Architectural decorations from the sanctuaries are from mould types typical of Romanized areas.

This material indicates the popularity of the sanctuaries among worshippers even after the Roman conquest of the region, and does not provide any evidence of the surviving Auruncan culture. Even so, such a circumstance need not imply, as Livy asserts, the complete destruction of the native, Auruncan population by the Romans.

The region of Minturnae (Fig. 4.1) lies on the border between Latium and Campania and was in antiquity an identifiable geographical and cultural unit. According to tradition, it was inhabited by the Aurunci[2] until the Romans took control, destroying the local population in 314 BCE as part of the Second Samnite War. In Livy's account (IX.25), the Romans moved into the region after twelve nobles from the Auruncan towns of Ausona, Minturnae, and Vescia[3] revealed that their countrymen intended to shift their allegiance from Rome to the Samnites. While it is clear that the Auruncan region was not desired in its own right by Rome, the region was an important stepping-stone into Campania, and thus was essential for Roman expansion southwards. In fact, archaeological remains from the territory before the Roman conquest, as revealed by excavations and surveys, indicate that the pre-Roman culture of the Auruncan region was generally rather isolated from its more powerful neighbors. This material is conservative and traditional, with little to indicate influence from further afield.[4]

[2] The Aurunci, frequently equated with the Ausones or Ausonii (see Lepore 1977: 96–7), were native to the southern central region of Italy, more specifically Campania and southern Latium, that is, the area identified by the ancient sources as Ausonia (D'Agostino 1974: 180; Lepore 1976; Lepore 1977: 102; Talamo 1987: 7–8 and 163–4; Arthur 1991: 24–5), though their specific location within Ausonia is variously identified. For a discussion of the ancient sources, see M. Cancellieri in *Enc. Virg*. 1.421–2, s.v. "Ausonia." Archaeological evidence indicates that it is only in the historical period that the Aurunci were concentrated in the region bounded by Monte Massico, Monti Aurunci, and the massif of Roccamonfina (Talamo 1987). See also Beloch 1889: 3–6 = Beloch 1989: 9–12; Lepore 1977: 98–106; M. Cancellieri in *Enc. Virg*. 1.420–1, s.v. "Ausoni"; Arthur 1991: 25–6; Cerchiai 1995: 22–5; Oakley 1998: 265–6.

[3] Although Livy IX.25.4 identifies these three towns as *urbes*, it appears that they were not more than small settlements. On their location, see Coarelli 1989a: 29–33 and 1993: 19–28. Arthur 1991: 33 assumes that they were territorial subdivisions (perhaps *pagi*).

[4] The cultural isolation of the Auruncan area from its Latial-Campanian context, has been discussed by Beloch 1889: 3–6; Lepore 1977: 98–103; Wightman 1981: 281; Talamo 1987: 162–76; Arthur 1991: 29, 32–3. Limited evidence of some contact with other peoples comes from archaeological material. A somewhat more developed connection to Cales is attested in the area of the sanctuary of Panetelle,

Fig. 4.1 Map of Italy with the location of Minturnae.

The isolation of the Auruncan region was a product of several factors, not least of which was the geomorphologic nature of the area.[5] Minturnae is hemmed in by mountains: the Monti Aurunci and Ausoni to the east, and the massifs Roccamonfina and Massico to the north and south, respectively. The marshy area on its western edge makes access to the coast very difficult.

lying between Massico and the Savo river (Talamo 1987: 97–103; Talamo 1993). On the linguistic level, De Simone (1996: 69–70) has made an interesting suggestion of a possible Etruscan origin for the name of Minturnae and of the River Clanis (the original name of the Liris, now the Garigliano). Cf. Peruzzi 1990: 71–2.

[5] See Talamo 1987: 167–8 and Arthur 1991: 3–13 on the geomorphology in the Auruncan period.

The main routes into the territory consist of a few passages through the mountains, and the main rivers, the Garigliano (*Liris*) and Savone (*Savo*).[6] The territory did not offer important raw materials, nor do the inhabitants appear to have developed systems of agriculture, mining, and craft production that would then have attracted outsiders.[7] This area, lacking urban centers, was organized similarly to the Samnite system of *pagi* – a political subdivision of the territory containing small rural settlements (*vici*), and defensive hill forts.[8] Evidence for the region's sacred sites of the Aurunci is found within inhabited areas (Loc. Ponte Ronaco, Monte d'Argento), as well as in rural areas, where the sacred sites served as community centers for the rural population (the temple of Marica and Loc. Panetelle).[9] They have yielded cultic material, which includes jugs, bowls, and small stylized figurines. The only Auruncan deity able to be identified at these sites is the goddess Marica, worshipped at the mouth of the Garigliano.

The isolation of the Auruncan region was interrupted first by the Samnite Wars and then by the Roman conquest that transformed and renovated the area. Shortly after the conquest, the Romans built the Via Appia (312 BCE)[10] that crossed over the barrier of the Monti Ausoni and Aurunci as the road headed to Capua. The Romans also established three colonies, the first of which was Suessa Aurunca, founded as a Latin colony on Roccamonfina in 313 BCE (Livy IX.27.1–14).[11] A few years later, in 296/5, two Roman maritime colonies were established (Livy IX.25.4 and X.21.7–8): Minturnae on the right bank of the Garigliano and Sinuessa, further south along the coast.[12] The whole region was centuriated and the marshy area along the coast was reclaimed. Roman intervention resulted in a definitive

[6] Recent research has demonstrated that these rivers, which were used in the Roman period, were not navigable for their entire length nor were the river valleys extensively exploited. For a synthesis of various ideas on this matter, see Talamo 1987: 171–2.

[7] Talamo 1987: 176–80 and Arthur 1991: 27–9. For local productivity in the Auruncan period, see in particular Talamo 1987: 174–6.

[8] Talamo 1987: 176–8, Arthur 1991: 29–32. On the Samnite area, see Salmon 1967: 79–80.

[9] Talamo 1987: esp. 173–4 and 178–80 identifies three cultic areas in this region: the sanctuary of Marica (below, pp. 105–13), the sanctuary at Panetelle, whose deity remains unknown (see also Arthur 1991: 32; Talamo 1987: 97–103, n. 6; Talamo 1993), and Ponte Ronaco (within the settlement, on which see Talamo 1987: 10–13, n. 1). To these, add the site at Monte d'Argento. As mentioned in the text, the sanctuary at Panetelle near the mouth of the Savo River attests a more active interaction with the peoples to the north.

[10] For the archaeological remains of the Via Appia in the region of Minturnae during the Roman period, see Codagnone, Proietti, and Rosi 1989: 143–5 and Arthur 1991: 48–51.

[11] For the site on the massif of Roccamonfina and its remains, see Sommella 1988: 41 and Arthur 1991: 37, 55–6 with additional bibliography.

[12] On the remains at Sinuessa, see Sommella 1988: 44–5; Arthur 1991: 38–9, 59–60; Crimaco and Gasperetti 1993; Pagano 1995: 57–64, with additional bibliography.

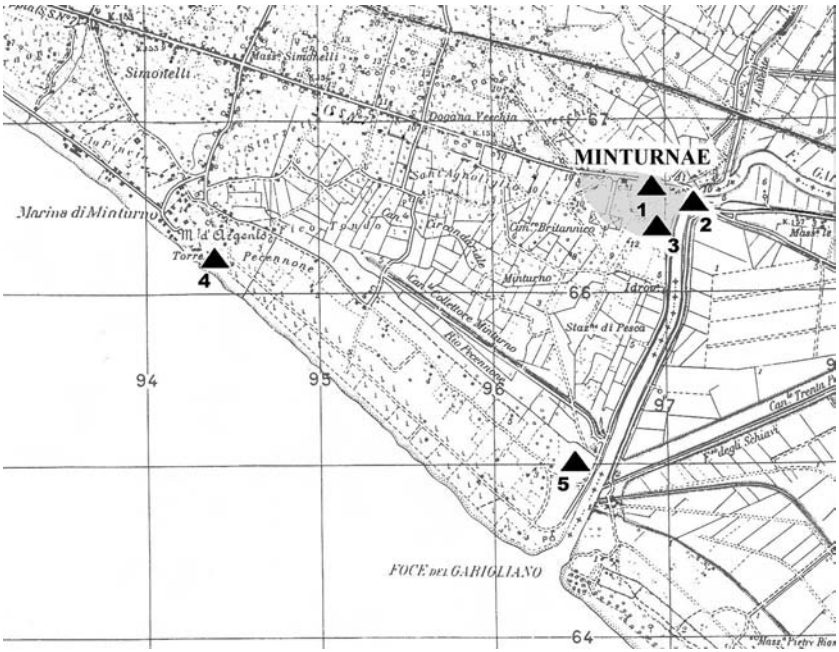

Fig. 4.2 The region of Minturnae: in gray, the area of the colony enclosed by the city walls (late second century BCE). (1) Republican Forum, Temple of Jupiter, and the Capitolium; (2) Via Appia bridge; (3) cult site along the Garigliano river; (4) Monte d'Argento; (5) sanctuary of Marica.

transformation of the area, leading to flourishing colonies and development of their territory.

Archaeological remains of religious sites have been found both within the city itself and in the outlying areas. Three principal sites have been identified within Minturnae. The most important is that located in the forum area (the so-called Republican Forum)[13] that has been identified as a temple belonging to Jupiter. At a later point, the site was reconstructed with an Etrusco-Italic temple identified as a Capitolium (Fig. 4.2 [1]). The other two sites are located near the Garigliano. One of these corresponds to the bridge by which the Via Appia crossed the river (Fig. 4.2 [2]), and the other is probably located a little further south on the right bank (Fig. 4.2

[13] Johnson's notion of two fora, one of the Republican era lying north of the Via Appia and another of imperial date to the south, has now been largely set aside. Scholars now include in the forum area the square south of the road. Guidobaldi 1989c: 51–2; Torelli and Gros 1988: 151; Arthur 1991: 57.

[3]).[14] In the outlying areas two sanctuaries have been found. One, lying about 1.5 km from the city, has been identified as belonging to the goddess Marica (Fig. 4.2 [5]); the other is at Monte d'Argento, about 2.5 km west of the city (Fig. 4.2 [4]).

THE COLONY OF MINTURNAE: THE FORUM AREA, THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER AND THE ETRUSCO-ITALIC TEMPLE (CAPITOLIUM)

Our knowledge of the archaeological remains of the forum area comes from the excavations conducted by the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology and from the reports of Jotham Johnson, who directed that excavation from 1930 to 1933.[15] The area had long been subject to continuous plundering which, along with the abandonment of the city, led to the destruction of most of the monuments. In fact, Johnson found very few structures preserved to any height, and very few stratigraphic sectors remained intact.[16]

Given that nothing is known about the earliest colony which is demarcated by the polygonal wall (this area remains unexcavated), the only earlier structure related to a cultic activity is located outside the wall,[17] namely, the remains of a rectangular temple found in the area identified with the Forum (Fig. 4.3). The structure has been identified as a Temple of Jupiter, following two notices in Livy of lightning strikes at the Temple of Jupiter at Minturnae: twice in 207 (XXVII.37.2) and again in 191 (XXXVI.37.3), after the colony requested exemption from annual military levy (*vacatio militiae*).

In the context of the lightning strikes of 207, Livy refers to the temple and shops around the Forum. This description corresponds with archaeological finds in the area that can be dated to the third century BCE: a temple podium

[14] Other cult sites from the Republican period are known only from sporadic finds and therefore are set aside from the present discussion. The entire group of architectural terracottas from all cult sites at Minturnae is currently under study by the author. Several examples preserved at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology can be seen in Livi 2002.

[15] For the complete bibliography on the excavations of 1931–3 and their findings, see J. Johnson, *RE Supplm*. 7 (1940): 458–94, s.v. "Minturnae." The most recent bibliography is in Bellini 1998c: 21–9.

[16] Johnson called these undisturbed areas *loci* (1935: 11–15).

[17] The precise foundation date of the temple during the course of the third century is not known, though the evidence thus far indicates a date following the foundation of the colony. Guidobaldi (1989a: 38–9) discusses the development of this area between the third and second centuries BCE. See also Sommella 1991: 182 and Migliorati 1994: 281.

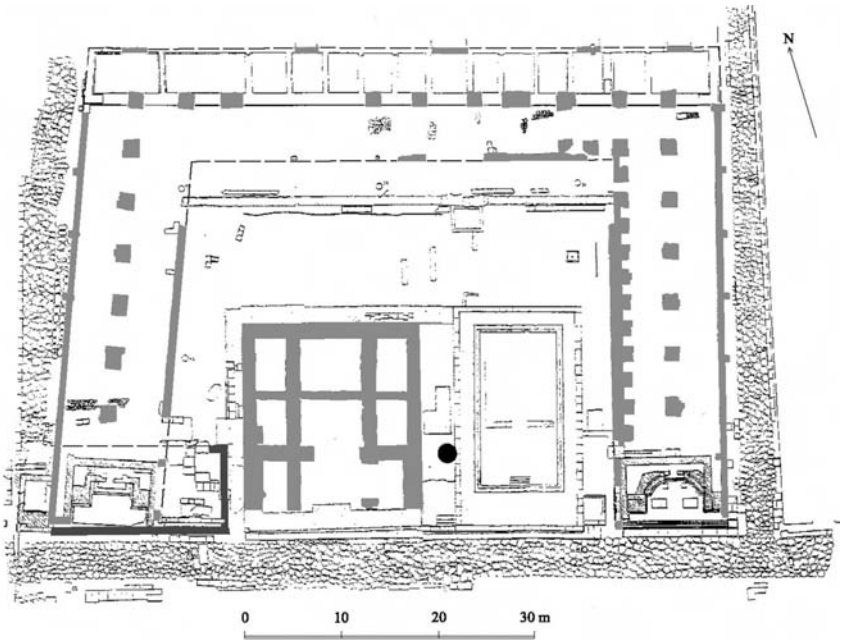

Fig. 4.3 Colony of Minturnae: the so-called Republican Forum. Temple of Jupiter (dark gray); Etrusco-Italic temple with triporticus (gray); the bidental (black).

(for a single cella), architectural terracottas of Etrusco-Italic type,[18] adjacent structures identified as shops, and fragments of amphorae, black glaze ware, and coarse ware.[19] That a furnace was active in this period is attested by its refuse, dumped in a pit at a small distance from the temple and shops.[20] These sherds include bits of cult objects such as miniature black glaze cups, anatomical votives, and figurines that could have been offered in the Temple of Jupiter. In fact, fragments of black glaze pottery of the third century BCE

[18] The terracotta decorations, found in a deposit (see below) and in the podium fill of the *triporticus* and Capitolium, consist of strigilated simas, open-work cresting with whirligigs and figure-eights, a revetment plaque with palmettes linked by S-spirals, revetment plaques with diagonal palmettes, and eave tiles. Johnson 1935: 16–17 and 78–81; Andrèn 1940: 480, I: 1–3; Livi 2002. For the spread of architectural terracottas in Romanized territory, see Strazzulla 1981.

[19] Johnson 1935: 42–3.

[20] Lake 1934–5. The deposit was uncovered in the central area of the so-called Imperial Forum, marked and covered by a cement base ("Trench F" in the excavation records). In addition to votives, the pottery includes sherds of black glaze ware, black-on-buff ware, coarse ware, lamps, amphorae, moulds for relief decorations, bricks, pipes, tiles, and coins. On the basis of numismatic evidence, it appears the deposit was formed "some time before 250 BCE" (Lake 1934–5: 114). On the dating of the ceramics in the deposit, see also Forti 1965: 137 and Morel 1981: 48 and 58. On the domestic ware of the deposit, see Olcese 2003: 18.

from the pit, as well as pieces of the architectural decoration from the temple itself, were found in the fill podium of the successive structures on the site (Capitolium and *triporticus*), as well as in the foundation level of the third century BCE.[21]

During the second century BCE, the Temple of Jupiter was destroyed and then reconstructed as an Etrusco-Italic temple (identified as the Capitolium of the colony) with a *triporticus* (Fig. 4.3).[22] After the destruction, part of the temple's terracotta decoration was buried in a pit; the rest was thrown together with other items as dump-fill for the podium.[23] The new temple faced a different direction from its predecessor and was situated just to the east of the earlier structure. Since there are no remains from this level, it remains unclear whether this temple was constructed with three *cellae* or a single *cella* and two *alae*.[24]

While direct attestation of a cult of Jupiter or of the Capitoline triad is not yet in evidence, Johnson's identification of this new structure as a Capitolium has found general acceptance. The temple is a reconstruction of the earlier temple thought to be dedicated to Jupiter (on the basis of Livy's testimony),[25] and it faces the forum area, placed in a prominent position as colonial Capitolia generally were.[26] It should be pointed out again that the area of the earliest colony has not yet been excavated, and that one would expect to find there a cult site contemporary with the establishment of the colony (and thus earlier than the Temple of Jupiter and its Etrusco-Italic successor). Roman colonies such as Minturnae typically had a temple dedicated to Jupiter, the most important Roman deity, or a Capitolium (e.g. Ostia, Luni, Puteoli).[27]

The foundations of this new Etrusco-Italic temple are almost completely visible and part of the podium can still be seen. Some of its decorative terracottas were found in fragments scattered around the forum area and *in situ* where the roof collapsed; others were discovered in the fragments of the concrete foundations of a sacred pit, which Johnson identified as a

[21] Johnson 1935: 17, 22, and 44; J. Johnson in *RE Supplm.* 7 (1940): 469, s.v. "Minturnae."

[22] The destruction of the Temple of Jupiter has been linked to a hoard of melted coins (Johnson 1935: 43–4, *locus* 3) which provide a *terminus post quem*. See also Newell 1933 and Crawford 1969: 68, n. 98.

[23] The relationship between the terracottas in the deposit and those scattered elsewhere is very close: some of the fragments match. Johnson 1935: 43–4.

[24] On possible restorations of the temple's plan see Johnson 1935: 24–5.

[25] Again, there is no archaeological evidence that conclusively demonstrates the cult was dedicated to Jupiter.

[26] See n. 27.

[27] For the plan of the forum in the Roman maritime colony, see Drerup 1976, esp. 400–4; von Hesberg 1985; and Gros 1996: 211.

bidental (see below), and in the concrete foundations of the Augustan-era reconstruction.[28] The decorative program of this newer temple is similar to that of the Temple of Jupiter, but on a slightly smaller scale and with some slight variation in the details. The temple was adorned with antefixes representing a *potnia theron*, strigilated simas crowned with open-work cresting, a central acroterion with palmettes and lateral acroteria with chariots and horses, door jamb plaques, revetment plaques with diagonal palmettes, and plaques with palmettes linked together by S-spirals surrounded by a serpentine band[29] (Fig. 4.4) (the mould for the latter was used in the restoration of the antefixes with palmettes at the Temple of Marica, see below). As has already been mentioned, the temple was surrounded on three sides by a *triporticus* of which remain the foundations, podium, and roof decorations, namely antefixes with male and female winged figures and revetment plaques with palmettes and lotus flowers.[30] Also found during Johnson's excavations were numerous votives that were catalogued at the time but have since been lost: male and female figurines, heads, and fragments of animal statuettes.

Towards the end of the Republican period, a sacred well was constructed (Fig. 4.3), perhaps related to evidence of conflagration found in the excavated area.[31] Johnson, on the basis of ancient literary notices, identified this well as a *bidental*, a place of ritual purification after a lightning strike.[32] The *bidental* is one of the more problematic structures of the colony and no consensus has yet emerged as to its date.[33] Not only is the *bidental* important because structures of this type are rare, but also because buried within it were stone and terracotta decorations from the other monuments in the area:[34] architectural elements of tufa (a column drum from the *triporticus* and two capitals from the *Capitolium*), a terracotta acroterion,[35] bones of sacrificial animals, ceramic fragments, and an inscription ([*ful*]*gur*/*fulg*[*ur*]).[36] In the

[28] Johnson 1935: 14, *locus* 6, also 18–36 and 44–51. For a consideration of "sacred rubbish" from temple sites, see Glinister 2000b.

[29] Johnson 1935: 25–9, 81–5, and figs. 37–42; Andrèn 1940: 480–1, II: 1–4; Livi 2002.

[30] Johnson 1935: 44–51 and 85–8; Andrèn 1940: 481, II: 5–7; Livi 2002.

[31] The fire occurred somewhere between 65 and 30 BCE; its relationship to the *bidental* is not certain (Johnson 1935: 33–4).

[32] Johnson 1935: 32–3.

[33] Proposals range anywhere from the third to the first century BCE. See Johnson 1935: 29–35; Pietrangeli 1949–51; Mingazzini 1965; Degrassi 1971; Guidobaldi 1989b; and Glinister 2000b: 65.

[34] Johnson 1935: 29–33.

[35] Johnson 1935: 88; Andrèn 1940: 482, II:8; Livi 2002.

[36] Johnson 1935: 30, 34, n. 6. Johnson restored as *au]gur* / *fulg[uralis* or *fulg[uriator*. Mingazzini's reading of *Ful]gur* / *fulg[ur* is surely correct (for *fulgur conditum*). See A. Degrassi's note, with bibliography, in *CIL* I².3. 2720. Degrassi judged the letter forms of this inscription to be of the first century CE.

Fig. 4.4 Terracotta plaque of the Etrusco-Italic temple: in gray the parts of the decoration reused for the antefix of the deposit of the sanctuary of Marica.

subfoundations were found architectural terracottas from the *triporticus* and the Etrusco-Italic temple. All fragments in the *bidental* are contemporaneous and offer a sample of the decorative typology of the buildings struck by lightning, so much so, in fact, that Johnson is able to offer a nearly complete reconstruction of the various pieces.[37]

In addition to the literary evidence for a cult of Jupiter in Minturnae in the Republican period, there is epigraphic evidence for cults of Ceres,[38] Mercury,[39] Spes,[40] and V(enus),[41] though no cult sites have yet been attributed to them. These divinities are attested in inscriptions of the Republican era set up by the *magistri/magistrae* of Minturnae, the masters of local shrines and cults.[42]

THE BRIDGE OVER THE GARIGLIANO

Underwater explorations in the riverbed of the Garigliano, conducted under the direction of D. Ruegg between 1967 and 1977, have revealed a particular concentration of material in a location corresponding to the place where the Via Appia crossed the river (Fig. 4.2 [2]).[43] The material from this location ranges in date from the third century BCE to the sixth century CE[44] and includes a significant number of coins (2,800 out of a

[37] Johnson 1935: 32. It is not necessary to assume that chronological range of the pieces is greatly extended, as in Glinister 2000b: 65.

[38] *CIL* I².2699 = *ILLRP* 729 = Johnson 1933: n. 22. Also Solin 1984: 123.

[39] *CIL* I².2702 = *ILLRP* 742 = Johnson 1933: n. 25. Also Solin 1984: 123.

[40] *CIL* I².2789 = *ILLRP* 731 = Johnson 1933: n. 13. *CIL* I².2698 = *ILLRP* 734 = Johnson 1933: n. 21. *CIL* I².2700 = *ILLRP* 740 = Johnson 1933: n. 23. For these last two inscriptions see also Solin 1984: 123.

[41] *CIL* I².2685 = *ILLRP* 737 = Johnson 1933: n. 8. Also Solin 1984: 123.

[42] Johnson 1933; Pagano 1988; Guidobaldi and Pesando 1989: 67; Korhonen 1996; and Bellini 2000: 9–12; see also Degrassi's introductory note in *ILLRP* II.151–3.

[43] Ruegg 1995: I.55–77 and 125–8. The most recent consideration of the bridge is Galliazzo 1995: 82–3, n. 119.

[44] The only material that falls outside this range consists of a few coins dating from the late fifth to the fourth centuries BCE. The provenances of the coins are very widespread. The coins include items from Camarina, dating to 413–05 (Ruegg 1995: I.69), a coin of Philip II of Macedonia dated to 359 (Vismara 1998: 68, nn. 68–71), some from Leucas (Acarnania) of the fourth (?) century BCE (Vismara 1998: 69, n. 74), and several from Carthage that range in date from approximately 375 down to 325 (Vismara 1998: 78, n. 95). On the earliest numismatic evidence, see Metcalf 1974: 44 and Houghtalin 1985: 69. Ruegg 1995: I.69 and Vismara 1998: 13 consider the coins part of the votive deposit, tossed into the river long after they were minted. On the other hand, the number of these early coins is very small, and it is not clear when during the Republican period the custom of tossing coins into the river was established. Thus it is more reasonable to attribute appearance of these coins in the Garigliano to happenstance in an earlier period.

total of 4,918 coins yielded by the entire section of the riverbed thus far explored),[45] some of which were embedded in the wooden pylons of the bridge. The coins were found along with metal statuettes of various deities (Venus Anadyomene, Priapus, and Eros) dated to the imperial period and a few terracotta offerings of Republican date (an incense burner, two female figurines, two architectural terracottas). In addition to this material, a significant number of other everyday items have been recovered: ceramic fragments (black glaze ware, Italic and African terra sigillata, amphorae, and coarse ware), bones, glass, and a surprising number of small metal items: jewelry (rings, earrings, chains, brooches, pins, buttons, buckles, and fibulae), domestic items (metal handles, metal parts of furniture, keys, and locks), and small *instrumenta* (medical battens and probes, spoons, weights, parts of balance scales, small hatchets, a pair of forceps, and a small jeweler's tool).

Such a remarkable concentration of items along the course of the bridge has been interpreted as the result of a ritual requirement of some sort,[46] even though those items are common objects whose purpose, votive or quotidian, cannot be determined.[47] The attribution of everyday items to the sacral sphere has always been problematic and requires caution, especially in the case of an underwater deposit.[48] At any rate, given the nature of the deposit and its typological similarity to other underwater deposits,[49] it is

[45] Ruegg 1995: 1.68–73. In addition to the 4,918 coins discovered during Ruegg's excavations, there are an additional 2,665 coins of unknown provenance taken during clandestine excavations and thereafter confiscated by the Guardia di Finanza (Giove 1996). The Garigliano coins have received recent reconsideration in Bellini 1996, 1998b, 1999, 2000, and 2001.

[46] See Ruegg 1995: 1.55–68. Of course, the use of these objects is not exclusively votive: the inclusion of a certain portion of them with the votive material may be attributed to other circumstances, such as loss, undertow, erosion of the riverbed, or even dumping. In addition, the area was surely one of much activity with busy quays and a port active in the Republican period. See Ruegg 1995: 1.130–3. Even so, the notable concentration of material around the pylon of the bridge, rather than along the riverbank, makes it difficult to attribute the majority of the finds to port activity.

[47] Common objects used for votive purposes are defined by Morel 1992 as "ex-votos *par transformation*." Coins are commonly included in votive deposits (see below). On those objects properly identified as votives, see Ruegg 1995: 1.56, 61–73, and 128. Some of these may be ex-votos *par transformation* (see below, nn. 59, 62, and 64), such as lead shells perhaps used as weights (cf. Mei 2001: 161).

[48] For the particular difficulties presented by underwater deposits, see most recently Bishop 1989; Künzl 1999–2000; and Bonnamour 2000a.

[49] I mean here only those deposits actually discovered underwater, rather than those found near the water. The relevant literature is extensive and includes the younger Pliny's reference to coins tossed into the spring of Clitumnus (*Ep.* VIII.8). In addition to the bibliography below in n. 54, see Bonnard 1908; Vaillat 1932; Blasquez 1957; Grenier 1960; Alcock 1966; Ross 1968; Allason-Jones and McKay 1985; Torbrügge 1970–1; Maringer 1974; Bishop 1989; Chevallier 1992; Pacciarelli 1997; Künzl 1999–2000; Bonnamour 2000a; Crawford 2003: 71. Not all of Vismara's comparanda are appropriate since she does not take into consideration the difference between votive deposits and casual finds of

likely that some of the categories of everyday objects rendered in metal have votive purposes.[50] The dating of these objects, especially the coins, to the period of the Roman Republic indicates that the rite was itself a Roman phenomenon.[51] The practice was maintained in the imperial period with the addition of new votives and with reference to specific divinities, among them Venus.[52]

The practice of offering items in water dates back to the Neolithic period and has continued to the present time.[53] This is attested by numerous river finds[54] (including the Thames deposit near London Bridge,[55] at the bridge over the Mosel at Trier,[56] and the deposits in numerous places along the Saône),[57] as well as by deposits found in lakes, springs, and wells.[58] Most of these deposits include, in addition to items of an obviously votive nature, everyday objects[59] characterized by the simple nature of the gift (belonging to daily life and work) and by the material (most frequently metal) that better ensured that the item would sink in the water, thus rendering it unrecoverable.[60]

The divinities invoked at the bridge over the Garigliano are unknown for the Republican period, but surely should be associated with the numerous water deities and with the personifications of different aspects of the water[61]

coins. On rites connected with water and its symbolism, see Ninck 1921; Eliade 1953: 168–90; and Edlund-Berry 1987a: 54–62 and her contribution to this volume.

[50] On the motivation for choosing this material, see below p. 103. Also present are deposits of ceramic objects for various ritual usages. See Bonnamour and Dumont 1994: 147

[51] Excavations in the Garigliano have revealed a very small amount of pre-Roman material. See n. 44.

[52] Ruegg 1995: 1.56–7.

[53] See above nn. 49 and 54.

[54] In addition to the river deposits cited above (n. 49), there are deposits near Rennes in the Vilaine (Colbert de Baulieu 1953), at Hagenbach and Neupots (Rhënanie-Platinat) (Künzl 1999–2000), in the region of ancient Suasa near the Cesano river (Geronzi 1930), at the Ponte Coperto over the Ticino at Pavia (Vismara 1992), near Ostra Vetere in the gravel bed of the Misa (Numismatica 1938), on the ancient bank of the Brenta at Altichiero, Padova (Leonardi and Zaghetto 1993 and Zaghetto and Zambotto 1994), near Cepagatti in the Pescara river (Pacciarelli and Sassatelli 1997: 16–17), at Lago degli Idoli on Monte Falterona (Fortuna and Giovannoni 1975), at Collazzone, Todi (Bergamini Simoni 1996: 63–4, n. 1734), and Vicarello (Gasperini 1988: 32–3). Of course, coin offerings are not restricted to river deposits. See Crawford 2003 and Nonnis 2003: 33. Piana Agostinetti's study of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul (1989–90: 451–2) suggests the practice of offering money to the gods was introduced into the region by the Romans.

[55] Roach Smith 1842 and 1859. Also Hume 1955.

[56] Cüppers 1969: 115–31. On the large coin deposit there, see Gilles 1996: 19–22 and Cüppers 2001.

[57] Bonnamour and Dumont 1994, Bonnamour 2000a.

[58] See above, nn. 49 and 54.

[59] A wide range of common objects has been found alongside coins in underwater deposits, thus making it difficult to determine distinguishing typological features among the deposits. That range of objects certainly does not permit association with specific forms of ritual, as offerings of plates (see e.g. Bonnamour 2000a: 47, 49) or weapons and armor (see e.g. Bishop 1989 and Künzl 1999–2000).

[60] Coins deposited in water were sometimes recovered. See Crawford 2003: 71.

[61] For discussion of the full range of deities linked to water deposits see Chevallier 1992.

and perhaps of transit.[62] The practice of tossing objects into the river at Minturnae continued without interruption until the city was finally abandoned in the late sixth or seventh century CE.

ANOTHER CULT SITE ALONG THE GARIGLIANO?

Ruegg's underwater exploration has revealed a second concentration of votive material along the bank of the Garigliano, probably belonging to a cult site on the right bank, a bit south of the polygonal wall (Fig. 4.2 [3]).[63] The votive material was spread over a fairly large area (about 50 m in extent) and was mixed with finds of various types.[64] The votives are, for the most part, terracottas: anatomical votives (male genitalia, uteri, lower limbs, and a right foot with base), a statuette of a swaddled infant, fragments of statues, male and female figurines, and male and female heads (both veiled and unveiled).[65] Two fragments of bronze fingers and some coins were also found.[66]

The nature and the location of the material suggest that it pertains to a cult site either on the riverbank or within the city, and that it was created either intentionally as a dump for excess votives[67] or by chance flooding and erosion. The typology of the votives does not suggest any specific cultic interest (e.g. fertility, healing), and there is no indication to which deity the deposit belonged. In addition, this second fluvial deposit need not be associated with the bridge deposit.

[62] As has been said, it is difficult to identify most objects as purely votive and this complicates efforts to determine the divinity to whom offerings were made. Among the items found in the deposit are several small bronze caducei dated to the imperial period (Ruegg 1995: II.18–19 [I.77–8]); those caducei may have been offered to Mercury, protector of commerce, travel, and good fortune. It has also been proposed that Terminus is somehow invoked in the ritual at the bridge (Vismara 1998: 10), though there is no evidence to support this proposal. For the imperial period there is evidence for worship of Venus; on the numerous representations of the "dea anadyomene," see Ruegg 1995: I.56–7 and II.17–20.

[63] Ruegg 1995: I.56 (Grids 22–56); II.11.

[64] The material found with the votives comprises architectural terracottas, ceramics (black glaze ware, Italic terra sigillata, amphorae, and domestic ware), fragments of statuary, architectural elements of stone, tools, domestic objects, and personal items. See the crosslist of artefacts in Ruegg 1985: II.200–8 (Grids 22–56).

[65] Ruegg 1995: II.11 (I.20), 13 (I.26–35), 14 (I.39–45), 15 (I.46–7, 49, 51, 53), 16 (I.54–5, 59–64).

[66] Ruegg 1995: II.19 (I.85, 87). The coins, dating to the Republican and imperial periods, were slightly more concentrated in grids 41–56 (Frier and Parker 1970: table A; Ruegg 1995: I.56).

[67] In this case, the deposit was most likely originally placed in the water so that the votives would be rendered inaccessible and sacred. Because the number of votives found was relatively small, however, Ruegg suggests that this location may have been a general dump site not linked to any particular temple (1995: I.56 and II.11).

THE CULT SITE OF MONTE D'ARGENTO

Located about 3 km north of Minturnae, the cult site at Monte d'Argento sits on a promontory (123 m above sea level) protected by steep cliffs and by a surrounding wall that encloses a medieval settlement and tower (Fig. 4.2 [4]).[68] The site has also yielded numerous fragments from the proto-historic and Roman periods. Some of the Roman architectural and masonry fragments are visibly incorporated into the walls of the medieval structures.

Although this material is still under study, the findings thus far appear to indicate the presence of a cult originating in the proto-historic period that continued to be frequented through Roman and medieval times. Unfortunately, while the medieval site is attested by the presence of a church,[69] the exact cult site for earlier periods has not yet been identified. The proto-historic phase of the site, already partly published,[70] is documented by finds of votive cups of impasto that can be dated from the second half of the seventh century BCE to the first quarter of the sixth century.[71] The cult site must have been associated with an Auruncan settlement known from finds of impasto pottery, fragments of a cooking stand, and fragments of hut plaster that appear as early as the tenth century BCE.[72]

Dating to the period of the Roman Republic are fragments of black glaze ware and architectural terracottas, coming from disturbed strata, sometimes found with anatomical votives.[73] The numerous fragments of black glaze

[68] A series of studies have been conducted at the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale under the direction of Dr. Paola Torre. Her work focuses on the Saracen settlement, established between 881 and 915, of a place named in medieval sources as the *mons Garelianus*. See Torre 1988, 1990, and 1998, as well as Coletti, Maestripieri, and Torre 1998. I owe thanks to D. Mazzeo, director of the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, and P. Torre for their permission to present this material here, and to G. Tonsini and A. Briotti for the photographs of the fragments.

[69] The *titulus* of the church is not known. On its remains, see Torre 1988.

[70] Guidi 1991: 19–30. On habitation at the site, see also Morandini 1989: 31–2 and Pascucci 1996: 56–7 (tav. IV, n. 30).

[71] In addition to the materials from the eastern area of the promontory studied by Guidi 1991, a miniature impasto cup (Inv. MA 95.G.6) and a small impasto loom weight (Inv. MA 95.B.3), mixed in with other material from the Republican period, have been uncovered in excavations in the southern area of the promontory (trenches B and G).

[72] Guidi 1991: 26 and Morandini 1989: 31–2. For evidence of cult in Auruncan areas, see in particular Talamo 1987: 178.

[73] In particular, these have been found on the norther summit of the mountain, close to the area where the small votive head was discovered (see the next note). Among the Roman material, still unpublished and undergoing examination, are fragments of Italic terra sigillata, coarse ware, and amphorae. Large fragments of decorative masonry (bases, capitals, marble plaques) and pieces of *opus reticulatum* are visible in the walls of the medieval structures.

ware are generally small and well-worn, though it is possible to identify plates, small black gloss jugs, and cups which can be dated to the period between the late fourth/early third century and second century BCE. During exploration on the northern summit, a small votive female head (third to second century BCE) was found along with ceramic fragments both in black glaze ware and from the medieval period.[74] The head, produced by a single valve mould and worked on the back by hand, bears a *melonenfrisur* coif with a fillet (Fig. 4.5).[75] Excavation of a superficial stratum has also brought to light a fragment of coarse ware bearing an inscribed text dated to the Republican era, a rare example of Latin in this region.[76]

The fragments of architectural terracottas attest to the monumentalization of the site. One of these fragments,[77] dating to the second century BCE, has the same typology as the portico that surrounded Minturnae's Capitolium.[78] Analysis of the material of this fragment has revealed that its composition is identical to that from Minturnae, as is the stamp used to produce it. Unfortunately, due to a lack of relevant archaeological material, we cannot better define the relationship between the production of Minturnae and that of Monte d'Argento.

THE SANCTUARY OF MARICA

The remains of a temple attributed to the Auruncan goddess Marica were uncovered on the right bank of the Garigliano, about 700 m from the mouth of the river (Fig. 4.2 [5])[79]. First identified by G. Q. Giglioli in 1911,[80] the ruins were excavated by P. Mingazzini in 1926 under the aegis of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Campania,[81] revealing a peripteral

[74] Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Inv. MA 95.H 11.4. Dark brown impasto with occasional flecks of red. Dim.: H. 5.8 cm; W. 2.9 cm; D. 1.9 cm.

[75] As far as the poor state of preservation will allow, the head can be most closely compared to type B CLXXII in Baroni and Casolo 1990: 265, and tav. XXXIX.1. The single valve mould appears frequently from at least the third century BCE. See Söderlind 2002: 43–4.

[76] Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Inv. MA 95.1. Reddish-brown clay with inclusions. Dim.: 11.6 cm × 5.4 cm × 1.9 cm. Thickness: 0.9 cm.

[77] Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Inv. MA 91.XIII.78. Rich reddish-brown impasto with flecks of mica. Dim.: 10.9 × 10.5 cm. Thickness: max. 2.7 cm, min. 1.7 cm.

[78] Johnson 1935. The best-preserved fragment of the plaque is at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

[79] In antiquity, the temple was located closer to the sea than it is today. See the reconstruction of the coast-line and course of the river as proposed by Andreani 2003: fig. 6.

[80] Giglioli 1911. Ciuffi 1854: 73 had already proposed (without proof) identifying these remains with a temple of Marica.

[81] Mingazzini 1938.

Fig. 4.5 Head of statuette in terracotta found at Monte d'Argento.

temple on a podium (at the time erroneously identified as an Italic temple on a platform)[82] and votive material uncovered during a series of investigations on the north, south, and west sides of the complex as well as to the exterior of the podium.[83]

The attribution of the sanctuary to the goddess Marica is based both on literary evidence[84] and on the discovery of two inscriptions recording dedications to her.[85] Although the inscriptions were not actually found in

[82] Pfister 1938 identified the structures with an Italic temple. The issue has recently been revisited, and correctly interpreted, by Laforgia 1992.

[83] The true extent of the deposits remains unknown because they are only known from test excavations. In addition to Mingazzini 1938, see also the correspondence between his assistants M. Testa and M. Sorrentino preserved in the Archivio Storico della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Napoli e Caserta, B. 138, fasc. 9. The east side of the temple was also explored, though the work was suspended because "raggiungendo il livello del fiume scaturisce acqua che rende vano ogni sforzo." Excavation on the other sides was also halted at a maximum depth of 1.20 m because of the water level.

[84] Strabo, v. 3.6; Porphyry, *in Hor. carm*. III.17.6–8. Plut. *Mar*. 40. 1; Servius, *ad Aen*. VII. 47; Vib. Seq. 149, 18 R.

[85] One inscription reads: *C. Caru(l)lio(s) C. f./Marica(e) dede(t)* (*CIL* I^2.2438 = *ILLRP* 216 = *AE* 1914, n. 218). See Giglioli 1911: 62–4. The other: *Maricae/ d.d / [.]Livius/ Muci[a]n[u]s/ [- - -]* (*ILS* 9264 = *AE* 1908: n. 83). See Laurent Vibert and Piganiol 1907: 495–7. Both of these texts are now lost. The

the immediate vicinity of the temple, but rather are linked to another votive deposit associated with a structure of imperial date,[86] the identification of the site as the sanctuary of Marica has been consistent, beginning with Giglioli. The grandness of the structure and its development in the archaic period lend further strength to the identification.

The goddess Marica, whose name is thought to derive from **mari-*/**mori*, "standing body of water inland or coastal,"[87] was associated with the marshes, swamps, and bogs that characterize the area around her sanctuary.[88] Literary sources also mention a sacred grove of the goddess, from which nothing could be removed,[89] and link her sanctuary to docks on the river.[90]

The cult is of a chthonic character and focuses on the protection of fertility, childbirth, and the growth of children.[91] Marica also protected fugitives,

first had been in the collection of Pietro Fedele (Giglioli 1911: 62), but disappeared after the German occupation during the Second World War (Morozzi and Paris 1995: 301, 303). The other stone was reused as construction material (Giglioli 1911, n. 4).

[86] Both the deposit and building have been known since 1828, though neither has yet been fully excavated. On the findspot of the inscriptions, see Giglioli 1911: 61–2; for the excavations of 1828, see Ciuffi 1854: 72; on the imperial structure, see below, n. 112.

[87] Lehmann 1986: 245. It has been demonstrated that originally, the name of the goddess, as well as her general spheres of influence and the material found at her sanctuary, is not linked in any way to the sea, not even in Cristofani's sense of "colei che guarda il mare" (1996: 26). On the etymology of the name, see in particular Lazzeroni 1965; De Simone 1996; Mancini 1997: 17. Any link with the sea appears to have developed in the historical period and does not seem to display Marica's more ancient associations (De Simone 1996: 67). It is possible, though not demonstrable archaeologically, that Marica's cult was located close to other cults with definite marine associations, such as that of Venus Marina, perhaps as early as the pre-Roman period (Giangiulio 1986: 107; Trotta 1989: 20; Cerchiai 1995: 24; Cristofani 1996: 26–7; Andreani 2003: 189). Marica may also have been linked to the Dioscuri, as proposed by Morandi 2001, based on an inscription on an impasto cup (see n. 97). A different etymology of the goddess's name, proposed by Trotta 1989:20, derives it from *mas, maris*, in light of the goddess's interest in rites of passage and of marriage. Schulze 1966: 552–7 posits a link with the *gens Maria*. On the connection with centaur Mares, legendary founder of the Ausonian people, see most recently Mastrocinque 1995: 139–44, with earlier bibliography.

[88] The *paludes Maricae* are explicitly mentioned by Vell. Pat. II.19.2; Schol. *ad Luc*. II.424. On the marshy area of the sanctuary, see most recently the geomorphological and environmental survey by Andreani 2003: 179–82, 186–7.

[89] The *alsos/lucus* or *silva* is mentioned by Strabo V.3.6; Livy XXVII.37.2; Mart. XIII.83; Plut. *Mar*. 39.4; Porph. *in Hor. Carm*. III.17.8. Also Claud. I.259–60. On the taboo mentioned by Plutarch (*Marius* 39), see W. Kroll in *RE* 14 (1930): 1754, s.v. "Marica"; Trotta 1989: 20.

[90] Plut. *Mar*. 39 refers to the docks, remains of which are attested for the imperial period (on which see Arata 1993: esp. 162, n. 5 and Ruegg 1995: I.132). Also, recent excavations in the area to the south of the temple conducted by the Soprintendenza Archeologica per il Lazio (1984) have revealed a structure of crude brick, identified as part of a dock (the sole source for this information is a passing reference in Bellini 1998c: 12).

[91] For the cult of Marica, see Mingazzini 1938: 941–52; Trotta 1989: 16–21; Cristofani 1996: 26–30; Cerchiai 1999 (who associates this goddess with Mefitis); and Harvey 2000: 167–70. For an analysis of the sources, see Peruzzi 1990: 71–7. On the funerary aspect of the cult, linked to the marshes, see

such as C. Marius who famously sought sanctuary in Marica's woody swamp.[92] This Auruncan goddess, identified by some ancient authors as a nymph,[93] is assimilated not only with Artemis/Diana,[94] with whom she shares her sphere of influence and whose temples, also located in marshy, woody, extra-urban areas, also offered asylum, but also with Circe[95] and Venus Marina.[96] It is also possible that Marica sometimes bore the epithet Trivia, though the interpretation of the inscription that may attest to this is much debated.[97]

The vast amount of material found in the area around Marica's temple consists predominately of ex-votos and architectural terracottas of various periods (ranging from the seventh century BCE to the Augustan period). This material was not discovered where it was originally placed: various

most recently Cerchiai 1999: 235–6. Cf. also Coarelli 1983: 273–4. The goddess's interest in fertility, childbirth and the continued well-being of children is reflected in the votive material published by Mingazzini (1938: 944–7).

92 Marius' flight to Marica is recorded in numerous sources, among which are Livy, *Per*. 77; Vell. Pat. II.19.2–3; Plut. *Mar*. 39–41; App. *B Civ*. I.61 (272); Flor. II.9.8; August. *De civ. D*. II.23. See Bang 1910; Carney 1961: 108–11; Pesando 1989: 46–9; and De Cazanove 1992: 125–6; on the Marian tradition, Badian 1973. For Artemis' role as protector of fugitives, see above.

93 Verg. *Aen*. VII.45–8: the nymph is the mother of Latinus and wife of Faunus in marshy Laurentum; Vib. Seq. 96; Porphyr. *in Hor. carm*. III.17.6–8. See *Enc. Virg*. III.373, s.v. "Marica." Peruzzi 1990: 75; Mastrocinque 1995: 141–4; Cerchiai 1999: 237.

94 Schol. *in August. De civ. D*. II.23, which records the theft of the Cumaean Artemis by the Minturnans. The assimilation of Marica with Artemis is addressed by Mingazzini 1938: 941–52; Lazzeroni 1993: 129–31; Trotta 1989: 17–18; Cerchiai 1995: 158–9; Cristofani 1996: 26–7; Cerchiai 1999: 236 (Marica, too, is prophetic); Harvey 2000: 169. It has been suggested that the assimilation of the goddesses is a result of contact with Euboean Greeks at Cumae in the orientalizing period (Trotta 1989: 2; Cerchiai 1995: 24; Cristofani 1996: 26–7). Mingazzini (1938: 945) would date it to the Roman period, at the end of the fourth century BCE, though Latte (1960: 192, n. 3) would date it later. On this last argument see Harvey 2000: 169. On Artemis and asylum, see Montepaone 1999: 95–105.

95 Lactant. *Div. inst*. I.21, 23 and Servius, *ad Aen*. XII.164. Trotta 1989: 18; Peruzzi 1990: 74; Mastrocinque 1995: 145, 147; Cerchiai 1995: 159; Cristofani 1996: 27; Cerchiai 1999: 239–40; Harvey 2000: 168.

96 Servius, *ad Aen*. VII.47: *dicunt alii per Maricam Venerem intellegi debere, cuius fuit sacellum iuxta Maricam, in quo erat scriptum* ΠΟΝΤΙΗ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ (others say that Venus ought to be understood for Marica since there was a shrine near Marica's sanctuary on which was written "Maritime Aphrodite"). The most interesting item Servius reports is the existence of a *sacellum*, dedicated to Aphrodite Marina, distinct from the Temple of Marica. The assimilation of this Aphrodite with Marica must have occurred, in my opinion, after the Republican era (when Marica and her temple were well-known), and at a time when understanding of the nature of the Auruncan goddess had been lost (see August. *De civ. D*. II.23) and hence, she became confused with other deities. Servius' note would attest a cult of Aphrodite, not documented archaeologically (though the area has been subject to minimal excavation), that was separate from that of Marica though was at a late date assimilated to it.

97 The inscription is incised on a bowl of impasto. See Cristofani 1996; De Simone 1996; Mancini 1997; Vine 1998; Harvey 2000; and Morandi 2001. The epithet is accepted by Cristofani, De Simone, and Harvey. De Simone suggests the term may refer to a location. Vine sees the inscription as a generic dedication. Morandi reads it as a dedication to the Dioscuri.

items were found mixed together, without stratification. This material, then, clearly derives from different primary deposits and was evidently buried or deposited again at the time of the rebuilding of the podium during the imperial era.[98] The architectural terracottas, for instance, appear to have been discarded intentionally: they were not found in the place where the roof had collapsed, but rather together with the earlier material in various parts of the trench.[99]

The archaic structure, dated to the last quarter of the sixth century BCE, is preserved only at the level of the foundations, which had been completely destroyed when the Auruncan temple was reconstructed in the imperial period.[100] The decoration attributed to the archaic building comprises antefixes with a female head with a nimbus, antefixes with flying Gorgons, painted eave tiles, revetment plaques with anthemion, and simas adorned with strigils.[101] Though no trace of a preceding phase of the temple remains, finds indicate that there was an earlier phase (580–560 BCE) with a roof adorned with alternating semicircular antefixes of Daedalic heads and upright palmettes in relief ending with a hanging fascia, a painted antepagmentum, and a kalypter hegemon (a decorated ridge-tile at the roof summit) with the head of a young bull.[102] Numerous other decorative phases for the archaic period are also attested in the deposits.[103]

Only a portion of the material from Marica's temple dating to the Roman period has been studied.[104] While a comprehensive study of the material will help to clarify the history of the site, a series of palmette antefixes

[98] In the excavation report, these same two assistants note: "spesso accade che alla medesima profondità si rinvengono oggetti di differente epoca e cioè, un oggetto d'impasto e uno di epoca romana" (Archivio Storico della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Napoli e Caserta, B. 138, fasc. 9). See also Mingazzini 1938: cc. 705, 717–18.

[99] Archivio Storico della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Napoli e Caserta, B. 138, fasc. 9, correspondence from M. Sorrentino to A. Maiuri, 20 November 1926. The acroteria were found along the north side (Mingazzini 1938: 717–18).

[100] Laforgia 1992. Laforgia is uncertain whether the temple should be considered a peripteral building, since the extent of the short sides is unknown (Laforgia 1992: 74). Andrèn 1940: 493 and Kästner 1982: 105 have expressed doubts about Pfister's reconstruction of the site. For the imperial period, see Mingazzini 1938: 930–5 and Trotta 1989: 121–2.

[101] Mingazzini, however, attributed all the antefixes to a single phase. On the terracottas attributed to the remains of the archaic structure visible below the imperial temple, see Groppo and Ciaghi 1985; Kästner 1982. Most recently, Rescigno (1993: esp. 105–7 and 1998: 336–47) offers an important re-evaluation of the archaic material. In this phase, the roof sloped at a 13-degree angle (Rescigno 1993: 106–7 and 1998: 346–7). On the votives from the pre-Roman period see Talamo 1987: 67–71; Trotta 1989: 23–5 and Pascucci 1996 with bibliography.

[102] Rescigno 1993: 102, fig. 11.1; Rescigno 1998: 346. The slope of the roof has been calculated at 17 degrees.

[103] Rescigno 1993: 102–4 and 106; Rescigno 1998: 346–7, tav. XXXII.

[104] After the general publication of the excavation (Mingazzini 1938), the votive heads received further, though not complete, study. See below, nn. 117–18. For the architectural terracottas (dated to the

Fig. 4.6 Antefix from the deposit of the sanctuary of Marica.

found in the deposit (Fig. 4.6) attests to a restoration during the Republic and demonstrates that more than one archaic building was still visible in Roman times (according to current typology).[105] These antefixes clearly imitate the earliest archaic type of antefix (580–560 BCE), decorated with palmettes and a semicircular shape with a lower fascia hanging free (typical and exclusive to the earliest phase).[106] The type of palmette is of particular importance because it is unique to this site. Its main distinguishing characteristics are: (1) the palmette is directly moulded from the Etrusco-Italic revetment plaques (see below); (2) it has only five lobes, rather than seven, nine, or ten as in the other examples attested at the site; (3) the lobes are not equally spaced (a distinction from the standard form of Etrusco-Italic palmettes). Apart from the Temple of Marica, this particular palmette

first century BCE), see Andrèn 1940: 484 and 491–3. Morel 1981 includes only a few forms of black glaze ware.

[105] Mingazzini 1938; Rescigno 1993: 92–3 and 1998: 341, fig. 200. These are now preserved at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Box 16, Inv. 176329–32, where I was kindly granted permission by M. R. Borriello to examine and then publish these items. They were photographed by G. Tonsini and A. Briotti.

[106] Rescigno 1998: 340 (C 2102) and 346, fig. 199. Compare Andrén 1940: 492 (II: 3b). See p. 198.

appears in the first decorative phase of the Capitolium of Minturnae,[107] dated to the second century BCE (Fig. 4.4). This allows us to conclude that the palmettes of the Temple of Marica are contemporary with the Capitolium (second century BCE). Furthermore, it is important to note that since this type of palmette imitates the decoration and form of the archaic palmette antefixes of the earliest phase, it is clear that in the Roman period those archaic antefixes were still visible and not replaced by another type. Therefore, this type of antefix did not come from the later temple decorated with the antefixes bearing a head with nimbus,[108] but from an earlier building that was still standing in Roman times. This demonstrates that during the archaic period the sanctuary of Marica did not consist of a single building, but rather was from the earliest period a complex of structures devoted to different cults[109] centered on that of Auruncan Marica, who seems from epigraphic evidence to have remained the principal deity at the site.[110]

In the archaic and Republican periods, the sanctuary thus seems to have been a rather large area that also included three other structural groups lying to the south of the temple.[111] The first of these is the area lying 80 m from the temple along the river, where a significant amount of both Roman and pre-Roman votive material has been found near a structure of imperial date.[112] In addition to the two dedications to Marica discussed above, the site has yielded terracotta heads, pottery, lamps, iron spears, and a small "Marte Etrusco di bronzo."[113] Between this imperial structure and

[107] On the plaque from the Capitolium, see Johnson 1935: 32 and 35, fig. 16 (Plaque A_3). A comprehensive study of the architectural terracottas of the Republican period by the present author is forthcoming.

[108] Laforgia 1992: 75; Rescigno 1998: 341 (C 3206), 346.

[109] Recall that in addition to Marica, proposals for the pre-Roman period also include Aphrodite Marina and the Dioscuri (though these are not supported by unequivocal archaeological evidence). See n. 87 above. For the Republican period, there is evidence for the worship of Hercules at the site, according to Morel 1988: 58 and n. 88. Other scholars place the introduction of other deities (Isis and Sarapis, for example) to the site in the imperial period: Mingazzini 1938: 934–5, D'Urso 1985: 41–2; Trotta 1989: 21; Andreani 2003: 196, 197–9 (site 1).

[110] Rescigno 1998: 336–7 also hypothesizes the existence of more than one structure on the basis of an analysis of the architectural terracottas. Most recently, on the basis of further examination, Andreani 2003: 190. The presence of multiple cults within a single sanctuary is not uncommon. See Comella 2001b.

[111] Cf. also Andreani 2003: 201.

[112] On the poor state of the walls today, see most recently Andreani 2003: 199–201 (site 3).

[113] Ciuffi 1854: 72 describes the area: "Vi si osserva un basso edificio, dove scavandosi si rinvengono spesso oggetti di creta, come tazze, lucerne e teste . . . Nell'inverno del 1828 vi fu scavata una grande quantità di vasi, tazze, e lucerne di creta, e tra le altre ve ne era una, nel cui fondo era impresso C. Corvic. Dissotterrate furono in tale circostanza molte lance di ferro rose dal tempo, molte teste di creta, ed un Marte etrusco di bronzo alto un palmo, che fu acquistato dal Soprintendente del

the Temple of Marica lies a second group of structures in crude brick.[114] A third location should probably also be associated with the sanctuary. Lying 60 m south-west of the temple and close to another building of imperial date, the area has yielded fictile fragments ranging in date from the archaic through to the imperial period.[115] Literary sources further attest to a sacred grove and docks along the river as being part of Marica's sacred complex.[116]

The popularity of the sanctuary among worshippers is attested by the large number of votive offerings from the Roman period that include pottery in vernice nera, heads, votive statues, swaddled infants, and anatomicals.[117] The heads are usually covered in the manner of the *ritus Romanus*, which required a veiled head when offering sacrifice.[118] Unveiled heads, typical of the *ritus Graecus*, have also been found; in a Roman context, this manner of sacrifice appears to have been attested for the cults of Hercules, Honos, Saturn, and the *Moirai*.[119] The presence of both veiled and unveiled votive heads suggests an effort by local artisans to appeal to different groups of worshippers.[120] Occasionally, workshops even used the same mould for veiled and unveiled heads, adding or omitting the veil as necessary, as demonstrated by a prototype from Cales.[121]

This wealth of material from the Republican period indicates that the whole nature of the sanctuary changed after the Auruncan period, when the sanctuary had served as a meeting place (religious, political, and economic)

Distretto di quel tempo D. Mario Spinelli dei Marchesi di Fuscaldo." The nature of the material Ciuffi describes suggests that this mass of material is a votive deposit rather than refuse from the production of votives as Andreani has suggested (2003: 201).

[114] Bellini 1998c: 12 (does not date the structure).

[115] Andreani 2003: 199 (site 2), perhaps to be identified with Giglioli's Building B (1911: 65). The material found here ranges in date from the archaic to the imperial period and is not necessarily votive, although that possibility should not be ruled out given its proximity to the sanctuary of Marica and the similar chronological range. Sacred areas in this period may have included buildings that were not sacred themselves but were closely connected with cult activities. See Nonnis 2003.

[116] See above, nn. 89 and 90.

[117] This material is not yet fully published. In addition to those studies cited in n. 118 see also Talamo 1987: 67–96 (who dates the ceramics to the late fourth century BCE).

[118] On votive heads from the Temple of Marica, see Mingazzini 1938: 804–5, nn. 1–13, tav. XIII.4–10; Forti 1949–50; Comella 1982: 35; and Bonghi Jovino 1990a. The appearance of veiled votive heads has received much attention, most recently from Söderlind 2002: 369–75, with current bibliography and discussion.

[119] Hercules: Macrob. *Sat.* III.6; Honos: Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 13. Saturn: Festus, *Gloss. Lat.* 432L; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 11–12. See Latte 1960: 214, n. 4; Freier 1963: 109–12.

[120] The presence of unveiled heads (*ritu Graeco*) does not necessarily indicate a non-Roman worshipper or the observance of a foreign rite: see Scheid 1995a.

[121] On artefacts from Cales at the Temple of Marica at Minturnae, see Bonghi Jovino 1990b: 76; cf. Ciaghi 1990.

for a people that had few contacts with the outside world,[122] to the Roman period, when greater external influences accompanied the flourishing of Minturnae.[123] This change from local to external influences is reflected by the fact that the votives dating to the archaic (pre-Roman) period found at the Temple of Marica were mostly of local production,[124] but in the Roman period votives were imported from Cales, Capua, and Teanum and their forms were imitated by local producers.[125]

CONCLUSIONS

Two of the hallmarks of Roman colonization were a simultaneous acceptance on the part of the Romans of the native cults of newly conquered regions and the introduction of distinctly Roman forms of worship and production.[126] From the examination of two cult areas of Minturnae that predate the Roman conquest, namely the sanctuary of Marica and the cult site at Monte d'Argento, it is clear that the sites were well maintained and were often frequented in the Roman period. Restoration of the sanctuary of Marica (or at least one of its buildings) is attested in the Roman period by the existence of a series of antefixes made from the same mould as those from the Capitolium of Minturnae (second century BCE), but applied to semicircular antefix forms typical of the earliest phase of the archaic period. This restoration corresponds to a period of development for the town of Minturnae marked by significant building projects (such as the monumentalization of the forum area) and an increase in wealth owed to commercial traffic and to the presence of one or more ports. Other deities were worshipped in the sanctuary alongside Marica, most notably Hercules. Although nothing is known of the sacred area of Monte d'Argento in the

[122] The possible use of the site as a large *emporion* has not, thus far, been demonstrated by archaeological material reported by Mingazzini 1938: 945 and Talamo 1987: 178–80, and the underwater excavations by Ruegg 1995 and Arata 1997. See also Arthur 1991: 31–2; Cristofani 1996: 29; and Andreani 2003: 191–2. Despite the absence of supporting evidence, this sanctuary has been considered as an active *emporion* in the pre-Roman period: Trotta 1989: 20–1 and Torelli 1999b: 42.

[123] On mercantile activity in the city of Minturnae and at the river mouth, see Arthur 1991: 57; Ruegg 1995: 1.130–3; and Andreani 2003: 196.

[124] Talamo 1987: 67–71.

[125] On the presence of forms imported directly from nearby cities, see Bonghi Jovino 1990a. Such cities are normally among those that share moulds in the Roman period (Comella 1981: 792–3, figs. 8–9; Comella 1997).

[126] Although in her contribution to this volume, Glinister argues that the presence of anatomical votives in other areas of the Italic peninsula are the result of native practices, their presence at Minturnae seems to have been the result of strong Roman influence in the area. The evidence of Minturnae suggests that some "Roman" practices, including the offering of anatomical votives, were grafted onto a pre-existing Auruncan culture.

Roman period, construction and perhaps religious continuity is demonstrated by the presence of architectural terracottas directly derived from models produced in the Roman colony of Minturnae at the *triporticus* in the sacred area at the forum.

The Roman colony at Minturnae was built *ex novo* and excavation has not yet yielded any evidence of previous activity or settlement at the site of the colony. The colony offers all the characteristics typical of the Roman presence, both in the specific cult introduced and in the cult's material aspect: a temple dedicated to Jupiter later reconstructed as an Etrusco-Italic temple (probably a Capitolium), decorated with terracottas typical of Rome and of areas under Roman control. When the decoration of these temples was renovated, older items were intentionally buried: items from the Temple of Jupiter were placed in a pit, those from the Capitolium in the concrete of the *bidental* (which attests an expiation after a lightning strike), and in the Augustan-era rebuilding of the temple. In addition to Jupiter, other divinities, such as Ceres, Mercury, Spes, and V(enus), presided over the daily life and principal activities of the colony. Also in this period, the practice of tossing ritual offerings off the bridge of the Via Appia over the Garigliano river was observed. These items do not allow serious speculation as to the specific deity to whom these offerings were made during the Republic.

All the cult sites considered here have yielded votive offerings. Aside from the large number of metal items from the underwater deposits, nearly all the votives from the sanctuaries are of terracotta. Within the city, where votives can be linked to datable material (amphorae, coins, lamps, etc.), the votive items are all associated with the Roman settlement and none can be dated prior to the third century BCE. It is more difficult to assess the votive material at sites where activity was continuous from the pre-Roman period onward (Monte d'Argento and the sanctuary of Marica) both because the material comes from such a broad chronological range and because the largest deposit, that of Marica, has not yet been subject to systematic study. At present, however, it appears that, contemporary with the Roman conquest of the Auruncan region, worshippers at Marica's sanctuary began to offer the goddess, in addition to their traditional gifts, votives of a new type similar to those found throughout southern Latium and Campania.

It cannot be determined conclusively whether the Roman conquest included the complete annihilation of the indigenous Auruncan population or if, as seems likely, such destruction was only partial. The matter should be

considered in terms of two different types of survival: cultural and ethnic. With respect to cultural annihilation, the archaeological remains indicate that beginning in the fourth century BCE the area underwent an enormous change in the nature of its material culture. This coincides with the Roman conquest recorded by ancient sources, an argument strengthened by the fact that the change is in part manifested by the appearance of architectural terracottas and ex-votos of a new type. Such materials have been found not only in areas that appear to have been first inhabited by the Romans, but also in sacred areas that date to the Auruncan period (again, the sanctuary of Marica and at Monte d'Argento). This is a sure indication of the survival of worship at the Auruncan sites into the Roman period, as is to be expected given the proximity of those sanctuaries to Minturnae itself and to important lines of communication on land and water. In sum, the indigenous material culture appears to have completely disappeared with the arrival of the Romans.

This brings us to the question of the survival of the Aurunci as an ethnic group: does the absence of evidence of a distinguishable Auruncan culture indicate that the local population was really annihilated, as Livy tells us? The available evidences give no clear indication.[127] Archaeological remains cannot reveal for certain whether a population was progressively integrated into a newer dominant culture.[128] It is possible that offerings of a typical Roman type could have been manufactured and used by Romans, as well as by the surviving Auruncan population which may have continued to frequent the old sanctuaries but now offered new types of votives. It is also possible that when the surviving Aurunci came into contact with a much more developed culture, they were quick to set aside their old ways and to adopt new habits.[129] Lastly, we must also wonder whether the Romans, confronted by the need for manpower to undertake the profound transformation of an

[127] The small impasto bowl known as the Garigliano Bowl is not a sure indication of the survival of a portion of the Auruncan people (on which see most recently Harvey 2000). The form of the bowl dates to between 500 and 300 BCE, a chronological range that includes both the Auruncan period and, to a much smaller extent, the Roman period. The coexistence of Auruncan and Roman populations after the establishment of the Roman colony has been posited by other scholars on the basis of a single fortification which was erroneously identified as an Auruncan structure: Salmon 1969: 179, n. 116; Humbert 1978: 189, 210, and 337; and Johnson 1935: 1–2, though he later retracted this opinion in Johnson 1954.

[128] It is possible that the populations of the new Roman colonies in the Aurucan region (Suessa Aurunca, Minturnae, and Sinuessa) overwhelmed the Aurunci who managed to survive Roman entry into the area. See Coarelli 1993: 24–5.

[129] On the relatively primitive state of Auruncan culture prior to the Roman conquest and the impact of an influx of new colonists, not just at Minturnae but at two other sites as well, see above pp. 91–4.

area so greatly underdeveloped (we recall Livy's description of this area as *infesta regio* [Livy x.21.8]), would have been more inclined to make use of the indigenous people.[130]

In light of the evidence currently available to us, it appears that the native culture of Minturnae disappeared wih the Roman conquest. Of course, it cannot be excluded that some aspects of Auruncan culture did survive, and that future research will bring them to light.

[130] As has been pointed out maritime colonies often take on agricultural roles (cf. Muzzioli 2001). The complete annihilation of the Aurunci has been doubted, most recently by Coarelli 1993: 24–5 and Harvey 2000: 174. The status and survival of conquered peoples in the Republican period has been much debated (see e.g. Cassola 1988). Such discussion is considerably complicated by the paucity of contemporary evidence (Thompson 2003: 74–8).

CHAPTER 5

Religion and memory at Pisaurum

Paul B. Harvey Jr

VISITING AN ANCIENT ITALIAN COMMUNITY

We travel north from Rome, about the year 250 CE, on the Via Flaminia. We cross the Apennines and, as we descend to the coast, we pass through the northern reaches of the agricultural plain of the *ager Gallicus*. Our knowledge of the Roman past reminds us that we journey through territory once the site of bloody encounters between Roman troops and Celtic invaders allied with Italic folk.[1] Nearby flows the stream of the Metaurus, where Roman armies once destroyed a relief force sent to aid Hannibal.[2] We reach the Adriatic coast at Fanum Fortunae; there the great highway follows the coastline to the north-west. A trek of 32 Roman miles (c. 48 km) takes us over a range of hills to traverse a small plain where the River Pisaurus runs into the sea. On the right bank of the river is a modest town: Colonia Iulia Felix Pisaurum (modern Pesaro), prosperous from its fishing, shipping, textile, and ship-building trades, but little renowned. We may remember that Pisaurum received passing mention by the poet Catullus (81.3)[3] and that the town played a minor role in Julius Caesar's invasion of Italy in January of 49 (Caes. *B Civ*. I.11–12; Cic. *Fam*. XVI.12.2).[4] We may recollect that Pisaurum was settled anew after the battle of Philippi by the veterans of M. Antonius and perhaps also, somewhat later, by Augustus' military men.[5] Our literary sources, however, have scarcely noticed the town for

[1] The battle of Sentinum, 295 BCE: *MRR* I.177; see especially Beloch 1926: 433; De Sanctis 1907–79: I.336–41; Cornell 1995: 362.

[2] The battle of the Metaurus, in 207 BCE, against Hasdrubal: Polybius XI.1–3; Livy XXVII.43–51. See also *MRR* I.294, s.a. 207.

[3] Catull. 81.3: *moribunda ab sede Pisauri* – on which description there has been much discussion; see, in brief, Trevisiol 1999: 39.

[4] 121 in Shackleton Bailey's edition, with the note at II.484.

[5] Plut. *Ant*. 60.2 identifies Pisaurum explicitly as an Antonine military colony of the era of Philippi. For the probability that the Antonine colony was supplemented with Augustan veterans, see Gabba 1973: 469–71; Keppie 1983: 185–6. Pisaurum retained its triumviral/Augustan title of Colonia Iulia Felix Pisaurum until at least 256 CE: *CIL* XI.6335 = *ILS* 7218; see also XI.6377.

over 200 years, save for the occasional notice in geographical lists (Plin. *HN* III.14.113; Pompon. II.64).[6]

We enter the town and readily find our way to the Forum, for the town has been laid out in the grid pattern typical of Roman urban foundations throughout the Mediterranean world and beyond.[7] We walk along the *cardo* no more than two blocks to enter the Forum at the intersection with the *decumanus*. Little we see surprises us. We observe evidence of a typical Roman local government with annual magistracies (e.g. *CIL* XI.6344, 6354, 6362, 6364, 6369–70, 6372–3, 6375, 6377; Trevisiol 1999: no. 62),[8] proud masters of urban neighborhoods (*magistri vici*: *CIL* XI.6359, 6364, 6367), and an assertive *plebs urbana* (6354, 6356, 6376–7); we pass by those architectural hallmarks of a Roman town – amphitheater (6377), theater (6357), baths (6360; see also Cic. *Phil.* XIII.26). Many an inscription attests the social activities, constructions, and dedications of a range of *collegia* (e.g. 6362), one of which advertises its meetings at the *schola Minervae Augustae* (6335 = *ILS* 7218). Prominent statues and dedications testify to a local family who made good: the Aufidii Victorini, boasting two generations of consulships and imperial service in the last century (*ILS* 1129; *CIL* XI.6335 = *ILS* 7218 = Trevisiol 1999: no. 28).[9] All that we see, then, suggests a typical Roman town in Italy. Pisaurum seems to be flourishing and populous. We cannot easily, much less accurately, conduct a census, of course, but our impression is of a civic populace numbering somewhere in excess of 12,000.[10]

The religious concerns of the town are recorded and advertised in dedications to deities familiar to us: Jupiter Optimus Maximus (6311–12), Bona Dea (6304–5), Fortuna (6307). We are impressed at the *templum* constructed and dedicated to Priapus by the slave Faustus (6314 = *ILS* 3581). A dedication to Liber Pater associated with the rustic deity Silvanus (6317; cf. 6313, 6315–16) reminds us of similar dedications at Rome to these two deities associated with the grape and its vintage (*CIL* VI.707 = *ILS* 4399).[11] We

[6] Additional texts and brief commentary in I. Zicàri, *RE Supplm.* II (1968): 1092–98, s.v. "Pisaurum," and Trevisiol 1999: 39–54.

[7] There are several good descriptions of the ancient topography, and reliable sketches of Pisaurum in the Roman imperial era: I. Zicàri, *RE Supplm.* II (1968): 1093–4, s.v. "Pisaurum," including a good town plan; Gaggiotti et al. 1993: 196–200, for clear description of the ancient remains and the museum resources; Richardson 1976: 714, s.v. "Pisaurum," for an accurate, succinct sketch.

[8] I cite the epigraphic evidence by reference to the catalogue number in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Unless otherwise indicated, references are to E. Bormann, *CIL* XI.2 (1901), with, as appropriate, citation also of texts in Dessau's *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (*ILS*) and Trevisiol's useful collection of sources (1999). I also refer occasionally to the epigraphic compilation of G. Cresci Marrone and G. Mennella, *Pisaurum I. Le iscrizioni della colonia* (1984).

[9] Birley (1972) 1988: 43 and 140. See also below on the family of C. Aufidius Victorinus, cos. II 183 (*PIR*^{2} A 1393).

[10] See Duncan-Jones 1982: 268–74, for some rational, cautious population estimates.

[11] See Palmer 1978: 224 and 244 on *CIL* VI.294 = 3464.

recognize the influence of the imperial cult in the activities of *VIviri Augustales* (e.g. 6306, 6358, 6379), in dedications to Diva Faustina (6323: probably Faustina minor, wife of Marcus Aurelius; cf. 6322), to the Dei Augusti (6306), and to Septimius Severus' wife, Iulia Augusta Mater Castrorum (6324).

One dedication on stone, however, surprises us. A religious association at Pisaurum recorded on inexpensive material poorly incised its membership and its patrons' euergetism (6310 = *ILS* 3082: text at end of this chapter). Semantics, orthography, and onomastics date this inscription to the second half of the second century CE, when the patrons Marcus Fremedius Severus and Blassia Vera donated wine, bread, and two denarii (presumably to each member of the association), while another patron, Publius Seneka Cornelius, provided land. The dedication records more than thirty-eight members, all (it seems) free born, at least three of them women; this association styles itself the "worshippers of Jupiter of Latium" (*cultores Iovis Latii*). This deity is unfamiliar to us. Who is he? Why does this Jupiter enjoy the attention of a private association of *cultores* and not, as a civic deity, honor by the population as a whole?

Further investigation into the religious traditions at Pisaurum would reveal another curiosity. If we walked a mile south outside of town, we could enter a sacred area[12] where we would find a collection of unusual dedications: small truncated pyramids inscribed in an archaic script we could only with difficulty, if at all, understand. The little pyramids appear to be of great antiquity and seem to record dedications to deities familiar and unknown.

I seek here to account for the worship of Jupiter Latius at Pisaurum in the second century CE with reference to these archaic dedications from a sacred area outside this Roman colony. The inquiry will lead us back to the early stages of Roman occupation of the *ager Gallicus*, offer evidence for Roman policies of colonization in the early second century BCE, and inform us as to how the memory of the religious environment of that distant era was recalled in the mid-second century CE.

THE ANCIENT DEITIES

I begin with a description and consideration of the archaic dedications (see the texts in the Appendix, below).

Annibale degli Abbati Olivieri-Giordani, a learned local worthy of Pesaro, discovered in the years 1733 through 1737 in an overgrown field

[12] The sacred area concerned continued to be used for centuries, to judge from other material evidence from the site: Di Luca 1995: 71–84.

on his property located about mile outside the modern Italian municipality of Pesaro, a set of inscriptions he recognized as dedications to deities known and otherwise, inscribed in an ancient script. Was it Latin or Pelasgian? As befitted a local (and wealthy) exponent of the Enlightenment, Olivieri composed a treatise (circulated among his acquaintances) in which he described his find and argued for an ancient sacred grove on his property. In 1737, Olivieri published (at his own expense) a comprehensive description of all local ancient stones known to him, a volume in which his own discoveries were prominently noted (*Marmora Pisaurensia* 1737). Olivieri sought to bring his discoveries to the attention of more prominent men of letters. Scipione Maffei thus journeyed to Pesaro between 1737 and 1739, but found no time to look at these curious texts. But Ludovico Muratori did recognize the significance of Olivieri's find and included Olivieri's readings in the fourth volume of his *Thesaurus* of old inscriptions, published at Milan in 1742; from time to time other Italian editors of antiquarian artefacts took notice. One editor, Lanzi, despaired of the archaic orthography of these dedications and pronounced them "Umbrian/Etruscan" – not as uninformed a judgment as now appears, for Lanzi knew of an important and extant Latin/Etruscan bi-lingual text from Pesaro (*CIL* XI.6363 = *ILS* 4958 = *CIL* I².2127 = *ILLRP* 791 = *TLE* 697). Meanwhile, in 1783, in the same locale (it seems), one more stone (*CIL* I².381 = *ILLRP* 26: see the catalogue below: dedication to *LEBRO* = Liber), similar in shape and format to the others, was discovered.[13]

Modern scholarship – after Mommsen's publication of the stones in the first edition of *CIL* I (1863) and Bormann's subsequent publication in *CIL* XI.2 (1901) – has not ignored these dedications. They have received expert notice, brief commentary, and fine documentary reproduction by Attilio Degrassi in *ILLRP*, in *CIL Imagines*, and in the supplementary volume to *CIL* I².[14] Several students of ancient Italy have discussed these dedications as a group:[15] they have attracted attention primarily, however, for specific divinities, particular dedicatory formulae, and curious linguistic features.[16] What might these dedications say to us of the early history of a Roman colony?

[13] Franchi 1965 offers a review of the discovery of these stones; see also Peruzzi 1990: 25; Agnati 1999: 202–9 and 249; and Bormann's introduction to the inscriptions of Pisaurum in *CIL* XI, pp. 939–40.

[14] *ILLRP* 1.46–51 (nos. 13–26); *CIL Imagines* 7–20; *CIL* I².3878–9 (nos. 368–81).

[15] Recent discussions of the *cippi* as a group include Wachter 1987: 432–7; Peruzzi 1990: 28–133; Coarelli 2000.

[16] The older bibliography on these gods is listed in Trevisiol 1999: 94–101; see also Wachter 1987: 432–7; Peruzzi 1990: 41–133.

Firstly, a few technical observations: this set of texts is unusual in that all were inscribed on nearly identical truncated pyramids (*cippi*) of local, hard sandstone not in every instance well cut and polished: nos. 380 and 381 are of a different local, but softer, sandstone; 381 also stands apart as having a square, rather than a conical, base; the lettering of all the texts is deeply incised, consistent, and demonstrates little attention to fitting text to stone. The style of lettering strongly suggests, as Degrassi and others have noted, that all but one were inscribed by the same hand (which circumstance may, but need not, presume dedication at the same moment). One *cippus* exhibits a double dedication: in 379, *matrona*(*e*) dedicated to Mater Matuta; on the same stone so also did *Curia* and a *Pola Livia* dedicate – presumably at a later date because those latter names are spelled in classical, rather than the expected, archaic style.[17] The grammar and orthography of these archaic (third or early second centuries BCE) dedications are curious. Historical linguists, historians, and epigraphers (notably Rudolfo Lazzeroni, Emilio Peruzzi, Annalisa De Bellis Franchi, Rudolf Wachter, Aldo Prosdocimi, and Filippo Coarelli) have drawn attention to the following phenomena:

Numbers 371, 374, 377, and 379: exhibit a dative in *–ā* of the first declension. That form appears twice in texts from Rome (e.g. *Menerva*: *ILLRP* 235), but is well attested in Latium, in Faliscan territory, and in Latin texts from Campania. On the other hand, we have in 376 a first declension dative in *–ē*: rare in archaic Latin, but attested at Tusculum (*Fortune*: *ILLRP* 100) and among the Marsic people.

Note the orthography of the third declension dative singulars in *Apolonei* (368), *Iunone* (370 and 378), *Fide* (369), and *Salute* (373). These variant forms illustrate a known development in the third declension dative singular: the chronological evolution of *ei* to *ē* to the familiar classical *i*. It is curious to find these different chronological forms in a set of texts presumably dedicated at the same time. Yet different declensional forms appearing synchronically are not without parallel: from Lanuvium, we have the archaic dedication to *Iunone Seispitei Matri Regine*, illustrating in one text all three stages of this orthographic development (*ILLRP* 170 = *CIL* 1^2.1430).[18]

We may also notice the *dedro* and *dedrot* of 378 and 379: two different orthographies, it seems, for *dederont* (*dederunt*). Do those variants reflect

[17] That is: Livia rather than Leivia: *ILLRP* 413 = *CIL* 1^2.1258; *ILLRP* 962 = 1^2.2650; Curia rather than Couria: *ILLRP* 1265 = 1^2.1265.

[18] Juno Sospes Mater Regina at Lanuvium is treated elsewhere in this volume by Schultz, who, in my opinion, has significantly revised the discussion in De Sanctis 1907–79: IV.2.137–41.

a stone-cutter's carelessness or two different traditions? The omission of final *-t* appears also in the *da*(*t*) of 376, the *dede*(*t*) of 377 and 380, and the *deda*(*nt*?) of 379. The omission of final *-t* and variants in the orthography of the third-person plural can be paralleled in a range of other archaic texts from Latium and from Rome dating to the same historical horizon (c. 250–150 BCE).[19]

In 375, 377, 378, and 379, final *-s* and *-m* are omitted: the omission of terminal *-s* after a long vowel (as Sommer and Vetter long-since noted) is common in archaic Latin texts outside Rome, but rare, if at all present, at Rome.[20]

The dedication to Salus (*SALUTE*) is particularly curious: an archaic dative singular in *-ē* (as noted above), but the *-L* in *SALUTE* has a right angle far more modern than the letter L appearing on the other Pisauran texts, where L has the horizontal bar at a 45 degree angle.[21] Elsewhere in Latium, we may note, those dedicating to this same abstract divinity were unsure of appropriate orthography.[22]

How are we to explain these (and many other) curiosities? Peruzzi has suggested a Latin–Roman stratum influenced by Marsic and Sabine folk. De Bellis Franchi more or less threw up her hands. Coarelli, evoking and redefining Mommsen's observations,[23] has proposed a "plebeian pantheon" reflecting a group of third-century settlers. Lazzaroni and Peruzzi thought all of this suggested predominantly Latin and Sabine elements[24] in the colony's population. I think that Lazzaroni and Peruzzi were, with perhaps some qualification, correct.[25]

Conventionally, these dedications have been described as the gods of a *lucus*, a sacred grove, though we do not know if there was a sacred grove where these *cippi* were found. We also do not know why this particular place of dedication was holy. Some have thought of a locale sacred to a specific

[19] On these archaic perfect active verbal terminations, see Wachter 1987: 430–1; Baldi 1999: 173. Other archaic Latin inscriptions illustrating these verbal terminations (or lack thereof) include *ILLRP* 303, from the Fucine lake (= *CIL Imagines* 123): *fecront*; cf. *ILLRP* 593, from Picenum (= *CIL* I².383): *dederont*; *ILLRP* 123, from Rome (= *CIL* I².30 = *CIL Imagines* 63): *dedron*; *ILLRP* 129, from the lacus Albanus (= *CIL* I².2659 = *CIL Imagines* 66): *dedero*; *ILLRP add.* 409–11 no. 144, from Trebiae, near Pisaurum: *dedre* (= *dederunt*). Note especially an early (third-century at latest) dedication painted on a vernice nera vase found in a votive deposit at Satricum: *d]oron didot [- - -] matr[i] ma[tutai]*: Lucchesi and Magni 2002: 36.

[20] Wachter 1987: 434; see also Lazzeroni 1962.

[21] Coarelli 2000: 197 drew attention to this seeming anomaly.

[22] *ILLRP* 132 (= *CIL* I².62 = *CIL Imagines* 70): . . . *ara Salutus* (= *ara Salutis*).

[23] Coarelli 2000: 195; Mommsen, *CIL* I.32; summarized by Ernst Lommatzsch in *CIL* I², p. 406.

[24] For a survey of terminology and topography concerning Latium and the Latin settlements in the region, see now the well documented discussion with excellent maps in Solin 1996: 1–22.

[25] Lazzaroni 1962: 106–22; Peruzzi 1962: 138–9 and 1990: 48, 126; Franchi 1967; Cresci Marrone and Mennella 1984: 89–150, nos. 1–4; Coarelli 2000: 202.

deity: Juno Quiritis, Fortuna, or Mater Matuta.[26] But we know not. We may observe, however, that diverse deities having no obvious connection inhabited places elsewhere in Italy.[27] We may observe as well that the deities of Pisaurum are not indigenous to the area, but rather Latin–Roman deities attested well in western central Italy.

These deities are a curious lot. Some are known well from Rome, others are attested in the archaic era at Rome and in the towns of Latium, while a few are known solely from non-Roman contexts. For example: tradition dated Apollo's worship at Rome to the late fifth century BCE; he is also well represented in inscriptions from central Italy,[28] at Veii, for example (*CIL* I².2628 = *ILLRP* 27). Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* II.75.3, cf. V.68.4) and Plutarch (*Numa* 16.1) traced to king Numa the worship of Fides, on the Capitoline, but that divine abstraction is not firmly attested at Rome until the mid-third century BCE. Nonetheless, Otto and Latte seem, on present evidence, to have been correct in viewing Fides as a typical Roman object of devotion, although the abstraction also received dedication (in the later second century BCE) at Capua and on Delos.[29] Mater Matuta was well known at Rome, especially at the archaic double sanctuary near the Forum Boarium, where she was worshipped alongside Fortuna. Mater Matuta was, however, primarily a deity of Latium, especially of Satricum.[30] Juno Lucina had a grove, to be sure, on the Esquiline; she is also firmly associated with cities in old Latium, especially Norba and perhaps Tusculum.[31] The goddess Marica was associated in everyone's mind with Minturnae in southern Latium (*ILLRP* 216) – everyone, that is, but

[26] Prosdocimi 1996: 244–5; Coarelli 2000: 202–4. Peruzzi 1990 offers a detailed discussion of all of the deities attested on these *cippi*, from a viewpoint different from that adopted here.

[27] Compare the six altars, with five dedications to different deities, from Veii. These are dated to a chronological horizon of c. 250–150 BCE (perhaps earlier than later): *ILLRP* 27 = *CIL* I².2628–32 = *CIL* I², 3.1067 (but we do not know that these altars were originally in one place). See also Palmer 1974: 79–172: a widely ranging discussion of various deities receiving dedication in and around ancient Lavinium.

[28] De Sanctis 1907–79: IV.2.184–91; as De Sanctis observed, the cult of Apollo was diffused early and widely in Latium; see, for example, *ILLRP* 27 (and n. 27, above), 46–51.

[29] W. Otto, *RE* 6 (1909): 2281–86; Latte 1960: 237. *Magistri* dedicated, at Capua, in 110 BCE, to Spes, Fides, Fortuna: *CIL* I².674 = *ILLRP* 707 = *ILS* 3770. Roman/Italian businessmen on Delos dedicated to *pistis*: *I. Délos* 1761.

[30] For the older literature, see Wissowa 1912: 110; De Sanctis 1907–79: IV.2.230–2; Latte 1960: 97; for the Temple of Mater Matuta at San Omobono, see Coarelli 1984: 9–63, esp. 22–3; Richardson 1992: 246, s.v. "Mater Matuta, aedes"; see also Muccigrosso's chapter in this volume.

[31] Juno Lucina at Rome: precinct on the Cispian (Esquiline): Richardson 1992: 214–15, s.v. "Iuno Lucina, aedes"; see esp. *CIL* I².361 = *ILLRP* 161 (if from Rome); *CIL* VI.358 = *ILLRP* 160; De Sanctis 1907–79: IV.2.137–9; see also Muccigrosso's contribution to this volume on the temporal and political context of the construction of this temple.

Lucina's worship elsewhere prompts some comment. She was the object of dedication and the resident (probably) of a temple at Norba: *CIL* I².359–60 = *ILLRP* 162–3 = *CIL Imagines* 80–1. Another dedication, from the nearby Pomptine marshes, may be associated with her veneration at

Virgil (*Aen*. VII.47), who moved her to Lavinium.[32] The Nine Divinities (or Fates) appear in various places, notably at Pometia and Ardea, in northern Latium.[33] Diana is surely not the Aventine divinity, but rather she who was revered in Italic towns and sanctuaries from Umbria south to northern Campania.[34] Diana was worshipped at a grove near Tusculum[35] and Diana of Aricia was especially venerated at Nemi, from whence come a range of dedications to Diana Nemorensis (*ILLRP* 74–85), including one *pro populo Arimenesi*: that is, on behalf of the people of the Latin colony founded in 268, at Ariminum, to the north of Pisaurum (*CIL* I².40 = *ILLRP* 77).[36] The Lebro of 381 is perhaps Libero, as in Pater Liber – or maybe Jupiter Libertas or Jupiter Liber as attested in archaic Latin dedications from Veii (*ILLRP* 29) and the Sabine country (*ILLRP* 193).[37] Feronia (377) is well attested among the Marrucini south and west to the environs of Rome.[38]

We therefore have here no pantheon we can with certainty associate with Rome or any other particular urban locale. We have a range of deities attested among the Latin-speaking folk of central Italy. And again, the letter forms on these inscriptions suggest, as many have urged, that we should assume that this veritable pantheon of divinities in the territory of ancient Pisaurum dates from the late third century to the first half of the second century BCE: in the era, that is, of the settlement of this area of the *ager Gallicus* and the eventual foundation of a colony of Roman citizens at Pisaurum in 184 BCE. Onomastic inquiry leads to the same conclusion. Some of the *nomina gentilicia* appearing on the *cippi* are attested in the

Norba: *CIL* I².362 = *ILLRP* 164. Modern scholarship is not notably enlightening on her precinct there. See, however, Castagnoli 1971: 96 and his just observation on Philipp, *RE* XVII.925, s.v. "Norba"; also the helpful survey in Coarelli 1982: 265–70. Juno Lucina may well also have been worshipped at Tusculum: note *CIL* I².1581 = *ILLRP* 165 = *CIL Imagines* 82: *Iunone/Loucina/Tusculana/sacra* (found in the *ager Campanus*). See also Wissowa 1912: 183–5; Latte 1960: 105.

[32] On Marica, see Harvey 2000 with Livi's discussion in the present volume.

[33] Wissowa 1912: 18 and 43; Weinstock, *RE* XVII.1185–9, s.v. "Novensides di"; De Sanctis 1907–79: IV.2.276–7; Palmer 1974a: 110–14; Cresci Marrone and Mennella 1984: 119–20.

[34] See especially Wissowa 1912: 247–51 and De Sanctis 1907–79: IV.2.158–62 – both stressing the antiquity and frequency of worship of Diana in Italic communities; Alföldi 1965: 48–56; Beloch 1926: 192–3. Varro's report (*Ling*. V.43) that on the Aventine was established a *commune Latinorum . . . Dianae templum* surely reflects an ancient Roman attempt to claim for Aventine Diana the power and significance of Latin Diana of Aricia; see, in brief, J. Scheid, *OCD*³ 463, s.v. "Diana."

[35] A slave dedicated in the Republican era to Diana at Tusculum: M. G. Granino Cecere, in *ILLRP* add. 361–2, no. 101; *CIL* XIV.2633 (= *ILS* 7317a): *cultores Dianenses* (imperial era); the grove at Tusculum is described at Plin. *HN* XVI.44.242.

[36] On epigraphic dedications to Diana at Nemi, see also *CIL* I².3, p. 866.

[37] See De Sanctis 1907–79: IV.2.199–200; *ILLRP* 27, 190 and 193 with Degrassi's notes.

[38] Wissowa 1912: 285–7; Latte 1960: 189–90; J. Scheid, *OCD*³ 592, s.v. "Feronia"; *ILLRP* 90–3b; *ILLRP* 93 = *CIL* I².1848, from Amiternum (?), exhibits the same orthography as the Pisauran dedication: Feronia (with a dative in *-ā*); *ILLRP* 486 = *CIL* I².1847 confirms a *delubrum Feroniae* at Amiternum.

Republican era at Rome, others in Latin communities and the regions adjoining Latium.

The Atilii (compare the *Atilia* of 376) emerge at Rome in the late fourth century BCE and are represented at Rome and elsewhere in the late Republican era,[39] but the origins of the family are obscure. Schulze thought of south Etruria (note the Atilii of Perusia, but not attested until the triumviral era: *ILLRP* 638 = *CIL* XI.1934).[40] The nomen is also attested in the territory of Aufidena *(ILLRP* 552 = *CIL* I².1759), as well as at Cales (*ILLRP* 1207–8 = *CIL* I².405 and 405h = *CIL* I².3, pp. 884–5) and at Capua (*ILLRP* 723a = *CIL* I².688). Münzer therefore suggested for the Atilii a Campanian origin; Beloch and Taylor doubted.[41] Perhaps we can at most presume that the *nomen Atilium* is attested in archaic and late Republican contexts in central Italy from southern Etruria, the Apennine highlands, in Latium (including Rome), and northern Campania.

The *nomen* Curius (379: *Curia*) is represented at Rome by the Samnite war hero and *ter consul* Manius Curius Dentatus (see *MRR* II.558) and by an architectural fragment from the Regia in the Roman Forum inscribed *A.* or *M. Couri*(*us*) (*ILLRP* 1265 = *CIL* I².1008). This family name is otherwise rare in archaic Latium and at Rome, although a M. Curius is recorded as municipal magistrate in the later Republican era at Cereatae (Casamari) in the hills of the Hernici (*ILLRP* 466 = *CIL* I².2537 = *CIL Imagines* 198). The Curii may well be, as the scholiast of Bobbio asserted, of Sabine origin, possibly from Nomentum (*Schol. Bob. ad* Cic. *Sull.* 23 = 80 ed. Stangl).[42]

In some of the more elegant and informative pages of his *Römische Adelsparteien und Familien*, Friedrich Münzer sketched the history of the Livii (379: *Pola Livia*) as a notable example of the Roman plebeian nobility. He seems to have been correct. The only other Livius firmly attested outside Rome in the Republican era is a magistrate dedicating to Diana at Nemi and that praetor may have been a local magistrate (of Atina) or a Roman officer.[43]

[39] M. Atilius Regulus, consul in 335: *MRR* I.139, s.a.; *Q. Ateilius Serrani l(ibertus) Euhodus, margaritarius de Sacra Via: ILLRP* 797 = *CIL* I².1212; compare the brothers Atilies Saranes: *ILLRP* 1064 = *CIL* I².23 = *CIL* I².3, p. 86, with De Sanctis 1907–79: III.1, 133 n. 95.

[40] Schulze (1904) 1966: 151 and 440.

[41] Münzer 1920: 56–9 = 1999: 57–9; Beloch 1926: 338–9; Taylor 1960: 194–5; see also Wiseman 1971: 186.

[42] So also Taylor 1960: 209; Peruzzi 1990: 56, although I do not know that this evidence indicates, as Peruzzi claims, a lineal descendant at Pisaurum of Manius Curius Dentatus.

[43] Münzer 1920: 225–35 = 1999: 205–15; see also Suet. *Tib.* 3.1–2; Schulze (1904) 1966: 178 on the orthography and distribution (west central Italy) of the nomen. *M. Livio(s) M.f. praitor*, who dedicated at Nemi: *ILLRP* 76 = *CIL* I².41.

The *Popaios* of 375 may be compared with a Tiberius Poppaius, a merchant who dedicated to the river god of Aquileia[44] and with the brothers Quintus and Gaius Poppaeius, honored as patrons of the town of Interamna Praetuttiorum (*ILLRP* 617–18 = *CIL* I².1903a–04 = *CIL* I². 3, p. 1051). Elsewhere this *nomen* appears in various orthographies and derivative forms in eastern Etruria and the hill-towns of central Italy.[45]

The *Tetios* of 377 surely did not come from Rome. This *nomen* is attested early at Corfinium (*ILLRP* 94 = *CIL* I².1792), while a Tetteius appears among the contractors for public works, in 105 BCE, at the Roman colony of Puteoli (*ILLRP* 518 = *CIL* I².698). A similar *nomen*, Tettienus, is recorded at Alba Fucens (*ILLRP* 227–8 = *CIL* I².1817–18 = *CIL* I².3, p. 1046). A Tettius serving as prefect in north Africa, in 47 BCE, declared his tribe as Velina, suggesting a *patria* of Interamna Praetuttiorum and Picenum (*ILLRP* 394 = *CIL* I².780).[46]

Little can be said of the Nomecia (Nomelia?) of 380. The name is presumably that of the dedicator, not of an otherwise unknown deity. We may note, with Peruzzi, that the family name Numicius is attested in a Roman context for the early third century BCE.[47]

In sum, the family names of those dedicating at Pisaurum point to no one geographic origin. These *nomina* are known elsewhere in the archaic and late Republican eras at locales ranging from south-east Etruria through the Apennine hills into Latium and Campania. As with the divinities appearing on these dedications, those dedicating reflect a population of west central Italy.

LATINS AND ROMANS IN THE *AGER GALLICUS*

Coarelli has drawn attention to archaeological work at Pisaurum demonstrating that the site where Olivieri found the *cippi* was an ancient sacred locus containing votive deposits dating from c. 350 to c. 200 BCE.[48] That fact explains *why* the *cippi* were dedicated where they were. The existence of those votive deposits does not provide any necessary confirmation of the chronological context of the *cippi*. Nonetheless, Coarelli and,

[44] *ILLRP* 262 (= *CIL* I².2195), with Degrassi's note.
[45] Schulze (1904) 1966: 366–7; cf. 17; Schulten 1902–3: 441–6; Wiseman 1971: 254, nos. 340–1.
[46] Schulze (1904) 1966: 242, 425; Taylor 1960: 64 and 275; Wiseman 1971: 265, no. 426.
[47] Peruzzi 1990: 59–62; see Florus 1.13.9: C. Numicius. Compare, for what it is worth, the old Italic (Latin and Umbrian) praenomen Nomesius (Numerius): *CIL* I².2873 = *ILLRP* 1205.
[48] Coarelli 2000: 200, summarizing the findings of M. T. De Luca and discussing the deposits in comparative Italic context.

independently, Prosdocimi[49] have suggested settlers at the later site of Pisaurum, after Manius Curius Dentatus' victory over the Senones in 290 BCE. A Roman colony was indeed placed in Gallic territory to secure the area after Dentatus' campaign, but that colony – Sena Gallica – was located far to the south of the site of Pisaurum and our literary tradition knows nothing of Roman (or other central Italic) folk settling at or near Pisaurum at this early a date.[50]

Other modern commentators[51] have dated the Pisauran *cippi* to the late third century BCE and thereby assumed evidence of Roman and Latin settlers in the *ager Gallicus et Picenus*. Those settlers would presumably then have been among the recipients of land authorized by the tribune Gaius Flaminius' legislation of (probably) 232 BCE, to settle citizens in the *ager Gallicus et Picenus* (the region within which Pisaurum would be located). Flaminius' settlement of *adsignationes viritim*,[52] that is, centuriated land assigned to individuals, but with no urban center, no roads, no (to employ modern parlance) infrastructure, has been roundly criticized by critics ancient and modern.[53] More importantly, there is minimal evidence for the scope and extent of any pre-Hannibalic settlement.

If we associate the Pisauran *cippi* with Flaminius' legislation, we must, I think, assume that the beneficiaries of that legislation included a range of Italians: Romans and Latins. For the deities to whom dedication was made at the grove suggest not solely Romans. Our sources, however, know only of Roman citizens as the recipients of land under Flaminius' legislation. We may also observe that what little evidence we have about Flaminius' land assignments does not even hint at a concentration of settlers in or at the locus of the later colony. Perhaps they were so concentrated; perhaps there was some sort of a modest urban settlement (a forum or *conciliabulum*)[54] at the site of the later colony of Pisaurum. But if so, neither archaeology nor

[49] Prosdocimi 1996: 250.

[50] *MRR* I.183–4 and 188, s.a. 290, 283. The epitomator of Livy placed the foundation of the colony of Sena Gallica c. 289–83 BCE: Livy *Per.* XI. Sena secured a road antedating the later Via Flaminia to the Adriatic coast: Salmon 1969: 62; 1982: 173.

[51] See above, n. 23.

[52] The most precise definition of Flaminius' legislation is given by Cic. *Brut.* 57: *lex de agro Gallico et Piceno viritim dividundo*; see *MRR* I.225, s.a. 232; Beloch 1926: 605; De Sanctis 1907–1979: III.2.296 and 323.

[53] *MRR* I.225, s.a. 232; *MRR* III.91 (Supplement); see Taylor 1960: 64, 68; 1962: 19–27. The lack of infrastructure presumably accounts for the strong senatorial opposition to settling citizens at a distance from Rome without a fortified urban center: Cic. *Brut.* 57; Val. Max. V.4.5; senatorial opposition is alluded to at Livy XXII.63.2.

[54] Thus, Coarelli 2000: 196 and 202, as had Mommsen (see above, n. 23), hypothesized a *conciliabulum* associated with the recipients of Flaminius' legislation.

the historical tradition testifies to any sort of organized community at this time. These collective dedications surely presume an urban and familial context.

That latter point as to the presumption of some sort of urban and familial context for these dedications directs our attention to one particular dedication: in 375 the *matrona*(*e*) *Pisaure*(*n*)*se*(*s*) dedicate to Juno Regina. The term *matronae* implies a coherent, self-aware gender group[55] – not what we would expect of settlers scattered about a territory. These women's identification of themselves as the "Pisauran matrons" surely suggests association with town, not river; elsewhere in Republican Italy, matrons are identified with their *colonia*.[56] We would, I think, have to presume an association with the river if these matrons were dedicating before the foundation of the colony and there is minimal evidence to suggest that the river *per se* received religious attention.[57]

We have, then, no compelling reason to date these dedications (all dedicated at or about the same time) to a period before the foundation of *colonia Pisaurum* in 184 BCE. Several scholars, notably Prosdocimi,[58] have urged that we see in the differing orthography and case endings reflections of pre-colonial and post-colonial dedications. But, as Prosdocimi himself observed, we do not have enough of these dedications to distinguish absolutely between earlier and later dedications. Moreover, even granted the minor distinctions in the inscribing of the *cippi* (and an appreciation that 379 seems to exhibit additions subsequent to the initial dedication), the dedications, in terms of orthography and material, seem to be roughly contemporaneous *and* the product of one stone-cutter's workshop. If we wish to see in these dedications slightly different ages in the forms of Latin words,

[55] Wissowa 1912: 191; Gagé 1963: 100–53.

[56] Compare Lundeen's discussion, in this volume, of the *matronae* of Cosa; note also the female *magistrae* recorded in the Republican-era inscriptions of Minturnae: *CIL* I^2.2685 = *ILLRP* 737; cf. *CIL* I^2.2680 = *ILLRP* 724. Gagé 1963: 202–6 assumed that the Pisauran *matronae* were of the elite orders of the colonists. Peruzzi 1990: 30–1 argued for these *matronae* as women of the colony, not of a *conciliabulum* or other local center antedating 184 BCE.

[57] Coarelli 2000: 204–5 suggested that these matrons may be associated with the gold that tradition reported was paid to the Gauls after the sack of Rome and the foundation of a *collegium matronarum* by Camillus: see Gagé 1963: 154–60, and the folk etymology recorded by Servius, *ad Aen*. VI.825: *nam Pisaurum dicitur, quod illic aurum pensatum est* ([the town] is called Pisaurum, because in that place the gold was weighed out). The tradition Servius drew on appears in mangled form in Isidore, *Origines* XVII.4.10. See De Sanctis 1907–1979: II.163, n. 51, on this etymology; Gagé 1963: 206 offers a detailed examination of this "détestable jeu de mots." Informed readers may judge Coarelli's suggestion in this instance as more clever than convincing.

[58] Notably, Prosdocimi 1996: 252; see also Coarelli 2000: 197. Prosdocimi drew attention especially to archaic *loucina* (rather than *lucina*) of 371, contrasted with the seemingly more recent *donu(m) diane* of 376 (instead of the more archaic *dono* of 378–9).

we may explain that phenomenon in terms not of a pre- and a post-colonial population, but in terms of the individuals making the dedications: some more alert to evolving Latin than those who expressed themselves in more archaic terms. Orthography and letter forms, especially in the archaic Italic era – and even later – can, as dating criteria, provide only general chronological indications, but rarely in and of themselves demonstrate a specific decade.

THE ROMAN COLONY OF 184

Livy (XXXIX.44.10) and Velleius (I.15.2) succinctly provide the evidence for the foundation of the *colonia civium Romanorum* at Pisaurum in 184 BCE: a Roman citizen colony paired with another (Potentia), but not just coastal watch stations in hostile territory, *praesidia imperii* ("bulwarks of empire")[59] – the typical situation of many Roman colonies before 177 BCE. Before that date, *colonia c. R.* were founded with modest male contingents of 300 or a few more and very modest land allotments. Latin colonies, by contrast, enjoyed often generous land allotments and initial populations from 2,500 to 6,000.[60]

Edward Togo Salmon pointed to the unusual (in terms of tradition) character of these foundations of 184. Pisaurum and Potentia, Salmon observed, seem to presage a new style of Roman colony in Italy: these are Roman colonies with substantial territory and more generous land allotments than earlier Roman colonial land allotments; yet these new Roman colonies were located, as had been many a *colonia Romana*, at strategically important locations at or near the coast. Indeed, we may recall that the Latin colonial foundations of Thurii and Vibo in southern Italy suggest a similar convergence of Latin and Roman colonial foundations: Thurii and Vibo were established as Latin coastal colonies with, for Latin colonies, fairly small (15–30 iugera) allotments, but with substantial colonial populations (4,000: Livy XXXIV.53.2, XXXV.40.3).

Velleius and Livy do not indicate the size of the initial settlement at Pisaurum, but to judge from the territory assigned and the evidence of the circuit of the partially surviving second-century walls,[61] the initial population may have been c. 2,000 men with, of course, such families as they had. Some indication of the substantial extent of the new colony's

[59] To employ Cicero's terminology: e.g. *Div. Caec.* 13; *Font.* 44; *Att.* IX.3.1.
[60] In brief: Brunt 1971: 259.
[61] On this topic, I. Zicàri *RE Supplm.* II (1968)): 1092–98, s.v. "Pisaurum," is a reliable guide.

territory and its archaic boundary stones is provided by a notice in the agrimensorial *Liber coloniarum* (257 Lachmann), which seems to refer to the original foundation. Other agrimensorial notices, by Siculus Flaccus (122 Thulin/157 Lachmann) and the commentator on Frontinus (64Th/17La; cf. Hyginus 83Th/120La), appear to refer (despite Bormann's assertions) to the triumviral veteran settlement at Pisaurum of 41 BCE,[62] authorized by Marcus Antonius after Philippi, when the colony was renamed *colonia Iulia Felix Pisaurum* (*CIL* XI.6335 and 6377; Plut. *Ant.* 60.2). In any event, a reasonable estimate of c. 2,000 for the initial settlement at Pisaurum in 184 may be compared with the literary tradition of the foundation of Bononia in 191, a Latin colony with an initial settlement of 3,000 men. Salmon's observations (which I have here elaborated and extended) and his suggestion that Pisaurum and Potentia are examples of a new type of *colonia Romana* seem plausible, especially when we look at another *colonia Romana* founded in 177: Luna, with a similar initial population and a nearly identical per capita land allotment of 6½ iugera (at Pisaurum the allotment was six per capita).[63]

Salmon also observed that what our sources report of manpower concerns for Rome and the *ager Romanus* in the decades after the Hannibalic War urges consideration that recruitment for settlers at Pisaurum (and Potentia) surely included not just Roman citizens. As Velleius appositely wrote, in the years following Hannibal's defeat, the Romans needed soldiers, and Roman manpower required conservation, not dispersal (Vell. Pat. 1.15.1). There is some evidence, and there are strong arguments,[64] for assuming that many Latin colonies founded by Rome in the third and second centuries BCE included a substantial population (perhaps 50 percent?) of Roman citizens. Down to c. 173, Latin citizens appear to have enjoyed a certain degree of mobility within Roman territory; after 173, with Roman magisterial actions of 177 and 173 against Latins, the climate appears to have changed.[65]

The 170s are precisely the chronological point at which the annalistic tradition indicates the Roman oligarchy's renewed or revised attention to the economic and social viability of *coloniae civium Romanorum*. During an active censorship in 174 BCE, Q. Fulvius Flaccus (cos. 179) authorized building contracts to provide amenities for those dwelling in the *ager Romanus* and in Roman (as opposed to Latin) colonies. Among much else, Fulvius Flaccus authorized the construction of a temple and the paving of

[62] These agrimensorial texts are translated in Campbell 2000: 199, 125, 67, cf. 87.
[63] Brunt 1971: 193; 6½ iugera is Tibiletti's rational correction of an irrational manuscript number.
[64] See especially Brunt 1971: 72 and 84.
[65] Broughton, *MRR* 1.399, 409–10, s.aa. 177, 173; Brunt 1971: 72 and 85.

a highway at Pisaurum to, we are assured by the Livian record, the great gratitude of the local citizenry.[66]

These activities contributed to the slow, gradual Romanization of rural Italy. Those activities also reflect a Roman senatorial shift in emphasis from small colonies of Roman citizens aimed at safeguarding locales, while Latin colonies constituted the major new urban foundations, to a tacit definition of the *coloniae civium Romanorum* as the preferred outlying urban foundation with, as at Pisaurum, appreciably larger land allotments (a practice attested as well in 173 BCE).[67] Furthermore, as Torelli and Gabba have cogently argued,[68] senatorial concern for the urban fabric of Roman Italy might express itself in the urban enhancement of these foundations.

There is, then, no reason to doubt that foundations in 184 would have included not just Roman citizens, but also those of the *nomen Latinum* who could be enticed to settle on the distant Adriatic coast, for, presumably, economic considerations, rather than the not obviously attractive benefits of full Roman citizenship. We have some anecdotal evidence of non-Roman enrollment among the colonists at Pisaurum: Quintus Ennius became a *civis Romanus* because one of the Roman magistrates who founded the colony enrolled this poet among the colonists and donated to him Roman citizenship (Cic. *Brut.* 79).[69] Thus would Ennius boast: "We are Romans, we who before were Rudini [of Calabria]."[70]

Tradition[71] also asserted that the second-century BCE tragedian L. Accius was given similar privileges. Jerome, who reports that information in his addenda to Eusebius' *Chronicon*, inadvertently reveals what is surely correct: Accius was born of freedman stock and possessed an estate at Pisaurum. That is, Accius, who lived to an age when Cicero could hear him *viva voce*, as we learn from Cicero's *Brutus* (107; Eusebius-Jerome *Chronicon*, s.a. 139 BCE = ed. Helm 144–5), appears to have been the scion of a central

[66] Censorship: *MRR* 1.404, s.a. 174; Livy XLI.27.11–12. The text of Livy at this point is corrupt and lacunose, but unambiguous as to the points made here.

[67] Brunt 1988: 113 on Livy XLII.4.3–4: viritane assignments differentiating between Romans and Latins; see also *MRR* 1.409–10.

[68] Torelli 1995: 195–6; Gabba 1994b: 106.

[69] Cicero (*Brut.* 79) is explicit: "he [Q. Fulvius Nobilior M.f., cos. 153] also, when as IIIvir he founded the colony, bestowed upon Ennius, who had fought with his father [M. Fulvius Nobilior, cos. 189] in Aetolia, citizenship." Cicero is also mistaken: as Badian 1971: 183–5 and Sumner 1973: 40 have argued, the consul of 153 would have been far too young (perhaps only thirteen years of age) to serve in any magisterial capacity in 184. Sumner was surely correct in assuming that the Fulvius concerned was a kinsman, perhaps a Q. Fulvius Flaccus. See also *MRR* III.95 and n. 66 above.

[70] Ennius, *Annales* ed. Vahlen 377 = ed. Skutsch 525: *Nos sumus Romani, qui fuimus ante Rudini*. See also Brunt 1971: 40, 72, and 84. On these donations of citizenship to the friends and clients of colonial founders, Taylor 1960: 19–20 remains informative and fundamental.

[71] Suet. *Poet.* 8 = Rostagni 1944: 48–50; see also Trevisiol 1999: 48.

Italic or Roman freedman family recruited, with the carrot of full Roman citizenship and some land, to join the founding families of Pisaurum.[72]

LATIN DIVINITIES AND THE "WORSHIPPERS OF JUPITER LATIUS"

These considerations may enable us to comprehend better the pantheon of deities to whom dedication was made at Pisaurum. We appear to have a spectrum reflecting the Roman known and the Latin little-known; we have familiar divine abstractions and definitely less-prominent deities. Therein, I suggest, an explanation: these are the deities important to the folk of central Italy, not just of Rome and its vicinity, who settled at Pisaurum.

If we accept the possibility that this unusual pantheon reflects the Latin/Italic and Roman constituency of the early generations of settlers, we may therefore understand better the unusual dedication to Jupiter Latius mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Many of the deities represented on the *cippi* disappear at Pisaurum, especially those less prominent. Deities receiving dedications later in the colony's history are, if not necessarily predictable, certainly not surprising: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Bona Dea, Minerva, Fortuna, as well as a range of dedications associated with deified and divine emperors and their wives; Liber Pater flourishes, now associated with Silvanus.

What little attention has been devoted to the second-century CE inscription of the *cultores Iovis Latii*[73] suggested some correspondence with the Jupiter of the Latin League, that is, Jupiter Latiaris, he who received devotion at the Latin festival (*feriae Latinae*). That festival was specifically styled, as ancient texts assert, the *Latiar*, an ancient festival on the Alban mount, held probably in late April/early May to celebrate the continuing existence of a Proteus-like construct, the Latin League.[74] We know something of Jupiter Latiaris from literary texts ranging from Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* IV.49, V.61) and Livy (XXI.63.8, XLI.16.1) to the elder Pliny (*HN* III.5.68–9), Macrobius' *Saturnalia* (I.16.16), and Festus' dictionary (*Gloss. Lat.* 212 Lindsay). Jupiter Latiaris is attested epigraphically as worthy of devotion by the *consul ordinarius* of 29 CE, L. Rubelius Geminus, who

[72] The continuity of Accii at Pisaurum is uncertain. Cicero's opponent in the *pro Cluentio* (84) of 66 BCE was a either a *T. Attius*, or (the reading of one manuscript at Cic. *Brut.* 271) a *T. Accius*, *Pisaurensis*.

[73] Wissowa 1912: 124 and note 6; Dessau's commentary at *ILS* 3082; Cresci Marrone and Mennella 1984: 164–9, no. 21.

[74] For the Latin League, the Latin festival (*feriae Latinae*), and the deities concerned, see Wissowa 1912: 40–1; Beloch 1926: 179–93; De Sanctis 1907–79: II.85–8; Latte 1960: 144–6; Alföldi 1965: 11–20. For a survey of the surviving material evidence of the *Latiar*, see Cecamore 1993.

declared in that year on the *mons Albanus* the fulfillment of his vow to Jupiter Latiaris (*Iovi Latiari*: *CIL* XIV.2227 = *ILS* 3072). Surviving as well from the Alban mount is a simple dedication: *Divei/Ardea/tes*: the male deity datively addressed is presumably the same Latin Jupiter, here acknowledged by the folk of Latin Ardea in good late third-century BCE lettering (*CIL* XIV.2231 = *ILS* 2990 = *ILLRP* 188).[75]

Who then is *Iuppiter Latius* at Pisaurum? He surely explicitly evokes *Iuppiter Latiaris* and the epithet *Latius* demonstrates a clear instance of poetic diction influencing the public record. The Augustan poet Propertius, when advertising an expected campaign against eastern foes, predicted that "Parthian trophies will make their acquaintance with Jupiter Latius" (Prop. III.4.6: *assuescent Latio Partha tropaea Iovi*). Propertius' elegiac statement would be recalled by Ovid in a similar martial context when he declares his expectation of news of "Caesar's triumphs and vows paid to Jupiter Latius" (Ov. *Tr.* III.12.45–6: *triumphos | Caesaris et Latio reddita vota Iovi*). Thus, for the sake of elegiac metrics, *Iuppiter Latiaris* became *Iuppiter Latius*.[76] But Jupiter Latius is not precisely Jupiter Latiaris because (as the evidence I reviewed above indicates) the latter was worshipped at the site of the *feriae Latinae*. We have no evidence, of course, to suggest any similar amphyctionic celebration at Pisaurum. But *Iuppiter Latius* surely evokes the traditions of the Latiar. I suggest, then, that we see in this second-century CE social and religious association's dedication at Pisaurum a religious memory of the ancient Latin League festival – now expressed not by the town's well-attested official religious order, but, in modest fashion typical for such events,[77] by a private association.[78] That is, the scale of euergetism this text declares is impressive, but not exceptional. Other foundations and civic donations of greater scope are recorded during the imperial era at Pisaurum (*CIL* XI.6362 and 6377).[79]

We may hypothesize the event celebrated in our inscription recording locus, meal, and monetary gift to the congregation. The ancient Latin

[75] Latte 1960: 145, n. 4.

[76] A later poet conflated Alban Jupiter with the Capitoline deity: Stat. *Silv*. V.3.292. See also, in the present volume, Cooley's n. 61.

[77] For similar feasts and gifts, see Duncan-Jones 1982: 198, no. D1044. (*CIL* XI.6358 = *ILS* 6654; XI.6362 = *ILS* 7364 = Trevisiol 1999: 79–80, no. 45 = Cresci Marrone and Mennella 1984: 265–8 and 275–80, nos. 69 and 73. Our text (6310) is listed in Duncan-Jones 1982: no. D1044.

[78] The term *cultores* is common in imperial era inscriptions mentioning a group of worshippers, whether explicitly organized as a juridical *collegium cultorum* or not. See, for example, in addition to the *cultores Iovis* at Tarracina mentioned below (*CIL* X.6483 = *ILS* 3081), the *cultores Silvani* at Rome (*CIL* VI.950 = *ILS* 7317) and the *cultores Dianae* (*CIL* XIV.2633 = *ILS* 7317a) at Tusculum, See also De Robertis 1955: 80–1, 89–90; 1972: I.19, II.53–5.

[79] Duncan-Jones 1982: 120–237, esp. 173 and 189.

federate celebration on the Alban mount included sacrifice of an ox and distribution of the sacrificial meat, a *communio sacrorum*.[80] Our text from Pisaurum memorializes a celebration of the ancient Latin sacrifice: but no meat, simply bread, wine, and cash to evoke the ancestral Latin communal festival.

The approximate date of this text (mid- to late second-century CE) urges an interpretation of the event celebrated as a religious memorial celebration. For the era, the second century CE, was one of acknowledged literary[81] and religious antiquarian interests. Elsewhere in Italy we have an example of the style of religious commemoration we find at Pisaurum. At the Latin site of Tarracina, home to the impressive remains of Jupiter Anxur's precinct and temple, comes an inscription mentioning another group of *cultores Iovis*. Some time in the reign of Hadrian, two women dedicated a religious structure to honor their deity, supplicated the welfare of their emperor, and memorialized a husband. Their celebration included a foundation for a perpetual banquet for the Tarracine *cultores Iovis Axorani* (*CIL* X.6483 = *ILS* 3081 with Dessau's notes).

We can associate the *cultores Iovis Latii* at Pisaurum specifically with the antiquarian interests of another emperor. Our literary sources and the epigraphic and numismatic evidence for the reign of Hadrian's successor Antoninus Pius confirm Pius' somewhat romantic interest in the traditions, especially the religious traditions, of old Latium. Antoninus was born at an ancient Latin community, Lanuvium (*SHA Pius* 1.8), adorned with public works the towns of Latium, and was compared by contemporaries and later biographical tradition with the pious king Numa Pompilius.[82] Coinage minted during the reign of Pius, especially issues struck from 139 to 144 CE, advertises a program of illustrating ancient Latin and Roman icons and deities. Juno Sospita,[83] Mars and Rhea Silva, Romulus, Aeneas,

[80] *carnem Latini petere* (the Latins requested meat): Cic. *Planc.* 23; Schol. Bob. *ad Planc.* 23 = 154–5 Stangl; *carnem in monte Albano soliti accipere populi Albenses* (the Alban people were accustomed to accept meat on the Alban mount): Plin. *HN* III.5.69.

[81] Baldwin 1975: 51–70; Champlin 1980: 46–7.

[82] Public works: *SHA Pius* 8.3 (Rome, Caiata, Terracina, Ostia, Antium, Lanuvium); cf. 3.4 (Pius' religious scruple). See also *CIL* VI.1001 = *ILS* 341: in 142/143, the SPQR dedicated at Rome to Pius *ob insignem erga caerimonias publicas curam ac religionem* (because of his distinguished concern and scruple for public religious ceremonies). Acclaimed a second Numa by Fronto, *Princip. Hist.* II.10 (ed. Van Den Hout 1954: 196). See also Fronto *de feriis Alsiensibus* 5 (Van Den Hout 215), with Champlin 1980: 84–5, 165. Compared with Numa: *SHA Pius* 2.2 and 13.4; *Epitome de Caesaribus* 15.2–3.

[83] We recall that Hadrian had ordered the refurbishment of the statue of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium: *CIL* XIV.2088 = *ILS* 316; see above, my n. 18 and Schultz's discussion in this volume.

Anchises and Ascanius, the Latin white sow,[84] the Roman she-wolf and her twins – all of these figures evoking legends of Rome and Latium appear on the reverse of Antonine coinage; another series offers a full panoply of sacrificial instruments.[85] One of these coinage issues (of 143 CE) illustrates a heroic male figure identified on the coin as *IOVI LATIO*.[86] At present, this is the only other known public appearance of Jupiter Latius.

We may therefore understand the Pisauran dedication to Jupiter Latius as a colonial reflection of imperial taste and interest. Why at Pisaurum? Because there, as I have argued above, the original settlers were drawn from Rome and Latium, including the towns of the old Latin League for whom Jupiter Latius (Latiaris) was a principal deity. Some at Pisaurum remembered this, otherwise we would not have this dedication. Perhaps we can identify the agent or agents instrumental in celebrating Jupiter Latius at Pisaurum. Among the notable *gentes* of imperial Pisaurum, as we noted above in our description of the city, was the *gens Aufidia*, especially the family of C. Aufidius Victorinus, cos. II 183 (*PIR*² A 1393), son-in-law of M. Cornelius Fronto, the sometime tutor, friend, and epistolary correspondent of the young Marcus Aurelius, and a prominent rhetorician in Antonine Rome. The family of the Aufiidii Victorini advertised at Pisaurum its accomplishments and imperial connections (*ILS* 1129; *CIL* XI.6335 = *ILS* 7218; *PIR*² A 1384–6, 1393) and that family, I suggest (although we have no unambiguous epigraphic evidence), provides the link between the historical and religious romanticism of Antonine coinage and the celebration of Jupiter Latius at Pisaurum.

Here is the context for the epigraphic memory of the Latin origins of some fraction of the original populace of Pisaurum. A Roman emperor's antiquarian interests and policies manifested themselves, surely as a function of local Pisauran connections with the imperial court, in a Pisauran celebration honoring Latin Jupiter, expressed in terminology manifestly influenced by Latin poetic diction. Thus was religious and historical memory revived, if not long maintained, on the Adriatic coast.

[84] That is, the *sus alba* who showed the way to Lavinium or Alba Longa: Varro, *Rust*. II.4.18, Verg. *Aen*. III.389–93, with Alföldi 1965: 18–19, 271–8.

[85] Robertson 1971: lxxxv, lxxxvii, 217–18. Mattingly and Sydenham 1930: 7–8, 108, 111, 119–20. Toynbee plausibly associated this series of reverse images illustrating "the heroic past of Rome and Italy" with the celebration, in 148 CE, of the anniversary of the founding of Rome: Toynbee 1925: 170–3; see also Birley 2000: 149–56.

[86] Mattingly and Sydenham 1930: 120, no. 737; Robertson 1971: lxxxvii, 225, no. 262. See also F. Canciani, *LIMC* VIII.1.459, no. 111a, s.v. "Zeus/Iuppiter."

Cippi Pisaurenses

CIL I².368–81 = *CIL* I².3, pp. 878–9; A. Degrassi, *ILLRP* 1.13–26 = Degrassi, *CIL Auctarium: Imagines* 7–20. An abbreviated selection of these texts in Dessau, *ILS* 2970–83: see also the epigraphic compendia of Cresci Marrone and Mennella 1984: 89–150, nos. 1–4 and Trevisiol 1999: 94–101, nos. 81–94. Transcription follows the text in *CIL* I².3.

CIL I².368: *apolonei*
369: *fide*
370: *iunone*
371: *iuno(ne) loucina*
372: *mat(re) matut(a)*
373: *salute*
374: *dei(va) marica*
375: *deiv(eis) no[v]esede(bus) /p. popaio(s) pop. f.*
376: *cesula / atilia / donu(m)/ da(t) diane*
377: *feronia / sta. tetio(s) / dede(t)*
378: *iunone re(gina) / matrona / pisaurese / dono dedrot*
379: (i) *matre / matuta / dono dedro / matrona*
(ii) *m. curia / pola livia / deda*
380: *- - - / nomecia [?nomelia] / dede*
381: *lebro (= Libero?)*

Jupiter Latius

CIL XI.6310 = *ILS* 3082. See also Trevisiol 1999: 57–8, no. 7; best text and commentary in Cresci Marrone and Mennella 1984: 164–9, no. 21.

Cultores Iovis Latii /
M. Fremedius Severus et Blassia Vera patroni /
in dedicatione dederunt pane(m) et vinu(m) et X S (=decem semisses),/
P. Seneka Cornelius patronus aream d(onum) d(edit). /

"The Worshippers of Juppiter Latius. M. Fremedius and Blasia Vera, patrons, gave in dedication bread, wine, and two denarii (a piece). P. Seneca Cornelius, patron, donated the property."

Notes: The full *nomina* of at least 38 *cultores*, including three women, follow. 2 denarii = 10 × $\frac{1}{2}$ an *as*.

CHAPTER 6

Inventing the sortilegus*: lot divination and cultural identity in Italy, Rome, and the provinces*

W. E. Klingshirn

INTRODUCTION

Divination by lot was widespread in the ancient Mediterranean world. In archaic Italy it was mainly practiced at fixed holy places, as attested by inscribed *sortes*, by depictions of ritual, and by literary evidence, especially for the oracle of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste.[1] By the first century BCE, however, it was also being practiced by independent lot diviners in Rome and other cities, where there was a large market for their services, as for other religious specialties.[2] In the first and second centuries CE both institutional and independent diviners were termed *sortilegi*, but this word does not appear before the mid-40s BCE, when it turns up at almost the same moment in Cicero's *De Divinatione* and Varro's *De Lingua Latina*. Thus introduced into literary Latin, it quickly eclipsed competing terms, such as *sortiarius*, found on a late Republican inscription from the shrine of Hercules Victor at Tibur (*CIL* I².1484),[3] and *sorex*, found in combination with the title *haruspex* on two Republican inscriptions from Falerii Novi (*CIL* I².1988 (=*ILLRP* 582) and 1989).[4]

This chapter argues that the invention and spread of the title *sortilegus* and the prominence of the professional diviner it represented is connected with two important trends in the practice of lot divination in Italy and the Roman empire. The first is a shift from shrine-based ritual, in which divinatory truth resided in the divine origin of the lots and the sacredness of the place where they were consulted, to diviner-based ritual, in which the sacredness of the written responses and the diviner's skills of interpretation mattered above all. The second is the process of cultural redefinition that

[1] Useful surveys of Italic lot divination can be found in Champeaux 1990a and 1990b; Maggiani 1994; and Gianni 2001. I am grateful to the American Council of Learned Societies for a fellowship supporting my research on this topic.

[2] Champeaux 1986; Bendlin 2000.

[3] *Delanei H(erculis) V(ictoris) sortiar(ii)*, Gagé 1968: 287. See also *CIL* I².3, 999.

[4] For the *sorex* as a lot diviner, see Peruzzi 1963.

occurred when Italic lot divination was reframed in Hellenistic and Roman terms and then reintroduced into Italy and the provinces, where it was subjected to further reshaping by indigenous traditions. Both processes were ultimately fueled by Roman conquest, which created the urban conditions favorable for increased cultural specialization and imposed a dominant political framework that influenced the ways in which individual actors deployed the cultural strategies available to them. It is difficult to date these developments with precision, but we may postulate three broad stages.

In the first (mid-Republican) stage, lot divination occurred mainly at specific oracular sites, where inquiries were answered by lots made of stone, bronze, lead, or wood, and inscribed with (often cryptic) writing in Etruscan, Greek, Oscan, or Latin. At these sites a high emphasis was placed on the sacredness of the physical lots, on the holy writing they contained, on the receptacles that contained them, on the place and manner in which they were consulted, and on the power and knowledge of the divinity behind the consultation. While some notice may have been taken of the boy or girl who acted as the god's agent in drawing the lot, the specialist who interpreted the result seems to have received less attention. Jacqueline Champeaux reasonably supposes that his title at Praeneste was *sortilegus*,[5] but the first (and only) *sortilegus* known from Praeneste does not appear until the middle of the first century CE (*CIL* XIV.2989). Moreover, as we shall see shortly, Quintus' assertion in Cicero's *De Divinatione* that he does not recognize *sortilegi* (*Div*. I.132), but does esteem the *sortes* of Praeneste (*Div*. I.34), suggests that Cicero did not associate *sortilegi* with Praeneste. In fact, before the first century CE we do not know what this specialist was called at Praeneste. As elsewhere, *haruspices* or priests with other titles may have been responsible for interpreting lots. It is, moreover, significant to note that Rome itself did not have a shrine for lot divination. When P. Sempronius Tuditanus vowed (Livy XXIX.36.8) and in 194 eventually built a temple of Fortuna Primigenia in Rome (Livy XXXIV.53.5–6), it did not include the consultation of lots.[6] This is presumably why, in his survey of diviners and divination in Republican Rome, John North does not discuss either lot divination or lot diviners.[7]

In the second (late Republican/early imperial) stage, *sortilegi* are widely attested in epigraphic and literary sources. In Italy they practiced both at traditional shrines like Praeneste and independently, for instance at Rome (*CIL* VI.2274; Juv. 6.583) and Pompeii (*CIL* IV.5182). Horace describes a female lot diviner, an old Sabine woman, who delivered to him as a boy

[5] Champeaux 1982: 71. [6] Champeaux 1987: 27–8. [7] North 1990.

an amusing four-line *sors* drawn from an urn (*Sat*. 1.9.29–30). In his commentary of the third century CE, Pomponius Porphyrio identifies her as a *sortilega*.[8] Certainly these diviners continued to use traditional ritual means such as urns and lots, as well as children (Tib. 1.3.11–12), but may also have operated with written collections of responses, like the χρησμολόγοι whose title was related to theirs. Whether dislocated themselves (for instance in the bloody aftermath of Praeneste's surrender to Sulla, Appian, *B Civ*. 1.94) or simply attracted by new opportunities, they followed a well-worn path into increasingly populous Italian cities, such as that taken earlier into refugee-swollen Rome by *sacrificuli ac vates* (Livy XXV.1.8). By the end of the first century CE, lot diviners with Latin titles appeared in the provinces: c. 100 a *sortilegus* in Trier (*AE* 1928, no. 189) and c. 200 a *sortilega* in Arsacal, Numidia (*CIL* VIII.6181).

In the third (late imperial) stage, *sortilegi* are mainly attested in Christian sources, especially the sermons of Augustine, where they are more prevalent than any other type of diviner except the astrologer.[9] Like provincial *sortilegi* in earlier periods, they do not appear to have made use of the ritual equipment of Italic shrines. Instead, they used collections of written responses such as the *Sortes Sangallenses*[10] and *Sortes Sanctorum*,[11] which were adapted from Greek collections of the same type and consulted by means of randomizing devices such as dice. Fully scriptural, their system required nothing but the written word and the hermeneutics needed to understand it.

In its broad outlines, this evolution of divinatory practice resembles the process of religious change that lead to "the rise of the holy man" in late antiquity, a development given wide currency by Peter Brown in the early 1970s and much studied since.[12] "In the popular imagination," Brown wrote in 1971, "the emergence of the holy man at the expense of the temple marks the end of the classical world."[13] But of course temples had begun losing ground to such figures much earlier than late antiquity. As Jonathan Z. Smith observed in 1978: "The sociological niche that the holy man, in Brown's sense of the term, would later fill was already being occupied by entrepreneurial figures as early as the second century (B.C.)."[14] Those who eventually emerged in Italy with the professional title *sortilegus* were a product of this broad process of Hellenistic religious change and, more

[8] *Significat autem Sabellam natione nutricem se habuisse sortilegam, quae urna sortes dicere solita esset*, Holder 1894: 276.
[9] Dolbeau 2003: 170. [10] Klingshirn 2005a. [11] Klingshirn 2002.
[12] Brown 1971a; Hayward and Howard-Johnston 1999; Elm and Janowitz 1998.
[13] Brown 1971b: 103. [14] Smith 1978: 187.

locally, of the cultural impact of the Roman conquest of Italy. This chapter follows the emergence of lot diviners in Roman Italy to the end of the first century BCE, and concludes with a brief sketch of their subsequent history, to be more fully discussed in a forthcoming book on diviners in late antiquity.[15]

ITALIC LOT DIVINATION

Up to about 200 BCE, the practice of lot divination in Italy is mainly documented by the survival of small objects whose shape and writing suggest that they might have served as lots or as votive representations of lots. Many of these objects are fairly simple: inscribed on only one side, they contain just one or two words, often the name of a god. The best known Etruscan example is *CIE* 10498, a thin rectangular bronze strip (1 × 10.1 cm) with a perforation to the right of its lettering. Dated to the fourth/third century by Giovanni Colonna,[16] and to the later third/early second century by Adriano Maggiani,[17] it was discovered before 1733 near Viterbo and is now in Rome (Villa Giulia, inv. no. 24427). Its inscription reads *savcnes śuris*: the name of the god Śuri in the genitive case preceded by an adjective of undetermined meaning in the same case. The same god is named, also in the genitive case, on a lead disk found in 1880 in Arezzo, where it remains (Museo Archeologico).[18] The name Artemis appears, probably also in the genitive case (*artum*[*sl*]), on a bronze strip (1.2 × 6 cm) found in 1938 at the fourth-century temple of Ara della Regina in Tarquinia (*CIE* 10006), and a lead disk with a hole in the center, found at Chiusi and now in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale), contains the Etruscan words *l̥anis tune*.[19]

Similar objects have been found inscribed in other Italic languages. One example is a small lead disk with a hole in the center found in the vicinity of Torino di Sangro (Abruzzo) and kept by the parish priest at Portocannone until it disappeared some time after 1884, the year in which Carmelo Mancini reported receiving a paper tracing of it from the owner.[20] Misidentified as Latin, the inscription had been included in the *CIL* (IX.6092 and I².2399), but Mancini correctly identified it as Oscan. Written in the Marrucinian dialect, it reads *aisos pa*[*cris*] ("may the gods be propitious"), the same phrase that opens the inscription on the Rapino bronze. Another example is a bronze strip (11.2 × 1.5 cm) that was published as *CIE* 464. It

[15] Klingshirn forthcoming. [16] Colonna 1971. [17] Maggiani 1994: 71.
[18] Gamurrini 1880. Both lots naming Śuri are conveniently illustrated in Cristofani 1984: 145.
[19] Lejeune 1952–3: 134. [20] Mancini 1887; Pocetti 1979: 82–4.

was found north of Firenzuola in the early eighteenth century and is now located in Cortona (Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca). According to Adriano Maggiani, it reads *adgenzios* (meaning unknown) and was written in what may be North Picene or some other east Italic language at the end of the sixth or beginning of the fifth century.[21]

Other objects identified as lots have longer texts. Among these are several small stones studied by Maggiani that have inscriptions in relief.[22] A flat stone, probably a flint nodule, found at Arezzo between 1915 and 1925 and dated to the later third/early second century (Museo Archeologico, Arezzo, inv. no. 19326) contains on one face the Etruscan name of Apollo (*aplu*) and the word *putes* and on the other the name of the god Farthan (*fartns*) and a verb in the imperative (*tur*).[23] An inscription in Latin on a flint now in Fiesole (Museo Civico, inv. no. 466a) winds around the stone like a snake (*ILLRP* 1070). Its text is obviously oracular: "If you yield, I do not wish to destroy you; if you do not yield, Servius perished by Fortune" (*Se cedues, perdere nolo; ni ceduas, Fortuna Servios perit*).[24]

These epigraphic fragments, of which further examples could be cited, are far from providing conclusive evidence for the practice of shrine-based lot divination in archaic Italy. To begin with, there is no certainty that the bronze, lead, and stone objects described here actually functioned as lots or as votive representations of lots. For example, although Śuri may well have been worshipped as an oracular divinity at some sites – Giovanni Colonna makes a good case for Pyrgi[25] – the discovery of his name on a lot-shaped object does not necessarily identify it as a lot, let alone as the lot of the god Śuri.[26] The same could be said of objects that name Apollo, Artemis, or any other divinity. Furthermore, of all the objects plausibly identified as lots in Italy, none has yet been found in an archaeological context linked conclusively with divination.

Given our present state of knowledge, the main value of these intriguing objects is not so much what they tell us in themselves about lot divination in archaic Italy, but how they can explain and confirm details found in later representations of this type of divinatory practice. Livy, for instance, mentions prodigies involving lot divination at Caere in 218 and at Falerii in 217. At Caere, the *sortes* were "made thinner" (*extenuatas*, XXI.62.5), and

[21] Maggiani 1994: 73–4. On north Picene as a possibly IE language, see Baldi 1999: 152–3.
[22] Maggiani 1986: 26–7.
[23] Maggiani 1987: 73. Color photographs of both inscriptions can be found in Torelli 2000b: 482.
[24] *CIL* I².2841, with references to the earlier literature, and Coarelli 2000: 202, on provenance.
[25] Colonna 1991–2.
[26] I would thus take a more skeptical position than Champeaux 1990a: 286.

at Falerii not only did that happen, but one *sors* with a troubling message actually "fell out" on its own: "Mars brandishes his spear" (*Mavors telum suum concutit*, XXII.I.II). The examination of perforated objects from the third century and earlier that she identified as lots, especially *CIE* 10498, allowed Jacqueline Champeaux to propose a plausible explanation for the "thinning" of these *sortes*: the perforations by which they were suspended and kept together had worn away.[27] This explanation in turn illuminates the fragmentary earlier evidence: archaic lots too might have been kept together in this manner.

Another example of the value of earlier evidence may be seen in Adriano Maggiani's discussion of a series of Volterran urns from the second half of the second century.[28] Classified by Gustav Körte under the rubric "scena del vaso nel mezzo," the reliefs on these urns depict a ceremony that takes place around a large vase at the center of the scene.[29] On two of these urns, in Florence (Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 5774) and Volterra (Museo Guarnacci, inv. no. 201), rectangular lots like *CIE* 10498 and *CIE* 10006 can be seen in the hands of those who have just extracted them from the vase. On the first urn (Brunn and Körte, pl. XCIX, 4), a woman (or girl) holds the lot, and on the second (pl. XCIX, 3), a male figure wearing a Phrygian cap has just drawn it. On another urn in Florence (Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 78498), a male figure holding a scepter in his left hand stands next to the vase with his right arm raised over it (pl. XCVIII, 2). The upper part of the scene is missing, however, so that we can no longer detect the lot that he probably held in his hand.[30] The monumentality of these representations suggests that they depict ceremonies taking place in sanctuaries. On each relief, a large vase, either a crater or an amphora, stands in the center, usually in an elaborately ornamented *aedicula*. Heavy furniture (benches, thrones) suggests an interior scene. Assembled around the vase and looking toward it are distinguished figures, including men holding scepters (perhaps kings),[31] elaborately clothed women, soldiers, and other men, including male figures wearing only a chlamys. One urn (Florence, inv. no. 5774) presents a more restricted cast of characters.[32] It depicts only temple personnel: a priest wearing the pointed cap and *offendices* of a *haruspex*,[33] two soldiers flanking

[27] Champeaux 1989. [28] Maggiani 1994: 75.
[29] Bruun and Körte 1870–96: II.2:219–4, with pls. XCVIII and XCIX.
[30] Described and illustrated in Cristofani et al. 1975: 100–1.
[31] On scepters as symbols of royalty, see Menichetti 2000: 215, who quotes Just. *Epit.* 43.3.3: *Per ea tempora adhuc reges hastas pro diademate habebant, quas Graeci 'sceptra' dixere.*
[32] Pairault-Massa 1986a: 467, n. 36. [33] Maggiani 1989.

him, another male figure, and two female figures, one holding the lot and the other gesturing toward the vase.

The interpretation of these scenes is uncertain. They clearly represent a mythical narrative in which lots played an important part, perhaps for divination, as Maggiani argues,[34] or perhaps for judgment, as Pairault-Massa has suggested.[35] In either case, one could plausibly argue that the artist modeled this mythical lottery on an imagined ceremony of lot divination set in an imagined sanctuary. It is certainly in keeping with the specific myth they represent that these reliefs depict the moment that occurs just after the drawing of the lot, and before it has been handed over for interpretation. But we can also interpret this moment as it might have occurred in the sanctuary imagined by the artist. It is a dramatic moment: the moment of divine revelation. Out of all the possible *sortes* that could be given – hidden, we presume, in the vase at the center of the scene – only one is visible, the *sors* that has been divinely revealed. Clearly, the *sortes* were sacred objects, but none more sacred than the one in the hand of the priest or priestess who has drawn it. That it has not yet been subjected to interpretation may signify that in the public drama of the ceremony, what counted most was divine revelation itself and not its specific content. Or, the artist may simply have chosen to depict the moment of greatest anticipation. Either way, the emphasis remains on the vase and its primary, uninterpreted *sortes* as the conduit for divine providence and knowledge.

It is not possible to specify what sanctuary the composer of these scenes used as a model. But in Cicero's account of the foundation myth of the oracle of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste, we have a description that confirms their depiction of lot divination as a dignified and dramatic ceremony performed by ranked shrine personnel in a recognized sacred place. In *De Divinatione* II, Marcus says that at some point in the distant past, as he learned from records kept by the people of Praeneste, an aristocrat named Numerius Suffustius was informed in a dream that he should go to a certain place (*certo in loco*) – traditionally believed to be a cave – and split open a piece of flint that he would find there (*Div.* II.85–7). When the rock, possibly a nodule of flint,[36] was broken open, lots made of oak burst out. They were "inscribed with the marks of ancient letters" (*insculptas priscarum litterarum*

[34] Maggiani 1994: 75: "le uniche rappresentazioni figurate etrusche di sortilegio."
[35] Pairault-Massa 1986a: 464–5.
[36] I am indebted to Professor Ralph Rowlett of the University of Missouri for this suggestion, and for pointing out to me that flint nodules often contain fossils, for instance, of sea creatures like sponges, which might easily be interpreted as lots.

notis), letters of the alphabet, according to Fausto Zevi.[37] This is the place, Cicero says, that is fenced off in accord with religious rules (*locus saeptus religiose*) near the shrine of *Jupiter puer*, the "mythical prototype," as Otto Brendel put it, "of the boy" who drew out the actual lots for consultation.[38] At another sacred place nearby, where the shrine of Fortune stood in Cicero's day, an *arca* was made of a special olive tree in which the *sortes* were kept when not in use. So closely associated were they to this sacred place that when the emperor Tiberius later tried to remove them to Rome, the lots disappeared from the *arca* and did not reappear until it was returned to Praeneste (Suet. *Tib*. 63.2). The lots of Praeneste literally existed only at Praeneste.

Cicero does not tell us exactly how the *sortes* were consulted at Praeneste except to say that at the bidding of Fortune (*Fortunae monitu*), a boy mixed up and drew out the lots, presumably from an urn of some kind. What his account does emphasize is the earthy sacrality of the lots: their discovery in a rock, their composition of oak, and their ancient writing.[39] Add to this the beauty of the whole consecrated area (*fani pulchritudo*) and the antiquity of the Praenestine lots (*vetustas Praenestinarum . . . sortium*), and you have, says Cicero, the whole reason that the oracle of Fortune retained its reputation in his own day.

No lots have been found at Praeneste. But one of them may be depicted on a well-known engraving of the mid-third century BCE in the Villa Giulia (inv. no. 13133).[40] It shows a boy seated in a cave handing a rectangular object to a figure reaching down for it. This has been interpreted by Filippo Coarelli as an illustration of *Jupiter puer* handing over the lot he has just drawn to the priest who will interpret it for the important figures who have come for a consultation.[41] As on the urns from Volterra, the scene depicts the moment when the *sors* is still in the hand of the human agent who has obtained it rather than in the possession of an interpreter. The same moment is shown on a denarius issued in 68 BCE by M. Plaetorius Cestianus, whose family home before his adoption by the Plaetorii, was at Praeneste.[42] On the obverse is a female bust, probably of Fortuna Primigenia, and on the reverse, a child holding a tablet inscribed with the word *SORS*.[43]

An important development of this theme can be seen in the well-known Hercules relief carved about 90 BCE and discovered in Ostia in 1938.[44] The

[37] Zevi 1982. [38] Brendel 1960: 45. [39] Champeaux 1982: 100–8.
[40] For a description and photographs, see Bordenache Battaglia and Emiliozzi 1979–: 1.2: 312–16 and pls. CDLIX–CDLXI. For recent bibliography, see Zevi 1992.
[41] Coarelli et al. 1973: 278–81, taking up a suggestion by Otto Brendel.
[42] Crawford 1974: 418. [43] Crawford 1974: no. 405/2. [44] Becatti 1939.

central scene shows the god Hercules handing over a lot-shaped object to a boy standing on the other side of a large chest, inside of which similarly shaped objects can be seen.[45] On the lot can be read *ORT H*. Giovanni Becatti restored this as [*s*]*ort*(*es*) *H*(*erculis*),[46] "lots of Hercules," but since it is a single lot, the restoration [*s*]*ort*(*is*) *H*(*erculis*), "lot of Hercules," is preferable.[47]

This scene illustrates the same divinatory moment depicted on the other monuments we have described: one lot among many drawn at the behest of a god. But there is a new element worth noting. At the top of the central scene hovers a large horizontal open diptych. This is apparently the same object that we see half-closed (and much smaller) in the hand of the toga-clad figure in the next scene to the left.[48] It is unlikely to be an enlarged representation of the *sors* handed over by Hercules.[49] That *sors* is a simple rectangular object. The diptych above should rather be thought of as an *interpretation* of the *sors*, written out on an ordinary writing tablet. It is the interpretation written on this diptych that the *togatus* is either giving or receiving in the scene to the left, in what is likely to be a representation of the final step in the divinatory process: the communication by the diviner to the inquirer of the meaning of the god's divinatory message. It may be that the figure wearing the toga is the *haruspex*, C. Fulvius Salvis, who dedicated the monument, but we cannot be certain whether he is giving or receiving the interpretation, that is whether he is the diviner or the inquirer. What is more important is that this moment is depicted on the relief at all. It seems to represent the new prominence that lot diviners had in Roman Italy by the beginning of the first century BCE, part of a larger process of religious change already underway.

By the end of the third century, the increased wealth, cultural complexity, and social dislocation produced by Roman expansion was having an impact on the number and variety of religious specialists found in Rome and other Italian cities. Livy's well-known description of the entrepreneurs who flocked to Rome during the Second Punic War may serve as an illustration of the phenomenon.

Sacrificuli ac vates ceperant hominum mentes quorum numerum auxit rustica plebs, ex incultis diutino bello infestisque agris egestate et metu in urbem compulsa; et quaestus ex alieno errore facilis, quem velut concessae artis usu exercebant. (XXV.1.8)

[45] Becatti 1939: 40–1. [46] Becatti 1939: 47.
[47] This archaic nominative singular form is attested in Plaut. *Cas*. 380: *Vide ne quae illic insit alia sortis sub aqua*.
[48] Becatti 1939: 41. [49] Becatti 1939: 51.

Performers of sacrifices and seers had seized the attention of a population whose size had grown as a result of peasant migration into Rome. This movement was driven by poverty and fear, for prolonged warfare had left the fields unsown and dangerous. A business based on the ignorance of others was easy, which they practiced by the use of an art they represented as legitimate.

Although Livy is vague about the exact identity of these religious figures, it is clear from the investigation mounted by the praetor of 213 and handed on to the praetor of 212 that they were identified as newly emergent independent practitioners of both private and (more threateningly) public consultations and rituals. The Roman government focused on those who possessed writings containing prophecies, prayers, and rituals for sacrifice (*libros vaticinos precationesve aut artem sacrificandi conscriptam*), and on those who performed sacrifices by novel foreign rites in public places (XXV.1.12). The only text specifically mentioned by Livy was a collection of the *carmina* of the *vates inlustris* Marcius, a shadowy figure from Italy's prophetic past,[50] whose *carmina* were important enough to be included among the Sibylline Books (Servius, *ad Aen*. VI.72), but there were presumably also other prophetic texts in circulation that Livy did not mention because they did not raise the same official interest. The possessors of such *libri vaticini* would not have been the same kinds of *vates* as Marcius, but rather second-order *vates*, interpreters of existing prophecies rather than recipients of new ones.

No other kinds of diviners are mentioned by Livy in this account, but by the mid-second century BCE, numerous types are found practicing independently in Italy, including the *haruspices*, *harioli*, *hariolae*, and *coniectrices* portrayed by Plautus,[51] the *harioli* and *haruspices* appearing in Terence (*Phorm*. 708–9), and the *haruspices*, *augures*, *harioli*, and *Chaldaei* (astrologers) mentioned by Cato the Elder (*Agr*. 5.4). As ancient and highly reputable divinatory sciences, haruspicy and astrology were likely to be the most lucrative specialties. When astrologers were expelled from Rome and Italy in 139 BCE, it was, according to Julius Paris, the epitomator of Valerius Maximus, for "imposing a confusion on weak and unsophisticated minds that was profitable to them by their lies" (Val. Max. 1.3.3: *levibus et ineptis ingeniis . . . quaestuosam mendaciis suis caliginem inicientes*). And when the Senate decreed, probably in the second century,[52] that a fixed number of sons of leading Etruscan families be trained in haruspicy, it was "to prevent so great an art from being diverted away from the authority of religion and

[50] North 2000a. On Marcius, see Pease 1920–3: 253.
[51] Gulick 1896: Traill 2004.
[52] C. O. Thulin, *RE* VII.2.2437, s.v. "Haruspices."

toward fees and profit" (*ne ars tanta . . . a religionis auctoritate abduceretur ad mercedem atque quaestum* (*Div*. 1.92).

Beard, North, and Price rightly point to "nervousness about the paid diviner and the power he might generate" as important motivations for these government actions.[53] But we should also note that the profit motive that the Roman aristocracy most disliked and feared was precisely the factor most responsible for an increase in the number and variety of diviners during the second century and beyond. A rising demand for divinatory services in the second century, combined with an increasing ability and willingness to pay for them, presented an obvious opportunity for enterprising diviners. These factors favored an increase in the supply, and as the market matured, in the variety of available services. It may well have been this market opportunity that drew into the cities a new kind of diviner, the independent lot diviner, who made use of techniques and procedures previously available only at shrines. Because lot divination was generally cheaper than other forms, the independent lot diviner could take advantage of a downmarket niche left open by astrologers and *haruspices*, whose prestige and training generally allowed them to command higher fees. It is Cicero's discussion of *sortes* and *sortilegi* in *De Divinatione* that encourages this explanation.

LOT DIVINATION IN *DE DIVINATIONE*

De Divinatione was composed in the latter months of 45 BCE and the early months of 44, with some passages or revisions added after Caesar's assassination.[54] In both the Stoic approach taken in book I and the Academic approach taken in book II, Cicero maintains a strong distinction between divination by inspiration, or natural divination, and divination by skill, or technical divination. It is with this distinction in mind that he also differentiates between two kinds of divinatory *sortes*. In one sense, *sortes* are understood as oracles: "lots that are based on inspiration, which we more properly call oracles" (*sortes . . . quae vaticinatione funduntur, quae oracula verius dicimus*, II.70). Such oracles belong to the category of divination by nature: "which are based on divine inspiration" (*quae instinctu divino afflatuque funduntur*, I.34). The oracles collected by Chrysippus can be described as *sortes* in this sense (II.115). In a different sense, *sortes* are "drawn" (*ducuntur*) from a collection of other *sortes* (II.70; cf. II.38). These are *sortes* that have been "made equal" (*aequatis sortibus*, I.34), a precaution that eliminates human or natural bias and gives the divine impulse a neutral

[53] Beard et al. 1998: I.113. [54] Durand 1903; Falconer 1923.

field of equally possible signs. Not based on divine inspiration, this method is rather a form of technical divination (I.12, 34). The best example are lots "issued from the earth" (*e terra editas*, I.34), namely those of Praeneste (II.84–6).

Cicero uses the term *sortilegus* only twice in his writings: in a list of diviners Quintus says he does not endorse (*Div*. I.132) and in Marcus' refutation of Cratippus (*Div.* II. 109). It is the first use that interests us here. After stating that he has already said everything he had to say about divination (I.131), Quintus anticipates the skeptical reaction of his interlocutor. He lists eight types of diviners, quotes Ennius against those who seek to earn a profit, and concludes that he only approves of divination that excludes *levitas*, *vanitas*, and *malitia*.

Quintus' roster of diviners repays close study. It can be divided into three parts. The first part lists, in an ascending tricolon, diviners Quintus does not "recognize": (1) *sortilegi*; (2) those who prophesy (literally, 'act as *harioli*') for profit; and (3) the ψυχομαντεῖα used by the late Appius Claudius Pulcher: thus, all the necromancers who used such places.[55] The second part mentions five types of diviners that Quintus finds "worthless." They are Marsian augurs, neighborhood *haruspices*, astrologers practising around the circus, *coniectores* of Isis, and dream-interpreters.[56] In the third part, Quintus concludes that none of these are diviners by either *scientia* or *ars*.[57] They are rather *superstitiosi vates* and *inpudentes harioli*, whose pronouncements came not from divine inspiration, like authentic *vates* or *harioli* (*Div*. I.4), but rather from the base desire for profit. This charge is then underscored by the four lines that follow from the *Telamo* of Ennius, which sarcastically denounce diviners for their venality and lack of knowledge, and make particular fun of how cheap they were to hire (*sibi deducant drachumam*).[58]

Quintus rejects all of the diviners in his list, but it may be useful to keep the diviners he does not "recognize" separate from those he finds "worthless," since he does in fact recognize the latter elsewhere in book I. Certainly this is the case for interpreters of dreams, whom he had earlier compared in a highly favorable way to the grammarians who interpret poets

[55] *Nunc illa testabor non me sortilegos neque eos qui quaestus causa hariolentur, ne psychomantia quidem, quibus Appius, amicus tuus, uti solebat, agnoscere*.

[56] *non habeo denique nauci Marsum augurem, non vicanos haruspices, non de circo astrologos, non Isiacos coniectores, non interpretes somniorum*.

[57] *non enim sunt hi aut scientia aut arte divini sed superstitiosi vates inpudentesque harioli*. In assigning *superstitiosi vates inpudentesque harioli* to Cicero rather than Ennius, I follow Jocelyn 1967: 396–8. The question is not settled, however. See Grilli 1996.

[58] Jocelyn 1967: 399.

(1.34). Likewise, it is not all *haruspices* or astrologers that he finds worthless. He approves of the *haruspices* and astrologers he mentions at 1.12; it was just those who practiced in the streets or around the circus that he rejected. Nor were Roman augurs worthless; only Marsian ones were – a view echoed by Marcus at 11.70. Other kinds of *coniectores* might be acceptable (as at 1.45 and 72), but not those who worked at Isis temples. Apparently, the common characteristic for diviners in this part of the list is that they are the "wrong" versions of otherwise acceptable types of diviners.

But what of the diviners in the first group, which includes *sortilegi*? They are an odd collection: lot diviners, inspired figures who prophesy for profit, and those who visit places of necromancy, a type of divination whose rationality Cicero questions in *Tusculanae Disputationes* 1.37, but pays no other attention to in *De Divinatione*. What do these three types have in common? Perhaps their main unifying characteristic is the ease with which they can all be categorically dismissed. Unlike the diviners in the second group, there was no type of *sortilegus*, paid diviner, or necromancer that Quintus could accept. And of these, *sortilegi* could be most easily dismissed. They appear first in the list and without a single word to soften or qualify their rejection. It was not just some *sortilegi* that Quintus rejected, but all of them. And he did not even have to say why.

It is interesting and significant that in the dialogue neither Quintus nor Marcus makes any attempt to associate *sortilegi* with *sortes*. The main reason for this seems to be the unbridgeable gap that Cicero saw between the lots fixed at sanctuaries and itinerant lot diviners. This attitude clearly appears in a comment Marcus makes about *sortes* at *Div*. 11.86–7. He begins by saying that lots retained their reputation at the beautiful *fanum* of Praeneste, though mainly for the *volgus*. "For what magistrate or aristocrat uses *sortes*?" (*Quis enim magistratus aut quis vir inlustrior utitur sortibus*?) He goes on to say, however, that *in other places* (*ceteris vero in locis*) lots had fallen out of widespread use (*sortes plane refrixerunt*, *Div*. 11.87). What he seems to mean here is not that lots were not widely consulted elsewhere, but that they were not widely consulted *in sacred places other than Praeneste*, a view that fits in well with his careful, even loving, description of Praeneste as a sacred place. Just behind his observation about the drop in attendance at other lot sanctuaries is Cicero's unexpressed but powerful fear that independent diviners had detached the sacred lots from such places and taken them on the road. Thus removed from whatever sources of veracity and authority they had (as explained by Quintus), lots became, in Cicero's view, tools in the hands of venal, low-status, unskilled, unauthorized, and unregulated practitioners who by bringing these directly to clients diverted traffic from

shrines. We might well conclude – although Cicero does not say so – that it was no wonder that lots had fallen out of widespread use everywhere but Praeneste: they were being replaced by lot diviners.

THE WORD *SORTILEGUS*

Clearly by Cicero's time independent lot diviners had a title. The fact that Quintus and Marcus could refer to *sortilegi* without any further explanation assumes that readers knew who they were. Although it is impossible to specify when this title came into widespread use, it is not difficult to specify the circumstances under which it might have occurred. When lot divination took place at shrines that emphasized the power of the lots themselves and the sacred setting in which they were consulted, the priests who interpreted the results may have had a special title, but they would not have needed one. Working at a shrine for lot divination, it would naturally have been *sortes* that they interpreted; they did not need to be called interpreters of *sortes*. It was only when they worked outside an institutional setting (or in a setting where more than one type of divination was practiced) that they would have needed a title, in order to convey to their clients the special skills they claimed to possess, and as technical diviners, the specific kinds of signs they claimed to interpret. Of course it is possible that *sortilegus* was already the title for shrine-based lot diviners and that independent lot diviners went ahead and adopted the same title for themselves. But it is equally likely, given the competitive marketplace for divination in Roman Italy, that they took the initiative to create it.

To see how this might have occurred, we must first acknowledge the word's basic respectability, despite Cicero's contempt. This is demonstrated in Varro's *De Lingua Latina*, the only other Republican text to mention *sortilegi*. The word appears in book VI, which deals with words denoting time and what happens in time.[59] Chapters 51–76 discuss actions occurring in time that have to do with words of speaking: *quae pars agendi est a dicendo ac sunt aut coniuncta cum temporibus aut ab his* (*Ling.* VI.51). In the midst of this section, after deriving *disserere*, *sermo*, *series*, and *conserere* from the root *ser-/sert* (VI.64), Varro explains the etymology of *consortes* ('co-sharers'), *sors* ('share'), *sors* ('capital'), *sortes* ('lots'), and *sortilegi* (VI.65). First he discusses *consortes* and *sors*, which both contain the idea of a 'portion' or 'share'. "From this root (*ser-/sert-*), from which come the co-sharers (*consortes*) themselves, the word 'share' (*sors*) also comes" (*hinc etiam, ab quo ipsi consortes, sors*).

[59] For the book's structure, see Riganti 1978: 12–13.

Next, Varro explains the word *sortes*. "From here (i.e. from the same root) is derived the word *sortes* ('lots') because in these, times are joined to people and their affairs" (*hinc etiam sortes quod in his iuncta tempora cum hominibus ac rebus*). What he means by this opaque phrase is that divinatory lots create a framework in which inquirers (*homines*) and the situations or problems they bring to soothsayers (*res*)[60] are linked to a hidden network of cause and effect as well as signs and meanings in the past, present, and future (*tempora*). The meaning of the word *sortes* in this passage is identical to its meaning in another passage from *De Lingua Latina* (VII.48), where Varro derives the word *cortina* (Apollo's cauldron) from the word *cor* (according to Servius, the heart "of the seer," *Aen*. III.92), "because from there *sortes* were first thought to have come" (*quod inde sortes primae existimatae*), alluding to the use of lots at Delphi.[61] It is from the word *sortes* in this (favorable) divinatory sense that Varro then derives *sortilegi*. "From these come *sortilegi*" (*ab his sortilegi*). He concludes the chapter by returning to another sense of the word *sors*, "money lent at interest" (*pecunia quae in fenore*), a meaning it also has at *Ling*. V.183. But he has not left *sortilegi* completely behind, since he discusses the second element of their name in the next chapter, on words derived from the root *leg-* (*Ling*. VI.66). Chapters 65 and 66 are therefore linked by the word *sortilegi*.

Whatever we might think of Varro's etymology of *consortes*, *sors*, and *sortes*,[62] his derivation of *sortilegi* from *sortes* and (by inference) from *legere* is highly plausible. The *sortilegus* (*sorti-legus*) is therefore one who "chooses," "selects," or "reads" lots. The positive connotations Varro gives to the word *sortes*, both at *Ling*. VI.65 and VII.48, his straightforward derivation of *sortilegi* from *sortes*, and his use of the term to link chapters 65 and 66 would suggest that, unlike Cicero, Varro saw no need to question the connection between *sortilegi* and *sortes*, the right of the former to choose, select, or read the latter, or in the end the title's basic respectability.

Another way of looking at the attractiveness of the title *sortilegus* for lot diviners is to compare it to the alternative title *sortiarius*. Found in the abbreviated form *sortiar*(*ius*) in *CIL* I^2.1484, this word does not reappear in Latin until the ninth century CE, by which time it has an entirely

[60] For the use of *res* in divinatory contexts to mean "the problem at hand" or "the substance of the divinatory inquiry," see Cic. *Div*. I.34, speaking of *sortes*: *quae tamen ductae ut in rem apte cadant*, and Apul. *Met*. IX.8.

[61] Robbins 1916.

[62] An interesting alternative etymology has been proposed by Massimo Pittau 1988. He suggests that Latin *sortis* may derive from the Etruscan **surθi*, as seen in the Etruscan plural *tusurθir* (Lat. *consortes*), "having one (common) lot." The Etruscan **surθi* would therefore mean "lot," "share," or "destiny."

different meaning: "sorcerer."[63] Although both titles contained the same first element (*sorti-legus, sorti-arius*), their endings betray a strong difference in status. Added to a noun designating an object or material, the suffix *-arius* (or *-aria*) most often denoted the man or woman who made, dealt in, or was otherwise concerned with that object or material. Hundreds of manufacturing, retail, and service occupations were named in this way.[64] The *coronarius* made crowns (*ILLRP* 783); the *turarius* sold incense (*ILLRP* 816–19); the *unguentarius* dealt in ointments (*ILLRP* 823–6). As "workers or dealers in *sortes*," *sortiarii* would have carried the same banausic connotations. As diviners, their title would most closely have resembled that of the *pullarii*, the "lower-class specialists" (North 1990: 53) who kept the sacred chickens and interpreted their movements and feeding habits at the behest of magistrates. Unwilling to be seen as mere *apparitores*, independent lot diviners may have sought out a name that better represented the professional interpretation in which they claimed to engage, whatever their actual status.

But how much status did the morpheme *-legus* carry? Words ending in *-legus* are rare in Latin of any period – Gradenwitz lists only eleven examples, most of which are hapax legomena[65] – but they are especially rare in Republican Latin. Apart from *sortilegus*, only *sacrilegus* and the hapax legomenon *dentilegus* (Plaut. *Capt.* 798) are attested. It is safe to say that the wholly negative connotations of *sacrilegus* ("plunderer of *sacra*") and the comic associations of *dentilegus* ("collector of teeth") do not readily commend this morpheme for the serious business of establishing a diviner's credibility.

This brings us to the main reason for supposing that independent lot diviners invented the title *sortilegus* for themselves rather than adopting an old, existing Latin title. It is entirely possible that the ending *-legus* has nothing to do with other Latin words. Its principal advantage may have been its semantic and phonetic proximity to the Greek morpheme -λόγος.[66] Looked at in this way, the word *sortilegus* can be seen as a reasonably close

[63] In his treatise *On the Divorce of King Lotharius and Queen Teutberga*, written in 860, Bishop Hincmar of Reims describes several forms of erotic magic, involving human bones and hair, binding spells, and food and drink bewitched by *sorciarii*, *De Divortio* 15, *MGH*, *Concilia*, vol. IV, suppl. 1, 1992: 206. See also a capitulary of 873 issued by Charles the Bald, which reports that "practitioners of black magic (*malefici homines*) and sorceresses (*sortiariae*) are rising up in many places throughout our kingdom, by whose magical practices (*maleficiis*) many people have already been sickened and some have died," *MGH*, *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, vol. II (1890): 345.

[64] Leumann 1963: 211. For a comprehensive list, see Gradenwitz 1904: 489–94.

[65] Gradenwitz 1904: 485.

[66] My thanks to Fritz Graf for the question that initiated this line of thought.

Latin translation – in fact, a calque – of the Greek χρησμολόγος, a collector or interpreter of oracles (χρησμοί).[67] The similarity of the Greek -λόγος to the Latin *-legus* is obvious, and like the Latin *sortes* the Greek χρησμοί could include both "lots," as at Delphi and Dodona, and more generally, "oracles."[68] It is not far-fetched to suggest that lot diviners chose the title *sortilegus* on the basis of its resemblance to the word χρησμολόγος. Not only would this have associated them with Greek figures who had already established a reputation in the Hellenistic world as independent diviners. It would also have called to mind other learned practitioners bearing Latin titles derived from Greek, such as *astrologi* or *philologi*. This would have been especially noticeable when *sortilegus* was pronounced and spelled *sortilogus*, as at Pompeii (*CIL* IV.5182). One can see why Latin lot diviners might both want this title and feel justified in having it, particularly in view of their need for legitimacy and professional status.

THE INDEPENDENT LOT DIVINER IN ROMAN ITALY

It was not enough for the independent lot diviner to have a title. Bereft of the atmosphere of natural beauty and sacred power that a sanctuary like Praeneste could furnish – not to mention solid institutional resources such as buildings, equipment, and personnel – *sortilegi* needed other means of establishing their authority and reliability. The problem was particularly acute for lot diviners, because unlike other technical diviners who practiced independently (*haruspices*, astrologers), they lacked a venerable and well-recognized science, or *disciplina*, of divination.[69] Although individual lot diviners might convincingly boast of sophisticated divinatory powers, as a group they were technical diviners without much of a τέχνη. To some extent, this worked in their favor: it minimized the barriers to entering their profession, kept their fees low, and made their divinatory sessions highly adaptable to client demands. But it also subjected lot diviners to the suspicion that they were not really diviners, "by *scientia* or *ars*," as Cicero had put it. One way for lot diviners to cope with such suspicions was to avoid competing altogether for the business of upper-class clients who could afford diviners with more elevated credentials. Even so, *sortilegi* still

[67] For this sense, see Bouché-Leclercq 1879–82: II.215–26. For the meaning "inspired prophet," see ibid. 92–132.
[68] Bouché-Leclercq 1879–82: I.192.
[69] On divination as a *disciplina* generally, see Klingshirn 2005b. On the *disciplinae* of individual diviners, see North 2000a: 96–100.

needed to convince the clients for whom they did compete that the advice they rendered would be worth the price, however low.

One way for lot diviners to underscore their credibility was to employ the same ritual equipment and personnel as would have been used in shrines, although necessarily on a smaller and more portable scale. So in Tibullus 1.3 we find Delia consulting "all the gods" in Rome to find out whether Tibullus would return home safely after the battle of Actium. "Three times she took up a boy's sacred lots" (*illa sacras pueri sortes ter sustulit*, Tib. 1.3.11). Since there was no shrine for lot divination in Rome, it was clearly an independent lot diviner she consulted. As at Praeneste (and elsewhere),[70] it was a child who actually drew out the lots for the diviner to interpret. What is more, the lots were "sacred." We should probably not assume simply that the lots were *believed* by Delia and Tibullus to be sacred to the same extent as the lots at shrines,[71] but that the diviner *represented* the lots to be such, and that they believed his representations. No container is mentioned for the lots in this passage, but the images of lot divination from Volterra suggest that there must have been one. It is usually supposed that an urn of some kind was used,[72] confirmed by Horace: "for a sad fate is pressing in on me, which an old woman, a Sabine diviner, chanted to me as a child after she had shaken her urn" (*namque instat fatum mihi triste, Sabella / quod puero cecinit mota divina anus urna*, *Sat*. 1.9.29–30).

But it was probably still not sufficient to set up a portable version somewhere outside the setting in which lot divination was practiced in shrines. Operating not in beautiful and sacred places like Praeneste, but in humbler urban surroundings, lot diviners may also have had to pay more attention to the aesthetic and artistic qualities of the objects they handled. In this way they might try to compensate for the loss of beauty and power on a larger scale. Alisa LaGamma has described this phenomenon in her introduction to a recent exhibit of nineteenth- and twentieth-century African divinatory art.

> The aesthetic qualities of the works in this exhibition represent an essential dimension of their original role as instruments designed to further divinatory quests . . . Their effectiveness in achieving this was invariably enhanced by their compelling visual appeal, for an artifact's aesthetic merits were seen as a measure of its potency and the diviner's professional standing. Such qualities also inspired the confidence

[70] Johnston 2001.

[71] Champeaux 1986: 98–9: "Délie et, avec elle, Tibulle . . . ne font aucune différence entre ces *sortes* de la rue et celles des sanctuaires patentés: elles sont *sacrae* au même degré." Cf. Tib. II.5.69–70, for the *sacrae sortes* of a shrine, in this case, at Tibur.

[72] Champeaux 1986: 99.

of clients. Thus, a diviner would often commission works of surpassing beauty to convey his or her great status, power, and competence.[73]

In searching for ancient Italian parallels to evidence gathered from modern central and west Africa, it may be helpful to look at two well-known collections of Latin *sortes* that survive from the late Republic. The first (*ILLRP* 1071) consists of three square bronze bars discovered in 1867 in the village of Fornovo di Taro and now kept in Parma (Museo Archeologico).[74] The other (*ILLRP* 1072–87a) consists of three bronze plaques divided between Florence and Paris, the only items now remaining from a larger collection that was intact in the sixteenth century but has now mostly disappeared.[75] It is possible that these are votive objects, dedicated after a successful consultation, and not strictly speaking, part of a *diviner's* equipment at all, but even if this is the case, they can be taken to represent the kinds of object that might have been used in a divinatory session.

Of the *sortes* in Parma, only one is in good condition, although it is now broken in two. Originally, it measured about 24 cm long, with sides about 6 mm in width. It is not shaped like any other lot found in Italy: Jacqueline Champeaux has compared it to the stick-shaped lots of central Europe used by Celts, Germans, and Scythians.[76] It is inscribed in letter forms of the first century BCE, with each side of the bar containing a single hexameter verse.

> *[Quid] nunc consoltas? Quiescas ac vi[ta f]r[u]ari[s].*
> *[Vit]am con[de]cora: mo[rt]em procul apste habebis.*
> *[N]on potest prius mortem adficier quam venerit fa[tum].*
> *[Magnis t]aed[i]s valetudo ostenditur [ma]gn[a].*
> (ILLRP 1071a)

> Why do you consult me now? You should be at peace and enjoy your life.
> Honor life. You will hold death far away from yourself.
> It is not possible for death to be inflicted before fate has come.
> A serious illness is shown, with great weariness.

This lot poses four different answers to the question: "How or how long am I to live?" The other two lots in the collection focus on different but equally typical questions: *ILLRP* 1071b is concerned with the acquisition of gain (*lucrum*), and *ILLRP* 1071c mentions marriage and fertility. It is unlikely that the inquirer was given all four answers in response to his question;[77]

[73] LaGamma 2000: 7. [74] Recent bibliography in *CIL* I².3, 1083.
[75] Recent bibliography in *CIL* I².3, 1090. [76] Champeaux 1990a: 295.
[77] *Pace* Champeaux 1997: 429.

rather, the diviner would have rotated the bar in such a manner as to reveal one of the sides and the *sors* that it carried.

It is uncertain whether these lots belonged to a shrine or a freelance diviner. They were found "among Roman remains in the piazza of the parish church of Fornovo in the province of Parma."[78] Champeaux supposes a continuity between the parish church and a shrine for lot divination below it,[79] but the highly mundane nature of the responses and the urban context make it equally (or more) likely that the lots belonged to an independent diviner. In the hands of such a figure, these would have been impressive objects, both for their appearance and for the purportedly divine verses they contained. With their native shape and Latin verses, they would also represent a Romanization of indigenous patterns, perhaps a case of adaptation to local tastes.[80]

The other collection once consisted of at least seventeen lots, the texts of which were recorded in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.[81] Only three of these lots survive, however: two in Florence and one in Paris. All are inscribed on rectangular sheets of bronze about 2 cm × 15 cm in size; there is a tab on the left side of each lot. The letter forms belong to the late Republic. Their provenance is unknown. Aldus Manutius the Younger (1547–97) reported that fifteen of the seventeen lots were found at "Bahareno della Montagna, ubi dicitur Casaleccio," but efforts to locate this place have not so far succeeded. The other two lots were reported at the end of the sixteenth century as belonging to collections in Rome. Although the material on which they are written differs in size and shape, these lots are in their content much like those in Parma. They were certainly consulted differently, however. Each of these lots contains only a single response, and the correct *sors* was probably selected by means of the tab at the left, perhaps by being drawn out of an urn. The Paris example contains a perforation, but whether this is significant is uncertain.

It will suffice to examine just one example: Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 1911.

> *Iubeo et, is ei si fecerit,*
> *gaudebit semper.*
> (ILLRP 1081)
>
> I command it, and if he shall have done these things,
> he will always rejoice.

[78] *CIL* XI.1129, citing Luigi Pigorini, *Catalogo generale del Regio Museo d'antichità di Parma*, appendix 1, 1868: 15, n. 1.
[79] Champeaux 1990a: 297. [80] Champeaux 1986: 96–7. [81] Degrassi 1951–2.

It is not certain whether the lots of Bahareno della Montagna were used at a shrine, by an independent diviner, or as votive representations of actual lots. The last of these possibilities is suggested by Maggiani's discovery of a previously unnoticed inscription on the reverse of this lot: *Dian*(*ai*) *d*(*onum*), "gift to Diana," possibly the Diana of Nemus Aricinum in Latium, whose shrine was "already the object of research in the middle of the sixteenth century."[82] Even if not used as an actual lot, this object probably resembled one, and so, like the lots of Fornovo, might be used to underscore the role that a lot's appearance might play in promoting the credibility and power of the diviner who used it.

The lots of Fornovo and Bahareno della Montagna also illustrate what was probably the most important way in which independent lot diviners established their authority: their use of writing. We may take it as given that writing had been used in Italian oracles almost since the introduction of the alphabet,[83] and that it was in many places strongly privileged over speech as a vehicle for divine communication.[84] In fact, as Mary Beard has argued, divinatory writing could be thought in some ways to *constitute* relations between humans and gods.[85] What then was significant about the use of writing by independent lot diviners? Three answers to this question present themselves.

Firstly, we can see in the diviner's texts an effort to assemble the ingredients of a written discipline of lot divination. *Haruspices* and astrologers were well known for the textual disciplines in which they were trained and worked:[86] what was to prevent lot diviners from using writing to aim at the same professional level? There are good reasons to question how much success they actually had in this endeavor, but at the very least the possession of written materials projected the image of a learned practitioner.

Secondly, the written words they possessed could directly connect freelance diviners to the sacred output of established shrines or legendary prophets. The more obviously "derivative" a text, the closer the connection. For example, Franz Buecheler noted a parallel between the text from Bahareno della Montagna quoted above and one of the written prophecies of Marcius as recorded by Livy.[87] Speaking of the founding of new games for Apollo, the prophecy says, "If you do this correctly, you will rejoice always and your state will become stronger" (*Hoc si recte facietis, gaudebitis semper fietque res vestra melior*, Livy XXV.12.10). Imitation of the text of a revered prophet suggested an affinity to the divine source of his knowledge,

[82] Maggiani 1994: 72. [83] Pocetti 1998. [84] Champeaux 1997. [85] Beard 1991: 49–53.
[86] *Haruspices*: Briquel 1990: 72–4; astrologers: Barton 1994. [87] Buecheler 1895–7: 1.160.

and thus affirmed the authority of the diviner who possessed and used this text.

Third, and perhaps most important, the possession of a written text offered independent lot diviners manifold opportunities for exegesis. Not only was such a skill held in high regard, especially insofar as diviners resembled interpreters of literary or religious texts, but it was also eminently practical. For in the end what mattered most to clients was the satisfactory resolution of a problem or question. Confidence in a diviner's authority played a large part in client perceptions. To the extent that diviners could offer credible advice, that is, advice that looked and sounded credible, they could satisfy their clients. Performed with intelligence and finesse, the interpretation of written texts allowed diviners to secure and retain the confidence of clients and, equally important in this competitive environment, to challenge the exegetical skills of their rivals.

SORTILEGI IN THE EARLY EMPIRE

The *sortilegus* we have been discussing so far in theoretical terms becomes a more concrete figure in the first century CE. For it is only then that named individuals with this title are attested, all epigraphically. Three *sortilegi* are known from Italy. In Praeneste, Sex. Maesius Celsus served as *sortilegus* of Fortuna Primigenia (*CIL* XIV.2989).[88] In Pompeii, a *sortilegus* whose name ended in the letter 'S' is named on a wall in the ninth region (*CIL* IV.5182),[89] near the entrance to the so-called *lupanar* of Amandus (9.VI.8).[90] And in Rome, C. Stiminius Heracla operated as a *sortilegus* in the vicinity of (*ab*) the Temple of Venus Erycina near the Colline gate (*CIL* VI.2274),[91] where professional services of all sorts were for sale (Ov. *Fast*. IV.865–70). For the present purpose, the most interesting feature of these inscriptions is that a diviner at Praeneste was calling himself a *sortilegus* alongside independent practitioners at Rome and Pompeii. Unless it is an accident of survival that this title is not found earlier at Praeneste, we may be seeing in its use by

[88] *Sex(to) Maesio Sex(ti) f(ilio) Rom(ilia tribu) Celso, praef(ecto) fabr(um) ter c(enturioni) leg(ionis) IIII Maced(onicae) q(uaestori) aed(ili) IIvir(o) flam(ini) divi Aug(usti) sortilego Fortunae Primigeniae Sex(tus) Maesius Echio lib(ertus) fecit sibi et Sex(to) Maesio Celeri filio suo et Maesiae Pinoe coniugi et Sex(to) Maesio Potho conliberto posterisque suis*. For a mid-first century date for this figure, see Champeaux 1982: 71.

[89] *[—]s sortilogus*.

[90] Della Corte 1965: 163. On the uncertainty of the identification, see Wallace-Hadrill 1995: 61, n. 73.

[91] *D(is) M(anibus). C. Stiminius Heracla, sortilegus ab Venere Erucina, et Iulia Melantis, Parentes, Mercuriali f(ilio) pientiss(imo) [or f(iliae) pientiss(imae)] fecerunt. Vix(it) ann(os) XIII, m(enses) III, d(ies) XX*.

a shrine-based diviner a reaction to the success of independent diviners. Yet at other sites for lot divination in Italy, for instance, the sanctuary of the river god Clitumnus in Umbria described by Pliny (*Ep*. VIII.8), it was still the sacredness of the lots, the power of the god, and the beauty of the setting that commanded the upper-class visitor's attention, not the identity of shrine personnel.

It seems reasonable to assume that the practices of *sortilegi* in early imperial Italy were affected by the same (subtle) Romanizing processes that reshaped other Italian religious practices, as John Scheid has argued for lot divination itself at the sanctuary of Clitumnus.[92] But when we turn to *sortilegi* practicing outside of Italy, the mixture of indigenous and Romanized (Italian) practices becomes more difficult to analyze. A good example is furnished by Cossus, son of Fronto, who practiced as a *sortilegus* at the sanctuary of the Di Casus (or Cassus), the "deities of the fates" in the temple complex of the Altbachtal in Trier (*AE* 1928, 189).[93]

The inscription dates from the end of the first century or beginning of the second century CE, that is, after Trier had been named a colony, probably by the emperor Claudius.[94] Whether Cossus was a *sortilegus* of the sanctuary, or an independent diviner, it is significant for two reasons that he was associated with this site. Firstly, *sortilegi* were of necessity concerned with the Fates, as Johann Baptist Keune observed in a study of the site.[95] Secondly, although evidently not a Roman citizen, Cossus called himself a *sortilegus* at a place where local gods (the Di Casus and, nearby, Vertumnus *sive Pisintus* and Mercury) had been publicly and impressively reframed in Roman terms by the inhabitants of Trier.[96]

Although Cossus' title tells us nothing of the kind of lots he consulted, or how, or for whom, it does place him in a line of diviners that goes right back to the Roman appropriation of Italian lot divination. Comparing sanctuaries, Scheid sees close parallels.[97] But we should also be open to the

[92] Scheid 1996.

[93] *[Dis Cassibus] Cossus Frontonis f(ilius) sortil(egus) ex visu v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. The first line of the inscription, though completely broken off, can be restored with considerable confidence on the basis of three other inscriptions found nearby, Loeschcke 1928: 29–30.

[94] Wightman 1970: 40–2.

[95] Keune 1935: 75, citing Lucan, *Phars*. IX.581–82: *Sortilegis egeant dubii semperque futuris / casibus ancipites*. My thanks to Adam Cohen of the University of Toronto for assistance in obtaining this article.

[96] Scheid 1995b: 231: "Les dieux de l'Altbachtal n'étaient sont donc pas simplement des dieux indigènes. C'étaient des dieux indigènes pris et pensés par la cité nouvelle puis la colonie comme dieux publics."

[97] Scheid 1995b: 237: "Le processus n'est guère différent de celui qui a mené à la romanisation des divinités italiques après la conquête romaine et surtout après la Guerre sociale. Les traces qui survivent des grand sanctuaires italiques – le sanctuaire de Clitumne en Ombrie ou celui de Voltumna en

possibility that archaic lot divination was more thoroughly reframed in the provinces than it had ever been reframed in Italy. So, for instance, while we see the Romanized lot diviners of Italy using the same ritual equipment as was used in Italian shrines, we do not see any evidence of this in provincial cases. Outside of Italy, lot divination could be based on markedly different cultural traditions, perhaps not involving urns, physical lots, or children at all. The lot diviners of whom Apuleius makes fun in *Metamorphoses* IX.8 practiced only with a single, written, hermeneutically elastic *sors*. A divergence from Italian practices is also possible in the case of Veneria, the last named lot diviner from antiquity, who lived in Numidia to the recorded age of 100, and died at the end of the second or beginning of the third century CE.[98] Buried in Castellum Arsacalitanum, an administrative center for the rural district south-west of Cirta, her epitaph reads simply VENERIA SORTILOCA V A C (*ILAlg*. II.9398 = *CIL* VIII.6181). Occupations as such are not listed on inscriptions from Castellum Arsacalitanum, and SORTILOCA (*sortilega*) must therefore be a religious title (like *sacerdos*, found elsewhere at the site[99]) or a cognomen – in Veneria's case, a second cognomen – derived from her occupation, not an uncommon naming practice in North Africa.[100] In either case, it is noteworthy that she was commemorated as a *sortilega* in a Roman settlement with a diverse ethnic makeup – Berber, Punic, and Italian.[101]

That Veneria chose to practice as a *sortilega* says much about the endurance of this Latin title and its value as a statement of Romanness. But like the title applied to Cossus, son of Fronto, the word *sortilega* tells us practically nothing about the kind of divination she practiced. How we should understand the practice of technical divination by a woman – certainly a violation of the expected taxonomy, which confined women to "natural" divination like dreams and inspired prophecy – is just one of the problems posed by her career, which is at the same time both Roman, as we have seen, and Numidian, based on local norms for female divination.

What in the end made this cultural syncretism possible was the inherent flexibility of the title *sortilegus*. As a consequence of the way in which they invented themselves and of not having a fixed written discipline, *sortilegi* could practice just about any kind of lot divination for which there was a

Etrurie par exemple – sont 'romaines' et remplissent désormais leur fonction dans le contexte de l'Italie romaine."

98 Lassère 1973 provides a framework for determining the date.

99 *ILAlg*. II.9112, 9113.

100 For examples, see Pflaum 1978: 96 (Castellum Celtianum) and 181 (Cirta).

101 Lassère 1977: 687, s.v. *Arsacal*.

market. And so, to the process of inventing the *sortilegus* we would have to add her reinventing, a recursive process whose details cannot be traced here, but which went on as long as practices of divination continued to be described with Latin titles. By the thirteenth century, in the ever-expanding medieval vocabulary of magic and witchcraft, the term *sortilegus* even came to mean "sorcerer," rejoining its onetime synonym *sortiarius* after fourteen centuries.[102] Thus were the limits of its adaptation reached. Three centuries later the scholarly investigation of *sortilegi* began with the disentangling of lot diviners from sorcerers. As the Calvinist reformer Lambert Daneau observed in 1574, sorcerers were diabolical poisoners, whereas the *sortilegus* was "un homme . . . qui par sort predit une chose future et à advenir."[103]

[102] Wagner 1939: 135–7.
[103] Lambert Daneau, *Les Sorciers: dialogue tres-utile et necessarie pour ce temps* (Geneva, 1574), cited by Wagner 1939: 224.

CHAPTER 7

Hot, cold, or smelly: the power of sacred water in Roman religion, 400–100 BCE *

Ingrid Edlund-Berry

INTRODUCTION

The topic of water, sacred water, and cults connected with water is important to all studies of ancient religion,[1] but is particularly relevant for our understanding of Roman and Italic society during the last four centuries of the Roman Republic. That the religious importance of water went well beyond its visual appeal or practical use is clear from the ancient sources, both literary and archaeological. Throughout Italy, from the beginning of time, the presence of springs, streams, rivers, and lakes has created the character of the landscape. Wherever these natural water sources appear, we are likely to find remains of sacred areas, ranging from isolated votive deposits to monumental sanctuaries. Along roads, at river crossings, and along mountain passes, the presence of water reinforces the link between nature and the divine.

The power of sacred water is reflected in beliefs and practices that illustrate both Rome's uniqueness and its dependence on the religious traditions of Italy as a whole. Furthermore, the study of sacred water at sites outside the city enhances our understanding of the term "Roman" within the context of Rome's neighbors in central Italy and throughout the peninsula. This is especially true for Etruria where, during the period 400–100 BCE, the Roman presence spread rapidly and widely to the point that Roman values and religious practices may have merged with those that were exclusive to the Etruscans. As often discussed in recent scholarship, one example of this

* The topics discussed in this chapter are part of a study of political and healing sanctuaries in ancient Italy, begun in 1987 thanks to a fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies. The section on Mefitis and the importance of sulphur is based on two papers: "Disciplina medica: form and function of healing sanctuaries in central Italy," presented at the conference on *Italic Sanctuaries: New Perspectives*, held at the British School in Rome, 28 May 1999; "Sulphur fumes and medicine bottles in Sicilian sanctuaries," presented at *Keramik i kontext, the Second Nordic Vase Colloquium*, held in Helsinki, Finland, 11–13 June 1999. All texts and translations, except for Servius, come from the Loeb Classical Library. The Servius text is that of Thilo and Hagen.

[1] See in particular Ninck 1921.

blending of Roman and Etruscan may be the use of certain types of votive terracottas in Etruria, a practice perhaps introduced by Roman colonists who brought with them new forms of healing cults.[2]

Roman fascination with water is easy to comprehend. Majestic rivers, swift-moving streams, and good spring water are integral parts of the Italic landscape, and indeed of Italic life.[3] The role of sacred (and other) water in Rome is documented by the location of the city and its geographic and geological features, including the River Tiber, streams, and springs.[4] In addition to the location of these waters, the specific cults of water deities imply that the Romans were profoundly respectful of the absolute importance of water for daily life as well as for religious uses.

Although examples from Rome proper are abundant, it is also important to examine the surrounding areas where different local traditions preserve a long history of the use of water, especially in the form of springs. Sources of water were often determining factors in the siting of sanctuaries and the religious activities performed there. Whether at small rural sanctuaries placed near springs, often following a continuous history from prehistoric times, or at more elaborate monumental building complexes, water used for purification or cleansing played a vital role in sanctuaries.[5] Water was also an important element in religious observance, including ritual cleansing and purification in forms ranging from sprinkling to bathing. The offerings found at these sites, as well as the quality of the water and the layout of the sanctuaries connected with them, highlight the importance of sulphur springs as a source of healing for many different categories of people.[6] Of the water used in rituals, the ancients distinguished among various categories in terms of temperature, hot versus cold, and quality, where sweet clear water is different from smelly water, a phenomenon caused primarily by the presence of sulphur.

Despite the prominence of water in such important texts as Livy's description of the founding of Rome in the first book of the *Ab Urbe Condita*, Ovid's *Fasti*, or Vergil's *Aeneid* and *Georgics*, the significance of water in

[2] For a general discussion, see De Cazanove 2000: 71–6. Söderlind 1999: 138–52 and 2002: 375–80 provides a detailed analysis of this issue based on the site of Tessennano, in the area of Vulci. For a different view, see F. Glinister's contribution (Chapter 1) in this volume.

[3] In addition to the many valuable studies of water in ancient cultures, the year 2003, designated the world year of water, has sparked important initiatives such as the highly innovative exhibit at one of the key sites of healing water in Italy today, Chianciano Terme, organized by Giulio Paolucci, and supplemented by a valuable catalogue, *L'Acqua degli Dei*, ed. Donatella Zinelli (2003).

[4] For hydrographic maps of Rome, see Holland 1961: figs. 2–4.

[5] See Dilthey 1980; Edlund 1987a and 1987b; Pacciarelli and Sassatelli 1997; Chellini 2002.

[6] See, below p. 172.

Roman religion has not always been fully recognized. This is in part due to the fact that we have directed our attention towards official Roman state cults and deities rather than towards less obvious expressions of the religious practices of the ancient Italic society as a whole. For example, the most recent study in English on the *Religions of Rome* by Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price (1998) includes a thorough evaluation of many different aspects of Roman religion from early Rome to early Christianity, including important public practices and examples of private rites, but the function of water does not really form part of the discussion. Thus, the description of the tasks performed by the Vestal Virgins in guarding the sacred hearth, the cleaning of their storehouse, and the preparation of food does not include consideration of how the priestesses procured sacred water from the spring at Porta Capena.[7]

The importance of water for religious purposes is not in doubt. According to Wissowa, natural springs, whose water was commonly used for ritual cleansing (*lustratio*)[8] have their own deities, among whom were the Camenae, Egeria, and also Carmenta who is usually considered a goddess of prophecy and childbirth.[9] While all springs by definition were considered sacred,[10] two were especially important to the city of Rome: Fons, honored at the Fontinalia (13 October) and Juturna, honored at the Juturnalia (11 January).[11] In addition to springs, rivers throughout Italy were the objects of veneration, such as the Clitumnus in Umbria, the Numicus near Lavinium, as well as the Tiber, known by the name Volturnus in the Roman calendar (27 August).[12] Although the Tiber was the most immediate water source for Rome, the god Neptunus also figures in the Roman calendar (Neptunalia, 23 July).[13] Often thought of exclusively as a sea god, Neptunus was also a procurer and protector of sweet spring water in the

[7] Beard, North, and Price 1998: 1.51–2. For the Vestal Virgins' rituals involving water, see p. 169 below and Simon 1990: 230.

[8] Wissowa 1912: 219–25.

[9] Wissowa 1912: 220–1; Scullard 1981: 62–4. Like Wissowa, Latte's discussion of water in Roman religion centers on springs, though he adds the ceremonies performed to invoke the deities of rain in times of drought (1960: 76–9). Latte's discussion of individual deities is based on ancient texts and inscriptions, and offers useful interpretations or corrections of earlier scholarship. While Latte remains a fundamental source for our understanding of Roman religion, it is important to recognize the topics and areas which are not covered in his analysis, primarily the archaeological evidence and the religious practices of Roman society as a whole, including women and freedmen or slaves.

[10] Servius, *ad Aen.* VII.84 (*nullus enim fons non sacer*).

[11] Wissowa 1912: 221–3. For the location of these spring sanctuaries, see below p. 168 and nn. 34 and 35.

[12] Wissowa 1912: 224–5; Fowler (1899) 1969: 214; Radke 1979: 300–1; Scullard 1981: 181–2.

[13] Wissowa 1912: 225–9; Fowler (1899) 1969: 185–7; Radke 1979: 227–8; Scullard 1981: 168; Simon 1990: 182–92 and 2000: 252–4.

heat of the summer, and was perhaps linked with the deity Salacia as his spouse.[14] In spite of the temptation to equate Neptunus with his Greek counterpart Poseidon, Neptune was honored throughout Italy as a generic protector of water, and his feast day continued to be venerated through the Roman imperial times into early Christianity.[15]

While numerous studies have paid some attention to individual water deities and their festivals,[16] two works in particular have shed greater light on the role of water in Roman religion. Louise Adams Holland's analysis of *Janus and the Bridge* (1961) introduces a fascinating discussion of the importance of water in Rome, based on ancient texts as well as a thorough knowledge of the landscape of ancient and modern Italy. Although some scholars have questioned Holland's interpretation of Janus as a water god,[17] her approach to the subject of water and its importance in ancient religion remains influential as well as thought-provoking. Also important for the inquiry at hand is Erika Simon's *Die Götter der Römer* (1990). Simon bridges the gap between the well-researched areas of Latin literature and the Roman calendar and the lesser-known archaeological and artistic evidence for temples and sanctuaries. As she indicates in her preface, Simon has intentionally focused her discussion on the deities within Roman religion for whom there is plentiful archaeological evidence.[18] In addition she provides an insightful interpretation of the interaction between deity, ritual, and place, as in her consideration of Venus in her role as a healing deity at the sanctuary at Lavinium and her link to Italic Mefitis, the goddess of healing sulphur waters, and to the practice of purification by sulphur and/or water.[19]

Building on these and other earlier treatments of the subject, the following discussion traces the role of water in Roman religion across various cults, in both the public and private realm, as it can be reconstructed from literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence. While some of this material pertains to official rituals and public priests, much evidence points toward the widespread use of water for sacred rituals performed by ordinary

[14] Wissowa 1912: 225–9. As Simon points out, this deity, coupled with Neptune, reflects the Etruscan and Roman practice of extracting salt from the salines at the mouth of the Tiber (Simon 1990: 183).

[15] Wissowa 1912: 229.

[16] On the contributions of Wissowa and Latte, see n. 9 above. Two works in English which devote themselves specifically to a discussion of the festivals of the Roman calendar are Fowler's *The Roman Festivals* ([1899] 1969) which introduces all the main events in the Roman calendar based on the historical and literary evidence, and Scullard's *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic* (1981). The latter presents the feast days of the Roman calendar based on the earlier study by Fowler and focuses on the existence of the religious rituals during the Roman Republic rather than on their historical origin (1981: 13).

[17] Waszink 1965: 177–88; Simon 1990: 88–93.

[18] Simon 1990: 9–12.

[19] Simon 1990: 220–4.

people whose main concern was to address the real-life needs of cleansing and healing humans and animals, of purifying houses and shrines, and of ascertaining the goodwill of named and unnamed deities and spirits in charge of the welfare of everything living.

CATEGORIES OF WATER AND THE ROMAN CALENDAR

The Latin texts that mention water range from random references to springs or lakes[20] to lengthy discussions of the use and significance of water, primarily by Pliny (*HN* XXXI) and Seneca (*Q Nat.* III).[21] For religious purposes, all forms of water were important, but those that were considered to be "living water" were regarded as special. As shown by Holland, it is the nature of the water as moving and flowing, hence living, that matters, both for Roman religious practices and in Roman law.[22] General comments on the types of water are found in Seneca among other authors:[23]

Aut stant omnes aquae aut eunt aut colliguntur aut varias habent venas. Aliae dulces sunt, aliae varie asperae; quippe interveniunt salsae amaraeque aut medicatae, ex quibus sulphuratas dicimus, ferratas, aluminosas; indicat vim sapor. (*Q Nat.* III.2.1)[24]

All waters are still, or running, or collected, or occupy various subterranean channels. Some are sweet, others have flavours that are disagreeable in different ways; among them are the salty, the bitter, and the medicinal. In the last category I mean sulphur, iron, and alum waters. The taste indicates the properties.

Many of the same categories appear in Pliny's treatment of the various beneficial waters found at the bay of Baiae, which also included hot steam (*HN* XXXI.2.4) (Fig. 7.1). Other waters noted for their exceptionally high quality are the cold springs near Ardea (Vitr. *De arch.* VIII.3.2) and the cold water of the River Albula near Tivoli, so identified by Vitruvius (*De arch.* VIII.3.2) and Strabo (V.3.11).[25] Opinions on the character of the water were not unanimous, however: Pliny refers to the Albula waters as lukewarm, and

[20] See e.g. Ninck 1921; Edlund 1987a. [21] Ninck 1921: 4.
[22] Holland 1961. [23] Chellini 2002: 217–20.
[24] Cf. *Q. Nat.* III.20.2: *Haec causae saporem dant aquis varium, hae medicatam potentiam, hae gravem spiritum odoremque pestiferum gravitatemque, hae aut calorem autem nimium rigorem. Interest utrum loca sulphure an nitro an bitumine plena transierint* ("These causes give water its different taste, its medicinal power, its disagreeable exhalation and pestilential odour, as well as its unwholesomeness, heat or excessive cold. It makes a difference whether it passes through places full of sulphur, nitre, or bitumen"). The whole passage III.20.1–6 is relevant, as is III.24–5.
[25] For Aquae Albulae near Tivoli, see Giuliani 1970: 24–5; Mari 1983; Frizell 2004. I am grateful to Barbro Santillo Frizell, Director of the Swedish Institute in Rome, for allowing me to consult her very important and interesting paper.

Fig. 7.1 Engraving by M. C. Sadeler, *A la Solfataria detta da Plinio campi Flegrei* no. 48.

also singles out for praise the waters of Sabine Cutilia.[26] The categorization of water was not strictly utilitarian. While the source of the water would dictate its sweet or salty taste, the contrast between salty sea water and sweet spring water could also take on a symbolic value. Thus Benario can argue that the salty sea water described in the first six books of the *Aeneid* represents the danger of travel, whereas the last six books emphasize the sweet water of the land, the stable goal finally reached by Aeneas and his men.[27]

Ancient authors provide references, numerous and widely scattered, to deities associated with water and to their festivals celebrated as part of the regular Roman calendar.[28] Specifically mentioned in the calendar are deities that were directly connected with sea water (Neptune, 23 July and 1 December),[29] with Lake Nemi (Diana, 13 August),[30] with the River Tiber (Aesculapius, 1 January, Tiberinus, 8 December),[31] the River Numicus (Anna Perenna, 15 March),[32] and the River Volturnus, i.e. the Tiber (Volturnalia, 27 August).[33] Spring deities and nymphs were Juturna (9 January),[34] whose union with Janus (1 January) produced a son, Fons or Fontus (Fontinalia, 13 October),[35] Furrina (Furrinalia, 25 July),[36] the Camenae (13 August),[37] and perhaps Carmenta (Carmentalia, 11 and 15 January).[38]

Other feast days required ritual cleansing with water, including hand washing. These were the days of Fortuna Virilis and Venus Verticordia

[26] Plin. *HN* xxxi.6.10; cf. xxxi.32.59. [27] Benario 1978. [28] Chini 1990: 83–7.

[29] Fowler (1899) 1969: 185–7; Radke 1979: 227–8; Scullard 1981: 168 and 199; Simon 1990: 182–92.

[30] Fowler (1899) 1969: 198–202; Radke 1979: 104–7; Scullard 1981: 173–4; Simon 1990: 51–8.

[31] Fowler (1899) 1969: 277–8; Radke 1979: 57–8 and 300–1; Scullard 1981: 54–6, 120–1, and 202; Simon 1990: 19–26.

[32] Fowler (1899) 1969: 50–4; Radke 1979: 66–8; Scullard 1981: 90 "the story that she perished in the river Numicus near Rome has been responsible for the wild suggestion that she was in fact a water-nymph!" But, see Prayon 1988: 77, n. 7: "Quellnymphen und Flussgottheiten, wie in Rom schon für die Frühzeit (zu Anna Perenna: Colonna, wie Anm. 2), sind für das frühe Etrurien bisher nicht sicher bezeugt." Prayon here refers to Colonna 1980: 56–7, fig. 4 and 170, fig. 1, an archaic inscription from the Cloaca Maxima with the word ANA. The grove and spring of Anna Perenna have recently been identified at piazza Euclide in Parioli in Rome. A nearby villa, discovered during the construction of the modern concert hall complex, the Auditorium, may have been part of the cult site for Anna Perenna. The interpretation of the spring at piazza Euclide is ongoing, and most recently presented at a conference held at the University of Rome, La Sapienza, on 20 May, 2003. See also Piranomonte 2002. For a different interpretation of the location of the cult of Anna Perenna, see Wiseman 2006.

[33] Fowler (1899) 1969: 214; Radke 1979: 347–8; Scullard 1981: 181–2.

[34] Fowler (1899) 1969: 293; Radke 1979: 160–2; Scullard 1981: 64–5; Simon 1990: 36.

[35] Radke 1979: 147–9, 160–2, and 131; Scullard 1981: 60–1, 64–5, and 192. Wissowa 1912: 223 equates Juturna with the Nymphs venerated on 23 August, but Scullard 1981: 180 disagrees with this interpretation.

[36] Fowler (1899) 1969: 187–8; Scullard 1981: 168–9. [37] Radke 1979: 78–9; Scullard 1981: 175.

[38] Carmenta was considered a water nymph by Wissowa 1912: 219–21, but not by Scullard 1981: 64.

(1 April),[39] Parilia (21 April),[40] Lemuria (9, 11, 13 May),[41] Mercury (15 May),[42] Ambarvalia (29 May),[43] Vestalia (9 June),[44] and the Ludi Romani (5–19 September).[45] Although the details of the rituals vary, water was all important in each instance. Thus the Vestal Virgins were obliged to procure the water for cleansing from the spring of Egeria at Porta Capena,[46] and were required to carry it in a special vessel (*futtile vas*) which they were not allowed to put down on the ground.[47] Not mentioned in the Roman calendar but equally important are other deities whose worship involved the ritual use of water. These include Cloacina or Venus Cloacina, Magna Mater, and Mefitis. Of these, Cloacina was associated with cleansing,[48] and the ritual of Magna Mater involved a cleansing (*lavatio*) of the image of the goddess at her temple on the Palatine, or in the River Almo.[49] Like Magna Mater, Mefitis was a newcomer in the Roman pantheon, but, as will be discussed below, her history and importance in the rest of Italy was far-reaching.[50] The goddess Bona Dea, with feast days on 1 May and 3 December, is usually considered an earth goddess, but Staples connects her with water because of the story of how Hercules came in search of water after defeating Cacus. The women were celebrating the rites of Bona Dea and did not allow him access to the water reserved for women only.[51]

PEOPLE AND SACRED WATER

Although the Romans had a large number of priesthoods with specific assignments in terms of sacrifices, interpretations of signs, or other activities, there is no indication that the use of water for ceremonies was restricted to, or even the main responsibility of, priests or priestesses. An exception is the grey-haired priest in purple robes who was in charge of washing the

[39] Fowler (1899) 1969: 67–9; Radke 1979: 315–17; Scullard 1981: 96–7.
[40] Fowler (1899) 1969: 79–85; Radke 1979: 242–3; Scullard 1981: 103–5.
[41] Fowler (1899) 1969: 106–11; Radke 1979: 174; Scullard 1981: 118–19.
[42] Fowler (1899) 1969: 111–21; Radke 1979: 213–16; Scullard 1981: 122; Simon 1990: 158–67.
[43] Fowler (1899) 1969: 124–8; Scullard 1981: 124–5.
[44] Fowler (1899) 1969: 145–54; Radke 1979: 320–35; Scullard 1981: 149–50; Simon 1990: 229–39.
[45] Fowler (1899) 1969: 215–35; Scullard 1981: 183–5.
[46] E. Rodríguez Almeida, *LTUR* I.216, s.v. "Camenae, Camenarum fons et lucus."
[47] Simon 1990: 230 with reference to Serv. *ad Aen.* XI.339. See also Fowler (1899) 1969: 149 and Scullard 1981: 149.
[48] Plin. *HN* XV.119; Radke 1979: 93; Simon 1990: 223; Richardson 1992: 92, s.v. "Cloacina, Sacrum."
[49] Ov. *Fast.* IV.339–40; Radke 1979: 191–2; Simon 1990: 148; Roller 1999: 274.
[50] See below, p. 172.
[51] Staples 1998: 24–5, with references to Macrob. *Sat.* I.12.27 and Prop. IV.9.

image of Magna Mater in the River Almo, as described by Ovid.[52] Likewise, the spring goddess Carmenta had her own priest, *flamen*, like some other ancient goddesses, but there is no indication that he had anything to do with the use of sacred water.[53] Although the chief priests in Rome, the *pontifices*, did not use water in any of the rituals under their domain, the etymology of their name may reflect a connection with water. As "bridge-builders" they may have been responsible for transforming the water boundaries in Rome into elements of the city, no longer separating but rather uniting the hills and valleys.[54]

More commonly, water was in the domain of ordinary people, including individual women such as Claudia Quinta who performed an act of purification with water as she participated in the ceremony of receiving the image of Magna Mater.[55] The spring deity Juturna was honored by craftsmen whose work involved water[56] and it was the responsibility of shepherds to purify their animals[57] while merchants sprinkled their goods with water before sale.[58] And it was Romans and Sabine soldiers, not the priests, who performed the act of cleansing at the shrine of Venus Cloacina after the rape of the Sabine women.[59] At the festival of Fors Fortuna on 24 June, the common people (*plebs*) came out in full force on foot or in boats, celebrating the humble origin of the cult.[60] Although the cult as such did not include sacred water, the feast day centered on the River Tiber, and, specifically its shores leading to the salt beds at the estuary.[61] While in general springs were protected by individuals and groups using the precious water, there are also inscriptions referring to organized categories of *magistri* or *collegia* in charge of specific springs or other water sources.[62]

TRANSPORT AND RITUAL USE

While most water could be used at the source, there were also times when it needed to be transported. According to Ovid (*Fast.* v.673–6) there was

[52] Ov. *Fast.* iv.337–40: *est locus, in Tiberim qua lubricus influit Almo / et nomen magno perdit in amne minor: / illic purpurea canus cum veste sacerdos / Almonis dominam sacraque lavit aquis* ("There is a place where the smooth Almo flows into the Tiber, and the lesser river loses its name in the great one. There a hoary-headed priest in purple robe washed the Mistress [Magna Mater] and her holy things in the waters of the Almo"). Cf. *Fast.* vi.105–7.

[53] Fowler (1899) 1969: 292; Simon 1990: 230.

[54] For a discussion of this priesthood, whether or not connected with Janus as a water deity, see Holland 1961.

[55] Ov. *Fast.* iv.313–15: *haec ubi castarum processit ab agmine matrum / et manibus puram fluminis hausit aquam, / ter caput inrorat, ter tollit in aethera palmas* ("When she had stepped forth from the procession of the chaste matrons, and taken up the pure water of the river in her hands, she thrice let it drip on her head, and thrice lifted her palms to heaven").

[56] See above n. 34. [57] Ov. *Fast.* iv.735–6; Frizell 2004. [58] See below, p. 171.

[59] See above n. 48. [60] Ov. *Fast.* vi.781–4. [61] Simon 1990: 64–5. [62] Wissowa 1912: 222.

a source of water connected with Mercury, near Porta Capena in Rome.[63] Merchants who came here on Mercury's feast day on 15 May would draw water and carry it away in a fumigated jar (*urna suffita*). We have already had cause to mention that the Vestal Virgins drew water from the spring of Egeria near Porta Capena, carrying it in a special vessel known as *futtile vas*.[64] The same phenomenon is attested archaeologically on a more popular level by the frequent presence of miniature hydriae in votive deposits. The ubiquity of these items suggests that the transport of water was an important part of religious rituals.[65] Other types of vessels, the so-called thymiateria or louteria, were used for incense or water, and are found in votive contexts indicating the importance of water in many different kinds of rituals.[66]

A frequent use of water was as purification or lustration. This involved washing one's face and hands (Hor. *Sat*. I.5.24–6), or cleansing "holy things" (Ov. *Fast*. III.11–12; III.337–41), but also the sprinkling of water (Ov. *Fast*. IV.313–15, IV.727–8, IV.787–91). At times such ritual cleansing is tied to historical events, such as the aftermath of the rape of the Sabine women. Pliny records that both the Sabines and the Romans purified themselves with sprigs of myrtle at the site of Venus Cloacina in the Roman Forum.[67] As a water deity with her shrine next to the Cloaca Maxima, originally a stream and only later turned into a drainage canal and sewer, she provided the necessary sacred water for this ritual. A ritual which involved women bathing nude was executed in connection with the worship of Fortuna Virilis on 1 April, the feast day of Venus.[68] A peculiar instance was the practice of merchants to sprinkle water over the goods they were about to sell, as an act of purification.[69] Purification by the sprinkling of water could also be used on the ground or at an entrance (Ov. *Fast*. IV.731–40, VI.105–7).

Hot water was generally associated with sulphur, and Seneca makes a direct connection between the presence of sulphur in water and its temperature:

Quidam existimant per loca sulphure plena vel nitro euntes aquas calorem beneficio materiae per quam fluunt trahere. Quod ipso odore gustuque testantur; reddunt enim qualitatem eius qua caluere materiae. (*Q Nat*. III.24.4)

Some suppose that water passing through places full of sulphur or nitre takes on heat from the properties of the material through which it flows. The water indicates this by its special odour and taste, for it reproduces the quality of the material which made it become warm.

[63] G. De Spirito, *LTUR* II.259, s.v. "Fons Mercurii." [64] See above n. 7; Simon 1990: 230.
[65] Cole 1988: 163; Edlund-Berry 2004, s.v. "miniature pottery."
[66] Cole 1988: 162; Edlund-Berry 2004, s.v. "thymiateria."
[67] See above n. 48. [68] Ov. *Fast*. IV.133–57; Latte 1960: 181; Scullard 1981: 96–7.
[69] Ov. *Fast*. V.673–9. See above, n. 63.

Pliny and Vitruvius also describe a relationship among fire, sulphur, and the water temperature.[70] The connection between heat and sulphur (and thus an unpleasant-tasting water) is not absolute, however. Vitruvius compares some hot springs to the excellent water of the Fountain of the Camenae and the Marcian aqueduct (*De arch*. VIII.3.1).

While not all hot water is sulphurous, all sulphurous water is smelly. Vitruvius identifies sulphurous water, whether hot or cold, as having a bad smell and flavor (*De arch.* VIII.2.2)[71] and Servius attributes the bad smell to the goddess Mefitis who like other deities in the Roman tradition could be perceived as both male and female:[72]

SACRO FONTE nullus enim fons non sacer. MEPHITIN mephitis proprie est terrae putor, qui de aquis nascitur sulphuratis, et est in nemoribus gravior ex densitate silvarum. alii Mephitin deum volunt Leucotheae conexum, sicut est Veneri Adonis, Dianae Virbius. alii Mephitin Iunonem volunt, quam aërem esse constat. novimus autem putorem non nisi ex corruptione aëris nasci, sicut etiam bonum odorem de aere incorrupto, ut sit Mephitis dea odoris gravissimi, id est grave olentis. (Serv. *ad Aen.* VII.84)

He says "sacred spring" for every spring is sacred, and he refers to the ferocious vapor as "mephitis" because foul scent is thought to properly belong to Mefitis, who was born from sulphur water, and because the smell is stronger in forests because of the density of the trees. Some desire that the god Mefitis be connected to Leucothea just as Adonis is to Venus and Virbius is to Diana. Others want Mefitis to be Juno, since it is agreed that she is air. Moreover we know that a foul smell does not occur unless there is a fracturing of the air, just as a pleasant smell arises from pure air. Thus, since Mefitis is a goddess with the most unpleasant smell, the air is heavy with scent.

According to Pliny, sulphurous water occurs in the area of Baiae (*HN* XXXI.2.4–5); its color can be white (Verg. *Aen*. VII.516–17), and it tends to cause incrustation of all surfaces surrounding such channels and banks (Seneca, *Q Nat.* III.20.4).

Connected with purification by water was the use of sulphur, believed to cleanse when burning. It could be applied to people or animals, and the smoking sulphur was believed to have immediate effect (Tib. I.5.II–12; Ov. *Fast*. IV.735–9; Prop. IV.8.81–6; Plin. *HN* XXXV.177). An underlying function of the cleansing was the healing of people and of animals. For people, this healing could involve hot salt water and sulphur (Suet. *Aug.* 82)[73] or the

[70] Plin. *HN* XXXV.177 and Vitr. *De arch.* II.6.1.
[71] Vitr. *De arch.* VIII.2.2.
[72] *RE* XV.118–19, s.v., "Mefitis"; Latte 1960: 59–60.
[73] See above n. 19. The ancient traditions of healing baths at Aquae Albulae continue today at the popular spa, Bagni di Tivoli.

fumes from the waters below Albunea (Verg. *Aen*. VII.81–5).[74] Although the medicinal use of water and sulphur no doubt was often connected with a specific healing deity such as Aesculapius[75] or Mefitis, the deity involved in a given ritual is not always named by our sources.

For animals, the healing involved dipping,[76] a practice that was, according to Macrobius, restricted to certain days of the year (*Sat*. III.3.11–12). For this important process, the location of healing water sources determined the routes of transhumance throughout the history of ancient Italy.[77]

PLACES OF WATER

Throughout antiquity Roman religion is marked by its emphasis on details, on the correct form of worship and ritual, and on its links to political events. Less obvious, but equally important, are the ties to specific locations and their setting in nature, and, particularly relevant for this discussion, the role of places of water in Roman religion during the Republic. Within Rome and throughout Italy the landscape presents a contrast between high and low land and elements of water, ranging from the large rivers, including the Tiber, to lakes, streams, natural and man-made pools, and springs (Fig. 7.2). There is much literary and archaeological evidence to suggest that sources of sacred water played an important role in the religious practices of ancient Italy.[78] Whether modest or monumental, sanctuaries were located in the proximity of water, and the layout of sanctuaries was determined by the presence of springs or water collected in basins. Water as represented by the sea, lakes, rivers, and springs is an integral part of Aeneas' travels in Italy, and throughout Italy the sanctity of a place was most easily recognized by the presence of water in the form of a lake or spring in the natural setting of the landscape.[79] At times such places of water can be tied to a specific named deity, at other times they were in the domain of a spirit or *numen.*

In addition to major bodies of water such as rivers and lakes, the predominant sources for sacred water are springs.[80] In Rome these springs were often associated with spring deities or nymphs known by name, such as Juturna, Egeria, the Camenae, Anna Perenna, or Cranaë (or Crane),[81] whereas other

[74] See below n. 91. For the site of Albunea, see Poccetti 1982: 239–40; *BTCGI* VIII.488, s.v. "Lavinio"; below, p. 176.
[75] Simon 1990: 19–26. [76] Verg. *G.* III.445–7.
[77] The importance of healing waters in the pastoral economy has been documented most recently by Frizell 2004; see above, nn. 57, 76.
[78] Ninck 1921; Edlund 1987a: 54–61; Prayon 1988 and 1989; Pacciarelli 1997; *Umbria Antica* 2002.
[79] Maggiani 2003: 39–43. [80] Holland 1961; Lanciani (1880) 1975; Chellini 2002.
[81] Ov. *Fast.* III.273–75 and VI.105–7. For the recent discovery of the spring of Anna Perenna, see above n. 32.

Fig. 7.2 Map of Italy with sulphur sites and Mefitis sanctuaries.

spring deities were anonymous.[82] These springs were important landmarks in the topography of Rome, in the Roman Forum (Juturna), on the Caelian hill, near Porta Capena (Egeria and Camenae), near via Flaminia (piazza

[82] Ov. *Fast.* III.295–9: *lucus Aventino suberat niger ilicis umbra, / quo posses viso dicere "numen inest." / in medio gramen, muscoque adoperta virenti / manabat saxo vena perennis aquae: inde fere soli Faunus Picusque bibebant* ("Under the Aventine there lay a grove black with the shade of holm-oaks; at sight of it you could say, 'There is a spirit here.' A sward was in the midst, and, veiled by a green moss,

Euclide) (Anna Perenna), and along the Tiber (Cranaë), and the activities surrounding them are known from texts as well as archaeological remains.[83] The springs in Rome were frequented because of the quality and sanctity of their water, as were springs in other parts of Italy, especially in Etruria.[84] In addition to natural spring water, other sources of water could appear within the grounds of a sanctuary. Thus the sanctuary of Fortuna and Mater Matuta at S. Omobono in Rome[85] contains a cistern[86] which, according to Simon, can be connected with the feast day of Matralia on 11 June, a time of year known for scarcity of water. Likewise, the Temple of Venus Erycina and Mens on the Capitoline contained two cellas, separated by a canal for the drainage of rainwater.[87] Although not "sacred" as such, water that was preserved within a sanctuary gained special importance in that it provided an additional supply of water in times of drought.

As already indicated, the overriding connection between water, its healing function, and a deity honored throughout ancient Italy is represented by the sulphurous waters used in healing cults at sanctuaries of the Italic goddess Mefitis. In addition to the cult places with such water, the etymology of the goddess' name is also associated with the potent smell of sulphurous water.[88]

While Mefitis did not play a major role in the city of Rome, where she had a sacred grove (*lucus*) and shrine (*aedes*) on the Esquiline hill,[89] one of the main sources for her cult, Vergil's *Aeneid* VII.81–5[90] and Servius'

there trickled from a rock a rill of never-failing water. At it Faunus and Picus were wont to drink alone"). Cf. *Fast.* IV.759–60.

[83] Richardson 1992: 152, s.v. "Fons (or Fontus), Ara"; E. Rodríguez Almeida, *LTUR* I.216, s.v. "Camenae, Camenarum fons et lucus"; L. Chioffi, II. 255 s.v. "Fons," and articles on individual springs; Steinby 1989.

[84] Aebischer 1932; Gasperini 1988; Prayon 1988 and 1989; Chellini 2002.

[85] Richardson 1992: 155, s.v. "Fortuna, Aedes", and 246, s.v. "Mater Matuta, Aedes."

[86] Virgili 1988: 77–81 and Simon 1990: 62.

[87] Livy XXIII.31.9; Richardson 1992: 251, s.v. "Mens, Aedes," and 408, s.v. "Venus Erucina, Aedes (1)"; Simon 1990: 213.

[88] Radke 1979: 211–12; Poccetti 1982: 244–51; *Enc. Virg.* III.488, s.v. "mephitis." For other interpretations, see Poccetti 1982. 251–60; R. Mambella, *LIMC* VI.1.400–2, s.v. "Mefitis." For the purpose of the present discussion I am not making a distinction between cults and deities concerned with healing and those connected with health and well-being, for which see I. Edlund-Berry, "Healing, health, and well-being: archaeological evidence for issues of health concerns in ancient Italy," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, Boston, MA, 9 January 2005, to appear in *ARG* (in press).

[89] Varro, *Ling.* V.49; Festus, *Gloss. Lat.* 476; F. Coarelli, *LTUR* III.239–40, s.v., "Mefitis, aedes, lucus"; (Richardson 1992: 251, s.v. "Mefitis, Aedes, Lucus"; Coarelli 1998: 187–90.

[90] Vergil, Aen. VII.81–5: *At rex sollicitus monstris oracula Fauni, / fatidici genitoris, adit lucosque sub alta / consulit Albunea, nemorum quae maxima sacro / fonte sonat saevamque exhalat opaca mephitim* ("But the king, troubled by the portent, visits the oracle of Faunus, his prophetic sire, and consults the groves beneath high Albunea, which, mightiest of forests, echoes with hallowed fountain, and breathes forth from her darkness a deadly vapour").

commentary to this passage (quoted above, p. 172), identifies a site sacred to the goddess at Albunea. According to Vergil, king Latinus visited the grove at Albunea where a spring emits a "ferocious vapor" (*saevam mephitin*). Servius analyzes the text by first stating that every spring is sacred and continues by equating the "vapor" with the goddess of stench, Mefitis. The grove in question can be located at the site of Solforata, on the road between Lavinium (Pratica di Mare) and Albano.[91] In addition to bubbling sulphur springs which fill the air with their odor, a nearby site, Tor Tignosa, indicates the presence of a sanctuary with four inscribed stone markers (*cippi*) and a fragmentary altar.[92] As suggested by Simon, the deities invoked on these markers shared with Mefitis the function of promoting fertility.[93]

The cult of Mefitis is further documented at a large number of sites in Italy,[94] ranging from the region around Cremona in the north to a cluster of sites in Samnite territory and further south. For those sites documented solely by inscriptions and textual evidence, we have little or no knowledge of what the sanctuary might have looked like and to what extent sulphurous waters were a part of the cult.[95] Other sites known from archaeological evidence offer more information. Of these, Rossano di Vaglio is the only sanctuary for which we have a multitude of inscriptions,[96] as well as the remains of a cult place that included a spring.[97] At the site of Aquinum, the connection with Mefitis is established from a local place name, Mèfete,

[91] M. Fenelli, *BTCGI* VIII.488, s.v. "Lavinio." Due to Servius, this Albunea has often been confused with the Aquae Albulae at Tivoli, for which see Giuliani 1970.

[92] Tilly 1947: 103–11 (description of the sulphur spring; in spite of much modern construction, the sulphurous spring is still very much in evidence); Guarducci 1949: 11–25 (publication of the *cippi* with inscriptions to Neuna Fata, Neuna, and Parca Maurtia, *ILLRP* 10–12); Guarducci 1956–8: 3–6 (inscription to Lar Aineias, *ILLRP* 1271); Coarelli et al. 1973: 319–21 (discussion of inscriptions); De Rossi 1970: 95–6 (description of site and altar); Palmer 1974: 79–172 (general discussion). I thank Leni Wendt, Swedish Institute in Rome, for exploring these and many other intriguing sites with me through the years.

[93] Simon 1990: 221.

[94] For lists of sites where Mefitis is documented, see De Cazanova 2003; Lejeune 1990: 44–7; R. Mambella, *LIMC* VI.1.400–1, s.v. "Mefitis." The historical and archaeological aspects of the cult of Mefitis were the topic of a conference, *Il culto della Dea Mefite e la Valle d'Ansanto*, held at Avellino in October 2002. I thank Brian E. McConnell for information about the conference (publication in progress).

[95] Laus Pompeia (dedication; *CIL* V.6353); Cremona (extra-mural temple; Tac. *Hist.* III.33); Atina (dedication; *CIL* X.5047); Equus Tuticus (dedication; *CIL* IX.1421); Capua (votive inscription; *CIL* X.3811); Aeclanum (dedication; Vetter 1953: 162); Pompeii (Vetter 1953: 32; Coarelli 1998: 185–6); Potenza (dedications; ex-voto; *CIL* X.130–3; I have not been able to verify the reference in Simon 1990: 286, n. 39 that remains of a temple have been found there); Grumentum (dedication; *CIL* X.203).

[96] Lejeune 1990.

[97] According to Poccetti 1982: 257, n. 69, the spring is no longer active, but Lejeune 1990: 49 comments on the fact that the water of the spring at Rossano di Vaglio is sweet and not sulphurous.

and the name of a nearby river, Melfa. The archaeological remains consist of a votive deposit with pottery and terracotta antefixes.[98]

The most famous of all sanctuaries of Mefitis is located at the valley of Ampsanctus at Rocca S. Felice in the Apennines, in the province of Avellino.[99] Unlike the sites just mentioned, this sanctuary is documented by ancient textual references[100] as well as archaeological remains, and its identification is further strengthened by a votive inscription to the goddess.[101] The sanctuary is placed in a location of natural majesty, with a sulphurous lake and surrounding hills, and it has yielded the remains of a portico and other structures, as well as a rich votive deposit containing numerous bronze and terracotta figurines, wooden statues, pottery, amber, gold, and coins.[102] The site has gained some of its fame from the dramatic description in Vergil's *Aeneid* VII.563–71:

> *est locus Italiae medio sub montibus altis,*
> *nobilis et fama multis memoratus in oris,*
> *Ampsancti valles; densis hunc frondibus atrum*
> *urget utrimque latus nemoris, medioque fragosus*
> *dat sonitum saxis et torto vertice torrens.*
> *hic specus horrendum est saevi spiracula Ditis*
> *monstrantur, ruptoque ingens Acheronte vorago*
> *pestiferas aperit fauces, quis condita Erinys,*
> *invisum numen, terras caelumque levabat.*

There is a place in the heart of Italy, beneath high hills, renowned and famed in many lands, the Vale of Ampsanctus. On either hand a forest's fringe, dark with dense leafage, hems it in, and in the centre a roaring torrent resounds o'er the rocks in swirling eddies. Here is shown an awful cavern, and a breathing-place of horrid Dis; and a vast gorge, where Acheron bursts forth, opens its pestilential jaws. Herein the Fury hid her loathed power, relieving earth and heaven.

and Servius' commentary on the passage:

Ad Aen. VII.563 Italiae medio hunc locum umbilicum Italiae chorographi dicunt. est autem in latere Campaniae et Apuliae, ubi Hirpini sunt, et habet aquas sulphureas, ideo graviores, quia ambitur silvis. ideo autem ibi aditus esse dicitur inferorum, quod gravis odor iuxta accedentes necat, adeo ut victimae circa hunc locum non immolarentur, sed odore perirent ad aquam adplicatae. et hoc erat genus litationis. sciendum sane Varronem enumerare quot locat in Italia sint huius modi: unde etiam Donatus dicit

[98] Giannetti 1974; Nicosia 1976.

[99] Rainini 1985, 1996, and 2003.

[100] Pliny, *HN* II.208. Cicero, *Div.* I.79 refers to the "deadly" (*mortifera*) earth at Ampsanctus, without mentioning Mefitis. See Pease (1920–3) 1963: 233.

[101] Antonini 1981: 55–60; Patterson 1987: 225; Lejeune 1990: 44.

[102] Rainini 1976, 1985, and 1996. For a selection of figurines, see R. Mambella, *LIMC* VI.1.400–2, s.v. "Mefitis," with illustrations at VI.2.202–3.

Lucaniae esse qui describitur locus, circa fluvium qui Calor vacatur: quod ideo non precedit, quia ait 'Italiae medio'. VII.565 Amsancti valles loci amsancti, id est omni parte sancti: quem dicit et silvis cinctum et fragoso fluvio torrente.

On *Aen.* VII.563: Geographers call this place in the middle of Italy the "navel of Italy". The place is located where Campania and Apulia meet, where the Hirpini live; it has sulphurous waters and thus has an unpleasant scent made stronger because the place is surrounded by a forest. And for the same reason, the place is said to be the entrance to the underworld because the strong stench kills those who draw near, so much so that sacrificial victims are not killed around that place, but rather they die from the smell when they are near the water. And this is a good sort of omen. It should be pointed out that Varro lists how many places like this there are throughout Italy, and that Donatus, drawing on Varro's list, says that the place Vergil describes is in Lucania, somewhere around the river called Calor. But this is really no improvement because Vergil says "in the middle of Italy." VII.565: The valley of Ampsanctus is the location of the Ampsanctus river, which is entirely sacred. He says that it is surrounded by forests and that it has a raging, rushing current.

Without mentioning Mefitis by name, Vergil describes the valley at Ampsanctus as a frightening place, full of roaring noise, to which Servius adds that this was the entrance to the underworld, where the worst danger was not death itself, but the deadly fumes that emanated from the sulphurous waters.

The evidence for the manifestations of the Italic goddess Mefitis suggests that her sacred places were chosen to correspond with the presence of water in settings conducive to movements of people and animals. As shown by Frizell, sanctuaries such as the one at the valley at Ampsanctus corresponded with the route of transhumance across the Apennines.[103] Although not specifically spelled out for each site in the ancient texts and inscriptions, the cult of Mefitis is linked to healing water – more often than not to sulphurous water.

Mefitis is closely associated with sulphurous water, but the importance and use of pure sulphur and of sulphurous waters go far beyond Mefitis herself, as is documented through numerous texts and archaeological sites. The importance of sulphur was well recognized in antiquity, and many authors describe its use.[104] According to Pliny (*HN* XXXV.174–7) there are four kinds of sulphur, of which only one, the so-called "live sulphur" is used for medicinal purposes. Its healing properties function by burning or by use as an ingredient in poultices. Sulphur occurs naturally in volcanic areas, and the most prolific sulphur mines in antiquity and until the early

[103] Frizell 2004. [104] H. Blümner, *RE* II.2.796–801, s.v. "Schwefel."

twentieth century were in Sicily, in the area of Agrigento and further inland towards Caltanisetta.[105] Most famous of the sacred sulphurous places on Sicily is the sanctuary of the Palici, indigenous twin deities, where strong smelling sulphurous water erupts from kraters in the earth.[106] The power of the sulphur fumes was so awe-inspiring that the sanctuary served as a place for taking oaths, and anyone who dared to swear falsely was immediately overcome by "the punishment of heaven," according to Diodorus Siculus.[107]

In addition to the sanctuary of the Palici, other sites with abundant sulphur springs include the previously mentioned locations of Aquae Albulae at Tivoli, Albunea near Lavinium, the valley of Ampsanctus, the bay of Baiae, Cutilia, Ardea,[108] all recorded in the literary texts. Sulphur springs known from archaeological investigation have been documented most extensively for Etruria.[109] In order to gain a total picture of the role of sacred waters, sulphurous and otherwise, we need to examine a range of evidence, not only the literary references scattered throughout the sources but the physical remains of cult sites and material yielded by the many hundreds of votive deposits found in conjunction with springs. As shown by these deposits, which contain a range of objects including votive terracottas, coins, and miniature pottery, the proximity of water at sites such as Tivoli, Lake Nemi, or Rome determined both the popularity of the sanctuaries and their continuity.[110]

CONCLUSION

Water was indeed an important component in Roman religion. Not only was every spring considered sacred, but all forms of water and bodies of water figured in the religious practices of the peoples of Italy throughout its history, from prehistoric times to the Romans.[111] While many individual deities can be associated with water at their sanctuaries, the discussions by

[105] Salmeri 1992; Castellana 1998. The economic and social impact of the sulphur mines is very apparent in much of Sicily's history, including the works of Pirandello (see D'Alessio 1996).

[106] Diod. Sic. xi.89; Macrob. *Sat.* v.19. Coarelli and Torelli: 1984: 202–3; the important ongoing excavations of the sacred site are published by Maniscalco and McConnell (2003).

[107] Diod. Sic. xi.89.5.

[108] For the area of Ardea, see Quilici and Quilici Gigli 1984.

[109] Chellini 2002: 217–20 (e.g. Bagni di Stigliano, Bagno del Re, Saturnia, Petriolo, Rapolano, Porretta Terme, Il Laghetto [Orte]).

[110] Comella, Turfa, and Edlund-Berry 2004.

[111] The importance of water is of course not exclusive to Italy, but can be documented throughout ancient and modern cultures. The use of pure water for drinking and cleansing is best documented through the continued emphasis on sources of mineral waters in Italy as a practical as well as a religious concern. The local forms of healing by water may well have been absorbed by the healing practised by members of religious orders at sites known for their sanctity.

Pliny and other ancient authors and the archaeological evidence suggest that it was the quality of the water and its healing properties that determined the locations of cults and the practices involved with each. The ultimate purpose of sacred and healing water in the context of Roman religion was to serve individuals and groups within society. As part of formalized and official religion, many of these cults gradually became attached to named deities, but as a secondary, not a primary, function. The importance of Mefitis, for example, lies in the location of her cult places and the offerings brought there; water, especially sulphurous water, played a major role in the healing of people and animals, and Mefitis became one of many goddesses in charge of this all-important aspect of life. The use of water was not part of the activities carried out primarily by the traditional Roman priests; instead, any worshipper could approach a spring or other water source for healing or cleansing. Unlike the religious practices performed as part of official, state cults, the use of water seems to fall under the category of unofficial, private practices, comparable to the use of votive offerings at sacred places throughout the world of ancient Italy. Water was everywhere and for everybody, whether Roman or Etruscan, man or woman, rich or poor.

CHAPTER 8

Religion and politics: did the Romans scruple about the placement of their temples?

John Muccigrosso

INTRODUCTION: CICERO AND CLODIUS

It is commonplace now to find political explanations for the many building projects of the late Republic and empire. Yet the application of similar explanations to earlier periods in the Republic has been limited. This chapter aims to correct this situation in part by looking at a series of projects from the years around 300 BCE. First we will examine the politicized nature of various building types at the end of the Republic and how Romans believed that this political aspect of building had been present from early on.

For great men in the final decades of the Republic, temple construction had become part of the arsenal of political competition. For example, Pompey dedicated the Temple of Venus Victrix in 55, only to have it met in 46 by Caesar's Venus Genetrix.[1] Neither project was limited to sacred space: both included other amenities and meeting places for the Senate.[2] Perhaps the best example of the politically motivated dedication of a temple is the one described by Cicero in his post-exile oration *De Domo Sua*, which he delivered in 57 BCE, before the *pontifices* and numerous other religiously and politically powerful Romans. In that speech, Cicero memorably put forward his arguments for regaining his house and property on the Palatine from its recent conversion to a temple of the goddess Libertas by the machinations of his nemesis, P. Clodius Pulcher. After Clodius had achieved Cicero's exile, he proceeded to have his property seized and the house quickly and inexpertly dedicated as a temple. Cicero naturally took the opportunity of his public exposition to fire some broader political

[1] Richardson 1992: 411, s.v. "Venus Victrix, Aedes" and 165–7, s.v. "Forum Iulium"; P. Gros, *LTUR* v.120, s.v. "Venus Victrix, Aedes," with addendum v.292, and C. Morselli, *LTUR* III.299–306, s.v. "Forum Iulium," with addendum v.257, and P. Gros, *LTUR* III.306–7, s.v. "Forum Iulium Venus Genetrix, Aedes."

[2] It was at a meeting of the Senate near Pompey's temple that Caesar was killed. See also Ovid's comments on both complexes, *Ars am.* I.67–88.

salvoes at Clodius, but he did work his way round to the irregularities and flaws in the procedure and, importantly for our topic, the precedents for this kind of behavior.

We learn that this was not the first time Clodius had used religious cover for attacks on the property of his political foes, nor was he particularly original in this. Clodius had himself been the victim of an attempt by L. Ninnius, tr. pl. in 58, to consecrate his goods, an action to which Clodius denied legitimacy (*Dom*. 125). For his part, Clodius had done the same to the goods of Gabinius, and Cicero cites the earlier precedents of the consecration of Cn. Lentulus' goods by a tribune in 70, and those of Q. Metellus by the tribune C. Atinius in 131 or 130 (*Dom*. 123–4). Touching most closely upon his own case, Cicero mentions the example of Q. Catulus, the consul of 102, who had taken the land of his brother's father-in-law, the Gracchan M. Fulvius, to consecrate for his own *porticus*, which stood next to Cicero's house and was also destroyed by Clodius.[3]

Cicero uses all these historical examples to further his rhetorical and legal ends, though in fact the parallels are not exact, as he himself acknowledges (125): they involved *consecrationes bonorum* (religious dedication of personal property) instead of *dedicationes*, and Catulus had seized the property of a deceased man. Closer to his own situation are the fates of the houses of M. Vaccus in 330 and of the notorious trio of early Republican demagogues:[4] Sp. Cassius in 486, Sp. Maelius in 439, and M. Manlius in 384 (*Dom*. 101).[5] It is clear then that Cicero accepts the antiquity and legitimacy of the politically motivated seizure of a man's home and the conversion of his property to public use as a temple or other kind of public space. That homes could also be given by the state is shown by the examples of men to whom land was given as a reward for the construction of a home: P. Valerius, cos. 509, who received land on the Velia,[6] and the same M. Manlius, who was given land on the arx for his *domus*.[7]

[3] Relevant to the discussion that follows is Catulus' active involvement in his own competitive building elsewhere with his temple to the remarkable goddess, *Fortuna Huiusce Diei* ("The Fortune of This Very Day").

[4] Chassignet 2001.

[5] Richardson 1992: 123, s.v. "Domus: Spurius Cassius" and 131, s.v. "Domus: M. Manlius Capitolinus"; E. Papi, *LTUR* II.78, s.v. "Domus Sp. Cassius Vicellinus," and G. Giannelli, *LTUR* II.135–6, s.v. "Domus M. Manlii Capitolini," and G. Pisani Sartorio, I.20–1, s.v. "Aequimelium."

[6] Richardson 1992: 140, s.v. "Domus: P. Valerius Publicola"; F. Coarelli, *LTUR* II.209–10, s.v. "Domus P. Valerius Publicola," with addendum V.256.

[7] The story of the donation of land to Manlius is recounted in a later version of the story reported by [Aur. Vic.] *De vir. ill*. XXXIV.5. Some sources (e.g. Cic. *Rep*. II.53) connect these same areas with regal houses, but the existence of a previously existing *domus* would not change the idea of the *domus* as reward for service to the state.

DOMUS: BETWEEN RELIGION AND POLITICS

The role of the *domus* in the political life of the Roman elite has been well studied.[8] Cicero was not the only one to find desirable a location on the Palatine by the heart of government: the traditional locations for the houses of the kings are generally toward the eastern end of the Forum, and Titus Tatius is said to have lived on the arx. Excavations on the slopes of the Palatine have uncovered early domestic architecture that reinforces the textual tradition of a Forum surrounded by homes.[9] In Cicero's time, other politically prominent men lived in the area, including Milo and Marius.[10] Activities associated with the house also served its political functions. Most notably, the ritual of the morning *salutatio*, with its reception of clients at the *domus* of the patron, and the conduct of business of all kinds there made the house one of the most important locations for politics at Rome. Likewise the architecture of the Republican *domus* emphasized the important role played by its owner, with the impressive display of the *imagines* of his ancestors and the central location of the *tablinum*, where he conducted business.[11]

The state had its own domestic structures as well. Its hearth was maintained by a group of virginal daughters. These Vestals, who lived in their own *atrium*,[12] were mainly occupied with the maintenance of the important state cult of the goddess Vesta. Other elements of the family architecture also seemed to be echoed by the state (whether it actually borrowed from this structure originally or not). The Senate was filled with *patres*, who advised the consuls, as a family's *concilium* did its *pater*. Just as the *paterfamilias* held certain powers over his offspring, so did the general over his men: the exemplary case of *imperia manlia* shows how tightly interwoven family and state could be (Livy VIII.7). In this episode from the Latin Wars of 340, the consul T. Manlius executed his son for disobeying orders not to engage the enemy: young Manlius had "respected neither consular authority, nor his father's dignity."[13]

[8] E.g. Wallace-Hadrill 1994.

[9] See Holloway 1994: 51–67 on some of these older houses.

[10] Plut. *Mar.* 32 and Cic. *Mil.* 26.64; Richardson 1992: 131, s.v. "Domus: T. Annius Milo Papinianus (1)" and Domus: C. Marius"; E. Papi, *LTUR* II.32, s.v. "Domus T. Annius Milo," and F. Coarelli, *LTUR* II.137, s.v. "Domus C. Marius," with addendum by Ch. Bruun, *LTUR* V.251.

[11] Flower 1996 on the *imagines*, and Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 16–61 on organization of elite houses.

[12] Richardson 1992: 42–4, s.v. "Atrium Vestae"; R. T. Scott, *LTUR* I.138–42, s.v. "Atrium Vestae," with addendum V.230.

[13] Livy VIII.7.15: *neque imperium consulare neque maiestatem patriam veritus*. All translations are my own.

The *domus* was the site of many religious rituals and festival celebrations at which the *paterfamilias* often took the lead, as during the Lemuria (Ov. *Fast*. v.419–44). The *domus* also had its own shrine of household divinities, the *lararium*, prominently displayed in late Republican homes for the visitor to see, often at those same morning meetings.[14] As Cicero reminds us, the *domus* enjoyed some protection because of its special religious status, even providing asylum when needed:

Quid est sanctius, quid omni religione munitius quam domus unius cuiusque civium? Hic arae sunt, hic foci, hic di penates, hic sacra, religiones, caerimoniae continentur; hoc perfugium est ita sanctum omnibus ut inde abripi neminem fas sit. (*Dom*. 109)

What is more sacred, what more defended by every religious scruple than the house of each citizen? Here are the altars, here the hearth, here the household gods. Here are the family cult, traditions and rituals preserved. This is a sanctuary so holy to all that no one may be rightfully torn from it.

Two events may serve to show the strength of the religious nature of the *domus* for the Romans. Near and dear to Cicero's heart was Clodius' ignominious infiltration, in 62, of the cult activities of Bona Dea, which took place in the house of a senior magistrate.[15] In that episode, the Pontifex Maximus Julius Caesar, his wife, and the Vestals occupied the most important roles. Much earlier, in 296, Verginia had converted part of her home on the *vicus Longus* into a *sacellum* to Pudicitia Plebeia (Livy x.23).[16] That such a conception of the *domus* as a potentially religious site continued into the empire finds support in Augustus' joining of his own Palatine *domus* to his temple to Apollo, and possibly in the early Christian practice of converting houses into churches.[17] While not a castle, a Roman's home could very nearly be his temple.

Indeed the very vocabulary used by the Romans is suggestive of an overlap between the categories of domestic and public. *Aedes* means home (in which case it was often plural) or temple.[18] Some kind of equivalence existed, whether or not the two building types are directly related in origin. Similarly, *atrium* was used for an open part of the Republican house, as well as an open public building. Several state buildings had formal titles including the word *atrium*: the *a. Libertatis* of the censors, the *a. Publicum*, and the already mentioned complex of the *a. Vestae*, itself a mixture of domestic, religious, and political buildings. In an effort to explain Livy's *atrium regium*, Zevi

[14] Flower 1996.
[15] Praetor or consul, or at least *imperium* holder, Plut. *Caes.* 9 and Cic. *Har. resp.* 37.
[16] Richardson 1992: 322, s.v. "Pudicitia Plebeia, Sacellum"; F. Coarelli, *LTUR* IV.168–9, s.v. "Pudicitia Plebeia, Sacellum."
[17] White 1990, esp. ch. 5.
[18] *TLL* I.1.907–16, s.v. "aedes."

has suggested, following Gaggiotti,[19] that the Latin *atrium* was the word originally used to translate the Greek loanword *basilica*.[20]

Not all buildings with *atrium* in their title are so clearly defined, and the ambiguous status of these Republican *atria* further supports this idea of overlap between the domestic and public spheres. In order to acquire land for his basilica, Cato in 184 BCE purchased two *atria* (Livy XXXIX.44). Were these private houses or public buildings? Pseudo-Asconius calls one of them, the *atrium Maenium*, a *domus* (Ps.-Asc. *ad* Cic. *Div. Caec*. 50; 201 ed. Stangl), yet we also know that Maenius was active in the latter part of the fourth century BCE in just this part of the Forum, and so a public building might be a more plausible interpretation.[21]

In short, the elite Roman house of the Republican era seems to belong equally to the worlds of politics and of religion. This ambiguity can be seen as early as the late sixth century in Etruria and Rome. Coarelli's hypothesis of the breakup of the regal palace complex at Rome into the various public religious buildings of the *sacra via* is one example, perhaps extreme.[22] Large-scale buildings at early sites in Etruria are somewhat difficult to categorize. The very large building (some 60 m on a side) at Murlo is likely too large to have been a domestic structure, but it lacks obvious features of a temple as well.[23] A house at Acquarossa has essentially the same form as the building at Murlo but is more suitable for domestic use in its size and location. Both buildings share with some contemporary buildings at Rome an elaborate decorative scheme (including roof-top terracottas and frieze plaques) which was also found on temples of the time.[24] Also at Rome the confused textual tradition surrounding M. Manlius Capitolinus perhaps belongs to the same category: his family seems in fact to have lived on the Capitoline, but the remains of the house have not been identified.[25]

Important questions remain about the degree of the overlap between politics and religion in the Roman Republic and about the effect of that

[19] Livy XXVI.27.4, XXVII.11.16; Gaggiotti 1985; Zevi 1991.

[20] Richardson 1992: 41, s.v. "Atrium Libertatis, Atrium Publicum," and 42, s.v. "Atrium Regium"; F. Coarelli, *LTUR* I.133–5, s.v. "Atrium Libertatis," and D. Palombi, *LTUR* I.136–7, s.v. "Atrium Publicum in Capitolio," and F. Zevi, *LTUR* I.137, s.v. "Atrium Regium," with addendum Ch. Bruun, *LTUR* V.230.

[21] Platner and Ashby 1929: 57, says that Ps.-Asconius "is probably in error." Coarelli 1983: II.39–52 on Maenius and the complicated textual evidence for his activities and eponymous objects. Richardson 1992: 41, s.v. "Atrium Maenium;" F. Coarelli, *LTUR* I.135, s.v. "Atrium Maenium."

[22] Coarelli 1983: I.56–78; also discussed at Cornell 1995: 239–41.

[23] See De Puma and Small 1994 for recent contributions to the continuing debate over the nature of this building.

[24] In fact, the presence of this decoration has led to their identification as temples. Holloway 1984: 57–8.

[25] Giannelli 1980–1.

overlap on the function and the placement of certain types of buildings. We have already noted how politicized such matters could be, both when it came to the often vicious competition of the end of the Republic and, as the Romans believed, even right at its start. The overlap of function and indeed identity of the house with public buildings, including temples, suggests that we examine the role such political considerations played in the placement of temples, vowed and constructed by such men as Clodius and Cicero, whose *domus* became such cause for concern. The mention of his temple to the *Tempestates* in the epitaph of L. Scipio[26] shows that individuals did recognize and promote the importance of such projects. Likewise, the state also recognized the political elements inherent in temple building, as is shown by the law Cicero discusses (*Dom*. 127–8) that required an order of the people before such building could take place:[27] *Lex Papiria vetat aedis iniussu plebis consecrari* (The Papirian law forbids any temple from being consecrated without an order of the plebs).

THE PLACEMENT OF TEMPLES IN THE MIDDLE REPUBLIC

We know of only eight temples built between 494 and 326, but construction starts up in earnest in the last quarter of the fourth century. This is also the period in which our sources begin to give us a much more detailed picture of events, even with the devastating absence of the narratives of Livy and Diodorus for much of the early third century. Importantly it is in the later fourth century that plebeians are guaranteed one of the two consulships and so the pool of men eligible for this high office is greatly increased, just as Rome expands its control over central Italy. This period is therefore a good place to start looking for the effects of political considerations on temple construction.[28] The nature of political competition at Rome had its own requirements for the construction of any building. In order to get elected at the annual *comitia*, Roman politicians would highlight their own accomplishments, as well as a history of family successes (if possible), and

[26] *CIL* 1².8–9 = *ILLRP* 310; Richardson 1992: 379, s.v. "Tempestates, Aedes"; A. Ziolkowski, *LTUR* v.26–7, s.v. "Tempestates, Aedes."

[27] The law dates perhaps to the late fourth century. See the discussion of Flavius below.

[28] Political motivations can be seen clearly even in the earliest temples built at Rome, including that of Diana on the Aventine, with its implications for the relationship of Rome and the other Latins, and Jupiter Optimus Maximus. However, the complications of regal foundations, the qualitatively different nature of our sources for this period, and the long gap dividing them from the period of great mid-Republican activity make it necessary here to set these earlier buildings aside. See Zevi 1987. A portion of the following is adapted from my 1998 dissertation, a part of which focused on Claudius Caecus and the same group of men discussed below.

would call on the power of the robust patronage system.[29] One important way a Roman aristocrat could establish a monument for himself and his family in the future was to build a temple. In order to be an effective advertisement, a temple needed to be visible to voters, men who would be in the city and visiting its areas of public business either on a regular basis, or only during elections.[30] The prominent display of the builder's name is exemplified by the dedicatory inscription of Fulvius from 264 BCE:[31]

M(arcos) Folv[io(s) Q(uinti) f(ilios) cos]ol [dede]d Volsi[niis] cap[tis]. (*CIL* VI.40895)

Marcus Fulvius, son of Quintus, consul, dedicated [these] from the spoils of the captured Volsinii.

In fact, in the late fourth century the first certain examples of a builder's name being transferred to his project occur: the *columna Maenia* of 338[32] and the *aqua Appia* with its accompanying *via* in 312.[33] This epigraphic habit was so ingrained that centuries later the emperors will make much of their noble refusals to engage in it.[34]

Given the importance of publicity to politicians and the close association of construction with such men and their families, we would expect to find temples built in and around the heavily trafficked area of the fora and circuses, along major access roads into the city, and on hills visible from those areas. The Campus Martius also might be favorable, but would lack the appeal of other regions within the city proper because voters gathered in the Campus only for certain elections and not year round. The pattern of temple distribution in Rome, both in space and time, bears this out: the area around the various fora and circuses is thick with construction projects, religious and otherwise. The majority of the nineteen temples we know were vowed and built between the regal period and the end of the fourth century (see Fig. 8.1, map 1)[35] are found in the heart of the city

[29] Corruption and the use of bribery ought not to be excluded, of course. The role of patronage and the ability of the elite to control the votes of their clients have long been debated. See Millar 1998 for recent comments on the role of the masses in the late Republic.

[30] This consideration applies to other public works as well. Of course roads, aqueducts, and other projects provided a tangible benefit wherever they were.

[31] Coarelli 1984: 32–3, for illustration and reconstruction of the text. Additional bibliography in *CIL* I^2.3, 2836.

[32] Richardson 1992: 94–5, s.v. "Columna Maenia"; M. Torelli, *LTUR* 1.301–2, s.v. "Columna Maenia."

[33] These latter two have the unusual distinction of being named after the responsible party's *praenomen*. The onomastic origins of the earlier *curia Hostilia* and *columna Minucia* are uncertain, though *gentilicia* had long been used for legal functions, such as the naming of tribes near the end of the regal period, and legislation, such as the *lex Terentilia* of 462.

[34] Augustus: *Res Gestae* 20.1; Tiberius: Tac. *Ann.* III.72; Hadrian: SHA *Hadr.* 1.19.10.

[35] All maps are adapted from Ziolkowski 1992: 284, the best concise source for the temples of this period.


MAP 1 - TO 401 BCE
MAP 2 - 400 - 351 BCE
MAP 3 - 350 - 301 BCE
MAP 4 - 300 - 251 BCE
MAP 5 - 292 - 219 BCE
MAP 6 - 250 - 201 BCE

around the Forum and Circus Maximus or on major access roads to the city (e.g. the regal Temple of Fortuna *trans Tiberim* and the Quirinal Temple of Semo Sancus). Only the Temple of Apollo stands outside the line of the future Servian wall, though still in the Circus Flaminius area.[36]

In the first half of the fourth century (Fig. 8.1, map 2), only five foundations are attested, including the unusual case of Juno Lucina on the Esquiline.[37] These continue the centralized placement seen earlier: the paired sanctuaries of Mater Matuta and Fortuna in the Forum Boarium, Juno Regina on the Aventine, overlooking the Tiber and Via Ostiensis that ran along it at the foot of the hill (and perhaps using the *vicus armilustri* that led up the hill), and the temple of Mars out along the road that would become the Via Appia.[38] The second half of the fourth century sees the pace of building begin to accelerate (Fig. 8.1, map 3), with attention focusing on the Quirinal *Alta Semita*, the road inside the city that led from the Via Salaria. It was the major access road for visitors coming from the Sabine country to the north and east. Three other temples built in this period are located right around or in the Forum: Juno Moneta, Concordia, and Victoria.[39]

←

Fig. 8.1 Roman temples: 400–201 BCE.
All maps are adapted from Ziolkowski 1988: 284. As in Ziolkowski, squares indicate temples that he believes may be located with precision, and circles those that may not. The temples are here spread over six individual maps: the first covers all the years up to 401 BCE; the fifth, temples Ziolkowski believes were built during the years covered by Livy's lost second decade; the remaining four each cover a fifty-year period from 400 to 201 BCE.
Map 1: temples built before 400 BCE
Map 2: temples built between 400 and 350 BCE
Map 3: temples built between 350 and 301 BCE
Map 4: temples built between 300 and 251 BCE
Map 5: temples built between 292 and 219 BCE
Map 6: temples built between 250 and 201 BCE

[36] Richardson 1992: 154–5, s.v. "Fors Fortuna, Fanum," and 347, s.v. "Semo Sancus Dius Fidius"; and 12–13, s.v. "Apollo, Aedes"; F. Coarelli, *LTUR* IV.263–4, s.v. "Semo Sancus in colle, Aedes, Fanum, Sacellum, Templum," and A. Viscogliosi, I.49–54, s.v. "Apollo Aedes in Circo," with addendum by P. Ciancio Rossetto, V.224–5.

[37] Richardson 1992: 214–5, s.v. "Iuno Lucina, Aedes"; G. Giannelli, *LTUR* III.122–3, s.v. "Iuno Lucina, Aedes."

[38] Richardson 1992: 246, s.v. "Mater Matuta, Aedes," and 215–16, s.v. "Iuno Regina, Aedes," and 244–5, s.v. "Mars, Aedes"; G. Pisani Sartorio, *LTUR* II.281–5, s.v. "Fortuna et Mater Matuta, Aedes," and M. Andreussi, *LTUR* III.125–6, s.v. "Iuno Regina," with addendum V.269.

[39] Richardson 1992: 215, s.v. "Iuno Moneta, Aedes," and 98–9, s.v. "Concordia, Aedes," and 420, s.v. "Victoria, Aedes"; G. Giannelli, *LTUR* III.123–5, s.v. "Iuno Moneta, Aedes," with addendum V.269, and A. M. Ferroni, I.316–20, s.v. "Concordia, Aedes," with addendum V.240, and P. Pensabene, *LTUR* V.149–50, s.v. "Victoria, Aedes."

In the third century, new temples were vowed at an average rate of nearly one every two years (perhaps forty-nine over the course of the century, Fig. 8.1, maps 4–6). Uncertainty as to the exact foundation dates for many of them makes the discovery of trends more difficult, but a few tendencies stand out nevertheless.[40] First is the continued avoidance of the Campus Martius. Only five of the forty-nine temples Ziolkowski counts for this period can be found there, three of them dated to the last half of the century.[41] This suggests that builders avoided the area. Some have suggested that some kind of religious scruple (i.e. *religio)* was at work,[42] but if so, it must not have been very strong since at the end of the century and especially during the next, the Campus became prime territory for new projects. A better explanation is the location of the Campus outside of the busiest areas of the city. Voters would assemble there for centuriate assemblies,[43] but not much else. Visitors to the city passing the Campus by the northern road that eventually would become the Via Flaminia may also have been able to see the temples on the Quirinal. Thus with room still inside the city for temples, the Campus, though relatively wide-open, still had limited appeal.

Temples also remain absent from other areas ill-suited to politically successful display. The entire area of the Subura was both crowded and poor, lacking in public buildings of most types. The roads entering the city here from the Esquiline plateau (coming from the Labicana and Praenestina to the Porta Esquilina) also avoided the hills and the literal prominence they offered. May we also suspect that more elite visitors to the city avoided these roads because of their passage through the Subura? The absence of this key audience would have lessened the political influence buildings there could exert.

The Temple of Juno Lucina provides an exception for this rule of temple siting. Built in the early fourth century in a grove on the Esquiline overlooking the *clivus Suburanus*, it was alleged to have had female founders, a tradition that is perhaps more credible than is usually thought, given its isolation from other temples and building projects.[44] The grove may have made the temple's siting advantageous by both putting it in view of those passing the foot of the Esquiline and not allowing space for any other, competing construction.

As Romans brought back considerable wealth from the east during the second century, the Campus Martius became a popular area for building.

[40] The tendency has been to assume that Livy mentions every dedication that occurs during the time period covered by his extant books. This is overly optimistic.

[41] See his dated list at Ziolkowski 1992: 187–9.

[42] E.g. Ziolkowski 1992: 292. [43] Taylor 1966: 5 with n. 7.

[44] See the Fasti Praenestini, *Insc. Ital.* XIII.2.120–1; Palmer 1974a: 19–21; Ziolkowski 1992: 67–71.

By this time, the increasingly populated city may have provided little space for larger projects, and the Campus had become an active arena for competition. Temples and other buildings crept from the south and west, close to the Tiber, towards the more northerly regions. Witness Pompey's Temple of Venus Victrix, Caesar's Saepta, the Pantheon of Agrippa, and several works of Augustus along the Via Flaminia.[45] Pietilä-Castrén has shown how the exposure afforded by the Via Triumphalis drove some of the building in the southern Campus and Circus Flaminius area,[46] but that still does not appear to have been appealing early on. Builders preferred the more frequently visited areas around the Forum and Circus Maximus. As the second century wore on and more and more buildings of various types were located in the Campus (the Circus Flaminius itself was monumentalized only in the last quarter of the third century), it benefited from the city's increased population. It is surely the case that triumphs were also expanded in this period to include new elements and be celebrated by more people: games became a standard element and praetors were more commonly awarded this honor which none had received before 200 BCE. Associated with the triumph, manubial building projects became standard acts of public beneficence for victorious generals. Like much of the unhealthy competition of the late Republic, this may have provided a situation that fed upon itself: more triumphs increased the importance of the triumphal way, which led to more building, which required more victories and led to more triumphs, and so on.

The spatial pattern just demonstrated shows that the overriding concern of temple builders was political display. No appeal need be made to other factors to explain the overall placement of these buildings. What then of religious concerns: did they not matter at all? In answering this question, we must keep in mind the nature of the process by which these temples were vowed and then built. Most temples were vowed by men, usually generals, in exchange for aid from a certain divinity in battle.[47] The general dedicated some, or all, of his share of the booty (*manubiae*)[48] for the temple's construction and would often dedicate the temple several years later after it had been completed. If this was not possible, his son or possibly *duumviri*

[45] Favro 1996: *passim*. Richardson 1992: 340–1, s.v. "Saepta Iulia," and 283–6, s.v. "Pantheon"; E. Gatti, *LTUR* IV.228–9, s.v. "Saepta Iulia," and A. Ziolkowski, IV.54–61, s.v. "Pantheon," with addendum by P. Virgili, *LTUR* V.284–5.

[46] Pietilä-Castrén 1987.

[47] Ziolkowski 1992: 253 discusses the issue of the *postvotum* and temples built as thank offerings. It appears to me that the distinction is a fine one, and, as he points out, vows could be subtly shifted from one category to the other.

[48] Most recently Churchill 1999 *contra* Orlin 1997.

specially elected for the purpose would preside at the dedication.[49] Another important category of temples comprises those built using aedilician fines, a practice started by Cn. Flavius in 304 to the great consternation, it would seem, of those traditional builders. Aedilician projects were typically – though not always – smaller than manubial ones.

Aediles clearly had time to make a considered decision about a project: rarely, if ever, did rapidly changing circumstances lead them to make a vow on the spur of the moment. I suggest that we ought not to imagine that it was any different for a general. Though vows were made in the heat of battle, there is no reason to think that plans had not been made beforehand and that the general, a man who likely engaged in political battles at the highest level back in Rome, was not well aware of the possibilities for developing real estate in desirable parts of the city. The limited frequency of temple projects, especially at the beginning of our period, suggests that such projects were major undertakings and therefore were likely to be performed only by the most powerful in the city: in the nearly thirty years between 325 and 297, only five men built temples – a small fraction of those who held the consulate and other magistracies.

The nature of ancient warfare and of the Roman pantheon added to the flexibility dedicators had when vowing temples. A perceptive leader could take advantage of even a momentary setback with a hastily uttered vow. The gods were accommodating in this as well. "Jupiter who Routs the Enemy" could quickly became "He who Stays our Troops." With the acceptance of more abstract deities in this period, the traditional gods could find themselves keeping company with Victory and Concord, as Roman politicians made their vows to them. Although we might except some projects, like the *aedicula Concordiae* of Flavius,[50] the identity of the god to whom the vow was made for the most part did not affect the vow's efficacy as a political device. Likewise, nothing compelled a future temple builder to make a vow to a specific divinity. Even special occasions (such as the earthquake that led to Sempronius' vow of a temple to Tellus in 268) did not absolutely require a temple be vowed. If the Senate was able to choose which *prodigia* it would accept,[51] surely a magistrate or general in the field had similar flexibility. Provided they had an appropriate space, temple builders could accommodate their own personal beliefs or family traditions.

[49] I am aware that this is a much simplified description of the process, still debated in some of its details, especially with regard to the dedication; see Orlin 1997 and Churchill 1999.

[50] Richardson 1992: 100, s.v. "Concordia, Aedicula"; A. M. Ferroni, *LTUR* 1.320–1, s.v. "Concordia, Aedicula."

[51] Rejected *prodigia* at, e.g. Livy v.15.1 and xliii.13.6.

None of this should require a lack of religious belief or cynicism on the part of the Romans. To the contrary, their gods had long been multivalent, especially when identified with Greek deities. The old Italic gods often retained attributes and personalities distinct from their Greek counterparts. In short, the vowing general always had his choices, many of which, I suggest, were made well before any vow.

The association of specific gods with particular places in Rome also did not offer a significant constraint on the siting of newly vowed temples, especially in this period when land occupation in Rome was not so dense. Ziolkowski's assertion that the existence of an appropriate cult at the site of a future temple was one of the few relatively consistent features of this process[52] overlooks the fact that Rome appears to have had an abundance of pre-existing sacred places, like the more than two dozen *argei*, some located at seemingly insignificant spots.[53] The existence of multiple temples to the same god also suggests strongly that builders were not terribly limited in their choice of locations. Furthermore, if a certain area was too crowded, the gods could be amenable and permit their worship to be taken elsewhere or to be accommodated within a new arrangement. Such a situation is described by Augustine with regard to Tarquin's building of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline:

atque ipsi [sc. *Iovi*] *inde cedere omnes voluerunt praeter illos quos commemoravi, Martem, Terminum, Iuventatem; atque ideo Capitolium ita constructum est, ut etiam isti tres intus essent tam obscuris signis, ut hoc vix homines doctissimi scirent. Nullo modo igitur Felicitatem Iuppiter ipse contemneret, sicut a Termino, Marte, Iuventate contemptus est*. (*De civ D*. IV.23)

And then all the gods gave way to him [Jupiter] except those whom I already mentioned: Mars, Terminus and Juventas. So the Capitolium was built so that these three would remain inside with markers so hidden that hardly even the most learned men knew about it. Jupiter himself would never have despised Felicity in the way he was despised by Terminus, Mars, and Juventas.

We might also think of the conjoined worship of Honos and Virtus or, earlier, Mater Matuta and Fortuna; even Capitoline Jupiter had his *cella*-mates.[54]

[52] Ziolkowski 1992: 271–3.

[53] Richardson 1992: 37–9, s.v. "Argeorum, Sacraria."

[54] Richardson 1992: 190, s.v. "Honos et Virtus, Aedes," and 221–4, s.v. "Iuppiter, Optimus Maximus (Capitolinus), Aedes"; D. Palombi, *LTUR* III.31–3, s.v. "Honos et Virtus, Aedes," with addendum V.263, and G. Tagliamonte, III.144–8, s.v. "Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, Aedes (fino all'a. 83 A. D.)," and S. DeAngeli, III.148–53, s.v. "Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, Aedes (fasi tardo-repubblicana e di età imperiale)," with addendum V.270.

In short, with all these variables (a relatively large amount of available land, a plethora of religiously significant sites, the ability appropriately to pair seemingly competing divinities), it is no wonder that temple builders placed their buildings to the best political effect. Religion was not irrelevant; it simply did not offer significant constraints. If political competition was the overriding factor in temple placement, we ought to be able to see that competition in the details of some of these projects. The various activities of one of the leading men of this time, Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus,[55] provide just such an opportunity.

FABIUS AND OTHERS

Fabius was born into one of the oldest and most prestigious families of the Republic, and seems to have been an accomplished politician and military leader. His genealogy may be partly reconstructed as follows:

M. Fabius Ambustus (*RE* 44)
|
Q. Fabius Rullianus (*RE* 114)
|
Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges (*RE* 112[56])
|
Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus Cunctator (*RE* 116)

According to our sources,[57] Fabius' career did not start off well. In 325, he served as *magister equitum* for L. Papirius Cursor.[58] As recounted by Livy, Cursor was on his way to campaign with Fabius against the Samnites when he was forced to return to Rome to retake the auspices.[59] Although Cursor left his junior colleague with explicit orders not to engage in battle, Fabius disregarded the command and was successful in a battle in which all performed admirably, especially the cavalry. Cursor was nonetheless displeased and, upon his return to camp, attempted to execute Fabius for disobeying orders. Fabius, in turn, was defended by the army. That night, Fabius slipped away to Rome and in the morning assembled the

[55] *RE* 114; *MRR* 1.143, s.a. 331.
[56] Gurges perhaps had a son by the same name who served as consul in 265 (*MRR* 1.201–2, s.a. 265). This would make the Cunctator the great-grandson of Rullianus and not his grandson, as Livy describes him (xxx.26.8); see also the comments at *MRR* III.88.
[57] Livy VIII.29–37, Val. Max. II.7.8 and III.2.9, as well as the Forum Augustum elogium of L. Papirius Cursor, *Insc. Ital.* 62, 39–40 (*RE* 52; *MRR* 1.147–8, s.a. 325).
[58] Fabius' first known magistracy was curule aedile in 331. Frier 1999: 225–9 makes him the brother of C. Fabius (Ambustus) Pictor (*RE* 41, 122; *MRR* 1.157, s.a. 315), whose birth he places in 350–335. If our Fabius is older he may have been born 355–340 and so have been at most thirty in 325.
[59] Livy VIII.30.

Senate. Upon the arrival of Cursor, various speeches were made until the dictator reluctantly conceded. Cursor then ordered Fabius to remain at Rome, returned himself to battle and earned a triumph over the Samnites. The two never again served in office together. Fabius' subsequent career was more successful: he became one of the leading generals of his time, showing perhaps that his victory over the Samnites had not been a fluke.

Tradition places Fabius in strong opposition to Appius Claudius Caecus, one of the other leading men of the period.[60] The main point of contention between them was Claudius' novel treatment of the lower elements of Roman society in the census of 312. The details are unclear, but it appears that Claudius allowed descendants of freedmen to register in tribes appropriate to their place of residence, rather than continuing to restrict them to the four urban tribes. Fabius reversed this act when serving as censor in 304. The intervening censors of 307 are not recorded as concerning themselves with issues of citizen registration. Therefore, it is possible that Fabius had been elected for this very purpose: he and his colleague were elected two years earlier than we would expect. Earlier, Fabius may also have been one of the consuls who rejected another of Claudius' actions to favor freedmen: the adlection of their sons.[61] The careers of Fabius and Claudius oppose one another so frequently that Stuart Staveley proposed that they were representatives of two factions within the Senate: one led by Fabius that favored a policy of northern expansion into Etruria, the other led by Claudius that preferred a move southward.[62]

Claudius is himself closely connected to the figure of Cn. Flavius, the aedile who built the *aedicula* to Concordia in the Forum near the Ficus Ruminalis in 304.[63] The exact nature of their relationship is unclear in the sources: Pomponius (*Dig.* 1.2.2.7) and Pliny (*HN* XXXIII.17) say Flavius was Claudius' *scriba*; Livy (IX.46) and Diodorus (XX.36) claim that he was elected in connection with Claudius' reforms. Unlike the other acts of Claudius' censorship, his tribal reforms are mentioned by Livy in his account of 304, thus strengthening the association of Flavius with Claudius' legislative program.[64] As aedile, Flavius apparently publicized what had previously been guarded information on the appropriate way to bring legal actions before the pontiffs, as well as the calendar, which he perhaps thus removed from pontifical control.[65] Both acts would have given a legal hand to those who were not familiar with Roman traditions and did not have access to these priesthoods, that is, the new and increasingly wealthy plebeian citizens. Livy describes Fabius' opposition to Claudius' reforms precisely

[60] *RE* 91; *MRR* I.160, s.a. 312.
[61] The accounts of Livy and Diodorus differ on the year of this event; Muccigrosso 2003.
[62] Staveley 1959. [63] *RE* 15; *MRR* I.168, s.a. 304. [64] Livy IX.46. [65] Michels 1967: 106–88.

in the context of Flavius' election and activity; indeed Flavius' election is explicitly attributed to Claudius' tribal reorganization.

Among Claudius' opponents were Q. and Cn. Ogulnius.[66] In 300 BCE, as tribunes of the plebs, they had proposed a law expanding the size of the pontifical and augural colleges, and filling the new places with plebeians.[67] Claudius spoke in opposition, while in favor of the bill was P. Decius Mus, the frequent colleague of Fabius who eventually became one of the new pontiffs. While the speeches Livy attributes to various figures should be set aside, the historian's designation of Claudius as the main voice of opposition need not be. Again, the motives underlying Claudius' opposition are hard to divine, but D'Ippolito may be right that what the Ogulnii had in mind was to continue, if not expand, the influence of the pontifical college; Claudius thus was continuing his opposition to the college, whose power had been limited by Flavius' work in 304.[68] The bill was passed, and the Ogulnii, elected curule aediles in 295 BCE, went on to dedicate a number of items in the Forum and Capitoline area, relying, as Flavius had done, on fines from usurers.[69]

Although a bit unclear in its details, the historical tradition clearly links Claudius, Fabius, Flavius, and the Ogulnii as political allies and opponents. Their careers and those of their children continued to be intertwined. Q. Ogulnius was also one of the ambassadors sent to bring Aesculapius back to Rome in 292, when Gurges was consul. He later served with Fabius' son on an embassy to Egypt in 273. Ogulnius finally reached the consulate with another Fabius in 269, when Pliny says Rome first minted silver coins (*HN* XXXIII.44), and then a dictatorship in 257.[70] The political competition among these men can also be traced in the specifics of their public projects.

The major works of Claudius that are relevant here are obviously his road and aqueduct,[71] the first in Rome. It brought water to the Clivus Publicius near the Porta Trigemina by the Forum Boarium.[72] The level of the aqueduct was such that it seems to have fed only the low-lying

[66] *RE* 2 and 5, respectively. Also *MRR* I.172, s.a. 300.

[67] Livy X.6–9.1 [68] D'Ippolito 1986: esp. 88–92.

[69] Livy X.23 for the Ogulnii, Pliny *HN* XXXIII.19 for Flavius' fines.

[70] *RE* 112: Ogulnius' embassy to Epidaurus: *MRR* I.181–2, s.a. 292; consulship with C. Fabius Pictor (*RE* 123): *MRR* I.199, s.a. 269; dictatorship in 257: *MRR* I.207, s.a. 257.

[71] The role of Claudius' colleague C. Plautius Venox (*RE* 32; *MRR* I.160, s.a. 312) is disputed in the sources: Diodorus (XX.36) suggests that Plautius was the minor player; Livy that Claudius handled these projects alone after Plautius had resigned in shame over Claudius' conduct of the *lectio senatus* (IX.29.5–8); and Frontinus takes the middle position that Plautius resigned after work on the aqueduct had at least been begun, and the usual eighteen months in office had elapsed (*Aq.* 5). Since it is Claudius' name that was given to the construction products, it seems reasonable to conclude that his was the major influence.

[72] Much of the following detail about the aqueduct is from Evans 1994.

Forum Boarium, Circus Maximus and southern Campus Martius. Given the location of its terminus, an area otherwise lacking in water sources, the aqueduct likely brought in water nearly exclusively for commercial use, which was increasing at this time.[73]

Claudius' road, which led from Rome out through the Porta Capena to Capua,[74] was not entirely new. Its path was the same as the *Via Latina* until the two diverged almost a kilometer from the Porta Capena.[75] Close to Rome the Via Appia passed right by the *aedes Martis*, dedicated in 388, then continued on to the old Latin towns of Bovillae and Aricia, all of which were surely connected to Rome earlier, although the linearity of the Appia suggests that Claudius did not follow the older course exactly.

Like most Roman roads, the Appia was built primarily for military needs. Rome had an increased interest in the area to its south at least since her involvement with Capua in 342 BCE. Since that time, four new tribes had been formed to the south-east of Rome, two as recently as 318 (the Falerna and Oufentina), new colonies had been founded in south-east Latium and northern Campania, and several military campaigns had been fought in the same region.[76] Claudius' road cut straight through the new tribes and connected Rome to the important gateway city of Tarracina,[77] itself the site of a colony in 329 and the important battle of Lautulae in 315. More recent colonies and allied towns were also included on the road.

In light of the absence of road and aqueduct projects between 109 and the time of Augustus, Wiseman rightly concludes that significant political advantages accrued to the builder, advantages that the Senate would not allow in the unstable final years of the Republic.[78] The advantageous nature of such projects surely existed in the late fourth century. Most directly, Claudius' projects provided employment for inhabitants of the city, many of whom were citizens, and for those living along their routes.[79] In addition to offering improved access to Rome, Claudius' road also promoted the name of its builder in the area of two new tribes full of new citizens.[80] Lily Ross

[73] Cornell 1995: 380–90. This is consistent with Frontinus' claim that Republican aqueducts brought in water for public use (*Aq.* 94).

[74] Livy IX.29.5–6; Diod. Sic. XX.36; Pompon. *Dig.* 1.2.2.36; Frontin. *Aq.* 1.4; [Aur. Vic.] *De vir. ill.* 34.6.

[75] D'Amico and Matthiae 1956: 20: "un tracciato di origine antichissima"; De Rossi 1979: xi–xii.

[76] Cornell 1995: 383 for a list of Roman tribes and Latin colonies by date; 352–5 on events of the Second Samnite War.

[77] Mazzarino 1968: 178.

[78] Wiseman 1970: 150–1.

[79] Brunt 1980: esp. 97–8; also Harris 1971b: 1375–6.

[80] Suet. *Tib.* 2.2, in which a Claudius, most likely not Appius Caecus, is charged with having a diademed statue of himself erected at Forum Appii. MacBain 1980 stresses the resultant conflict between Claudius the road builder and the various other Roman aristocrats with pre-existing ties to the regions traversed by the road, due either to family origins or on account of the recent creation of the tribes.

Taylor cites the mid-second-century *leges Aelia et Fufia* that forbade legislative *comitia* on the days preceding elections as evidence that large numbers of citizens who were usually unavailable for voting were in Rome at the time of elections.[81] Travel to Rome by those voters was surely eased by roads such as the Appia. Furthermore, Claudius' road, like his aqueduct, offered commercial, as well as political benefits.[82] Although water-borne traffic was no doubt already important to Rome, many goods reached the city by road, even after the emperor Claudius' construction of the ocean port of Portus.[83]

Given Fabius' demonstrated opposition to the other acts of Claudius' censorship, we should expect to find him acting in this instance in a similar way. In 304, when Flavius was busy with his innovative dedication in the Forum, Fabius both reversed Claudius' tribal reforms and instituted the *transvectio equitum*, the parade of *equites*. This was one of only two occasions when the young *equites* could display their physical prowess to the public at large.[84] Since this act glorified the politically active men whose power Claudius and Flavius sought to diminish, its political content was clear (and the support Fabius enjoyed from the cavalry during the events of 325 suggests he was consistently aligned with this group). But even the parade's physical component was aimed at Claudius: Fabius' parade began at the Temple of Mars located on the Via Appia and followed the road until it entered the city at the Porta Capena. Fabius thereby physically overshadowed Claudius' achievement with his own, and did so at the location nearest to Rome of one of Claudius' most prominent building projects.

While religious reasons may have influenced the route of Fabius' parade, political motivations were also a factor. The Ogulnii were involved in this same region. In 296 they were colleagues again in the office of curule aedile. In that year they adopted the practice of using fines from the exercise of their office to complete a building project. They did not quite follow Flavius' example exactly, preferring to use revenues from the sale of goods seized from usurers to dedicate various pieces of sacred equipment on the Capitoline, as well as a statue of the suckling twins, Romulus and Remus,

[81] Taylor 1966: 68. Visitors to the city arriving at the Porta Capena, especially those coming for commerce, would be reminded by the sight of the Aqua Appia of benefits brought to them by Claudius' projects. This was likely a happy coincidence for Claudius as the path taken by the aqueduct was constrained by the city's topography.

[82] Staveley 1959: 419–26.

[83] Rickman 1996: 290: "Portus was supported by Centumcellae and Tarracina . . . Road and river transport were interconnected in a subtle and complex web of communication."

[84] Val. Max. II.2.9; see also Livy IX.46.10; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* VI.13.4; [Aur. Vic.] *De vir. ill.* XXXII.3, which gets the starting point wrong, placing it at the Temple of Honos, which was along the route, but built later by the descendant of Rullianus, Fabius Cunctator (Ziolkowski 1992: 58–9).

at the *ficus Ruminalis* near the *comitium* in the Forum.[85] They also paved a footpath near the city:

eodem anno Cn. et Q. Ogulnii aediles curules aliquot feneratoribus diem dixerunt; quorum bonis multatis ex eo quod in publicum redactum est aenea in Capitolio limina et trium mensarum argentea vasa in cella Iovis Iovemque in culmine cum quadrigis et ad ficum Ruminalem simulacra infantium conditorum urbis sub uberibus lupae posuerunt semitamque saxo quadrato a Capena porta ad Martis straverunt. (Livy x.23.12)

In the same year, Cnaeus and Quintus Ogulnius, the curule aediles, fined a number of usurers, and from these fines they set up a brazen threshold on the Capitolium and silver vessels of three measures in the cella of Jupiter, and they placed Jupiter with a four-horse chariot on the top of the temple and statues of the infant founders of the city under the teats of the she-wolf at the ficus Ruminalis. They also paved a footpath with cut stone from the Porta Capena to the temple of Mars.

The footpath covered exactly the distance along the Via Appia (which is again not named by Livy) as did Fabius' *transvectio equitum*. This walkway along the road surely served to enhance that celebration, as well as other uses of the Temple of Mars.[86] The Ogulnii therefore appear to support Fabius' interests at the expense of Claudius.[87]

Another project of the Ogulnii interacted closely with Flavius' dedications. Placed within a few meters of Flavius' small shrine to Concordia,[88] the Ogulnian statue of the twins[89] seems to have been intended to make a similar claim of *concordia ordinum*. Their monument explicitly recalled the peaceful period of coexistence of the twin founders in order to evoke the co-operation of the patricians and plebs, enhanced as it was by the Ogulnian legislation of four years earlier.[90] As discussed above, Flavius and the Ogulnii had different ideas about which plebeians needed to be promoted to parity with the patricians and in what arenas. This statue group therefore ought to be considered a challenge to Flavius' *aedicula*.[91] The location of

[85] There has been some dispute over the exact location of the statue *ad ficum Ruminalem* ("at the Ficus Ruminalis"), since there were two Ruminal fig trees, one at the *Lupercal* and the other near the Comitium. Coarelli's arguments (1983: II.29–38) are persuasive; also in F. Coarelli, *LTUR* II.248–9, s.v. "Ficus Navia," and F. Coarelli, II.249, s.v. "Ficus Ruminalis"; *contra* Wiseman 1995b: 74–6. Richardson 1992: 151, s.v. "Ficus Ruminalis."

[86] Noted by Ziolkowski 1992: 298.

[87] Claudius' tenure of the consulship during this year would likely have increased the visibility of this act.

[88] Coarelli 1983: II.87–91.

[89] Livy's Latin does not unambiguously state that the Ogulnii dedicated the she-wolf along with the twins.

[90] Coarelli 1983: II.90; Wiseman 1995b: 107.

[91] Coarelli 1983: II.87–91 does not consider the oppositional aspects of their careers and so sees the building projects as complementary. He does place the monuments in a broader historical context which is also dependent on their location.

both monuments near the *ficus* may also have had greater significance, since the pontiffs seem to have been in charge of the tree's care.[92]

Fabius was not without his own temple project.[93] The year after the Ogulnian brothers made their dedication, Fabius made a vow to Jupiter Victor during a charge against the Samnites in the great battle at Sentinum in 295 (Livy x.29.14). His colleague, Decius Mus, had followed family tradition and devoted himself. As a result, the Romans won, putting an end to a dangerous alliance of various Italic peoples. We have no record of the dedication of Fabius' temple, a circumstance perhaps due to the fact that its likely completion date (several years after the vow) would have been included in Livy's missing second decade. The temple was located on the Quirinal,[94] long a site of Fabian family cult: Livy reports a Q. Fabius Dorsuo in attendance of the cult during the Gallic siege of the Capitol (v.46.1–4).[95] While this family tie to the Quirinal may have contributed to the placement of the temple on that particular hill, the selection of the site was not without its competitive elements.

The Samnite campaign of 325 BCE that had caused the great uproar ultimately ended well for Papirius Cursor. He had made his own vow to Quirinus, and the temple had taken years to build.[96] Livy reports that in his consulship of 293, Cursor's son,[97] who also defeated Samnites, decorated with spoils taken during his campaign the Roman Forum and a number of other public places, including allied and colonial temples. Among the temples adorned by the younger Papirius was the Temple to Quirinus vowed by his father – a temple the son had just dedicated earlier that year (x.46.7–9) on 17 February, two days after the Lupercalia, a festival with strong Fabian associations, as we shall see below.

Fabius' temple was vowed only two years before the completion of Cursor's, which had likely stood partly finished on the Quirinal for some time. Both were vowed on similar occasions, and though the elder Cursor had fought his battle years before, the recent exploits of his son (as well as those Fabius himself against those same Samnites) would have given it new relevance. The exact location of Fabius' temple to Jupiter remains unknown,

[92] Pliny calls it a *cura sacerdotum* (a concern of the priests), *HN* xv.77.

[93] Richardson 1992: 227, s.v. "Iuppiter Victor, Aedes"; F. Coarelli, *LTUR* III.161, s.v. "Iuppiter Victor, Templum," with addendum v.271.

[94] Mildly disputed, but the arguments presented by Ziolkowski 1992: 91–4 are convincing.

[95] There is little reason to reject the existence of the cult, regardless of one's view of Dorsuo's reported actions; ancient references in *MRR* I.96, s.a. 390.

[96] Richardson 1992: 326–7, s.v. "Quirinus, Aedes (Templum, Delubrum)"; F. Coarelli, *LTUR* IV.185–7, s.v. "Quirinus, Aedes."

[97] *RE* 53; *MRR* I.180, s.a. 293.

so we cannot say how close it might have been to Cursor's temple, nor to the unknown Fabian cult site on the Quirinal.

The proximity of the dedication date of Cursor's temple of Quirinus to the festival of the Lupercalia is another example of Fabian competitive activity, part of a much larger scheme that has recently received complex and clever analysis by T. P. Wiseman. According to Livy (x.33.9), in 294 BCE L. Postumius Megellus[98] dedicated a temple to Victory he had vowed as aedile in 297 or earlier:

prius tamen quam exiret militibus edicto Soram iussis convenire ipse aedem Victoriae, quam aedilis curulis ex multaticia pecunia faciendam curaverat, dedicavit.

Before he left, having ordered his soldiers to assemble at Sora, he himself dedicated a temple to Victory, which as curule aedile he had had built using money obtained from fines.

The choice of divinity appears to be the result of Postumius' victory as consul in 305 over, once again, the Samnites, a victory that Livy says earned him a triumph.[99] The project was extravagant enough to have required large expenditures, which has led some to suggest that the temple was actually built *ex manubiis*.[100] Postumius did not limit his building to the temple itself, which looked south from the Palatine over the Forum Boarium and the Lupercal right below it. He also extensively reworked the terracing walls and possibly the *clivus Victoriae* leading up the hill to the site. In so doing Postumius made a forceful statement about his role in the wars against the Samnites: like Fabius, he had more recent success in the battles of 295, which could only have intensified the connection between the temple and victories over Samnites.

We do not have Livy's narrative of Postumius' final consulship in 291, but Dionysius reports (*Ant. Rom.* XVII.4–XVIII.5) a conflict between Postumius and Gurges, then a proconsul. Gurges, whose father was serving as his legate, was threatened with force by Postumius who wanted to take over operations against Cominium. In the end, Gurges triumphed over the Samnites (Livy, *Per.* 11), but we might suspect that Postumius had reason to wish him to leave the campaign: the Periocha states that Gurges' consulship in the previous

[98] *RE* *19; *MRR* I.179, s.a. 294.

[99] IX.44.14. His sources disagreed on this; the *fasti triumphales* list none.

[100] Both the occasion and the size of the building (an *aedes*) lead Ziolkowski 1992: 176 to postulate that the temple was vowed by Postumius as consul *ex manubiis* and located by him as aedile, which led to an assumption of a vow *ex multaticiis*. This suggestion is perhaps unnecessary. In 241 or 240 the Publicii built the *aedes* of Flora, and both the curule and plebeian aediles in 296 seem to have had a large sum of money available to spend. Postumius may even have added the fines to his existing manubial funds.

year had been a military failure until his father was promised to him as legate. If this confrontation is a symptom of Roman family competition and antagonism extending back to 305, when Postumius was successful as consul in the same region that Fabius had been, then we might expect to find a response by Fabius to Postumius' construction of the Temple of Victory.

The cults of both the Lupercal and Victory were believed to have been founded by Evander (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom*. 1.32). This, along with the location of the Lupercal below Postumius' temple of Victory, makes the Lupercal a sensible site for Fabius to choose for his response to Postumius.[101] The cult of the Lupercalia is known from later sources to have been intimately connected with the story of Romulus and Remus and to have featured two groups of Luperci, young men who took part in the celebration.[102] These groups took their names from two patrician *gentes*: Quinctiales, from the Quinctii, and Fabiani, from the Fabii. Wiseman suggests that Fabius not only instituted the *transvectio equitum* in 304, but also undertook a broader reorganization of the cavalry, including the creation of a new elite,[103] of which the parade was just one part. These changes to the cavalry were further promoted by a modification of the cult of the Lupercalia to include a new group of Luperci named after his own family. Wiseman also connects to this two other events: the epidemics of 292 and 276, when he believes flagellation was introduced to the cult.[104]

Wiseman's connections between the Lupercalia and these various events are reasonable and can be more completely understood in terms of the kind of political competition we have been examining.[105] Given the uncertainties in the chronology of Postumius' Victoria project, it is unclear which man took the first step, but Postumius' Victoria and Fabius' putative reorganization of the Lupercalia should be seen as competitive actions. Sited near each other, both dealt with the Arcadian cults attributed to Evander. Fabius follows the pattern observed earlier in his competition with Claudius: he seems to pick up on the actions of his opponents.[106] In fact, Fabius' expansion of

[101] Working from somewhat different premises, Wiseman has suggested something like this (1995a: 12–13 and 1995b: 126–8, 140).

[102] On the Luperci running about: Livy 1.5.1–2; Servius, *ad Aen*. VIII.343; Dion. *Ant. Rom*. 1.80.1 (= Tubero fr. 3P); Plutarch, *Rom*. XXI.7 (= Acilius fr. 2P); Val. Max. II.2.9.

[103] Hill 1952: 22–3, on the change to a true, light-armed cavalry at the end of the fourth century.

[104] Wiseman 1995b: 84 with n. 42.

[105] In one paragraph, Wiseman (1995b: 13) relates this activity of Fabius to that of his "enemy" Claudius in aiding the urban plebs.

[106] The date of the *transvectio* was 15 July, the same date Livy reports for the dedication of the Temple of Castor, in 484, by the son of the dictator Postumius who had vowed the temple after his victory at Lake Regillus (II.42; *MRR* 1.22, s.a. 484); Plutarch even claims that it was the day of the victory itself (*Cor*. 3). Dionysius, too, associates the parade with the celebration for that victory

the Luperci recalls another of Claudius' censorial innovations, his reorganization of the cult at the Ara Maxima.

Several accounts[107] credit Claudius with shifting the care for the cult of Hercules at the Ara Maxima[108] from the patrician families of the Pinarii and Potitii to the state. While the sources vary in the details, the basic story seems to be that Claudius required the Potitii to relinquish control of the cult after they had taught its rites to public slaves. As punishment for the transfer, Claudius was later blinded and the Potitii quickly died off.

Two inconsistencies among the sources suggest that the original version has not been accurately transmitted by any extant source. First, there is no record elsewhere of a *gens Potitia*. Second, the family that did exist, the Pinarii, had no documented role at all in the ritual. R. E. A. Palmer has suggested a resolution to the problem[109] by arguing that the Potitii were not a *gens* but a *familia* of slaves (*famuli*) who maintained the cult. They were probably called Potitii because their slavery placed them in someone else's power and so made them literally *potiti* (archaic *potio*, "to enslave, be master of"). As for the Pinarii, there is reason to think that they were the original presiders over the cult. Sources tell us that members of this family abstained from eating at the sacrifice. Although the interdiction is not explicitly attested for other religious officials at Rome, such a restriction was commonly observed by priests of various cults in Greece.[110] The cult at the Ara Maxima was celebrated *ritu Graeco*,[111] and the Pinarian restriction is perhaps a vestige of the cult's Greek origin. In this period, the Pinarii suffered a serious decline in numbers,[112] hence Claudius acted to ensure the continuance of the cult as an agent of the state, not necessarily because of any special religious devotion of his own.[113]

(*Ant. Rom*. VI.13). See *RE* VI A.2.2178–87 and *DNP* 12/1.760–1. While the choice of that celebration for Fabius' parade may have been natural given its already existing equestrian associations, it also offered the advantage to Fabius of usurping a Postumian success.

[107] Livy IX.29.9–11, also mentioned at IX.34.18–19; Dion. Hal., in excerpt, *Ant. Rom*. XVI.3.1; Val. Max. I.1.17; and Festus, *Gloss. Lat*. 240L, also cf. 270L.

[108] Richardson 1992: 186–7, s.v. "Herculis Invicti Ara Maxima"; F. Coarelli, *LTUR* III.15–7, s.v. "Hercules Invictus, Ara Maxima," with addendum V.263.

[109] Palmer 1965.

[110] Palmer does not mention this. Burkert 1983: 38 with n. 15.

[111] Varro *apud* Macrob. *Sat*. III.6.17.

[112] There is no notice of a Pinarius between a possible praetor in 349 and the prefect of 213; in contrast they appear several times in the fifth century as consul and military tribune, indicating that they had once been influential.

[113] This no doubt unusual act might have fallen to the censors simply because they were in a position to buy the slaves with public money (suggested by Palmer 1965: 320) or as a duty related to the upkeep of temples. Claudius perhaps had a political interest, since the cult was located in the Forum Boarium, where his aqueduct led. D'Ippolito 1986: 28–9 considers the aqueduct's placement there intentional. See also Coarelli 1988: 111 on the proximity of the *ara* and the Aqua Appia; also 127–39.

Changes in the ritual of the Lupercalia can be interpreted in an analogous fashion. Like the Pinarii at the Ara Maxima, the Quinctiales abstained from eating the sacrifice at the Lupercalia.[114] The family of the Quinctii also seem to have been in decline at this time: although they reappear in some numbers later, the *gens* is missing from the *fasti* for the late fourth and early third century, with a gap between the military tribune Lucius[115] in 326 and the *duumvir* Kaeso Flamininus of 217,[116] bridged only by the consul Kaeso Claudus in 271.[117] Fabius thus rescued this cult, as Claudius had at the Ara Maxima, though with slightly different, and more obviously self-aggrandizing, methods.[118] The parallel with Claudius' censorial activity suggests that it was as censor himself, in 304, that Fabius acted. A similar change in the cult occurred in 44 BCE with the creation of a third group of Luperci (the Juliani) in honor of Caesar (Dio Cass. XLIV.6).

As they are reconstructed here, Fabius' actions also increase the significance of the Ogulnian dedication of the twins' statue near the *ficus Ruminalis*, the original of which was thought to have been located outside the cave of the Lupercal.[119] Furthermore, in subsequent decades the cult remained a matter of some interest to the men involved with it earlier. In 296, Claudius vowed a temple to Bellona, a Roman goddess of war who was, as Wiseman has pointed out, made mother to Inuus, one of the wild gods associated with Pan and thereby with the Lupercalia.[120] Q. Ogulnius was the chief legate sent to Epidaurus to bring the cult of Aesculapius to Rome during the plague of 292 that Wiseman associates with the Lupercalia, and Gurges, the son of Fabius who had so much trouble with Postumius, was consul both in that year and again in 276 during the pestilence which affected pregnant women and animals.[121] The plague that sent Quintus to Epidaurus resulted in a temple to Aesculapius on Tiber Island after the snake that he brought back[122] sought the site out. According to Varro, this same temple had in

[114] Ov. *Fast.* for 15 February, II.267–452, esp. 369–80.
[115] *RE* 11; *MRR* I.147, s.a. 326. [116] *RE* *1, 41; *MRR* I.245, s.a. 217, with addendum III.179.
[117] *RE* 36; *MRR* I.198, s.a. 271, with addendum III.178–9.
[118] Note later Fabian claims to be descended from Hercules: Plut. *Fab.* 1; Wiseman 1974: 154. Two *gentes* of the Lupercalia may have suggested or strengthened the later interpretation of the Potitii as a *gens*.
[119] Pliny, *HN* XV.77 on changed location. Other citations at Richardson 1992: 151, s.v. "Ficus Ruminalis"; F. Coarelli, *LTUR* II.249, s.v. "Ficus Ruminalis."
[120] Wiseman 1995a; Bellona as mother of Inuus: Diom. I.475–6; Pan as Inuus: Livy I.5.1–2.
[121] On pestilence: Oros. IV.2.2; August. *De civ. D.* III.17; on the Lupercalia and *sterilitatem mulierum* somewhere in Livy's second decade: Livy fr. 63 Weissenborn.
[122] *se in Ogulni tabernaculo conspiravit*: "it coiled itself up in Ogulnius' tent" ([Aur. Vic.] *De vir. ill.* 22.2). Richardson 1992: 3–4, s.v. "Aesculapius, Aedes"; D. Degrassi, *LTUR* I.21–2, s.v. "Aesculapius, Aedes, Templum (Insula Tiberina)."

it a painting featuring Wiseman's putative new elite Fabian cavalry, the Ferentarii.[123] More speculatively, Rome's first silver coinage, allegedly produced in 269 when Ogulnius was consul, featured the suckling twins and she-wolf.[124] While more could be said on the Lupercalia and the monuments associated with it, this consideration shows how the cult and its reorganization by Fabius may be understood in terms of political competition.[125]

Finally, Fabius and his son provide a last example of competition with Claudius' colleagues involving a cult already mentioned above. In 296, the same year that the Ogulnii were curule aediles, L. Volumnius Flamma[126] was consul for a second time with Claudius. Despite Livy's account of a dispute between Volumnius and Claudius (x.18–22), the reiteration of a shared consulship is a sure sign of their co-operation. Livy reports a series of prodigies connected to a problem that Volumnius' wife, Verginia, had at the *sacellum* of Pudicitia Patricia in the Forum Boarium (x.23).[127] Not allowed to participate in the cult because she had married a plebeian, Verginia established a *sacellum* for Pudicitia Plebeia in her own home on the *vicus Longus*, accessible only to women who had married only once (a restriction also in place at the other shrine). Palmer has astutely connected this with two other incidents involving women and Fabian father and son, serving as curule aediles.[128]

The better understood of the two incidents occurred in the following year of 295. Another series of prodigies was observed, and Fabius Gurges fined married women for adulterous behavior, using the monies raised to build a temple of Venus near the Circus Maximus.[129] This Venus apparently had an epithet appropriate to married women who ought to be obedient to their husbands: Obsequens. The spheres of this Venus and the previous year's Pudicitia overlap significantly, and there may have been only one cause for both foundations. Verginia's shrine was surely a private one, but the

[123] *Ling.* VII.57; Wiseman prefers *celeres* in his text, but his references (e.g. 1995b: 208, n. 119) include this passage of Varro. It seems odd that, if it were in use in the late fourth century, the sources would unanimously make *celeres* an archaic term.

[124] Pliny, *HN* I.35–6. Cornell 1995: 396; compare the more cautious comments of Crawford 1985: 31–2.

[125] Wiseman 1995b: 14, for example, refers vaguely to "Rullianus' enemies" without naming anyone.

[126] *RE* *3; *MRR* I.164, s.a. 307.

[127] Richardson 1992: 322, s.v. "Pudicitia Patricia, Sacellum (Templum, Signum)"; F. Coarelli, *LTUR* IV.168, s.v. "Pudicitia Patricia, Sacellum, Ara, Templum." Livy leaves the prodigies unspecified: *prodigia multa* ("many prodigies").

[128] Palmer 1974.

[129] Gurges' specific office in 295 is not attested, but his activities strongly suggest he held the aedileship (Livy X.31.9). Servius says that the temple was founded after the Samnite Wars (*ad Aen.* I.720), and thus after Gurges' run-in with Postumius. This directly contradicts, however, Livy's account and the date he gives. See Ziolkowski 1992: 167–71. Richardson 1992: 409, s.v. "Venus Obsequens, Aedes"; E. Papi, *LTUR* V.118, s.v. "Venus Obsequens, Aedes ad Circum Maximum."

attention it receives in Livy indicates that its foundation was noteworthy, for reasons that likely include her husband's tenure of the consulate at the time.

Palmer also ventures that Fabius Rullianus himself was closely connected with the foundation of the original shrine to Pudicitia Patricia, located in the Forum Boarium. During his curule aedileship in 331, there was an incident of poisoning among the *matronae*. Part of the response to such an event, Palmer suggests, was the establishment of a cult to Pudicitia. As a man, Fabius presumably would not have founded it himself, but would have had a role in its promotion.[130] Though these two foundations are separated by nearly four decades, the identity of the goddess and the connections between the men involved lend plausibility to this interpretation. We can also note the location of the various shrines: Pudicitia Patricia in the Forum Boarium, an area of interest to Claudius in the years following 331, and Pudicitia Plebeia on the Quirinal, the site, as we have seen, of Cursor's Temple to Quirinus and Fabius Ruillianus' Temple to Jupiter Victor.

This detailed analysis of the career and activities of Fabius Rullianus illustrates the influence of political considerations in the placement of temples and other buildings by the Roman political elite of the middle Republic. We have come to expect such explanations for the activities of Romans of later ages. Ziolkowski and others have provided similar explanations for a few of the second century monuments and the use of the path of the Via Triumphalis.[131] The destructive competitions of the early part of the first century to which Augustus was in part responding are also placed in this same framework, as are the projects of Augustus himself.[132]

We have seen above how the influence of such political explanations may be expanded to the overall placement of Roman temples in the mid-Republic, as well as the details of individual groups of monuments and other forms of display. Harris has concluded that the fourth century origins of increased Roman belligerence derived in part from the desire to obtain the social and political benefits of military successes – the triumph and ability to build.[133] Questions about the temples in this period are still often approached in more religious terms. For Rome to thrive, however, the state religion at least had to avoid harming its political functioning, if not assist it.[134]

[130] Perhaps through his own wife?
[131] E.g. Ziolkowski 1988.
[132] See e.g. Favro 1996: 79–95.
[133] Harris 1985: 28.
[134] Rosenstein 1990 on the use of the imperfections in ritual to allow generals to continue to function in the state, after the inevitable – and relatively frequent – military defeats.

CHAPTER 9

Juno Sospita and Roman insecurity in the Social War

Celia E. Schultz

In 90 BCE, the Senate of Rome, stirred to action by a report of a vision seen by Caecilia Metella, a member of one of the most prominent families in Rome, ordered one of that year's consuls to oversee the refurbishment of the Temple of Juno Sospita. Although this incident occurred against the backdrop of the Social War, it is rarely treated in discussions of that conflict. This is no great surprise since, unlike the prominence accorded religious events in some treatments of the Hannibalic War, divine matters in general are outside the scope of treatments of the Social War[1] – in all likelihood a reflection of the absence of religious themes from Appian, *B. Civ*. 1.150–231, our most important ancient source on the war. Furthermore, the popular notion that Juno Sospita was concerned primarily with feminine fertility has obscured the relationship between the refurbishment of her temple and the contemporary military conflict. The present study considers Caecilia's dream within the context of the Social War and aims to recover the implications of the Senate's reaction to it. In sum, this episode was a product of the inextricable relationship between politics and religion in Republican Rome; more specifically, it is indicative of the Romans' insecurity about their ability to maintain control in Italy without divine support. By coming forward with her dream, Caecilia performed a great service to the *res publica*, and it appears that her family chose to call attention to this episode many years after the fact.

It is a rare circumstance in the study of Roman religion that we possess an account of a religious event written by someone who was alive to witness it, or who was at least able to hear contemporary reports of it. We are especially fortunate, therefore, to have Cicero's reference to the refurbishment of Juno Sospita's temple in the introduction to his *De Divinatione* (1.4):

[1] E.g. Wulff Alonso 2002; Mouritsen 1998: 129–71; Gabba 1994a and 1976: 70–130; Brunt 1988: 93–143; Salmon 1967: 334–81. The brief catalog in Heurgon's treatment of the prophecy of Vegoia (1959: 43–4) is limited to contemporary portents from Etruria and so does not include Caecilia's vision.

Nec vero somnia graviora, si quae ad rem publicam pertinere visa sunt, a summo consilio neglecta sunt. Quin etiam memoria nostra templum Iunonis Sospitae L. Iulius, qui cum P. Rutilio consul fuit, de senatus sententia refecit ex Caeciliae, Baliarici filiae, somnio.

Indeed, more serious dreams, if they seem to be relevant to the Republic, are not disregarded by the highest authority. Why, even within our memory, L. Julius, who was consul along with P. Rutilius, restored the temple of Juno Sospita in accordance with the Senate's orders on account of the dream of Caecilia, the daughter of Balearicus.

Cicero does not tell us the exact nature of Caecilia's dream, although later in this same work he reports that her vision so correctly foretold events that even the historian L. Cornelius Sisenna, of Epicurean sympathies, had to admit its accuracy (1.99).

The only other extant source for the restoration of Juno Sospita's temple comes from Julius Obsequens' summary of Livy's account of 90 BCE (Obs. 55):

Metella Caecilia somnio Iunonem Sospitam profugientem, quod immunde sua templa foedarentur, cum suis precibus aegre revocatam diceret, aedem matronarum sordidis obscenisque corporis coinquinatam ministeriis, in qua etiam sub simulacro deae cubile canis cum fetu erat, commundatam supplicationibus habitis pristino splendore restituit.

Having said that, in a dream, [she saw] Juno Sospita fleeing because her precincts had been disgustingly defiled, and that she had with some difficulty persuaded the goddess to stay by her prayers, Caecilia Metella restored to its former luster the temple which had been fouled by filthy and vile bodily ministrations of matrons, and in which, under the statue of the goddess, a dog and its litter had made their home. Supplications were held.

Obsequens' sensational tale has caught the imagination of modern scholars, so much so that it overshadows Cicero's version.[2] The exact nature of the matronal bodily ministrations is subject to debate. Some assume that Obsequens is talking about matronal prostitution,[3] while others think he means that the ladies were using the temple as a latrine.[4] The Latin is not explicit. *Obscenus*, "boding ill, unpropitious," is most often used in a religious context in Republican and early imperial sources, particularly with reference to negative omens.[5] Livy himself uses *obscenus* sparingly: only four

[2] See, for example, Scullard (1981: 71) who cites only the relevant passages from Cicero but whose account contains details found only in Obsequens. The citation in his n. 72 should read *Div.* 1.99, not 4.99.

[3] Pailler 1997: 518; Dumézil (1970) 1996: 430–1. [4] Balsdon 1962: 249.

[5] *OLD*, s.v. "obscenus." Cf. Catull. 68.99; Cic. *Dom.* 140; Var. *Ling.* VII.96 (citing Matius, fl. early first century BCE) and 97; Verg. *G.* 1.470; Non. 566L (citing Accius and Lucilius).

times in the extant books, most often referring to prodigies (XXI.12.6) or to Bacchic ritual (XXXIX.11.7, XXXIX.15.13) in contexts that imply some sort of sexual transgression, though not necessarily prostitution.[6] *Sordidus*, "filthy," most commonly refers to unclean clothing (indeed this is the standard Livian usage) though the word can be used to mean "foul" or "scandalous" or even "ignoble."[7] If Obsequens has taken up Livy's own words in this passage, then it is possible that the passage refers to a failure on the part of matrons to cleanse themselves properly before or after performing a ritual, or to the performance by matrons of a rite that should have been performed by men. At the very least, the text does not require a sensational intepretation.

The history of Juno Sospita's association with Rome sheds light on the nature of the goddess. At the conclusion of the Latin War in 338 BCE, a treaty was affected between Rome and the goddess's hometown of Lanuvium, an ancient Latin town in the Alban hills south of Rome. Livy reports that the victorious Romans granted limited citizenship to Lanuvium and returned to the city authority over its cults, with the caveat that Lanuvium agree to share the temple and sanctuary of its chief deity, Juno Sospita, with the Roman people (VIII.14.2). This settlement was not an *evocatio*: the Romans were not interested in persuading Juno Sospita to abandon her people, as they had done with Juno Regina sixty years earlier at Veii.[8] In 338, the Romans already had control of Lanuvium's cults, as is implied by the language of Livy's account, and the decision to share the goddess rather than to appropriate her may have been due in part to Lanuvium's loyalty to Rome in earlier times.[9] From this point on, Juno Sospita was integrated into the cycle of public rites observed by Roman officials: the consuls of Rome sacrificed to her once a year.[10]

[6] The fourth occurrence of *obscenus* refers to a group of *mollibus viris* who are suspected of murdering the Boeotarch Brachyllas (XXXIII.28.5), and thus conforms to the secondary meaning of the adjective as "immodest or offensive to a sense of propriety." This secondary meaning is increasingly common in the imperial period, and would both have been familiar to Obsequens and would have appealed to Obsequens' delight in the unsavory.

[7] *OLD*, s.v. "sordidus."

[8] Livy v.22.3–7. Four cases of *evocatio* are documented in the sources (for brief discussion, see Ogilvie 1965: 673–5). The fact that manifestations of Juno are involved in three of the four instances is strong support for the argument that the goddess was the chief military and civic deity of numerous communities. The Romans sought to defeat their enemies not by co-opting a fertility deity, but by persuading the deity charged with the preservation of the enemy state to abandon her people.

[9] Cf. Livy VI.21.2 (*fidelissima urbs*). See also Chiarucci 1983: 27–34.

[10] Cic. *Mur*. 90. It is not clear at which sanctuary this sacrifice took place, though Cicero's prose implies the consuls went to Lanuvium.

After the settlement of the Latin War, the focus of the worship of Juno Sospita remained at Lanuvium. Omens from the Lanuvian temple were common among prodigies reported to the Roman Senate for official expiation, particularly during the Hannibalic War.[11] Eventually, Juno Sospita was established at Rome also. The earliest cult site of which we are informed is a temple erected in 194 BCE, in celebration of the victory over the Gauls three years earlier. This temple sat in the Forum Holitorium across from the Temple of Mater Matuta at the foot of the *vicus Iugarius* where it descends the Capitoline. Its remains are now incorporated into the Church of S. Nicola in Carcere.[12] Despite the establishment of Juno Sospita in the undisputed capital of Italy, however, it is clear that the goddess never lost her association with Lanuvium in the minds of either the Romans or the Lanuvians.[13]

Because the sources are not explicit about whether the Senate focused its attention on the Lanuvian or Roman sanctuary, there is some question as to which temple was refurbished in 90 BCE. Many, though not all, scholars have assumed that in the absence of any specific indication, Cicero and Obsequens must mean the temple at Rome,[14] though the argument for the Lanuvian sanctuary has appeared again recently.[15]

A definitive solution to the problem is nearly impossible since the evidence for and against each option is balanced. For example, with regard to the question of which temple was more likely to be in disrepair, the

[11] Livy XXI.62.4–8, XXII.1.17, XXIII.31.15, XXIV.10.6, XXIX.14.3, XXXI.12.6, XXXII.9.2, XXXV.9.4, XL.19.2, XLI.21.13, XLII.2.4, XLV.16.5. Obsequens 6, II, 12, 20, 46. Cic. *Div*. I.99 (repeated at II.59). Lanuvium is, in fact, the source of the greatest number of prodigies outside Rome recorded during the Republic. See MacBain 1982: 10, n. 7.

[12] Livy XXXII.30.10 and XXXIV.53.3. At XXXIV.53.3 Livy identifies the temple as belonging to Juno Matuta. This is doubtless an error as Juno Matuta is otherwise unknown, and Livy also mentions that this was the temple vowed earlier by the consul Gaius Cornelius. Livy's statement may arise from the confusion of two neighboring temples: Juno Sospita and Mater Matuta both had temples at the foot of the *vicus Iugarius*. Cf. Orlin 1997: 63–4; Scullard 1981: 70–1; Briscoe 1973: 227; F. Coarelli, *LTUR* III.128–9, s.v. "Iuno Sospita (in Foro Holitorio), Aedes"; Richardson 1992: 217–18 and figs. 37 and 38, s.v. "Juno Sospita, Aedes"; De Sanctis 1907–79: IV.2.1.140, n. 51; Gordon 1938: 25, n. 32. Further cult sites may be implied by Julius Obsequens 55 (*templa foedarentur*). Ovid's statement that Juno Sospita also had a temple next to that of the Magna Mater on the Palatine (*Fast*. II.55–6) may be further confusion of the Great Mother with Mater Matuta. Recently, however, scholars have identified either of two *sacella* uncovered near the Temple of the Magna Mater as Ovid's Palatine Temple of Juno Sospita (F. Coarelli, *LTUR* III.129–30, s.v. "Iuno Sospita (Palatium)" and Rüpke 1995a; *contra* Ziolkowski 1992: 77–9).

[13] E.g. Sil. *Pun*. VIII.360–1 (*Iunonia sedes / Lanuvium*).

[14] Such as Pease 1920–3: *ad loc*. I.4; Gordon 1938: 25; Palmer 1974: 31; Chiarucci 1983: 73; Richardson 1992: 217, s.v. "Juno Sospita, Aedes." For additional bibliography, see Kragelund 2001: 64, n. 35.

[15] Kragelund 2001: 64–75; also Mayor 1880–5: I.86.

location of Juno Sospita's Roman temple on a major thoroughfare in the midst of an important marketplace would seem to guarantee continued maintenance of the site. Likewise, the Lanuvian sanctuary, located on the Colle S. Lorenzo to the north of the city,[16] appears to have continued to be a prominent place for the faithful even after Juno Sospita was worshipped in Rome. Furthermore, the temples at Lanuvium (presumably including that of Juno Sospita), along with those at Antium, Nemi, and on the Capitoline in Rome, were rich enough in 42 BCE to attract the attention of Octavian, who was then desperate to pay his troops. Appian attests that these sanctuaries were still great repositories of consecrated money in the second century CE.[17]

Even an inscription from Lanuvium recording the emperor Hadrian's dedication to Juno Sospita of a statue fashioned out of older votive offerings damaged by the passage of time (*vetustate corruptis*) makes clear that there was enough gold and silver in the temple to render a statue weighing 209 pounds.[18] This dedication may even indicate the continued importance of the Lanuvian sanctuary as a whole. A recent study of Roman rebuilding inscriptions by E. Thomas and C. Witschel traces out the complexities involved in interpreting claims of restoration in Latin inscriptions.[19] The language of (re)building inscriptions was shaped by several cultural factors, including a Roman tendency to prize restoration over new construction. In the particular case of the restoration of something *vetustate corruptum*, like the offerings in Juno Sospita's Lanuvian sanctuary, the advertisement of such an activity promotes the *pietas* of the individual responsible. As a result, there may have been incentives to exaggerate the decrepit state of the original.[20] By extension, the large number of rebuilding inscriptions from the imperial period found in several Italic towns (including Lanuvium) should be seen as evidence of an interest in the preservation of ancient Italic architecture, rather than as an indication of the dilapidation of those

[16] Coarelli 1996a: 382–417 and 1987: 141–63; Chiarucci 1983: 166–87.

[17] Appian, *B Civ.* v.97 and Gabba 1970: 51–2. In fact, archaeological evidence points to the economic well-being of Lanuvium throughout antiquity (Chiarucci 1983: 46–50).

[18] *ILS* 316 = *CIL* XIV.2088.

[19] Thomas and Witschel 1992. From an investigation of sites where archaeological evidence can be compared with epigraphic (or literary) evidence of building or restoration activity, it is clear that "where archaeological evidence permits comparison, inscriptions do not necessarily provide a direct indication of previous damage or of the extent of work done and, therefore, cannot be used for that purpose" (Thomas and Witschel 1992: 137). For a critique of Thomas and Witschel 1992, see Fagan 1996.

[20] Thomas and Witschel 1992: 147–9.

towns. Important places are restored; the unimportant are allowed to fall apart.

The only sure indication of the deterioration of religious sites at Lanuvium comes from the elder Pliny, who indicates that at least one of the temples there (not further identified) was in shambles by the reign of Caligula, who tried unsuccessfully to remove some wall-paintings from it (*HN* XXXV.17). In sum, there is no obvious reason to assume one of Juno Sospita's sanctuaries was in worse shape than the other in 90 BCE. In addition, the identification of any archaeological remains at either site as dating specifically to L. Julius' refurbishment will have been heavily influenced by awareness of the literary evidence, and so should not be used to settle the question beyond any doubt.[21] In the end, it is the political backdrop of the refurbishment of 90 BCE that points us toward the Roman site. The Senate's action was intended to underline Roman claims to hegemony in Italy – a much more powerful statement if it pertained to the sanctuary in Rome itself.

The history of Juno Sospita's cult attests to the goddess's relevance to political and military affairs in both Rome and Lanuvium. Her association with civic matters is further underlined by her appearance and by the gender and position of those who set up dedications in her honor. Among the worshippers known from inscriptions – worshippers who are, incidentally, all male – are a Lanuvine dictator who paid for gladiators and games in Juno Sospita's honor,[22] a Lanuvine *rex sacrorum*,[23] the emperor Hadrian,[24] and a soldier, whose dedication is offered jointly to Juno Sospita and Hercules Sanctus.[25] This last dedication gives verbal expression to the relationship between Juno Sospita and Hercules, who occasionally appear together – sometimes in combat, sometimes as allies – in Etruscan and Roman artwork.[26]

Identifying artistic representations of Juno Sospita is fairly easy. A famous passage from Cicero's *De Natura Deorum* (I.82) describes how the goddess appeared to her worshippers. Here, C. Aurelius Cotta counters the argument, advanced by the Lanuvian C. Velleius, that the gods have a fixed human form:

[21] Thomas and Witschel 1992: 139–40. Thomas and Witschel's general remarks apply to the specific case under discussion. See, for example, Coarelli's confident identification of part of Juno Sospita's Roman temple with the reconstruction of 90 BCE in F. Coarelli, *LTUR* III.128–9, s.v. "Iuno Sospita (in Foro Holitorio), Aedes," and Kragelund's denial of the same (2001: 70–1).

[22] *ILS* 5683 = *CIL* XIV.2121. [23] *ILS* 6196 = *CIL* XIV.2089. [24] *ILS* 316 = *CIL* XIV.2088.

[25] *ILS* 9246. [26] S. J. Schwarz, *LIMC* V.235, s.v. "Herakles/Hercle," nos. 362–3.

Tam hercle quam tibi illam vestram Sospitam. Quam tu numquam ne in somnis quidem vides nisi cum pelle caprina, cum hasta, cum scutulo, cum calceolis repandis. At non est talis Argia nec Romana Iuno. Ergo alia species Iunonis Argivis, alia Lanuinis. Et quidem alia nobis Capitolini, alia Afris Hammonis Iovis.

By Hercules, your Sospita is just the same for you [as Apis is for the Egyptians]! Indeed, you never see her in dreams unless [she is adorned] with a goat-skin, with a spear, with a shield, and with her boots turned up at the toes. And neither Argive nor Roman Juno is of this sort. Therefore, Juno appears one way to the Argives, and one way to the Lanuvians. And certainly there is one visage of Capitoline Jupiter for us, and another of Jupiter Ammon for the Africans.

This description is confirmed by numerous representations of the goddess that date as early as the mid-sixth century BCE and that come from several towns throughout Latium and Etruria. Among these items is a larger-than-life-size cult statue of probable Roman provenance dating to the Antonine age, now in the Vatican.[27] Juno Sospita's unique appearance can also be seen on several coin issues from the Republic, such as those in Fig. 9.1 (i)–(iii). The reverses of the first and third denarii offer full-length portraits of Juno Sospita in her goat-skin, wielding a spear and shield, while the obverse of the second shows how the goat-skin was worn like a helmet. This is just a selection: Juno Sospita appears on the coins of seven different moneyers of the Roman Republic, one of whom, L. Thorius Balbus, is of certain Lanuvine descent.[28] It is not certain, but probable that the families of the other moneyers, if not the magistrates themselves, were also from Lanuvium originally.

Another piece of evidence that is sometimes cited, albeit with qualification, as further illustration of Juno Sospita's distinctive accoutrement is an inscription on a poorly published cinerary urn that has just come back into public view at the National Gallery of Scotland in Edinburgh (Fig. 9.2).[29] The urn has recently become part of the museum's regular collection. Previously, it was part of the estate of the late Graham Charles, thirteenth Lord Kinnaird. The piece was brought to Scotland by the ninth Lord Kinnaird,

[27] E. La Rocca, *LIMC* v.821, s.v. "Iuno," no. 28. For a photograph of the statue, see Martin 1987: 113 abb. 28. The statue may date to the second-century refurbishment of the temple in the Forum Holitorium.

[28] Balbus' denarius can be seen at Crawford 1974: 316/1. The other moneyers are L. Papius (384/1), his son (?) L. Papius Celsus (472/1), Q. Cornificius (509/1–5), L. Roscius Fabatus (412/1), L. Procilius (379/1–2), and M. Mettius (480/2a–b, 480/23). Coins of these last three are pictured in Fig. 9.1. Juno Sospita also appears on imperial issues from as far afield as Bithynia (as Hera Lanoia; see Imhoof-Blumer 1890: 80, n. 134). For Balbus' Lanuvine origin, see Cic. *Fin.* II.63.

[29] Cited in Gordon 1938: 32, n. 63; Mayor 1880–5: I.186; and Preller 1858: 247, n. 1. Also Pease 1955–8: *ad loc.* I.82 (though he ultimately follows Mommsen).

Fig. 9.1 Republican denarii showing Juno Sospita.
Denarius of L. Procilius.
Denarius of L. Roscius Fabatus.
Denarius of M. Mettius.

Fig. 9.2 Kinnaird urn.

or perhaps his father, along with many other antiquities the two men purchased during a brief residence in Italy in the early part of the nineteenth century.[30] The inscription (*CIL* XIV.100*) on the urn reads:

D M | Ossa Maeciliae Balbillae Lanuvii | sac(erdotis) quae in aede Iunonis S M R | scutulum et ciyp(eum) et hast(am) et calc(eolos) | rite novavit voto.

[Consecrated to] the gods below: These are the bones of Mecilia Balbilla, priestess at Lanuvium, who, having taken a vow, restored in accordance with sacred law the [goddess's] shield, circular shield, spear, and boots in the temple of Juno Sospita Mater Regina.

There is no doubt that the urn itself is ancient. Its form and iconography, particularly that of the lid, date it reliably to the early imperial period, probably no later than the reign of Claudius.[31] The inscription, however, has been viewed with suspicion since the piece came to light. Mommsen

[30] Millar 1890: 15–21. I was able to inspect the urn myself in March 2003, thanks to Aidan Westin-Lewis of the National Gallery of Scotland and to Yale University, which awarded me an A. Whitney Griswold Faculty Research Grant.

[31] S. Walker, personal correspondence 2001; G. Davies, personal correspondence 2003. For ample comparanda, see Sinn 1987: esp. nn. 32, 54, 64, 66.

was the first to question it, citing the similarity between the text and Cicero's description of the goddess in the *De Natura Deorum* (quoted above), though it is clear from Mommsen's published notes that he never saw the urn itself.[32] It had already gone to Scotland by the time he was aware of its existence.

It is worthwhile to consider Mecilia's urn for several reasons. Firstly, the urn has just come back into public view after a century and a half as part of a private collection. Secondly, until recently, it has not been evaluated solely on the basis of its physical characteristics. The absence of an unprejudiced paleographic examination is significant because the basis of Mommsen's original objection – the similarity between Cicero's description and the items listed on the urn – is not incontestable: the correspondence between the two texts is not absolute.

The inscription has now been examined by three experts, Dr. Susan Walker of the British Museum's Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, who evaluated the piece for the British government and the National Gallery, Dr. Glenys Davies of the University of Edinburgh, and Professor Silvio Panciera of the Università di Roma, "La Sapienza." All have concluded that the inscription is false,[33] pointing to the faintness of the incision, the forms of the letters, and the shape of the interpuncts – all common to late imitation pieces. As to the discrepancy between the text of the inscription and the passage from Cicero, it too can be explained. The inscription mentions a *clypeum* (misspelled on the urn), a small circular shield, that is absent from Cicero's description. Here, the forger probably drew on reports elsewhere in Cicero and the elder Pliny that, at about the same time as Caecilia's dream, a prodigy was reported to the Roman Senate that mice gnawed sacral shields (*clipea*) at Lanuvium, although in which temple we are not told.[34]

Some scholars overlook Juno Sospita's civic associations and attribute to her competence in more typically feminine affairs.[35] This argument is

[32] Mommsen 1853: 173, n. 1, esp. and 1854: 456. Followed by Michaelis 1882: 656.

[33] Walker and Panciera, personal correspondence 2001; Davies, personal correspondence 2003.

[34] There seems to have been something of a market for pieces mentioning Juno Sospita. The Kinnaird urn is not unique: *CIL* XIV records other false inscriptions from Lanuvium (81*–100*) some of which pertain to the cult. These include two epitaphs that purport to belong to other (male) priests of the goddess (95* and 99*) and some dedications to Juno Sospita (83*–85*). For evidence of a flourishing trade in counterfeit cinerary urns of all varieties, see Davies 2000, an evaluation of the Ince Blundell Hall collection of fifty-two urns, many of which bear inscriptions that appear to be modern.

Although there is no clear evidence for any priest(ess) of Juno Sospita, many scholars assume that the Lanuvian *flamen maximus* (attested in *CIL* XIV.2092 = *ILS* 6197) was in charge of the cult: Marshall 1985: 164; Chiarucci 1983: 55–6; Fears 1975: 595; Dumézil (1970) 1996: 430. The most extensive discussion is found in Gordon 1938: 48–51.

[35] Walsh 1997: 165; Gordon 1938: 28 (though he does not see this aspect of the goddess as relevant to the origin of the ritual in the cave [pp. 38–41]). Dumézil (1970) 1996: 298 implies close parallels

based largely on two items: Propertius' account of a particular rite in which women took part, to which we shall turn in a moment, and epigraphic evidence that the goddess sometimes bears the epithet *mater*, as she does in a Republican inscription from Lanuvium that spells out her full name:

Q. Caecilius Cn. A. Q. Flamini leibertus Iunone Seispitei | matri reginae (*ILS* 3097 = *ILLRP* 170 = *CIL* I².1430 = XIV.2090 [from Lanuvium])

Quintus Caecilius[36], freedman of Cnaeus and Aulus Caecilius and Quintus Flaminius [gave this to] Juno Sospita, Mother and Queen.

Elsewhere, she is referred to by the abbreviation ISMR, suggesting that her name was commonly recognized and that *mater* was an essential element of it.[37]

Now, *mater* and its masculine equivalent are often used by Romans as epithets for divinities who do not appear to have a particular or primary interest in human fertility; for example, Vesta Mater and Mars Pater.[38] Dumézil, however, argues that because *mater* is placed in the second position in the Lanuvian Juno's name, it cannot be interpreted simply as an honorary title. He sees in Juno Sospita's epithet reminiscences of "fertility feasts for

between the cult of Juno Sospita and Juno Lucina, at whose temple the annual rite of the Matronalia was held. Hänninen 1999: 35–6 and Boëls-Janssen 1993: 271 and 472–3 see feminine fertility as Juno Sospita's primary concern, though not to the exclusion of her political and defensive functions.

[36] At first glance, this inscription appears to provide a connection, otherwise absent, between the Caecilii Metelli and Lanuvium and Juno Sospita. A problem is posed, however, by the praenomina of two of the men to whom Quintus belonged before his manumission: Cnaeus and Aulus Caecilius. While there is numismatic and epigraphic evidence for several Auli Caecilii, none of them can be linked to the branch of the *gens* that bore the cognomen Metellus, and the praenomen Cnaeus is not attested elsewhere for Caecilii of any variety. In all likelihood these two gentlemen belonged to a less powerful, distantly related branch of the family. Another red herring is the link between our Caecilia Metella and Sextus Roscius Amerinus, who shares the *nomen* of one of the Lanuvine moneyers whose coins depict Juno Sospita (see Fig. 9.1 above). In his defense of the young man from Ameria, Cicero makes clear the longstanding relationship between the two families (*Rosc. Am.* 15, 27, 77, and 147). There is, however, nothing to link the Roscii of Ameria in Umbria with the well-documented Roscii of Lanuvium, though admittedly that would not preclude the possibility that the Metelli and the Roscii (Amerian or Lanuvine) thought such a connection existed.

Genuine religious sentiment seems the most plausible explanation for Caecilia's vision, though one wonders if the high profile nature of the event helped draw attention to the *gens Caecilia Metella* which had dominated Roman politics in the last quarter of the second century (holding consulships in 123, 119, 117, 115, 113, 109, and 98 [see *MRR* I and II, s.a.]), but which had not been prominent in the preceding decade. It may also be that Caecilia's vision was intended to enhance the candidacy of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius for the praetorship of the following year (*MRR* II.33, s.a. 89, though see also *MRR* III.41 and Brennan 2000: II.377–9. Pius' praetorship perhaps belongs to 88).

[37] *ILS* 316 = *CIL* XIV.2088; *ILS* 6196 = *CIL* XIV.2089; *ILS* 5683 = *CIL* XIV.2121. Also *CIL* XIV.2091 (Iunoni S. M. R.).

[38] Vesta Mater: Cic. *Font.* 47, *Dom.* 144, *Har. resp.* 12; Verg. *G.* I.498. Mars Pater: Cato, *Agr.* 141; Livy III.61.5, 8.9.6; Prop. III.4.11; Ov. *Ars am.* I.203 and II.563, *Fast.* V.465; Serv. *ad Aen.* III.35. Vesta Mater and Mars Pater (among others): *ILS* 5035 = *CIL* VI.2074 = *CIL* VI.32371. See also Lucil. I.20–23 (Marx 1904–5) *apud* Lactant. *Div. inst.* IV.3.12 and Ov. *Fast.* IV.828.

the participation of women who are both wives and mothers," a view heavily influenced by accounts of the exclusively female festival of the Matralia, held at the Temple of Juno Lucina in Rome.[39] It should be pointed out that there is no evidence of similar celebrations at any cult site belonging to Juno Sospita.

Dumézil's linguistic argument about the order of the goddess's epithets is equally unfounded. It is clear from Marouzeau's extensive survey of Latin word order that the motivation for changing the order of a common phrase is a desire to emphasize the word that fell in an unexpected place.[40] That is, a shift in position does not necessitate a shift in meaning. In the case of the Lanuvian Juno, her worshippers felt that her aspect as *Sospita* was the most important. Unfortunately, its meaning is uncertain. Festus tells us that *sospita* is the popular form of the goddess' original title, *sispes*, and traces the Latin form to the Greek σώζειν (462L). This ancient etymology has been accepted by some, though it has certainly not won unanimous approval.[41] No satisfactory alternative has yet been proposed.

Another of the Lanuvian Juno's epithets, *regina*, also does not necessarily indicate any concern for the traditionally feminine sphere. R. E. A. Palmer has made a very persuasive case that the epithet most likely means not "queen" but "of the king."[42] His argument is specific to Juno Regina, whom he sees as the protective force of the kings who ruled Veii, the original home of that particular deity, but the same reasoning can also be applied to the Juno of Lanuvium. While there is no explicit evidence of Lanuvium having been ruled by kings, in the historical period we know that the town was under the control of a *dictator*. In addition to the aforementioned dictator who recorded the gladiators and games he sponsored in Juno Sospita's honor, we also know that Cicero's client, Titus Annius Milo, held the post. In fact, Milo was on his way back to Lanuvium to fulfill one of his dictatorial obligations (the installation of a new *flamen*)[43] when he had his unfortunate encounter with Clodius in 52 BCE.[44] The office of dictator at Lanuvium was probably an historical vestige of an archaic king whose *iuno* was responsible for the preservation of the Lanuvian state.[45]

[39] Dumézil (1970) 1996: 298. He is not alone in his conflation of different *Iunones*. For example, Galieti 1916 argues for the identification of Juno Sospita with Juno Februa and Juno Lucina.

[40] Marouzeau 1922–38: 219–22.

[41] Accepted by Galieti 1916: 32; rejected by Gordon 1938: 35–7 and Palmer 1974: 30. See also Harmon 1986: 1967–9.

[42] Palmer 1974: 22.

[43] On the Lanuvian *flamen*, see nn. 34 and 45.

[44] Cic. *Mil.* 27, 45–6; Asc. *Mil.* 31.

[45] Whereas the Romans divided their king's powers between the office of the consulship and that of the *rex sacrorum*, thus reserving the dictatorship as an extraordinary command, the Lanuvians divided

Other scholars point to Propertius IV.8 as evidence that Juno Sospita had a particular, if not primary interest in female fertility and chastity.[46] Here Propertius describes an annual observance at Lanuvium, during which a virgin made a food offering to a snake that lived in a cave sacred to Juno.[47]

Disce quid Esquilias hac nocte fugarit aquosas,
cum vicina novis turba cucurrit agris.
Lanuvium annosi vetus est tutela draconis,
hic ubi tam rarae non perit hora morae,
qua sacer abripitur caeco descensus hiatu, (5)
qua penetrat virgo (tale iter omne cave!)
ieiuni serpentis honos, cum pabula poscit
annua et ex ima sibila torquet humo.
talia demissae pallent ad sacra puellae,
cum temere anguino creditur ore manus. (10)
ille sibi admotas a virgine corripit escas:
virginis in palmis ipsa canistra tremunt.
si fuerint castae, redeunt in colla parentum,
clamantque agricolae: 'Fertilis annus erit!'
huc mea detonsis avecta est Cynthia mannis:
causa fuit Iuno, sed mage causa Venus.
IV.8.1–16 (ed. Fedeli)

Listen to what panicked the watery Esquiline last night, when the neighborhood crowd ran about in the new fields. Lanuvium is the charge of an ancient serpent; here is a place where an hour is not wasted on so rare a respite, where a sacred slope is broken by a dark opening, where a virgin enters (Beware all such journeys!), a tribute for the fasting serpent, when he demands his annual meal and a hiss winds its way up from the deepest earth. The girls sent down for such sacred things grow pale when they think their hands have been brushed by a serpentine tongue in the dark. The snake snatches the morsels offered by the virgin as the basket shakes

the kingly duties between the dictator (*ILS* 5683 = *CIL* XIV.2121) and a *rex sacrorum* (*ILS* 6196 = *CIL* XIV.2089; possibly also *ILS* 4016). See also Cornell 1995: 236 and Palmer 1974: 30–1.

[46] So Douglas 1913: 70–2. The aspect of the ritual as a test of a woman's chastity caught the attention of not only Propertius, but others as well (see following n. 47). Pythocles of Samos (ap. [Plu.] *Mor.* 309B (= *FGrH* 833 F1a)), whose dates may fall anywhere from the first century BCE to the late second century CE, conflated the story of Caecilia's dream with the rite in the cave and with the story of L. Caecilius Metellus' rescue of the palladium from the burning temple of Vesta (*MRR* I.213, s.a. 251). In this tale, the consul of 251 is required by an augur named C. Julius to immolate his daughter, Caecilia, as an expiatory sacrifice to Vesta. Vesta rescues the girl from the pyre by replacing her with a heifer and transporting her to Lanuvium where she is put in charge of the cult of Juno Sospita. The influence of the story of Iphigenia, with which our story is paired by Ps.-Plutarch, is clear.

[47] A nearly identical account of the rite can be found in Aelian, *NA* XI.16. Note that he confuses Lanuvium with Lavinium and that he identifes the deity as the Argive Hera, from whom Cicero explicitly distinguished Juno Sospita (*Nat. D.* I.82).

in her hand. If the girls are chaste, they return to their parents' embrace and the farmers shout "It will be a fruitful year!" My Cynthia was carried there by cropped ponies. [She claimed] her reason was Juno, but a better reason was Venus.

The rite at Lanuvium appears in the poem as a pretext for Cynthia, the narrator's lady-love, to go to Lanuvium for a rendezvous with another lover, and certain ritual elements of the observance resonate with themes and imagery emphasized in the poem. Most significantly, the military aspect of the goddess, reinforced in the reader's mind by her martial appearance, matches the military imagery used to describe Cynthia. For example, Cynthia's trip to Lanuvium is a *triumphus* (17); the narrator's transfer of affection from her to Phyllis and Teia is a switching of camp (*castra movere*, 28); the scene that unfolds upon Cynthia's return is at least as dramatic as the sacking of a city (56); peace is achieved only when the narrator approaches Cynthia as a suppliant (*supplicibus palmis*) and accepts the terms of the treaty (*foedera*, 71) she lays down.

Propertius' choice of Lanuvium is appropriate in two other regards as well. Firstly, the town seems to have been popular real estate for wealthy Romans of the late Republic.[48] Lanuvium offered an easy escape from the city and thus would have been a plausible place for a brief romantic tryst. Second, the ritual in the cave at Lanuvium, as a test of a woman's purity, points up the theme that lies at the very heart of the poem: the mutual infidelity of Cynthia and the narrator.

Propertius' poem does not suggest that Juno Sospita is concerned with female fertility and childbirth *per se*. Admittedly, the goddess' interest in agricultural fertility is made clear, but divine competence in one area does not necessitate competence in the other. For example, Cato (*Agr*. 141) instructs his readers to address prayers for a good harvest and healthy family to Mars, a deity unconcerned with traditionally feminine matters. Furthermore it is clear that Juno Sospita's ritual in the cave was not divorced from her martial and political aspect, as is attested by the denarius of L. Roscius Fabatus (Fig. 9.1) which depicts Juno Sospita dressed in her military garb on one side and a woman making an offering to a snake on the other.[49] In

[48] As is made clear by Cicero's letters to Atticus, who considered buying a place there (e.g. Shackleton Bailey 1965–71: 176[IX.9].4 and 180[IX.13].6 = Vulgate *Att*. IX.9.4 and IX.13.6). The suffect consul of 40, L. Cornelius Balbus, sold his villa at Lanuvium to the future triumvir L. Aemilius Lepidus (338[XIII.46]2 = Vulgate *Att*. XIII.46.2), and Brutus, the assassin of Caesar, retreated to his villa there in the weeks following the ides of March (361[XIV.7]1, 364[XIV.10]1 = Vulgate *Att*. XIV.7.1 and XIV.10.1).

[49] The image of the girl and snake was associated strongly enough with Juno Sospita and Lanuvium that it sometimes appears on the coins of moneyers of Lanuvine descent without an accompanying depiction of the goddess (e.g. Crawford 1974: 472/3 and 480/28). In another variation on this theme, the goddess is accompanied by a snake (Crawford 1974: 379/1–2 and 480/23).

the end, Juno Sospita's function at Lanuvium seems to be parallel in several ways to that of Roman Vesta, another virginal deity associated with snakes, whose primary responsibility was the continued prosperity and political integrity of her home town.[50]

Juno Sospita's political and military significance for the people of Lanuvium and the people of Rome is made clear by the sources, while the evidence for the goddess's concern for more traditionally feminine matters is not unequivocal. With regard to the refurbishment of her temple at Rome in 90 BCE, Cicero's account stresses the public nature of the event,[51] and this reflects the political nature of the goddess. In contrast, Obsequens obscures the political significance of Caecilia's dream by omitting any reference to the Senate's involvement,[52] and by stressing the femininity of those responsible for defiling the temple. Unfortunately, we are left to wonder what it was in Livy that gave rise to Obsequens' version: the episode of Caecilia's dream is completely absent from the Oxyrynchus summaries of Livy's work and, of course, Cicero does not include any details, lurid or otherwise, in his version of events. Ultimately, Cicero's more reliable account should take precedence over Obsequens', especially in light of Rome's political circumstances at the time.

As in the Hannibalic War, Roman political instability during the Social War was reflected in the unusual numbers of portents reported at the time. Chaos on the political level was paralleled by chaos in divine matters: Caecilia's vision was not an isolated incident. Cicero tells us that on the eve of the Social War, statues of the gods sweated, blood flowed from the sky, and mysterious voices were heard to proclaim the dangers of war. Drawing on lost portions of Livy's history, Julius Obsequens and Orosius record, among other things, earthquakes, celestial fireballs, and weeping dogs. The elder Pliny reports that a maidservant gave birth to a snake. Cicero, Pliny, and the Livian tradition report that at Lanuvium, mice gnawed sacral shields, a prodigy considered most dire.[53]

[50] The argument need not be taken as far as it has been by Pailler, who suggests that Vesta and Juno Sospita had a common ancestor (1997: 531).

[51] Both references to the event (*Div.* 1.4 and 99) mention that the refurbishment was undertaken under order of the Senate.

[52] Kragelund 2001: 60 gives Obsequens too much credit for accuracy on this point when he suggests that Obsequens attributes the refurbishment to Caecilia herself because she would have been charged with the oversight of the project once L. Julius Caesar met with an untimely end at the hands of Marius in 87 BCE. This also assumes that the refurbishment was an extensive enough project to take several years, though as we have seen above reports of reconstruction and restoration by the Romans are not necessarily reliable indications of the extent of work done.

[53] Cic. *Har. resp.* 18 and *Div.* 1.99 (repeated at II.59). Plin. *HN* II.199, VII.34–35, VIII.221. Julius Obsequens 54. Orosius V.18.3–9. See also August. *De civ. D.* III.23.

Another item, not explicitly linked to the Social War by any ancient source, but which has been dated to that period on the basis of internal evidence, is the prophecy of Vegoia. The text, preserved in the *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*, a late antique compilation of land-surveying manuals from various periods, purports to be a Latin translation of a prophecy delivered by the Etruscan nymph Vegoia to Arruns Veltumnus. It is possible that the version we have ultimately derives from the *Books of Vegoia*, which were kept together with the Sibylline Books and the prophecies of Marcius in the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine.[54]

Scias mare ex aethera remotum. cum autem Iuppiter terram Aetruriae sibi vindicavit, constituit iussitque metiri campos signarique agros. sciens hominum avaritiam vel terrenum cupidinem, terminis omnia scita esse voluit. quos quandoque quis ob avaritiam prope novissimi octavi saeculi data sibi homines malo dolo violabunt contingentque atque movebunt. sed qui contigerit moveritque, possessionem promovendo suam, alterius minuendo, ob hoc scelus damnabitur a diis. si servi faciant, domino mutabuntur in deterius. sed si conscientia dominica fiet, caelerius domus extirpabitur, gensque eius omnis interiet. motores autem pessimis morbis et vulneribus efficientur membrisque suis debilitabuntur. tum etiam terra a tempestibus vel turbinibus plerumque labe movebitur. fructus saepe ledentur decutienturque imbribus atque grandine, caniculis interient, robigine occidentur. multae dissensiones in populo. fieri haec scitote, cum talia scelera committuntur. propterea neque fallax neque bilinguis sis. disciplinam pone in corde tuo.[55]

Know that the sea was separated from the heavens. And when Jupiter claimed Etruria for himself, he determined and commanded that the land should be measured and properties marked out. Knowing the greed of men and their desire for land, he wanted to ensure that everything would be marked out with boundaries. Whenever someone, motivated by greed near the end of the eighth century . . . the things given to himself, deceitfully will men violate and touch and even move them (= the boundaries). Whoever touches or moves the boundaries in order to improve his own holdings or to diminish the holdings of another, that man will be condemned by the gods for his crime. If slaves should do this, their circumstances will be changed for the worse by their master. But if their master is aware of their actions, rather swiftly will his house be destroyed, and his whole family shall perish. In addition, his limbs will be afflicted with horrible diseases and wounds, and parts of his body will be paralyzed. And then frequently will the earth be moved by storms or even tornadoes and very often by subsidence. Crops will be damaged repeatedly, struck by torrential downpours and by hail. They will perish in the heat

[54] Heurgon 1959: 41. Serv. *ad Aen*. VI.72. For prophecies of Marcius, see Livy XXV.12.2–15 (also Macrob. *Sat*. I.17.27–8).

[55] The text is that of Blume, Lachmann, and Rudorff (1848–52) 1967: I.350–1. The corruption of the text at the beginning of the fourth sentence (*quos quandoque quis . . .*) renders that portion of the prophecy unintelligible: something has fallen out between *sibi* and *homines* (Heurgon 1959: 44).

of the dog-star; they will be plagued by rust. There will be great discord among the people. Thus may you be neither false nor deceitful. Take this instruction to heart!

Based on the dating of the action *prope novissimi octavi saeculi*, which we conclude from a passage in Plutarch's biography of Sulla (7.3–4) to have ended in 88 BCE, it has been widely accepted that the prophecy was brought out in response to land reforms proposed by the tribune, M. Livius Drusus in 91 BCE.[56]

The prevalence of Juno Sospita and Lanuvium in prodigy reports from the Social War underscores uncertainty about Roman dominance in Latium at that time. There can be no doubt that the Romans immediately understood the importance of Caecilia's dream: the Senate, the ultimate religious as well as political authority in Rome, treated the vision with all seriousness. The close relationship between military and religious concerns is further underlined by the fact that the man charged with the restoration of Juno's temple, the consul L. Julius Caesar, was actively involved in the prosecution of the war in the area south of Rome. Thus, it is more likely that Juno Sospita's Roman temple than her Lanuvian sanctuary received attention. By refurbishing the Roman site, the Senate accomplished two goals: firstly, the continued support of a deity of military and political power was assured, and secondly, Romans and perhaps other Italians as well would be reminded of an earlier Roman victory in a similar conflict.[57] While we usually think of Romanization in terms of the export of Roman practices and institutions, this episode reminds us that Romanization could also take the form of usurpation and incorporation.

While ties between the Caecilii Metelli and Juno Sospita prior to 90 BCE cannot be demonstrated, there is evidence that suggests later generations of Caecilii continued to promote their family's service to the goddess and, by extension, to Rome itself. The key lies in the goddess's accoutrement: she is often depicted carrying a distinctive bilobate shield. This type of

[56] Heurgon 1959: 43–4; Pfiffig 1975: 157–9; Valvo 1988: 103–4; Haynes 2000: 384. Scholarly opinion on the matter however is not unanimous: Harris 1971a: 31–40; Turcan 1976; North 2000a: 99.

[57] Kragelund's argument in favor of the Lanuvian site is a much more gentle interpretation: he sees the restoration as "a way of ensuring divine sanction for the policy of compromise codified by the same consul's *lex Iulia de civitate*" (2001: 69). This reading of events, while plausible, makes the renovation a less forceful statement. For most of 90, Roman policy toward the Italians was one of domination, not accommodation. The *lex Iulia*, which offered citizenship to all Latin and Italian communities that had remained loyal to Rome, was put forward fairly late that year (though for a mid-summer date rather than the traditional fall passage of the law and its ramifications, see Mouritsen 1998: 153–71). The law did not ameliorate existing hostilities, although new uprisings appear to have been averted (App. *B Civ*. 1.211–15). All this suggests that citizenship was not the primary, or the only, issue being contested.

armament, comprising two circular discs attached by an overlaid oblong piece, has been found in graves in southern Etruria and Latium dating from the tenth century BCE through the third quarter of the eighth century.[58] Although bilobate shields were eventually replaced by the more familiar circular shields (*scuta*), they continued to be used in a religious context. They are common in depictions of the rite of the Salii,[59] which include shields that are apparently all of one piece, but which clearly preserve the silhouette of their archaic predecessors.[60] The most famous of these representations is a gem, now in the archaeological museum in Florence, that bears the inscription "Appius Alce."[61] The only other religious situation in which bilobate shields appear is as part of Juno Sospita's weaponry (as in the coin of M. Mettius above, Fig. 9.1).[62]

A much rarer variation of these archaic shields is the trilobate shield, constructed on the same principle as its bilobate counterpart, but with a base of three circular discs: two larger discs with a smaller one between them. This type of armament appears in two contexts. The first is a group of Republican denarii issued by two different *monetales* of presumed Lanuvian

[58] The fundamental article on bilobate and trilobate shields is Colonna 1991a.

[59] On the Salii, see Wissowa 1912: 554–9. Also Colonna 1991a and Torelli 1997a for discussion of the Salii and their shields. The Salii were priests common to many ancient towns of central Italy, including Rome, where they were attached to the cult of Mars. Legend had it that a shield dropped from the heavens into the hands of the king Numa Pompilius, who declared that the shield had been sent to him for the preservation of the city of Rome which at that time was afflicted by a plague. In order to keep the divine shield safe, Numa ordered replicas to be made by the craftsman Mamurius Veturius. The shields were then entrusted to the care of the Salii, who paraded them through the city each year (Plut. *Num.* 13.1–7; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* II.70.1–71.4; Livy 1.20.4).

[60] Colonna 1991a: 87–8. See also Borgna 1993.

[61] Representations of the Salii are fairly rare; a collection of ancient depictions can be found in both Colonna 1991a and Torelli 1997a. Scholars generally agree that the Appius Alce gem dates to the fourth or third century BCE, though some would date it later. Clear photographs of the gem are difficult to find (see Richter 1968–71: II.16, n. 16 *bis* and Cristofani 1973: 352–3), though a color image of the sardonyx can now be seen in Torelli 2000b: 627, n. 292. More helpful are line drawings of the Appius gem (along with another gem depicting the Salii) found in Colonna 1991a: 88, figs. 24 and 25, as well as Torelli 1997a: 228, figs. 1 and 2. Interpretations of the inscription vary. Giglioli believed the inscription was a late addition to a piece carved in an earlier age (1949–51: 97). Cristofani (1973: 354) saw the inscription as the work of a Latin artist writing in Etruscan. Most recently, Torelli has proposed that the inscription records Appius Claudius Caecus' gift of the gem to an Etruscan acquaintance (1997a: 244–55).

[62] Bilobate shields may also appear as a control mark on the coins of L. Papius and L. Roscius Fabatus (see Crawford 1974: pl. 69, n. 218 and perhaps also pl. 69, nn. 186, 197, and 235 and pl. 66, n. 60, pl. 68, n. 59). While it is generally thought that control marks have nothing to do with the images on the coins where they appear (Crawford 1974: 398–9 [commentary on #384/1]), this choice of control mark for these two issues would seem to tie in with the image of Juno Sospita. For a different, wider-ranging thematic interpretation of the control marks on the coins of Papius and Roscius Fabatus, see Sydenham 1931 (rightly disregarded by Crawford).

Fig. 9.3a The frieze from tomb of Caecilia Metella.

origin: L. Procilius and Q. Cornificius (see Fig. 9.1 above)[63]. The reverses of these coins show Juno Sospita wielding a spear in one hand and wearing a trilobate shield on her opposite arm.

The only other locus for trilobate shields is the frieze of the monumental tomb of Caecilia Metella on the Via Appia (Figs. 9.3a and 9.3b).[64] This Caecilia Metella is identified in an inscription below the frieze as the daughter of Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus and the wife of a Crassus, probably the elder son of the triumvir.[65] She was also the first cousin once removed of the Caecilia Metella who dreamed of Juno Sospita.

On the frieze the trilobate shield is paired with another, more diamond-shaped shield usually identified as a Gallic shield, and thought to refer to Caecilia's husband's service in Gaul.[66] The meaning of the trilobate shield is

[63] Crawford 1974: 379/1–2 and 509/1–5. Colonna 1991a: 97–9. Note that Colonna also includes the denarii of L. Mettius (Crawford 1974: 480/2a–b and 23) in this group, though on the individual coins I have been able to examine the goddess appears to carry a bilobate shield. For consideration of Juno Sospita's appearance on the coins of Q. Cornificius in her capacity as a military deity, see Fears 1975: 595–7. Rawson (1978a: 195–7) rightly disagrees with Fears' assertion that the goddess was a patron of Carthage.

[64] Incorrectly identified as a bilobate shield by F. Rausa, *LTUR-S* II.15, s.v. "Caeciliae Metellae Sepulcrum."

[65] The identification of Caecilia's father (*MRR* II.131, s.a. 69) has never really been in question. The identity of her husband has been subject to some debate, though opinion is now centered on M. Licinus Crassus, son of the triumvir and quaestor in 54 (*MRR* II.223, s.a. 54). For a detailed discussion, see Gerding 2002: 65–7.

[66] Gerding 2002: 58, offers a partial summary of previous scholarship to which should be added Colonna 1991a: 98.

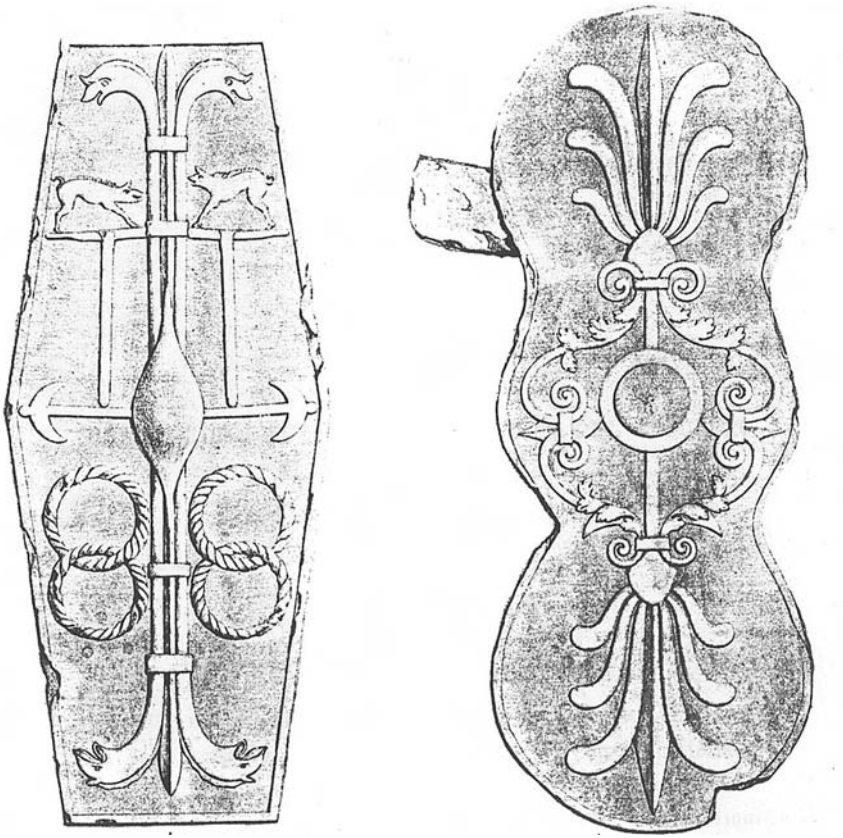

Fig. 9.3b Drawing of the shields on the tomb of Caecilia Metella.

less certain. Some think that it, too, is Gallic or perhaps is a reference to the Salii.[67] Colonna, however, has proposed that the two shields represent two different military successes.[68] He agrees that the diamond-shaped shield is Gallic, and suggests that the trilobate shield is Cretan armor and thus refers to Caecilia's father's victory over Crete.

Colonna's proposal appears to be speculation, as he does not adduce any evidence for the use of trilobate shields in Crete. An alternate explanation that has not yet been put forward is that the trilobate shield is meant to recall the religious service of the earlier Caecilia Metella. It is even possible

[67] Gallic: Paris 2000: 31; Gerding 2002: 59; F. Rausa, *LTUR-S* II.15, s.v. "Caeciliae Metellae Sepulcrum." Salii: Azzurri 1895: 24 and Picard 1957: 117–19 and 201–4.
[68] Colonna 1991a: 99–100, n. 84.

that the later Caecilia continued family tradition by paying on her own for the upkeep of the cult site of Juno Sospita. Read in this way, the frieze not only honors both families, but also celebrates both masculine and feminine service to the *res publica*. Furthermore, the frieze is incomplete in its current state. It appears that there was room for another shield, which may well have been a Cretan shield. Thus all three of the individuals named in the inscription would be represented in the artwork directly above the plaque on which it was inscribed. This interpretation of the frieze has an advantage over other possibilities in that it accommodates a feminine element, rather than excluding it.

In conclusion, Juno Sospita was a goddess who appealed to worshippers of both genders and whose primary sphere of influence was in the political realm. The restoration of her temple in 90 BCE by the Senate of Rome was not an effort to restore order to a cult of feminine fertility, nor was it intended to assert the Senate's authority over Roman women (at least not at a basic level). By acting on Caecilia's dream, the Senate sought to ensure Juno Sospita's continued support for the Roman cause, as well as to underline and reinforce its own authority over the political and religious fortunes of those towns where Juno Sospita had been worshipped for centuries. It is clear that the goddess never lost her association with her original home despite her long-standing residence in Rome. Drawing on this, the Senate's action was intended as a forceful reminder to the Romans of their earlier victory in the Latin War which had brought Juno Sospita's cult under their control. The Latin War had been fought over the same matter that stood at the heart of the Social War, that is, the integration versus the sovereignty of various Italic peoples. This must have been on everyone's mind when Caecilia, daughter of Balearicus, came forward to report what she had dreamed.

CHAPTER 10

*Beyond Rome and Latium: Roman religion in the age of Augustus**

A. E. Cooley

INTRODUCTION: RELIGION AND IMPERIALISM

One of the main themes of this collection of essays is the impact of Roman institutions and practices on Italic society and the reciprocal impact of non-Roman institutions and practices on Roman custom. Other contributors to this volume (notably Glinister, Harvey, and Schultz) have explored the nature of this two-way exchange during the Republic, its extent and limitations. In general, Republican Rome can be characterized as voraciously absorbing others' gods. In part, this absorption – whether of Juno from Veii a few miles away, or of the Great Mother from distant Pessinus – reflects the Roman perception that religious practices and successful imperialism were inextricably linked. The eminent scholar Varro, who was reputed to have explained their own religion to the Romans, "claimed that gods worshipped in alien cities had agreed to become Roman gods because they recognized the superiority of those at Rome and because they recognized the superior religiosity of the Roman people. The structure of the divine world, for Varro, thus prescribed the order of the physical world where conquered cities looked to Rome for leadership."[1] The Augustan era, however, witnessed a shift in emphasis, with more and more gods being exported from Rome. This chapter explores how the capital's religious institutions and practices had a distinctive impact upon Italy during the age of Augustus.

One of Augustus' proud boasts was that he had unified Italy, and the slogan *tota Italia* ("united Italy") formed a keystone of his claim to legitimate rule.[2] At the same time as Augustus was trumpeting the political unanimity of Italy, greater cultural homogeneity began to emerge in the Italian peninsula too. In addition, the theme of defining what it meant to be Roman infiltrated much of the literature of the age. Authors as diverse as

* I am grateful to the British Academy for the award of an Overseas Conference Grant which enabled me to attend the colloquium from which this chapter is derived.

[1] Potter 1999: 116–17. [2] *Res Gestae* 10.2; 25.2.

Vergil and Vitruvius explored different aspects of the relationship between Rome and Italy.[3] Both writers depicted the gradual merging together of the two, which was characteristic of the wider process of cultural homogenization that took place under Augustus.[4] This contributed to the creation of a new imperial culture, which was not simply the imposition or adoption of Roman ways (what has been called "Romanization" in the past), but the emergence of a new culture blending together the Roman and the Italian, and then increasingly combining aspects of provincial cultures, too.[5]

Changes to religious practices were a significant part of this process inasmuch as they bridged both the political and cultural spheres. Religion also occupied a privileged place in maintaining, marginalizing, or even suppressing local difference.[6] John Scheid has suggested that the rituals of public religion at Rome may have supplanted the actual exercise of suffrage as an effective way of creating a mutual bond between the citizens of Rome living in the capital and those scattered throughout the length and breadth of Italy.[7] The dissemination of common religious practices from Rome thus had the potential to deepen the cultural homogeneity that was emerging in other spheres of activity. It is typical of the era that the answer to the problem of how to reconcile the gods of imperial Rome and of its subject peoples lay in achieving a delicate balance between tradition and discontinuity, alleged revivalism and radical innovation.

Latium's conquest lay far back in the past, but the subjugation of the Latins to Rome held a prominent place in the imperialist message of the Centennial Games celebrated in 17 BCE. The first section of this chapter explores why the Latins rather than *tota Italia* were a focal point of these celebrations, and suggests that one reason is that the Latins could be regarded as paradigmatic of the empire as a whole. Prayers were uttered for the continued subjugation of the Latins not because of any real concern for Rome's control over Latium, nor because these prayers were being automatically repeated as an archaic element in the ceremonies, but because the successful incorporation of the Latins into Roman society projected a positive image of Rome's imperialism.

Rome had long been developing different ways of dealing with the gods of Latium, but it was only after Caesar's calendrical reforms that Rome's

[3] Toll 1997 on the *Aeneid*; Wallace-Hadrill 2000: 301–5 on Vitruvius.
[4] Crawford 1996.
[5] On the new imperial culture, see Woolf 1997: 341; Woolf 1998.
[6] Compare the discussion of the control and suppression of important regional sanctuaries in Wallace-Hadrill 2000: 320–1.
[7] Scheid, in discussion, *apud* Hölscher 2000: 280.

calendar had a uniform impact upon the towns of Latium. An analysis both of inscribed *fasti* and of Ovid's *Fasti* suggests that during the Augustan era the calendars of Rome and Latium merged to a greater extent than before. This appears to' have been a gradual process, with the composition of Verrius Flaccus' *fasti* at Praeneste and Ovid's poem helping with the transition. In time, the minimizing of local difference in Latin calendars made a significant contribution to the creation of a universalizing culture, and set the pattern for the adoption of Rome's calendar further afield, too.

The final part of this discussion suggests that the emergence of "august(an)" deities at Rome and their dissemination beyond the capital played an even more crucial role in shaping the new imperial culture. It was this, above all, which gave a distinct character to religion in the Augustan era, and made a new contribution to the relationship between religion and Roman imperialism.

ROME AND LATIUM

One of the most striking features of Augustus' celebration of the Centennial Games in 17 BCE is its imperialist tone, which emerges equally strongly from the inscribed dossier and from the literary texts generated by the celebrations. The Latins occupy a privileged place in this scheme of Roman imperialism, and attention is focused directly upon the relationship between Romans and Latins in the prayer uttered eight times in all at the various major sacrifices. The Fates, Jupiter Best and Greatest, the Goddesses of Childbirth, Queen Juno (twice, once by Agrippa, then by the married women, or *matronae*), Mother Earth, Apollo, and finally Diana are all requested to promote Rome's rule over others. The prayer is recorded in full twice on the inscription, at its first occurrence when Augustus prays to the Fates, and then again when Agrippa leads the married women in prayer to Queen Juno; otherwise it appears only in abbreviated form.[8]

The prayer consists of seven elements invoking divine help in maintaining and expanding Roman rule. It opens with the request that the gods increase the authority and majesty of the Roman people in war and at home. Following this, the second element in the prayer asks "that the Latin

[8] The text of the new edition by Schnegg-Köhler 2002 is used here. Fates: frags. D-M ll. 92–9; Jupiter Best and Greatest: frags. D-M ll. 105–6; Goddesses of Childbirth: frags. D-M ll. 117–18; Queen Juno: frags. D-M ll. 121–2 and in full ll. 125–31; Mother Earth: frags. D-M ll. 136–7; Apollo: frags. D-M ll. 141–2; Diana: frags. D-M l. 146.

always remain subject."[9] Lily Ross Taylor argued that this request for the continuing subjugation of the Latins made most sense in relation to tensions between Romans and Latins in the fourth century BCE. She further suggested that this part of the prayer supports the notion that the origins of the Centennial Games lay in the fourth century, perhaps starting as joint celebrations of Romans and Latins in the period 364–338 BCE.[10]

Arnaldo Momigliano, by contrast, was skeptical of the prayer's authenticity: "it is legitimate to wonder whether it is not wiser to suspect the phrase as an antiquarian forgery of the Augustan age."[11] Whether or not Taylor was correct in assuming that this part of the prayer originated many years before Augustus, we should not simply assume that the repetition of the prayer under Augustus was merely an unthinking archaism, a relic of earlier celebrations. The formula about the Latins was not necessarily "obsolete and useless."[12] After all, the Augustan celebration of the Centennial Games paid great attention to detail, exploiting traditional practices in an innovative way. Consider how Augustus' prayer to the Fates ends: "become willingly well-disposed to the Roman people, the *Quirites*, to the college of the Fifteen, to me, my family and household."[13] This last part, a traditional element in prayer, requesting that the gods support the family and household of the person praying, was simply, on the face of it, a continuation of established practice. In his *On Agriculture* (written in the second century BCE), Cato the Elder provided a model prayer to Mars, which requested "that you willingly be well-disposed to me, my family and household."[14] Bearing in mind the emergence of the "August(an) house" (*domus Augusta*) as a quasi-official institution in Roman society, what might appear simply as an old formula, established already by Cato's time, took on a whole new meaning when uttered at the ceremonies by

[9] *utiqu<a>e [sem]per Latinus obtemperassit*; Schnegg-Köhler 2002: 67, 125–6, 162. This part of the prayer can be reconstructed from a fragment of the later inscription commemorating the Centennial Games of Septimius Severus in 204 CE, which closely mirrors the language of the Augustan inscription, and so may be used with confidence here to supplement the latter. Severan fragments: *CIL* VI.32326–36; *AE* 1932.70 (p. 21 for clause cited above) = Romanelli 1931, with analysis of Taylor 1934.

[10] Taylor 1934: 109–10. Schnegg-Köhler 2002: 158 suggests that some sort of games may have been held as early as 346 BCE, but that these were only interpreted as Centennial Games retrospectively in later centuries. Similarly, games in 249 BCE were not necessarily regarded as Centennial Games at the time, even though Varro (writing much later, of course) described them as such. Even the well-attested games of 146 BCE may have been regarded as centennial only by later sources: Schnegg-Köhler 2002: 161.

[11] Momigliano 1941: 165.

[12] Gagé 1933: 183 ("aussi désueté et aussi inutile").

[13] Frags. D-M l. 99: *fitote [volentes] propitiae p. R. Quiritibus XV vir(or)um collegio mihi domo familiae*; translation: Cooley 2003: L27j.

[14] Cato, *Agr.* 141.2: *uti sies volens propitius mihi domo familiaeque nostrae*.

Augustus.[15] In ostensibly repeating a traditional form of prayer, Augustus was in fact exploiting it in a radically new way.

The language used during the ceremony was deliberately archaizing. In particular, the prayer regularly uses archaic morphology, including the forms *siet*, *ast*, and *illeis libreis*. The expressions used in the prayer, right from its very first request ([*uti vos imperium maiestatemque p.R.*] *Quiritium duelli domique au*[*xitis*]), evoke times long past. Obscure vocabulary (such as *milicheis deis* and *atallam*), unparalleled elsewhere in extant Latin literature, may have had a similar effect.[16] Furthermore, the people of Rome are consistently and repeatedly denoted by the resonant phrase *p(opulus) R(omanus) Quiritium*. The repetition of this sonorous phrase contributed to the ceremonies' formality and awe.[17]

Such archaisms formed an important part of the image of the Centennial Games which Augustus wished to project. Bärbel Schnegg-Köhler has argued that the prayer thus sounded antique and traditional, but was in fact quite novel.[18] The Augustan celebrations were the first to be set against a background of earlier Centennial Games recurring every 110 years, and a new chronological framework for past festivals was devised at the time to support this contention.[19] Whereas the historical tradition, for example, placed the third Centennial Games in 249 BCE, Augustus and the college of Fifteen placed them in 236 BCE. This new chronology, which contradicted the work even of such an eminent scholar as Varro, was given the aura of respectability and authenticity by being inscribed upon the margin of the monumental record of the consular *fasti*.[20] Both competing versions of the games' chronology, however, shared the aim of imputing great antiquity to them. The historians' tradition of fourth century BCE origins for the games may well have resulted from a self-interested tweaking of the historical tradition by the Valerii.[21] Augustus' use of archaic language, in turn, was not so much an unthinking repetition from earlier days as a ploy to lend authority to the new chronological sequence of games devised by Augustus and the other members of the college of Fifteen.

[15] Beard, North, Price 1998: vol. 1, 202–3; Schnegg-Köhler 2002: 127–9; Millar 1993: 43–4.

[16] Archaisms (not an exhaustive list): frags. D-M ll. 105, 141 *siet*; frags. D-M l. 125 *ast*; frags. D-M ll. 92, 105, 117 (but not at 141) *illeis libreis*; frags. D-M l. 94, *duelli domique au[xitis]*; frags. D-M l. 11 *deisque milicheis*; frags. D-M ll. 107, 132 *atallam*, claimed as Etruscan by Palmer 1974a: 27.

[17] Schnegg-Köhler 2002: 128.

[18] Schnegg-Köhler 2002: 129.

[19] 110-year cycle: Beard, North, Price 1998: vol. 1, 205; Schnegg-Köhler 2002: ch. 7. Ancient discussion about the length of *saeculum* and sequence of Centennial Games: Censorinus, *DN* 17.7–11.

[20] Varro, *De Scaenicis Originibus*, *apud* Censorinus, *DN* 17.8 for games in 249 BCE; *CIL* 1^2 p. 29 *Fasti consulares Capitolini* XLV, XLVI.

[21] On the Valerii, see Schnegg-Köhler 2002: 177–8, 184, 210.

The message that the gods had long supported Rome's imperialist ambitions was a central focus of the games, and was designed for the benefit of the citizens of Rome. Both the Senate and the Fifteen took great pains to ensure the participation of as many citizens as possible in the Centennial Games. The Senate temporarily revoked Augustus' marriage legislation of only the previous year (the *lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus*), which had banned the unmarried from attending games.[22] For their part, the Fifteen issued edicts arranging for purificatory materials to be distributed to the citizens of Rome and their wives, and for trumpeters to attract attention, and instructing widows to suspend their mourning.[23] The Fifteen also seem to have arranged for citizens to be informed about the forthcoming celebrations well in advance, perhaps by three months or so, both at a public assembly and by edict.[24] In addition, the various activities during the Centennial Games were distributed widely across Rome, from the Tarentum on the Campus Martius to the Capitol, and beyond to the Palatine. This would also have encouraged widespread participation.[25] The use of public funds for the games also represented the fact that they were to be for the benefit of the whole citizen community.[26] Besides ensuring that the Centennial Games made an impact upon contemporary observers, the issuing of commemorative coins and the setting up of large bronze and marble inscriptions recording the Centennial Games had as their aim the remembrance of the Centennial Games for generations to come.[27]

In short, there is abundant evidence that just about every single detail in the celebration of the Centennial Games was carefully calculated, so it seems unlikely that the prayer concerning the Latins was simply an echo of earlier times. Further support for the notion that the reference to the Latins was not merely an inherited element in the prayer can be found in Horace's *Centennial Hymn* and in the Sibylline oracle recorded both by a freedman of Hadrian, Phlegon of Tralles, in his work *On the Long-lived*, and by the fifth-century Byzantine writer Zosimus.[28]

Horace composed his *Centennial Hymn* specifically for the celebrations in 17 BCE, and it illustrates which aspects of the festival were regarded as of particular contemporary resonance.[29] Augustus' recent marriage legislation

[22] Frags. D-M ll. 52–7.
[23] Frags. D-M purification: l. 76; trumpeters: l. 88; mourning: ll. 110–14.
[24] Frags. D-M ll. 24–8.
[25] Schnegg-Köhler 2002: 199.
[26] Frags. A-B; Schnegg-Köhler 2002: 77.
[27] Coins: Schnegg-Köhler 2002: ch. 11. Monumentalizing the Centennial Games: Frags. D-M ll. 59–63; compare Feeney 1998: 37 on Horace's similar concern.
[28] Phlegon, *On the Long-lived* 5.2 = *FGrH* 257 F 37; Hansen 1996 provides a translation of the oracle (56–7) within its wider context, with commentary (187–9); Zos. 11.6.
[29] Feeney 1998: 32–8; Fraenkel 1957: ch. 7; Barchiesi 2002.

receives particular prominence: "Goddess, grant to us offspring and prosper the Fathers' decrees on women's wedlock, prosper the marriage law, that it may be fruitful of children."[30] This most Augustan of poems also pairs Rome with Latium, but, in contrast to the prayer, presents them as equals. Horace's chorus of children, in their final praise of Palatine Apollo, alludes to the shared fortune of Rome and Latium under his guardianship: "If he beholds with favour the Palatine's altars, then he prolongs the Roman state and happy Latium for another cycle and an ever more blessed age."[31]

Horace's poem is indisputably contemporary with the celebrations, since its composition is mentioned in the inscribed records,[32] but it seems likely that the Sibylline oracle giving instructions about the Centennial Games was also composed at this time. It is probably no coincidence that Augustus had just taken the Sibylline Books under his wing, transferring them from the Capitoline temple to the Temple of Palatine Apollo, where he could keep a protective eye on them.[33] The oracle reflects specifically Augustan aspects of the Centennial Games, giving prominence to Apollo, and, above all, starting off with the new 110-year sequence: "But whensoe'er the longest span of life for mortal man comes round again, accomplishing a cycle of one hundred years and ten."[34] At the same time, its incorporation of archaizing elements gives an impression of continuity with the past. Bärbel Schnegg-Köhler has made the attractive suggestion that the inscribed dossier itself may have included a Latin version of an oracle, perhaps purporting to come from the Sibylline Books, giving the Fifteen instructions on how to conduct the Centennial Games.[35] Everything points to imaginative reconstruction at best, or perhaps outright forgery, by the Fifteen, who, along with the eminent expert in religious law, Ateius Capito, may well have formulated an oracle to suit Augustus' new interpretation of the Centennial Games, which he was using to support his recent marriage legislation.[36] Indeed, this can be read into Zosimus' account of the festival, where he states that "Ateius Capito gave a detailed exposition of the rites and the times when the sacrifice should be held and the procession organized, as laid down by the researches of the Board of Fifteen charged with the preservation of the Sibylline oracles."[37] The Fifteen may well have adopted some "authentic"

[30] Hor. *Carm. saec.* vv. 17–20; translation: Cooley 2003: L28.
[31] Hor. *Carm. saec.* vv. 65–8; translation: Cooley 2003: L28.
[32] Frags. D-M l. 149.
[33] For doubts about the oracle's authenticity, see Fraenkel 1957: 365; Momigliano 1941: 165; Beard, North, Price 1998: vol. 1, 205.
[34] Zos. 11.6.1; translation: Cooley 2003: L25.
[35] Schnegg-Köhler 2002: 83.
[36] Schnegg-Köhler 2002: 249–56. Momigliano 1941: 165 questioned the authenticity of both oracle and prayer.
[37] Zos. 11.4.2; translation: Cooley 2003: L23.

elements of a Sibylline oracle, including the prayer about the Latins, but this was the result of conscious choice to do so.

Bearing all this in mind, we can now turn to the place of the Latins in the oracle. Having issued instructions for the festival, the Sibyl is envisaged as ending with the words: "Be ever mindful of these instructions. Then shall the whole land of Italy and that of the Latins in its entirety always bear the yoke on its neck under your rule."[38] In this way, not only the Latins, but Italy as a whole, are represented as the justification for the ceremonies. On this interpretation, the Centennial Games are not so much about promoting marriage and child-bearing, as about keeping other peoples under Rome's control, and this imperialist tone can be found in the inscribed records (as outlined earlier) and in Horace too. For Horace, the festival evokes the furthest boundaries of Rome's power, from India to Scythia: "Now the Mede fears the forces strong by land and sea and the Alban axes; now the Scythians, so recently arrogant, and the Indians seek responses."[39] By contrast, Phlegon apparently took a much narrower view, since in introducing his citation of the oracle, he referred to Rome's problems with the Latins: "Inasmuch as the allies and friends of the Roman people were not keeping to their agreement, but were constantly rebelling and making war on them, the Sibyl predicted that after these games had been celebrated, the Latins who had revolted would be brought to submission."[40]

We can thus trace a progression in the representation of Rome's imperialist mission. The prayer requesting the subjugation of the Latins may have been of ancient origin, dating from the troubles of the fourth century BCE, but even so the existence of such a prayer does not prove that Centennial Games were celebrated at that time. The decision to include the obviously obsolete and self-consciously archaizing prayer regarding the Latins in the Augustan celebrations was partly designed to support the impression of antiquity and tradition spuriously being claimed by Augustus for his cycle of games. The Sibylline oracle, which was probably "discovered" only shortly before Augustus needed it to support his celebration of the games, shows how Latium could be regarded as a paradigm for Rome's subsequent treatment of its wider empire in Italy. Finally, Horace's hymn alludes to the

[38] ταῦτά τοι ἐν φρεσὶν ἧισιν ἀεὶ μεμνημένος εἶναι, καί σοι πᾶσα χθὼν Ἰταλὴ καὶ πᾶσα Λατίνων αἰὲν ὑπὸ σκήπτροισιν ἐπαυχένιον ζυγὸν ἕξει (Phlegon: *FGrH* 257: F37.v.4.36–8 [p. 1191]).

[39] Hor. *Carm. saec.* vv. 53–6; translation: Cooley 2003: L28.

[40] τῶν γὰρ συμμάχων αὐτῶν καὶ κοινωνῶν μὴ ἐμμενόντων ταῖς συνθήκαις, ἀλλὰ πυκνὰ μεταβαλλομένων καὶ πολεμούντων αὐτοῖς, ἡ Σίβυλλα ἐχρησμώιδησεν ἐπιτελεσθεισῶν τῶν θεωριῶν τούτων ὑποταγήσεσθαι τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας Λατίνους (Phlegon: *FGrH* 257 F37.v.4.26-9 [p. 1189]; translation: Taylor 1934: 110).

extension of Rome's empire to the farthest edges of the known world, and gives a more positive picture of the harmony and shared interests between Rome and Latium. From this, we might conclude that the role of the Latins in the Centennial Games was to present a favorable image of the integration of conquered peoples into the Roman empire, and that this was an element consciously included in the Augustan games.

The Latins were uniquely qualified to act as a paradigm for Rome's wider empire, given that Rome's first step towards world dominion had been its subjugation of the territory surrounding it, ancient Latium. As early as the sixth century BCE, monarchical Rome controlled more than a third of the area. According to Polybius, this state of affairs was formally acknowledged in the very first year of the Republic, traditionally 509 BCE, when Carthage promised by treaty not to injure any of the Latin cities, whether subject to Rome or not. Following many years of uneasy and fitful co-operation between Rome and the communities of what has been termed the "Latin League," Rome's dominance was fully asserted in 338 BCE, when it finally dismantled the "Latin League" following its suppression of the Latin revolt.[41]

Tim Cornell has argued that Rome's political settlement with the Latins of 338 BCE served as a model for the future expansion of the empire: "The settlement which the Romans imposed after 338 established a pattern for the future development of Roman expansion in Italy. It combined a number of constitutional innovations and created a unique structure which made possible the rise of the Roman Empire."[42] As well as sealing its new political relationship with the Latins in constitutional terms, Rome also had to tackle the task of successfully negotiating with its subjects' gods, given that political prosperity was thought largely to depend upon divine support.

Firstly, Rome developed the ritual known as *evocatio* ("summoning forth"), by which Rome persuaded a town's protecting deity to transfer to a new place of habitation at Rome, transferring allegiance from its hometown. In this way, a city was deprived of its protecting divinity and the cult was transferred in its entirety to Rome.[43] In such cases, the transferral of the cult statue was thought to mirror the transferral of the deity: in the most famous case of Juno Regina at Veii in 396 BCE, the goddess's statue was reported to have spoken her assent to the move.[44]

[41] Cornell 1995: 205, 209: Rome's hegemony in Latium; 210–14: treaty with Carthage = Polyb. III.22; 293–8: relationship between Rome and Latin League; 347–52: Latin revolt.
[42] Cornell 1995: 348. [43] Wissowa 1912: 383–4; Ando 2003a: 339.
[44] Val. Max. I.8.3; compare Livy V.21, with Ogilvie 1965: *ad loc.*

Alternatively, Rome sometimes chose to share a divinity, with the result that Roman officials had to travel to the Latin town in order to make offerings to the deity. This happened in the case of Juno Sospita/Sispes at Lanuvium, with Rome's consuls going to the town to perform sacrifices, even though she was also given a temple at Rome. A variation on this is the way in which "Tusculan priests" were created at Rome to tend to Tusculan cults in the capital at the same time as they were being maintained in Tusculum itself.[45]

During the Republic, then, Rome had already developed a number of strategies for dealing with the gods of Latium. Chief among these was Rome's absorption and appropriation of the Latins' gods, and this strategy was gradually extended to the gods of Rome's subjects further afield, as the empire's gods flowed into Rome, where they were metamorphosed into "Roman" form. As a result, the potential religious experience available to the inhabitants of Rome grew ever more diversified, but this diversity was not exclusive to the capital. Other parts of the empire also began to absorb and transform non-local deities. In a paradoxical way, the chances of promoting a sense of homogeneity between Rome and its empire receded, and yet increasingly the Roman world shared in a similar process of the diversification of religious experiences. As will be discussed below, Rome succeeded in appropriating Latium's cults to such a degree that it could then export them as "Roman," and Latium could even be regarded as ceasing to exist in its own right. In dealing with the huge numbers of cults in its empire, however, Rome had to develop other strategies if it was to promote a distinctively "Roman" religious culture.

CREATING A ROMAN CALENDAR

At the heart of religious praxis at Rome was the calendar. Not only did this regulate the timing of religious festivals but it also determined the fundamental character of every single day. The serious flaws in Rome's calendar, however, had led to its becoming out of step with nature's seasons, until Julius Caesar performed the calculations necessary to establish an accurate system. Even the new Julian calendar was not perfect, however, with the result that Augustus had to introduce a few minor changes to tweak it into its final form.[46] The export of Rome's Julian calendar played an important

[45] Tusculan priests and Juno Sispes: Palmer 1974a: 21, 30; Juno Sospita: Herbert-Brown 1994: 37–8 and Schultz in this volume; Lanuvium and Tusculum: Wissowa 1912: 521.

[46] On the calendar reforms of Caesar and Augustus, see Herbert-Brown 1994: 20–5.

part in integrating religious practices inside and outside Rome. The evidence of Ovid's *Fasti* and of the *Fasti Praenestini* in particular suggests that the dissemination of the Julian calendar in the Augustan era heralded a break with practice during the Republic. Before this, each Latin town had its own calendar.[47]

The only calendar to survive from the Republic is the painted *Fasti Antiates Maiores*, composed some time between 84 and 55 BCE.[48] As well as recording the status of each day (for example, whether it is a lawcourt-day), its brief entries record the foundation dates (*dies natales*) of temples and mention religious festivals in the city of Rome. The surviving fragments do not record any dates of local religious significance. The distinctive character of this calendar is not, however, prescriptive for other calendars of Latium that have not been preserved. Indeed, it has even been suggested that this calendar may have been for display in private space, in which case we should not impute too much significance to it as an example of the interrelationship of the public religious practices of Antium and Rome.[49] Indeed, the relationship between the display of the calendar and religious practice is far from clear. Nor would the *Fasti Antiates Maiores* prove that the town relied upon Rome for its local calendar. On the contrary, other evidence points to a tradition of distinctive local calendars in the towns of Latium, with some similarities to the calendar of Rome, but not exclusively modeled upon it.

The *Fasti Praenestini* are also something of an anomaly among the inscribed calendars of Latium. Not only do we have an unparalleled wealth of independent evidence mentioning this calendar, but the inscription itself is exceptional for the level of detail included on it.[50] The *Fasti* were reputedly composed by the scholar Verrius Flaccus, who, as tutor to Gaius and Lucius Caesar, was integrated into Augustus' household.[51] Internal evidence points to a date of composition during 6–9 CE. Although we perhaps tend to think first of the impact of Rome's calendar upon Latium, the *Fasti Praenestini* make clear that Latin practice had already in the past made something of an impact upon Rome.[52]

It is a characteristic of the *Fasti Praenestini* that they include detailed exegesis alongside factual information. For example, the entries for each month are preceded by a heading explaining that month's name. In the cases of January and March, the explanations refer to traditions in Latium.

[47] On local calendars, see also Crawford 1996: 426 and Whatmough 1931: 162, 171–6.
[48] *Insc. Ital.* XIII.2, no.1; Rüpke 1995b: 43 argues for a date of composition between 67 and 55 BCE.
[49] Rüpke 1995b: 44.
[50] *Insc. Ital.* XIII.2, no. 17; Rüpke 1995b: 114–23.
[51] Suet. *Gram.* 17.
[52] Rüpke 1995b: 118.

Most striking is the representation of Mars as a god of the Latins, right from a period that predates the foundation of Rome: "March was named after the Latins' god of warfare . . . before Rome was founded": *Martius ab Latinorum [deo bel]landi fuit . . . ante conditam Romam*. Similarly, the name of the festival *Quinquatrus* on 19 March is recorded as derived from Latin practice: "Quinquatrus. No public business . . . [However some people have thought more correctly that it is named because of the fact that this day is the fifth after the Ides because] in Latium [the days] after [the Ides] have been formed [for a roughly similar reason.]": *Quin]q(uatrus) n. [p —] / [rectius tamen alii putarunt] / [dictum ab eo quod hic] / [dies est post diem V idus] [quo]d in Latio post [idus dies simili fere] / [ratione decli]narentur*. Even given the liberal sprinkling of square brackets in this passage, it is clear that Latin practice is here cited as being at the root of Roman tradition.

Other aspects in the presentation of the *Fasti Praenestini* imply a concern for carefully balancing local against Roman affairs. Unusually, two local religious events at Praeneste itself are commemorated in this calendar. On 6 March, a sacrifice by the town's *duoviri* in honor of Augustus' election as Pontifex Maximus is recorded, and, even more strikingly, the entry for 10–11 April starts with the Praenestine festival for Fortuna Primigenia before mentioning the important festival at Rome for the Great Mother. Some sort of balance between Rome and Praeneste was also struck by displaying inscribed lists of local magistrates alongside the lists of consuls in the *Fasti*.[53] Verrius Flaccus, therefore, appears both to have composed a calendar that did not simply enforce Rome's chronological and religious system and to have had regard for the traditions of the Latin town, Praeneste, in whose forum it was displayed. Subsequent inscribed *fasti* from Latin towns all broadly conform to a pattern inspired by Rome, merely offering "differing selections from the official festivals of the city of Rome."[54] It is possible, not least given the identity of the author of the *Fasti Praenestini* and their early date, that the calendar at Praeneste marked a transition from a local Latin calendar to a calendar dominated by Rome. Furthermore, it seems that Verrius Flaccus was making a positive contribution to this process of compromise and change in the composition of his calendar.[55]

Ovid too draws attention to the pre-existing calendars of Latium. His analysis of the name given to the month of March, for instance, is similar to

[53] Local magistrates: *CIL* XIV.2964–9, from 5–19 CE; with comment of Rüpke 1995b: 123.
[54] Beard, North, Price 1998: vol. 1, 323.
[55] On the puzzling character of Italian calendars, see Price 1996: 841–2; Beard, North, Price 1998: vol. 1, 322–3; Rives 2000: 259–60.

that found in the *Fasti Praenestini* (mentioned above). Latium is depicted as having a prior claim to the god Mars before he was appropriated by Rome, and Ovid describes how months named after the war god can be found in "foreign calendars" (*peregrinos fastos*), and he names a series of Latin peoples and towns.[56] In the final book of the poem, Juno also boasts of her worship throughout Latium in terms that imply that the local calendars of the Latins designated different festivals in her honor.[57] These passages in Ovid, together with the allusions to Latium in the *Fasti Praenestini*, suggest that however many similarities to Rome's calendar they may already have possessed, local Latin calendars were distinctive entities in their own right during the Republic. It was only in the Augustan era that the calendars increasingly merged together, and both Ovid's poem and the *Fasti Praenestini* point to a conscious effort to create a new calendar to be shared by Rome and Latium. This process was one factor in the overall pattern of cultural homogenization at that time.

In writing his poem, Ovid undertook the task of creating a calendar for Rome. As Carole Newlands has insisted:

> The Roman calendar has been recognized as a document central to the construction of Roman identity; its vital concern was the exposition of new and changing ideas of 'Romanness'. It offered Ovid a flexible form in which to explore different constructions of Roman identity . . . Ovid's national poem offers its own version of Roman identity and time based on cultural pluralism and open debate.[58]

One way in which Ovid explores Roman identity is by his comments on the relationship between Rome and Latium.

At the very opening of the *Fasti*, Ovid introduces his subject-matter with the following words: "Latium's annual calendar, its times and seasons and their source, the signs celestial that rise and sink below the earth – these are my song" (*tempora cum causis Latium digesta per annum / lapsaque sub terras ortaque signa canam*).[59] These first programmatic lines allude to several different aspects of Ovid's poem. For some, the phrase *Latium per annum* is simply equivalent to *Romanum per annum*.[60] Ovid's rather surprising announcement of his inclusion of astronomical material imbues

[56] Ov. *Fast.* III.85–96. [57] Ov. *Fast*. VI.57–63.

[58] Newlands 2002: 201, 215. The classic work on the flexibility of the calendar, as revealed by variant readings of the *Parilia*: Beard 1987. Ovid's approach to the calendar: Harries 1989: esp. 182–3; Phillips 1992: 64–5; Newlands 1995: 11–12; Schiesaro 2002: 66.

[59] Ov. *Fast*. I.1–2; translation: Cooley 2003: G49.

[60] Miller 1991: 9, 148, n. 3. Although he is right to note that Ovid sometimes uses *Latius* rather vaguely, as a synonym for *Romanus*, the adjective can also have a strong topographical or ethnic significance (e.g. at *Fast*. I.539, III.606, V.91 and IV.42, IV.879, IV.894).

his pentameter with a Hellenistic character, since such material was not only alien to the Roman calendar, but was actually made redundant by the establishment of the Julian calendar.[61] In drawing our attention to the contrast between Roman and Greek themes in his poem, Ovid thus sets himself up as the successor both to Callimachus and to Aratus.[62]

Nevertheless, it is equally true that Ovid may wish us to think of Latium, not just Rome. In so doing, he is competing with the aetiological poems of Propertius, which focus solely upon the city of Rome. As Elaine Fantham has suggested, "unlike Propertius, his predecessor in Latin aitiological poetry, Ovid will articulate his poem by times, *tempora*, that will be Latin and not simply Roman."[63] In support of this interpretation, we may note how during the course of his poem he returns to the contrast between the calendars of Latium and of Rome. Almost halfway through the poem, Mars addresses the poet as "painstaking bard of Latin days" (*Latinorum vates operose dierum*).[64] At first glance, it seems that this emphasis on the calendar of Latium has been undermined by Romulus shortly before, where he decrees that the first month in the *Roman* year is to be named after Mars.[65] But Ovid depicts Romulus as a somewhat slow-witted character, who misunderstands the calendar, causing chaos with his bellicose desire to defeat the calendars of Latium.[66] Ovid shows only too clearly that conquest is not the correct response to old established Latin calendars. Finally, by the start of the sixth, and last, book, Ovid becomes, in the words of Juno, "bard, founder of the Roman year" (*o vates, Romani conditor anni*).[67] In this way, it is actually in the course of Ovid's poem that we witness the progression from the multiple calendars of Latium to one of Rome.[68]

Another aspect of the homogenization of Latium and Rome emerges in the course of Ovid's poem. Latium's privilege of being the first area to be conquered by Rome appears right at the start of the work, where Romulus is obsessed with defeating his neighbors.[69] Romulus' conquest of Latium, however, is destined to be overshadowed by Augustus' later world

[61] Gee 2000: 16, 122–3.

[62] Ovid and Callimachus: Miller 1982: 400–13; Scheid 1992: 123; Herbert-Brown 1994: 9; Miller 2002: 174–6; Schiesaro 2002: 65; Aratus: Gee 2000.

[63] Fantham 1986: 245. [64] Ov. *Fast*. III.177. [65] Ov. *Fast*. III.75.

[66] Ov. *Fast*. III.73–98, with military phrase at 97–8: *Romulus, hos omnes ut vinceret ordine saltem, / sanguinis auctori tempora prima dedit*. In this respect, as in others explored by Hinds 1992, Romulus demonstrates his father's character (cf. III.197), depicted ambivalently by Ovid as rather muddle-headed and thoughtlessly militaristic.

[67] Ov. *Fast*. VI.21; Miller 1991: 41 comments on the significance of the word *conditor* here.

[68] This might provide further support for the argument that the *Fasti* was not necessarily in an unfinished state: see also Miller 2002: 167.

[69] Ov. *Fast*. I.30: "he was more concerned with conquering his neighbors."

conquest.[70] By the time that Juno acclaims Ovid for having created the Roman year, Latium's subjection to Rome is portrayed as so complete that it has even lost its autonomous identity, and has become merely a "suburb" of Rome.[71]

Latium's subordination is also reflected in the religious sphere by Ovid's description of the Faliscan plains raising heifers merely to supply them for sacrifice at Rome.[72] As John Miller has noted, Ovid's allusion here to *Amores* III.13.13–14 heightens the imperialist tone of this passage. In contrast to the *Fasti*, the cattle of Falerii in the *Amores* are being sacrificed to a local deity rather than being transported to Rome, where they would be appropriated for the capital's rites.[73] The dominance of Rome is thus illustrated on a local scale by the Faliscan cattle, but the very next couplet in the *Fasti* demonstrates that this dominance extended far beyond Latium, to the world at large: as Jupiter surveys the whole world, he sees nothing that is not Roman.[74]

Finally, Rome's military conquest of Latium sometimes even entailed taking the gods of Latium captive, as Ovid suggests happened in the case of Minerva Capta, brought to Rome from Falerii.[75] One picture of the relationship between Rome and Latium, then, is to represent Latium as totally subject and subordinate, and to portray Rome as appropriating the gods and offerings of Latium, whilst replacing local calendars with its own.

At the same time, Latium's conquest also appears something of a paradox since many of Rome's cults are shaped by their Latin origins. In offering variant aetiologies for cult practices at Rome, Ovid presents Latin explanations alongside Greek ones for the evolution of Roman religion.[76] In his account of the Agonalia, for example, he offers six alternative etymologies for the festival's name, ending with a Greek explanation and then one derived from "ancient speech," his preferred option.[77] A further strategy is to undermine the simple dichotomy of Greeks and Latins by portraying Latium as basically Greek in character: not only does he claim that it was originally settled by Greeks like Arcadian Evander, but sometimes he

[70] Ov. *Fast*. II.133–8.

[71] Ov. *Fast*. VI.58, Juno refers to the inhabitants of Latium as the *suburbani*; VI.361, Mars declares that Rome has already crushed the *suburbanos*; VI.785, discussed below. Compare *Ars am*. I.259, where even Diana of Nemi is reduced to an existence as a suburban deity (*suburbanae templum nemorale Dianae*).

[72] Ov. *Fast*. I.83–4.

[73] Miller 1991: 66–7.

[74] Ov. *Fast*. I.85–6.

[75] Ov. *Fast*. III.843–4; Palmer 1974: 21.

[76] Variant aetiologies: Miller 2002: 171–2; Schiesaro 2002: 65; Newlands 2002: 205; Callimachean influence: Miller 1982.

[77] Ov. *Fast*. I.330–2.

arrests the reader with unexpected images, such as Ino's encounter with Latin Bacchae.[78]

Despite the transferral of so many Latin deities and cult practices to Rome, some gods retained their homes in Latium, requiring the inhabitants of Rome to travel out of the capital into Latium. Ovid reveals that this is still the case in his own times, casually relating his meetings with city-dwellers travelling out to Latin cult sites or returning thence to Rome. For instance, he relates how many women of Rome turn to Diana at Nemi for help: "often a woman who has been granted her prayer, her brow wreathed in garlands, carries burning torches out of the City."[79] In this case, it is a Latin deity whose help promises to be most effective, but it is necessary for the worshipper to travel to the cult site to acknowledge afterwards, and presumably to elicit beforehand, this help. Similarly, Ovid paints a vignette of a drunken Roman returning to the capital: "behold, a man worse the wear for drink returning from a suburban shrine."[80]

In the end, local loyalties remained strong. It was all very well for Ovid's Cybele to assert that Rome was a fit home for all gods, but the magnetism of topography and tradition still retained its pull on localized cults.[81] Despite Rome's imperialist achievements, variation in local cults remained, and a lack of uniformity even within Italy itself persisted. This feature of the religious landscape of Italy clearly presented a problem for the unification of the peninsula with which this chapter began. If this unification had to extend beyond the political sphere, the diversity of cults would have presented one particular challenge.

ROMAN RELIGION BEYOND ROME AND LATIUM

Several chapters in this volume illustrate aspects of what Simon Price has dubbed the "religion of place."[82] Whereas Price's chapter revealed how closely the topography of the city of Rome itself was bound up with Rome's religious identity, earlier contributors to this volume have demonstrated that this was a feature that Rome shared with other towns in Italy

[78] "For the Italian land was a greater Greece" – Ov. *Fast*. IV.64; Latin towns really Greek: Ov. *Fast*. IV.65–74, with Fantham 1998: *ad loc*. on the possible influence here of Cato's *Origines*. Ino episode: IV.504, "Ausonian maenads" (*maenadas Ausonias*), then at VI.507 "Latin Bacchantes" (*Latias Bacchas*).

[79] Ov. *Fast*. III.269–70.

[80] Ov. *Fast*. VI.785.

[81] Ov. *Fast*. IV.270. See Ando 2003a: 325–6 on the problems of diffusion for "locative" cults. Compare Bispham 2000: 9: "The border between Nola and Abella was easily crossed, but the gulf between the state cults was almost unbridgeable."

[82] Price 1996.

too.[83] Despite the strong association of locality and deity, however, Rome developed its own ways of expressing its own uniquely powerful place in the world.

In time, as well as appropriating another people's cult practices, Rome might act as mediator, preserving and distributing them further afield. In the Augustan era we find rituals carried out "in Gabine dress" (*Gabino cinctu*). This expression denotes the practice of wearing a toga with arms unimpeded by its folds. Ancient explanations of this custom saw it as a way of retaining immediate readiness for warfare, with Servius even suggesting that this was the normal garb in war of the "Latins of old."[84] It was thought that the connection with Gabii had arisen on an occasion when its inhabitants had been caught out in the midst of performing rites, and were compelled to rush into battle dressed just as they were, but won victory all the same.[85] In any case, "Gabine dress" may rather more prosaically simply reflect the costume worn by priests of Gabii, adopted by the Romans at the same time as they absorbed the town into their state at the end of the sixth century BCE.[86] As John Scheid notes, however, the term had no connotations of ethnicity, and came to be regarded as a typically "Roman" practice.[87] Under Augustus' unified Italy, "Gabine dress" also spread to Roman colonies: participants in sacrifices at Pisa to mourn the untimely demise of Lucius Caesar in 2 CE did so "dressed in the Gabine manner."[88] In this way, Rome appropriated a Latin practice so successfully that it eventually exported it as an element of Roman identity.

The cult of Diana on the Aventine is a more elaborate example of the success with which Rome used religion to promote its imperialist aims. From the beginning of the temple's foundation by Servius Tullius, the cult was represented as having imperialist connotations.[89] Livy gives the following account of its foundation:

[83] See the contribution by Schultz (Chapter 9 in this volume) on how Juno Sospita retained her close association with Lanuvium even after she was given a temple at Rome. Also in this volume, Klingshirn (Chapter 6) illustrates how oracular power was embedded in its locality, since the temple of Fortuna Primigenia at Rome, supposedly founded by Servius Tullius on the Capitoline (Richardson 1992: 156, s.v. "Fortuna Primigenia, Hieron"; J. Aronen, *LTUR* II.273–5, s.v. "Fortuna Primigenia"), did not include an oracular function; that was solely connected with the goddess's sanctuary at Praeneste. Jean Turfa comments (in Chapter 3) on votive offerings being deposited in many sanctuaries, such as the one at Pyrgi, even after the sanctuary had been dismantled.

[84] For an ancient definition, see Servius, *ad Aen.* VII.612.

[85] "Gabine dress" handy for battle: Festus, *Gloss. Lat.* 251L; Val. Max. I.I.II; Servius, *ad Aen.* VII.612.

[86] Ogilvie 1965: 731, *ad* Livy V.46.2. Gabii's fate: Momigliano 1989: 66.

[87] Scheid 1995a: 19.

[88] *ILS* 139 = *CIL* XI.1420, l.25.

[89] Temple of Diana on the Aventine: L. Vendittelli, *LTUR* II.11–13, s.v. "Diana Aventina, Aedes," with addendum at V.242; Richardson 1992: 108–9, s.v. "Diana, Aedes (I)"; Platner and Ashby 1929: 149; Momigliano 1989: 85; Ando 2003a: 339–40. Varro, *Ling.* V.43.

Iam tum erat inclitum Dianae Ephesiae fanum; id communiter a civitatibus Asiae factum fama ferebat . . . Saepe iterando eadem perpulit tandem, ut Romae fanum Dianae populi Latini cum populo Romano facerent. Ea erat confessio caput rerum Romam esse, de quo totiens armis certatum fuerat. (Livy 1.45.2–3)

Already at that time the shrine of Ephesian Diana was famous; it had reputedly been built as a shared enterprise by the communities of Asia . . . By often repeating the same things Servius eventually won his point, that the Latins together with the Romans should build a shrine to Diana at Rome. This amounted to an acknowledgement that Rome possessed supremacy, about which so often there had been armed conflict.

Livy is not the only source to allege Ephesian connections for the Aventine temple, but the idea of a federal cult was not necessarily derived from the Ionians at Ephesus.[90] The Latins already had a number of shared sanctuaries, such as those at Lavinium, Ardea, Tusculum, and, most importantly, that of Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban Mount. All of these existed beyond the confines of their towns, and this explains the choice of the Aventine, beyond Rome's sacred boundary, or *pomerium*, as the location for the new temple.[91] The status of the Aventine cult was still publicly commemorated in the Augustan period by an archaic inscription on a bronze pillar of the laws governing the relationship between the Latin towns and Rome, and the festival.[92] An anecdote recorded by Valerius Maximus reflects the perceived role of the cult as a symbol of Rome's supremacy, with the sacrifice of a particularly beautiful cow at Rome during the reign of Servius Tullius to Diana of the Aventine guaranteeing rule over the whole world for Rome.[93] The Latins' later dedication of a grove to Diana at Aricia seems to have represented a deliberate attempt to supplant the Aventine centre.[94] Rome's export of the cult's regulations to act as a template for new cults established in colonies outside Italy in the imperial period also reflected its imperialist role: "This set of rules was not only ancient; it also governed the relations between Rome and the outside world, and was thus a singularly appropriate model for use in Roman colonies."[95]

The emergence of emperor-worship is generally regarded as an important way in which cohesiveness was engendered in the Roman world, promoting

[90] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* IV.25.4–6 states that this temple was just one of several sources of inspiration.
[91] Cornell 1989: 266–7. [92] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* IV.26.4–5. [93] Val. Max. VII.3.1.
[94] Chassignet 1986: Cato, *Orig.* II.28, discussed by Cornell 1995: 297–8. Wissowa 1912: 39, however, argued that the Aventine cult was established as an offshoot of the Arician, and is followed by Richardson 1992: 108, s.v. "Diana, Aedes (I)."
[95] Price 1996: 845. Altar to the *numen* of Augustus, Narbo Martius (modern Narbonne) – *ILS* 112 = *CIL* XII.4333; altar to Juppiter Optimus Maximus, Salona (modern Solin, Croatia) in 137 CE – *ILS* 4907 = *CIL* III.1933; possibly a temple to *Salus* at Ariminum (modern Rimini) – *CIL* XI.361.

a sense of unity not only between different Italian communities but also between peoples throughout the empire.[96] The widespread distribution of a universally recognizable image of the emperor – what Bert Smith has termed a "centrally defined portrait image" – similarly provided a common rallying-point for communities under Rome's sway.[97] Emperor-worship, like a portrait image, could be interpreted in local terms, but retained common features.

This theme has been extensively explored, but other ways of increasing religious consistency in different parts of the empire have been comparatively underplayed. Clifford Ando, however, has studied the appearance in Spain of the gods of the city of Rome, as illustrated by the Flavian municipal charter of Irni.[98] The cultivation of the Capitoline triad beyond its natural home on Rome's Capitol hill was a privilege of Rome's colonies, "by which they asserted their status as members of the Roman citizen body."[99] Ando, however, notes the oddity of the invocation of the Penates at Irni, not least since they were supposed not even to have been transplanted successfully a few miles from Lavinium to Alba Longa, but now appear to be comfortably ensconced hundreds of miles away.[100]

An equally striking phenomenon of the Augustan era, however, began in Rome and then quickly spread from there into Italy, and beyond into the empire at large. This phenomenon is the emergence of deities whose nomenclature included the adjective *augustus*, as in *Concordia Augusta*, which we might translate as "august", or perhaps "Augustan" Concord. (The Latin allows for either, or both, interpretations.) It is of course true that the word *augustus* is not an invention of the Augustan regime. Ittai Gradel argues that "the adjective '*augustus*' would certainly connote the emperor, but on the formal level it was simply an epithet to a divine name, one which had indeed been employed as such before Augustus' day", and he draws attention to the fact that we even find "august(an)" deities once during the Republic, on a dedication of 59 BCE from Cisalpine Gaul "to the august(an) Lares" (*[a]ug(ustis) Laribus*).[101] An alternative point of view is expressed by Karl Galinsky, who comments that "*Augusti* now came to be spelled with a capital *A*, and more was involved than semantics."[102]

Previously in Rome, the association of a deity with a family name, such as Janus Curiatus, implied that this deity had a particular interest in protecting

[96] Hopkins 1978: ch. 5, esp. 197. [97] Smith 1996: esp. 31.
[98] Ando 2003a. [99] Barton 1982: 266; Rives 1995: 39–42, 120.
[100] Ando 2003a: 324, 333–5; on the Penates' resistance to change: Val. Max. 1.8.7.
[101] Gradel 2002: 103–5 (quotation from 104); 113, commenting on *CIL* v.4087 = *ILLRP* 200.
[102] Galinsky 1996: 301.

that family. An "august(an)" deity, then, would be one whose powers were being invoked on behalf of Augustus, rather than one who was somehow being identified with Augustus.[103] This still does not adequately explain such deities, however, given the unique status of the name "Augustus" (not simply a family name) and the appropriation of a long-established public temple for a deity such as "August(an) Concord" (on which more below). Ovid's *Fasti* (1.609–10) illustrates the exceptional status of august(an) gods:

sancta vocant augusta patres, augusta vocantur templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu.

"Revered" (or "august") do the Fathers call our holy things; august the temples consecrated with due ritual and priestly hands to heaven.[104]

The creation of "august(an)" gods, then, was a conscious innovation of the times, which served to foster loyalty towards Augustus and his family, by implying a close link between the activities of a deity and the person of the emperor. Virtues initially set the pattern, with the emergence of deities such as *Pax Augusta* ("August(an) Peace") and *Justitia Augusta* ("August(an) Justice").[105] This reflects the way in which Augustus himself, and gradually the imperial family as a whole, came to monopolize certain qualities, which they then transmitted to the rest of Roman society.[106] Olympian gods were also transformed, however, with the appearance of deities such as Mars Augustus. Duncan Fishwick has argued that "in time, most deities were to be related to the emperor by the epithet *Augustus*, but in Augustus' own case the main emphasis was on the divinities that legitimized his rule or had played a role in his own rise to power."[107] This underestimates the change, however, since Mercury for one received a dedication in 3/2 BCE, and would not normally be regarded as a particularly Augustan god, unlike Apollo.[108]

The mechanisms by which "august(an)" gods first appeared at Rome reveal the ways in which Augustus enjoyed the collaboration of the elite and his family in introducing this innovation. One mechanism may be illustrated by the "Altar of August(an) Peace" (*Ara Pacis Augustae*), the earliest "august(an)" deity known to have been introduced into Rome. Vowed in 13 BCE and dedicated on 30 January 9 BCE – Livia's birthday – the altar commemorated Augustus' victorious return from war. The overall concept of August(an) Peace was emphasized by the altar's location on Rome's

[103] Fishwick 1991: 446–52; compare Beard, North, Price 1998: vol. 1, 352.
[104] Translation: Cooley 2003: H23.
[105] Fears 1981: 831–3 criticizes the oft repeated expression "deification of abstract ideas."
[106] Augustan Virtues: Fears 1981: 885–9. "Cult of abstractions": Fishwick 1993: 85–6. Imperial monopoly: Wallace-Hadrill 1981; Cooley 1998.
[107] Fishwick 1993: 87. [108] Mercury Augustus: *CIL* VI.34.

sacred boundary (or *pomerium*), where Augustus set aside his military power (*imperium*) on return from his successful Spanish campaigns.[109] The sculptural decoration in the altar's precinct presented a rich visual interpretation of some of the major aspirations of Augustus' rule, and the annual ceremonies involving Vestals, priests, and magistrates refocused people's attention on these aspirations each year on its day of dedication.[110] All this was voted by the Senate, no doubt cognisant of what would delight Augustus. It is important to emphasize that it is the Senate that emerges as a principal creator of Augustan ideology.[111]

"August(an)" cults like "August(an) Peace" (*Pax Augusta*) did not emerge imperceptibly at Rome, but arrived on the scene amid great pomp and circumstance. An example that followed the lead set by the Altar of August(an) Peace illustrates clearly how a divine virtue was transformed into imperial deity. Since the mid-fourth century BCE, the Temple of Concord (*Concordia*) in the north-west corner of the Roman Forum had commemorated the hard-won harmony between Rome's upper and lower classes, having been vowed after a secession of the plebs had been resolved in 367 BCE. Following a fire in 9 BCE, Tiberius vowed in 7 BCE to rebuild it with his spoils of war against the Germans, and eventually rededicated it in 10 CE. In doing so, he transformed the whole character of the cult into a celebration of Augustan harmony. A new dedicatory inscription declared that the temple now accommodated the goddess "August(an) Concord" (*Concordia Augusta*). The new temple, as represented on Tiberian coins and by Ovid in the *Fasti*, emphasized a quite different aspect of the goddess from its Republican predecessor. "August(an) Concord" now represented the harmony in the imperial family itself; Tiberius evoked this idea by including his brother as co-dedicator of the temple, even though Drusus had long been dead by 10 CE. The temple's art and architecture illustrated how this "August(an) Concord" now extended to Roman society at large. In the pediment, as revealed by Tiberian coins, Concord was accompanied by two other goddesses, perhaps Peace and Health (*Pax* and *Salus*), or Security and Fortune (*Securitas* and *Fortuna*). These three goddesses were flanked by two warriors, none other than Tiberius and Drusus, reminding the viewer of the benefits to Rome of harmony in the imperial family. Figures of Victory at the acroteria further emphasized the importance of their military success. Statues of Hercules and Mercury stood on either

[109] M. Torelli, *LTUR* IV.70–4, s.v. "Pax Augusta, Ara"; Richardson 1992: 287–9, s.v. "Pax Augusta, Ara."
[110] Zanker 1988: 120–3, 158–9, 160, 172–8, 182, 203–6. *Res Gestae* 12.2.
[111] Compare the Senate's role under Tiberius: Cooley 1998.

side of the podium steps, representing the security and prosperity enjoyed by the Roman people under Augustus.[112] The day on which the temple was rededicated – 16 January, the anniversary of the title "Augustus" being granted in 27 BCE – only served to underline the temple's new character all the more forcibly.[113]

Livia's earlier incorporation of a shrine to Concord in her new portico dedicated in 7 BCE had foreshadowed this appropriation of Concord by the imperial family.[114] The end of Ovid's account of the rededication of the temple in the Forum (addressing Tiberius) alludes to Concord as "a goddess established by the actions of your mother, and the altar she dedicated."[115] This particular case-study tells strongly against Ittai Gradel's assertion that:

> Any existing temple of any god could be subtly transformed by terming its deity '*augusta*' or '*augustus*'. But the associations this would conjure up in the mind of an observer were perfectly compatible with the traditional deity . . . The use of the title as an adjective . . . enabled the novelty of the emperor to be painlessly latched on to the worship of the old and traditional gods.[116]

This may have been true several generations later, but the initial introduction of "august(an)" gods into Rome was much more revolutionary than this, and was as striking as the Senate's voting of a temple of "New Concord" (never actually built) for Julius Caesar in 44 BCE.[117]

In addition to these two new cults of "August(an)" Peace and Concord, which were imposed upon the people of Rome from above, other less well documented examples could be cited too, such as "August(an) Justice" (*Justitita Augusta*) or "Abundance" (*Ops Augusta*). These were not private cults, honoring idiosyncratic deities in accordance with an individual's whim, but were publicly celebrated and mentioned in the inscribed calendars. The *fasti* record a statue to "August(an) Justice" dedicated by Tiberius in 13 CE and an altar to "August(an) Abundance" set up alongside an altar to Ceres in 7 CE. The decision to honor "August(an) Abundance" may have

[112] For this interpretation of the temple's statuary, see Claridge 1998: 77 and A. M. Ferroni, *LTUR* I.316–20, s.v. "Concordia, aedes," with addendum at V.240, *contra* the previous interpretation in Mattingly 1976: no. 116, followed by Richardson 1992: 98–9, s.v. "Concordia, Aedes (2)."

[113] Temple of Concordia: Platner and Ashby 1929: 138–40; Richardson 1992: 98–9, s.v. "Concordia, Aedes (2)"; A. M. Ferroni, *LTUR* I.316–20, s.v. "Concordia, aedes," with addendum at VI.240; early history: Curti 2000: esp. 80–1; coins: Sutherland 1984: Tiberius 61/Mattingly 1976: Tiberius no. 116 = Cooley 2003: K40; in Ov. *Fast.*: Pasco-Pranger 2002: 267–8.

[114] Livia's portico: Ov. *Fast.* VI.637–8; C. Panella, *LTUR* IV.127–9, s.v. "Porticus Liviae"; Richardson 1992: 99–100, s.v. "Concordia, Aedes (3)."

[115] Ov. *Fast.* I.649 = translation, Cooley 2003: K41.

[116] Gradel 2002: 105.

[117] Dio Cass. XLIV.4.5.

been inspired by Augustus' response to a severe shortage of grain in the capital.[118]

But how were such new deities spread among the populace at large in Rome and then into Italy? One possibility is that the new cult of the *Lares Augusti* played a crucial role. In 7 BCE, Augustus reorganized the city of Rome into fourteen regions and 265 wards, or *vici*.[119] This new administrative structure was consolidated by the establishment of neighborhood shrines. Like so many of Augustus' actions, this change did not strictly speaking represent an abrupt break with the past. Neighborhood shrines, where the *ludi compitalicii* had been performed by *collegia*, had also existed during the Republic. These *collegia*, however, along with other *collegia* in general, had been temporarily disbanded in 64 BCE, as they had provided focal points at which unscrupulous individuals could foment unrest among the urban plebs.[120] The *collegia* and their *ludi* had been reintroduced in 58 BCE, but Augustus gave a whole new meaning to their shrines in 7 BCE by transforming the *Lares* into *Lares Augusti*, and by adding in his *genius* ("divine spirit").[121] The shrines were managed by freedmen officials (*magistri*) and their slave attendants (*ministri*), and these men of humble social status were proud to gain prestige among their peers by their involvement in the new shrines, setting up altars and dedications bearing their names and choosing suitable images to be sculpted on them.[122] It may have seemed entirely appropriate for Ovid's *plebs superum* ("plebs of the gods above")[123] to have been tended above all by the plebs of Rome, who were encouraged in this way to express their loyalty to the Augustan regime. If Ittai Gradel is right in supposing status dissonance to be a key to understanding the veneration of superiors in Rome, the freed and slave status of this cult's officials helps to explain why Augustus could be worshipped in this way at Rome itself during his lifetime.[124]

"August(an)" gods rapidly spread beyond the cult of the *Lares Augusti* at Rome. Neighborhood wards and their officials chose to honor other "august(an)" deities too. Dedications to various "august(an)" deities were probably set up each year alongside the *Lares Augusti* by the officials of each ward. For example, the initial establishment of the ward organization,

[118] Statue of *Justitia Aug.*: *Insc. Ital.* XIII.2: 392–3. Altar to *Ops Augusta*: *LTUR* I.261–2, s.v. "Ceres Mater et Ops Augusta, Arae."
[119] Suet. *Aug.* 30.1; Holland 1937.
[120] Cic. *Pis.* 8; Asconius 6–7 (Clark), discussed by Michels 1967: 206, n. 28.
[121] Niebling 1956: 306–9: Republican background; Galinsky 1996: 301–6 on the *Lares Augusti*.
[122] Hano 1986; Price 1996: 824. [123] Ov. *Ib.* 81.
[124] This is the main thesis of Gradel 2002, introduced at 26–30.

on 1 August 7 BCE, was commemorated by the officials of one ward with a dedication to Mercury Augustus.[125] Others set up a dedication on the same day to Diana Augusta.[126] We also have a dedication by the former set of officials eleven years later, this time simply to Hercules, suggesting that the title "Augustus" was not automatic.[127] The commemoration of the year in office which the officials were serving shows their eagerness to present their cult activities as part of a continuum.[128] The *magistri* also forged a sense of historical tradition for the new system by setting up their own *fasti* alongside their religious dedications at the shrines.[129] In these *fasti* the names of the *magistri* were even portrayed as the local counterparts of the consuls. In this way, the common people of Rome had an important role to play in disseminating the idea of "august(an)" gods, albeit in response to official prompting. It appears that they embraced the new system so enthusiastically that the initial idea of *Lares Augusti* and *genius Augusti* was immediately extended to other deities too.

These "august(an)" gods swiftly spread beyond Rome into Italy. Some cults were introduced afresh by members of the local elite, as was the case with the Temple of "August(an) Fortune" (*Fortuna Augusta*) built by M. Tullius at Pompeii in 3 CE.[130] In other cases, already existing cults were appropriated fairly rapidly by the emperor. Towards the end of the first century BCE we find the cult of Mercury and Maia at Pompeii, tended by slave and freedman attendants (*ministri*).[131] After a transitional period, represented by an inscription dedicated by the "attendants of Augustus, Mercury, and Maia" (*[mi]n(istri) Aug(usti) Merc(urii) Mai(ae)*), by 2 BCE it seems that Mercury and Maia have been entirely supplanted by the emperor since, from then on, dedications are made simply by the "attendants of Augustus" (*min(istri) Aug(usti)*).[132] Five more dedications survive which are made by the "attendants of Augustus", dating from between 1 CE and 34 CE.[133] In this way the emperor actually supplanted the gods. The slave attendants were probably all too eager to increase their own prestige and that of their cult by associating themselves more closely with the imperial power at Rome.

[125] *CIL* VI.283. [126] *CIL* VI.128. [127] *CIL* VI.282.

[128] *CIL* VI.33, to Apollo Aug. by the *magistri* of sixth year, i.e. 2/1 BCE; *CIL* VI.34 to Mercury Aug. by the *magistri* of fifth year, i.e. 3/2 BCE; *CIL* VI.129 Diana Augusta, by *magistri* of seventh year i.e. 1 BCE/1 CE.

[129] *Insc. Ital.* XIII.2, no. 12.

[130] *CIL* X.820 = *ILS* 5398 = Onorato 1957: no. 50. *CIL* X.824 = *ILS* 6382 = Onorato 1957: no. 76 gives this consular date for the first *ministri* of the cult.

[131] *CIL* X.885–7 (*CIL* X.886 = *ILS* 6389 = Onorato 1957: no. 78).

[132] *CIL* X.888 = *ILS* 6390 = Onorato 1957: no. 79; *CIL* X.890 = *ILS* 6391 = Onorato 1957: no. 80.

[133] *CIL* X.891 = *ILS* 6392, 1 CE; *CIL* X.892 = *ILS* 6393, 3 CE; *CIL* X.895 = *ILS* 6394, 23 CE; *CIL* X.899 = *ILS* 6395, 32 CE; *CIL* X.901 = *ILS* 6396 (and perhaps *CIL* X.902), 34 CE.

Of course Pompeii is unusual in that it allows us to trace this change epigraphically, but it may indicate what was happening up and down Italy. Indeed a similar case can be detected at Tibur. There the emperor became associated with the town's cult of Hercules Victor/Tiburtinus and the post of *magister Herculanius* was redesignated as *Herculanius Augustalis*.[134]

The significance of these developments lies in the way in which local differences came to be eroded. Deities like "August(an) Fortune" could now be found anywhere. One way for Rome to encourage the spread of "Roman" religion was by supporting emperor-worship outside the capital, but the emergence and spread of "august(an)" deities may actually have made at least as important a contribution as emperor-worship to the emergence of a unified empire. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill has suggested that an important feature of Augustan times was the "shift of culture from the local to the universal, driven by the impulse to make Roman conquests Roman."[135] This chapter has suggested that one way in which this was achieved in the religious sphere was by introducing a whole new way of thinking about the "august(an)" gods. As Valerius Maximus boasted, "we have received the rest of the gods, but we have given the Caesars."[136]

[134] *CIL* XIV.3687–8 *mag. Hercul.*; 3540, 3601, 3656, 3661, 3675, 3679–80, 3684 *Herculanius Augustalis*; discussed by Grether 1932.
[135] Wallace-Hadrill 1997: 20. [136] Val. Max. I.praef.

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Index

The following index lists deities, individuals, places, and major themes found in the main body of the text. Names occuring only in inscriptions cited as evidence are not included. Individuals are listed here by *nomen*, though major authors are cited by their common English name (e.g., Cicero and Horace). Ancient authors are listed here *only* for passages where they or their work is discussed at some length.