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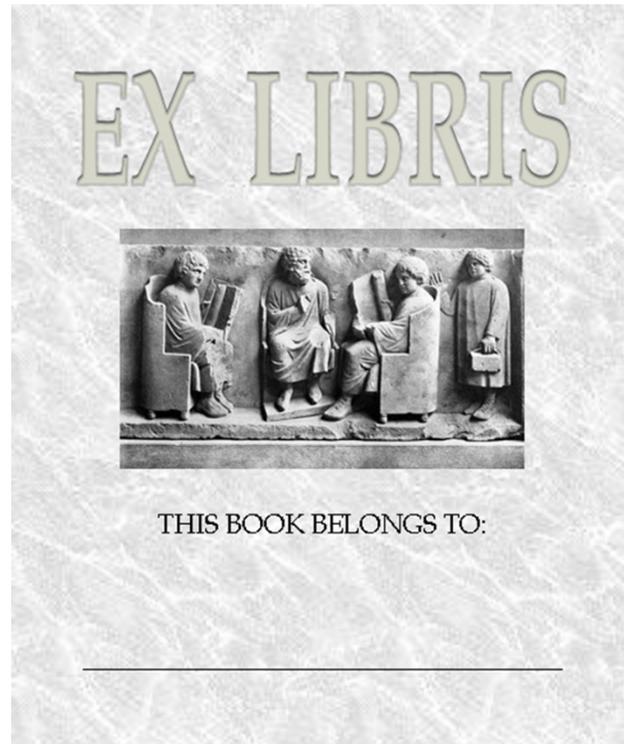
A Guide for the Modern Practitioner



Modern Roman Living Series, Vol. I

L. VITELLIUS TRIARIUS

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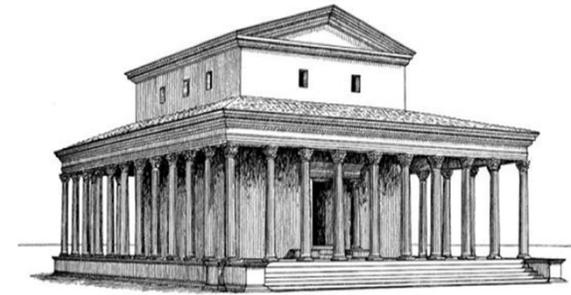
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RELIGIO ROMANA HANDBOOK

DEDICATIO



*Romans, though you're guiltless, you'll still expiate
your fathers' sins, till you've restored the temples,
and the tumbling shrines of all the gods,
and their images, soiled with black smoke.*

~Horace, Odes, III, 6

This handbook is dedicated to my old friend and Pontifex, Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus, who has given much to the efforts required by Horace's Ode above and been an inspiration to me for the last eight years.

Also, to Pontifex Maximus Marcus Cassius Iulianus and the other Pontifices, Augurs, Flamens, and Sacerdotes of Nova Roma, past and present, whose insights into the ancient world of the Romans and personal initiatives led to a resurgence of interest of the old ways in the modern age.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work is a compilation of writings, articles, opinions and beliefs from many practitioners of the Religio Romana in Nova Roma, the global Roman Reconstruction effort in our modern age.

It has been compiled to assist those interested in learning more about the Cultus Deorum Romanum and related Roman culture, both ancient and modern, and has been designed to be of practical use by the religio practitioner and reference guide for the non-practitioner.

Special thanks goes out to the members of the Collegium Pontificum, practitioners of the Cultus Deorum Romanum, and Members of the Senate of Nova Roma for their support and assistance in this project.

1 DECLARATION OF ROMAN RELIGION

In the course of spiritual practice, it is necessary for persons aspiring to common ideals to form a clear foundation for their religion. It is also proper that they should declare their religious tenets to the world for consideration and remembrance.

We hold the ideals expressed herein to be basic and integral to our faith, that Roman Pagans may be united both in act and spirit. Pagan religion provides a spiritual heritage which embodies the basic nature of Western Civilization. It is both a historical faith and a living faith, which preserves the spiritual past even as it progresses into the future. Here we establish the structure and basic nature of Roman Pagan Religion so that it may be preserved, while allowing for future growth and freedom of individual expression.

We hold that a Roman Pagan may be defined as a person who actively performs rites, rituals, and/or prayers to any or all of the gods and goddesses of ancient Pagan Rome as the majority of their spiritual involvement. We acknowledge also that individuals may at times work with Roman deities without considering themselves as Roman Pagans.

We affirm that the Roman Pagan Religion embodies the spiritual beliefs, practices, virtues and philosophies of ancient Pagan Rome.

These constitute and express a clear and separate form of religion and spirituality that is unique and different from all other spiritual paths. We hold that our practices today are the spiritual successor of the ancient ways, reborn anew.

We affirm that the historical basis of our spirituality comes from the Pagan religions of the ancient Roman Republic and Empire. The core of this history proceeds from the founding of Rome in 753 BC, to the removal of the Altar of Victory from the Roman Senate in 394 AD. Our historical basis also includes pre-Roman Latin and Etruscan roots, and Pagan survivals into later periods of history.

We hold that the Roman Pagan Religion is open to all people, regardless of nationality, race, gender, sexuality, spiritual affiliation or other individual circumstance. We affirm that the Roman Pagan Religion belongs to no one race or nationality, but is instead a common founding heritage of all Western civilization. It is further a universal spiritual current which throughout the centuries has influenced all peoples and nations of the world, either directly or by the legacy of its history, philosophies and practices.

We also affirm that the Roman Pagan Religion is compatible with, and may be practiced alongside all other forms of religion and spiritual expression, without diluting or diminishing its basic ideals and spiritual identity. In the ancient world Roman religion was practiced alongside Celtic, German, Greek, Egyptian, Persian, and Oriental faiths, to the enhancement of all. This syncretistic approach to other religions remains basic to the Roman Pagan spiritual world view.

We affirm that the Roman Pagan Religion itself embodies many forms of rite and worship. These include the ancient Roman festivals, the rites of both Roman state and private religion, cults of the various deities, divination, the ancient Mystery religions, and Roman Pagan philosophy as well as other forms of ancient religious expression.

We further affirm that rites and worship within the Roman Pagan may be approached in many ways. In this manner the spiritual needs of all practicing individuals may be fulfilled. These

various approaches may include group or individual worship, philosophical practice focusing on prayer and contemplation, purely historical reconstruction of ancient ritual form, as well as forms of modern rites and worship that adapt ancient practices and ideals.

We affirm that the Roman Pagan Religion shall be an organized and structured faith. In addition to purely individual involvement and the organization of autonomous groups, its form may contain the reestablishment of historical religious institutions. These may include established physical temples, mystery schools, priesthoods and religious colleges, and coordinating bodies such as a Senate formed among practitioners of Roman Pagan Religion.

We affirm that the Roman Pagan Religion was and is a civilized faith, empowering family, community and state to positive virtue and beneficial effect. The rites, virtues and philosophies of Roman Pagan Religion are by nature benign and lawful, serving to facilitate piety toward the gods, and understanding and cooperation among all people.

We affirm that the spiritual duty of the Roman Pagan Religion is to restore, maintain and promote the worship of the ancient Roman Goddesses and Gods. We seek to rebuild their influence in the world, and through piety and action preserve the sacred link between the ancient deities and humanity.

We affirm that the earthly responsibility of the Roman Pagan Religion is to preserve the basic ideals of Classical spirituality and civilization, that they may continue to be a positive force in society. We seek to renew the principles, philosophies, history and culture of the ancient Roman Pagan world, and make them available to all persons wishing to incorporate them as a modern spiritual path.

These religious ideals and tenets are set forth and adopted under the approval of the gods and goddesses of ancient Rome, and in remembrance of our ancient Roman Pagan spiritual forebears. Through them we are focused and united. Let them stand as an affirmation of our intent, faith and practice.

2 ON ROMAN RECONSTRUCTIONISM

While individuals are, of course, free to pursue whatever personal religions their hearts and souls commend them to, part of the mission of Nova Roma and other similar Roman organizations is the reconstruction of the public rites of the Religio Romana, or pagan Roman religion. As such, the concept of Reconstructionism entails that there be the following:

There must be a reverence for the pre-Christian Roman deities and Mysteries. This includes a connection with the ancestors and the Lares and Di Penates. In a modern context, this means a concern for the importance of family, in its broadest sense.

There must be a connection with the Roman past. We strive to be as historically (and mythologically) accurate as the state of the evidence allows. When gaps in the evidence, or the realities of modern life, make it necessary to create something new it should be as consistent as possible with what we do know about the classical-era Romans and their legacy. It should be clearly presented as a recent innovation. We frown on attempts to advertise something modern and invented as ancient and historical in order to give it an authority (and marketability!) it does not deserve.

There must be a balanced approach to understanding classical Roman religion which relies on both sound scholarship and poetic inspiration without mistaking one for the other, remembering also that the divine was the realm of religion, whereas, the moral and ethical was the realm of the philosophers. The Roman religion was unlike today's modern congregational forms of religion. It was a two-part system of belief, one side the public rites, the other the personal or private rites.

It must be inclusiveness. While we have the Roman fascination with genealogy, we do not rely on genealogy or geography to determine who is Roman.

We must forego the ills of antiquity and hold an utmost respect for women.

There must be a moral code which stresses truthfulness, honor, personal responsibility, and the other Roman Virtues.

As we are concerned with historical accuracy, the public rites of the Religio Romana do not include ceremonial Magick or traditions influenced by it, such as Wicca. Nor, Italian witchcraft, or Streggha (an indigenous Italian form of witchcraft with some classical elements, but with its origins in the 14th Century). Nor, Eclecticism as opposed to historical syncretism; combining classical Roman religion with other cultural traditions that weren't combined historically; Romano-Celtic worship is certainly appropriate, sacrifice to Mercurius-Quetzalcoatl probably isn't.

3 RELIGION OF THE HOME

"The family as we know it today bears little or no relation to that ancient institution of which the Lares were the Keepers of the Gate....In those early days the title to the land was possession and use. Because it was to him the source of his life, because its cultivation gave him occupation, because upon the land he build his house and in the land he made his grave, therefore the land to the archaic man was sacred; for not only was it the home of the living, it was also the place of the dead. And it was the dead ancestors in their graves who really possessed the land and, as the Lares, were the Keepers of the Gates.

"The belief of the ancient man in the ghosts of his fathers, with their unknown power to help and harm, was better than a title deed to secure each man in the possession of his land. Every man feared the Lares of every other man. The earth in those days was peopled with a host of spiritual beings — unseen, unheard, smiting with the pestilence, and killing with the plague. If any untoward accident befell a man, or sickness came to him after he had trespassed on his neighbor's land, then he, as well as his neighbor, ascribed his misfortune to the wrath of the Lares of that land. Thus each man had a wholesome fear of the ghosts of his neighbor. He was ready to fight his neighbor, whom he could see, but not his neighbor's ghosts, whom he could not see. In the good old days every house was haunted and every field bewitched, and it was the haunt and

the bewitchment that was the safety of the house and the land. Domestic religion was the keeper of domestic wealth and life. It was the fear of the Lares that gave sacredness to property and made theft and trespass not only a crime but a sacrilege.

"This sacredness of property was religion in its origin. It existed for centuries before it gave rise to the civil laws that are now its security... Long before the reign of the law we had the reign of Lar. Each House-Father, absolute lord and master of his own house and land, was under the protection of his Lares; the fear of them and the dread of them was upon all the country-round about. If his lands were seized by a stronger man than he, his Lares were expelled from the land, the graves of his ancestors violated, and he and his household were either killed or reduced to slavery.

"This relation of the family to the land, and of the House-Father to the family, classified ancient society as master and slave, patron and client, patrician and plebeian... With the institution of the family, there came into existence a class of out-family men and women: runaway slaves, prodigal sons, remnants of broken families, -men and women without land, without Manes, without Lares, having no place at any family altar... Private property in land, the basic principle of the family, was the fruitful cause of poverty, with the wretchedness and degradation that always follow in its camp. That same poverty is today destroying the family and changing the face of civilization.

"Private property in land has, in the course of time, passed out of the keeping of the family Lares into the care of the civil law; what man had once to do for himself society now does for him. The Keepers of the Gates are no longer the Lares but the lawyers....

"The Lares of the archaic world, if they still haunt the earth and hover in the air, must look down in sad, bewildered wonderment upon the modern world, which to them must seem a mad world, wherein all sane principles have been driven out by crazy notions.

Here are millions upon millions of landless men with wives and children combining to secure the title of a few landlords to their land; these landlords doing nothing with or for the land but to take

from it rents and profits. These two things, idle landlords and starving people, condemn the world as it is and call for a new race of Lares to visit the vengeance of the gods upon these profaners of the land."

The Penates

"The hearth is the heart of the family life. To keep the fire alive on the hearth is the bounden duty of the family gods. We of the modern world have lost altogether those conception that made 'hearth' and 'altar' sacred words. Domestic religion sanctified domestic life. The Penates, who were the Spirits of Ancestors, were the Keepers of the Fire and of the Store....

"It was the domestication of fire that changed man from a savage, living upon roots and raw flesh, into a civilized being, feasting on roast beef and baked potatoes. It was the capture and taming of fire that made possible the home and the family. Because of this, the Penates, the Keepers of the Fire, are the best beloved of the family gods. With them the family was intimate as it gathered around the hearth when the day's work was over; they were present when the House-Father and House-Mother gave bread and meat to the children and the slaves, and after the dinner was over the Penates inspired the members of the household to speak words of love and wisdom one to another. The husband could have a secret from his wife, the wife from the husband, but to the Penates all secrets were open. The light of their fire penetrated to the marrow to the bones. All profanation of family life was an offense to the Penates, to be punished by the heat of fever and the cold of the chill.

"While the family slept, the Penates watched; all through the night the dull glow of their life was seen in the slow-burning brand lying in the ashes, that kept the fire alive on the hearth. If that fire died out, the Penates were disgraced, and the family shamed; for the life of the fire once gone was not easily restored. In these days of matches and electricity the smoldering brand has lost its

usefulness and, therefore, its sacredness....Our modern improvements have improved these lovely gods out of existence.

"The Penates were not only Keepers of the Fire, they were also the Guardians of the Store. It was their duty to inspire the cook with skill to make delicate dishes for the family able, to watch the meat before the fire, to scare the rats from the cupboard. In the archaic world the gods were more useful than ornamental. The men and women of that world would laugh our gods to scorn and think of them with pity, — gods shut up in churches, having nothing to do but to listen to the droning of prayers and the confessions of sins; gods who pass their dreary existence away from the warmth of the hearth, the smell of the cooking, the chatter of the maids and the stir of the family life!

A god upon a great white throne, with cherubim and seraphim bowing before him, may have power and dignity, but for comfort and good-fellowship one must go to the god who sits by the fire, inhales the odor of spice, and the flavor of the bread and the cake and the meat that are cooking in the kitchen. Such a god can understand the tribulations of the cook and the annoyances of the mistress; he knows by experience that fire burns and ginger is hot in the mouth. All other religion is cold and formal beside this intimate religion of the hearth."

Quoted from: Crapsey, Algernon Sidney. The Ways of the Gods. New York: The International Press, 1920. (Out of Print)

4 WORSHIPPING THE GODS AT HOME

Private worship was the foundation of religion in ancient Rome. Although the public rites have received the most attention from historians, such things as the grand temples and many festivals were possible only because of the pietas which grew from household and family rites.

Each household in Rome was in a sense a temple to the gods. All Roman homes had a household altar, or "lararium", at which the family interacted with the goddesses and gods on a personal level each day. The rites of the home and family were so important to the Romans that such worship persisted into very late antiquity, surviving centuries longer than the public manifestations of the cultus deorum, which were officially banned in the late 4th century CE.

The reasons that household worship was important are understandable even today. The family is the basis of Roman culture, and the household is the "center" of a family's existence. Inviting the gods into one's house helps to ensure that one's property, relatives, and worldly efforts are blessed by the Roman deities, and that the positive powers of the goddesses and gods will enrich one's daily life. Such a sharing of life between humans and the gods is the essence of the Pax Deorum, or "Peace of the Gods."

The Basic Outline of Household Worship

The basics of cultus deorum household worship are simple and easy to do. A lararium is set up in the home, at which both the deities that are responsible for the home and the patron deities of the family are worshipped. Historically, there are two simple rites done at the lararium each day: in the morning and in the evening. During these rites the gods are honored, and asked to watch over the affairs of the family. The lararium was of course also a place where individuals could worship the gods privately, and make small offerings to them.

The Lararium

The Lararium (pl. lararia) altar is the sacred place of the home where offerings and prayers are made to the Gods. In more affluent Roman homes, such as private villas, the main Lararium altar was usually set in the Atrium (front reception room, near the front door). In smaller Roman homes which might not have an atrium, such as insula apartments, the Lararium was most often located near the hearth (the kitchen or place of a central fire). But a house could have several minor Lararia as well, indoors (especially in the bedrooms) or outdoors.

The forms of Lararium varied greatly. Rich homes might have a huge affair of carved marble which looked rather like a temple in miniature. In other homes the Lararium might only be a simple wooden cabinet or wall shelf. Big or small, the important thing about a Lararium is that it should be permanent rather than something to be put away when the rites are not being held.

A lararium, properly speaking, is a shrine for the Lares. During the Republic there does not seem to have been any statues used to represent the Lares, since they were considered more as ancestors. The death masks of ancestors were stored in boxes, hung on a wall near the entrance of the house, and it might possibly be that lararium meant something like a foyer where these were kept.

Today it would be comparable to having photographs of your ancestors at your lararium. Beginning in the fourth century BCE certain patrician families assumed divine heritages and thus may have begun to include images of a Lar familiaris such as Venus, but these would still have been regarded there as an ancestor.

Tools used at the Lararium

Acerra - Container for incense. The acerra is a special container for sacred incense. As with the turibulum, in the ancient Roman world the acerra could be made from a variety of materials and designs. An acerra for your home altar should be some sort of covered container that will keep your incense "fresh." Resins such as frankincense can sometimes absorb too much moisture, or even lose some of their scent if left uncovered for weeks at a time. A pottery container with a lid, or a decorated metal or wood box can make a fine acerra.

Salinum - Container for salt.

Gutus - Container for milk or wine. The gutus is a container for sacred milk or wine that is offered to the gods. As with the acerra and the salinum, the gutus is used to keep a sacred offering substance clean and protected. Any of a variety of materials may be used, such as pottery, glass, stone or metal. Liquid from the gutus is poured into the patera when it is being offered to the gods. If you are offering milk to the gods it should be placed in the gutus only a short time before the rite in which you will offer it, and the gutus should be emptied afterward. Wine may be left in the gutus for a longer time, although care should be taken if your gutus is made from metal. (The acid in wine may corrode the metal if left there for days.)

Patera - Offering dish. The patera or offering dish was used at the lararium throughout all periods of Roman religion. The patera is used to offer bits of food or wine from household meals to the gods. The Romans thought it important to symbolically share the

sustenance of life with deity, as honored members of the home. In ancient times there were many different forms of paterae. Most often it was a clay or metal saucer-like dish, shallow and perhaps half an inch deep at best. The patera was usually round or oval in shape. The patera is an easy tool to use. A small bit of food from the family table, or liquid such as wine or milk is placed into it so that the gods may share with the members of the household. The offerings placed in a patera need only be left for an hour or two, although they can be left from meal to meal if one wishes. The patera should be kept spotless when not in use.

Incense - An offering to the gods. The ancient Romans burned a wide variety of incenses. Usually they were resins, powdered substances or herbs, or a mixture of the three. Resins such as frankincense or myrrh were very popular, as were substances such as sandalwood. Powdery incense was stored in the acerra and then sprinkled the coals of the turibulum to make offerings to the gods. It is because the incense was considered a sacred offering that the acerra is a sacred lararium "tool."

Turibulum - Incense burner. The turibulum or incense burner was used in household worship throughout Roman history. The turibulum is used both to create sacred scents pleasing to the gods, and also to change things from solid form into an ethereal form by consuming them with fire. The turibulum holds hot coals, and powdered or resin incense is put on them to give off smoke. The coals were also used to burn small offerings such as bits food or flowers and other sacred plants. In the ancient Roman world, the turibulum was made from a variety of materials depending on a person's needs or monetary status. The form varied as well. To add a turibulum to your home lararium, you will need a non-burnable container, (clay, stone or metal), and fill it with some sort of non-burnable substance for the coals to rest on so that they won't make the turibulum too hot to hold or leave on the surface of an altar. A simple pottery bowl filled with an insulating substance such as sand (so that the coals won't overheat and crack the bowl) will work fine, as can a metal or stoneware vessel. The turibulum may be decorated or plain. Incense burners are of course commercially available in religious shops, etc. The material for the inside of the incense burner should be both non-burnable, and also something

that doesn't conduct heat. Sand is perfect. Clay based granular "kitty litter" will work as well. Dug up earth won't work well unless it is very, very dry, as anything organic in it tends to be burned by the charcoal and give off a smell. In the ancient world, the coals for the turibulum were wood charcoal. Today it is easy enough to buy "incense burner charcoal." This can be purchased at many different stores including church supply stores, religious shops, new age shops, and of course on-line. Outdoor "charcoal briquettes" for your backyard grill should not be used at all in any ritual and definitely not indoors as they give off poison gasses that can be very dangerous if inhaled inside a closed space.

Lucerna - Sacred lamp. The lucerna, "Loo-KAIR-na", or sacred lamp, was most usually the source of sacred flame at the Lararium altar. This was an oil lamp made of clay or metal that was lit during the rites in honor of deity. There are companies which make reproductions of ancient Roman oil lamps, but one can use a small modern oil lamp just as well. It is the flame that's important, not the container. Even more easily, a white votive or taper candle in a holder may be used. The tallow candle was invented by Romans and certainly was used in ancient times. A lucerna or candle should be on the lararium altar always, but it needs only be lit during the rites or when an offering of food, flowers, etc. is made to the gods.

Before statues were used in the household rites, the home altar centered around a sacred fire. This fire was a representation of the goddess Vesta, but also it was a combination of offering to the gods, and a representation of the power of the gods. In all eras of the Religio Romana, a sacred flame was part of household worship.

Making a Lararium

The easiest way to set up a lararium is to reserve a small one-tier wall shelf, or a table or cabinet as an altar. A trip to a hardware store, a department store or an antique shop will usually yield something workable. A lararium may be decorated to taste in classical style if one wishes, but it need not be any special style or

color. One doesn't really need a lot of surface space. A square foot of space or so is about the average, as long as there is room for a candle, incense, and an offering dish. Space for statuary or wall space to hang pictures on is nice but not critical. It is well if one can place the lararium in a front room or near the kitchen area as was done in antiquity, but this is not essential. The important thing is that the lararium be placed somewhere that isn't so remote that it will be ignored or forgotten, or in a place so obtrusive it gets bumped into and knocked about during the course of the day. The lararium should be kept clean. The acerra, the salinum and the gutus can be stored near or under your lararium depending on its design, and need only be present before the gods during the rites.



5 YOUR FIRST PRAYER TO THE GODS

There is no special initiation into Roman religion like Christian baptism. You can start honoring Roman deities at any moment with any prayer. But if you want some advice or a little help with your first Roman prayer, we suggest that you start with offering libations at occasions when you feel appropriate.

Libation

If you want to show your respect towards a deity, or if you want to assure they keep you in their continuous favor, you can offer a libation. This is the simplest formula you can use at any occasion, for example, during your meal, or while drinking at a party, or at home, when you feel like it.

Libation of wine to a male divinity

Take some wine and pray the following words aloud:

Latin

**(Name of god in vocative), macte hoc vino libando
esto fito volens propitius
mihi domo familiae!**

English

**(Name of god), blessed by the libation of this wine,
be benevolent and propitious
to me, to my household and to my family!**

Then pour the libation to fire, or to the ground, and drink the rest of the wine.

Libation of wine to multiple male deities

Take some wine and pray the following words aloud:

Latin

**(Name of gods in vocative), macte hoc vino libando
estote fitote volentes propitii
mihi domo familiae!**

English

**(Name of gods), blessed by the libation of this wine,
be benevolent and propitious
to me, to my household and to my family!**

Then pour the libation to fire, or to the ground, and drink the rest of the wine.

Libation of milk to a female divinity

Take some wine and pray the following words aloud:

Latin

(Name of goddess), macte hoc lacte libando
esto fito volens propitia
mihi domo familiae!

English

(Name of goddess), blessed by the libation of this milk,
be benevolent and propitious
to me, to my household and to my family!

Then pour the libation to fire, or to the ground, and drink the rest of the milk.

Libation of milk to multiple female deities

Take some wine and pray the following words aloud:

Latin

(Name of goddesses), macte hoc lacte libando
estote fitote volentes propitiae
mihi domo familiae!

English

(Name of goddesses), blessed by the libation of this milk,
be benevolent and propitious
to me, to my household and to my family!

Then pour the libation to fire, or to the ground, and drink the rest of the milk.

6 ANCESTRAL AND HOUSEHOLD WORSHIP

Worship of deceased ancestors and household deities is the core of Roman religious life. If you want to be a pious Roman, which must be the most important goal of all true Romans, you have to start to honor your ancestors, the Manes, and your household deities, the Lares and Penates by prayers and sacrificial offerings. Read more about Roman household worship...

As for now, we will offer you here some very basic & simple rites just to get started with it.

Offering sacrifice to the Manes, Lares and Penates

You may offer many things, but typical offerings are: incense, wine, milk, sacrificial cakes, flower.

Approach the lararium, perform a simple adoratio by kissing your right hand and touching the lararium.

Cover your head, preferably with your toga or palla, but anything will do it and will be acceptable.

You can pray to the Manes, Lares and Penates at once, or separately. You can also invoke any of them personally, by on his or her name. If you wish, invoke your deceased ancestors, parents or relatives using their names. Invoke your personal household Lar by using the words "Lar familiaris". Invoke your personal god of the penates by using the god's name, e.g. Apollo, Minerva, Furrina etc.

Pray the following words aloud:

Latin

Manes/Lares/Penates/NN, macte

(a) hoc vino/lacte/libo libando

(b) hoc thure obmovendo

(c) hoc flore dato

estote fitote volentes propitii

mihi domo familiae!

English

Manes/Lares/Penates/NN, blessed

(a) by the libation of this wine/milk/cake

(b) by the offering of this incense

(c) by giving you this flower

be benevolent and propitious

to me, to my household and to my family!

Then pour the libation and put the sacrifices into the fire of the lararium, or if you cannot burn them, place the items on a plate on your lararium for that day, and when you can, bury or place them under an arbor felix.

Simple request from a deity

Since you are a starter and probably don't know Latin, you can formulate your special request to a deity in your own native language. Ideally, it should be in Latin, and we encourage you to

learn this wonderful language of our spiritual ancestors, but it is not forbidden to use another language when you pray and you don't know Latin.

Such prayers consist of two main parts: the formulation of your request, and the offering of sacrifice in order to convince the deity to fulfill your request. It may contain a third part, a vow, in which you offer another sacrifice in the case if the god completes your request.

Invoke the god or gods whom you want to ask something. An effective invocation is to chant the divine name(s) three times aloud.

Formulate your request in your native language if you don't know Latin. Make sure that your prayer is essentially short, concise, very precise and accurate, and use synonyms and repetitions (e.g.: "I ask you, I pray you, I beseech you...", "...give me, lend me, allow me that..."; "...save me from any harm, any damage, any danger...").

When you finished the prayer with your request, use the following Latin formula to offer your sacrifice:

Latin

(1.a) Cuius rei ergo, macte

(1.b) Quarum rerum ergo, macte

(2.a) hoc vino/lacte/libo libando

(2.b) hoc thure obmovendo

(2.c) hoc flore dato

(3.a) esto fito volens propitius

(3.b) esto fito volens propitia

(3.c) estote fitote volentes propitii

(3.d) estote fitote volentes propitiae

(4) mihi domo familiae!

English

(1.a) For the sake of this request, blessed

(1.b) For the sake of these requests, blessed

- (2.a) by the libation of this wine/milk/cake
- (2.b) by the offering of this incense
- (2.c) by giving you this flower
- (3.a) be benevolent and propitious (praying to a male god)
- (3.b) be benevolent and propitious (praying to a goddess)
- (3.c) be benevolent and propitious (praying to many gods)
- (3.d) be benevolent and propitious (praying to many goddesses)
- (4) to me, to my household and to my family!

Then pour the libation and put the sacrifices into the fire of the lararium, or if you cannot burn them, place the items on a plate on your lararium for that day, and when you can, bury or place them under an arbor felix.

7 DAILY RITUALS

Morning Ritual

(adoratio) **Be ye well, Divine Penates, may You always preserve and maintain our house and household.**

(anoint with olive oil) **Be Thou well Genius/Iuno of the Pater/Materfamilias, may You guide us to all things joyous and fortunate.**

Make an offering of bread drizzled with olive oil and pray:

With this offering of bread and oil, may our family and house be blessed with health and long life.

Pour a libation of wine to the Lares and pray:

May this wine find favor with You venerable Lares.

Adoratio while praying:

I pray by the Gods that everything will be made fortunate.

Burn some incense while praying manu supina:

Be well ye Immortal Gods, if I have done anything to

**violate this rite may You kindly receive this incense in
expiation of my mortal error.**

Adoratio to the altar and announce:

It is done.

Illicet.

Evening ritual

This ritual is performed in clean clothing; if possible, a clean tunica and toga are best, even better if they are white. The toga should be draped in capite velato, so as to veil the performer from any and all ill omens that might present themselves in the course of the ritual.

Wash both hands in clean water and pray:

**May this water cast out all impurities from my substance as
from lead to gold.**

**Haec aqua impuritates a corpore velut plumbo ad aurum
mutando eluat.**

Place both hands upon your head and pray:

Purify my mind.

Purga mentem.

Bring the arms down to your sides with hands in gesture to your body and pray:

Purify my body.

Purga corpus.

Place both hands on the chest, over the heart and pray:

Purify my heart.

Purga animum.

Take a moment to focus and become fully present and affirm:

It is so.

Ita est!

Approach the Lararium in capite velato, adoratio, and burn some incense, then pray:

(adoratio) **Hail Lar Familiaris! May You bless us with a
restful sleep this night.**

(adoratio) **Be ye well, Divine Penates, may You watch over
us this night.**

(adoratio) **Be Thou well Genius/Iuno of the
Pater/Materfamilias, may You bless us with fortuitous dreams
of the coming day.**

Adoratio to the lucerna and pray:

**Be Thou well, Mother Vesta, may Your flames always warm
our home and our hearts. May all be well this night in the
House of (Family Name).**

Extinguish the flame of the lucerna, and then cover the lucerna with a dark cloth.

Burn some incense while praying manu supina:

**Be well ye Immortal Gods, if I have done anything this day
to offend You, may You kindly receive this incense in
expiation of my mortal error.**

Adoratio to the altar and announce:

It is done.

Illicet.

8 KALENDS RITUAL

Preparation

This ritual is performed in clean clothing; if possible, a clean tunica and toga are best, even better if they are white. The toga should be worn capite velato (with the head covered), so as to veil the performer from any and all ill omens that might present themselves in the course of the ritual.

Wash both hands in clean water and pray:

May this water cast out all impurities from my substance as from lead to gold.

Place both hands upon your head and pray:

Purify my mind.

Bring the arms down to your sides with hands in gesture to your body and pray:

Purify my body.

Place both hands on the chest, over the heart and pray:

Purify my heart.

Take a moment to focus and become fully present and affirm:

It is so.

The Ritual

Approach the Lararium in capite velato, adoratio, and ignite the lucerna, then pray:

Be Thou well, Mother Vesta. May Your flames always guide us to the Gods.

Ignite the turibulum and burn some incense, with the right hand over the heart, pray:

Mother Vesta, may all be well this morning/day in the House of (Family and/or Gens Name).

Pray with both hands manu supina

Arise Father Janus, God of Good Beginnings. Arise, Good Creator. Arise, Janus the Gatekeeper.

Burn incense in the turibulum and pray manu supina:

Janus, Opener of the Way, may this incense find favor with You that the doors of (Month) may open wide and be propitious to all of Nova Roma.

Offer a spelt cake sprinkled with salt and pray:

May You be honored by this cake that You may be kind and favorable to the citizens of Nova Roma.

Adoratio while praying

Be Thou well Mother Juno, be present O Queen of the

Heavenly Gods. Your sons and daughters of Nova Roma bring forth venerable gifts on this day, the Kalends of (Month). May you find favor with Nova Roma, that You may look kindly and favorably upon our families and households. May Your blessings of health, good fortune and happiness be with us always!

Pour a libation and offer a spelt cake with a prayer

Juno, may You be strengthened by this libation, may You be honored by the small portion of our _____.

Juno, most chaste Queen of Heaven, in offering you this cake I pray good prayers that You will be gracious and merciful to me and family, my house and household.

Announce the date of the Nones:

I proclaim, under Juno Covella, the Nones of (Month) to be held on the fifth/seventh of (Month).

Honor the Family Gods with some incense and pray:

(adoratio) **Hail Lar Familiaris! May You tend to the family you have established.**

(adoratio) **Be ye well, Divine Penates, may You always safeguard our home.**

(anoint with olive oil) **Be Thou well Genius/Iuno of the Pater/Materfamilias, may You guide us always.**

Hang a garland across the altar and/or crown the statues of the Lares with flowers and pray

With this garland and with this crown I venerate the Lares of our family; may our house have Your blessings of good fortune, happiness and prosperity.

Make an offering of bread drizzled with olive oil and pray:

With this offering of bread and oil, may our family and house be blessed with health and long life.

Pour a libation of wine to the Lares and pray:

May this wine find favor with You venerable Lares.

Adoratio while praying

I pray by the Gods that everything will be made fortunate.

Burn some incense while praying manu supina

Be well ye Immortal Gods, if I have done anything to violate this rite may You kindly receive this incense in expiation of my mortal error.

Adoratio to the altar and announce:

It is done.

9 NONES RITUAL

Preparation

This ritual is performed in clean clothing; if possible, a clean tunica and toga are best, even better if they are white. The toga should be draped in capite velato, so as to veil the performer from any and all ill omens that might present themselves in the course of the ritual.

Wash both hands in clean water and pray:

May this water cast out all impurities from my substance as from lead to gold.

Place both hands upon your head and pray:

Purify my mind.

Bring the arms down to your sides with hands in gesture to your body and pray:

Purify my body.

Place both hands on the chest, over the heart and pray:

Purify my heart.

Take a moment to focus and become fully present and affirm:

It is so.

The Ritual

Approach the Lararium in capite velato, adoratio, and ignite the lucerna, then pray:

Be Thou well, Mother Vesta. May Your flames always guide us to the Gods.

Ignite the turibulum and burn some incense, with the right hand over the heart, pray:

Mother Vesta, may all be well this morning/day in the House of (Family and/or Gens Name).

Pray with both hands manu supina: (Carmen Salii in Varro Lingua Latina 7.26)

Arise Father Janus, God of Good Beginnings. Arise, Good Creator. Arise, Janus the Gatekeeper.

Burn incense in the turibulum and pray manu supina:

Janus, Opener of the Way, may this incense find favor with You that the days of (Month) may be propitious to all of Nova Roma.

Offer a spelt cake sprinkled with salt and pray:

May You be honored by this cake that You may be kind and favorable to the citizens of Nova Roma.

Announce the date of the month's festivals up until the next month's Kalends, following this model for each festival:

I proclaim, under the Immortal Gods of Roma, the Festival of the _____ shall occur on the (number) of (month) and last for (number) days.

Honor the Family Gods with some incense and pray:

(adoratio) **Hail Lar Familiaris! May You tend to the family you have established.** (*Ennius Annales I.141*)

(adoratio) **Be ye well, Divine Penates, may You always safeguard our home.** (*Plautus Mercator 834-5*)

(anoint with olive oil) **Be Thou well Genius/Iuno of the Pater/Materfamilias, may You guide us always.**

Hang a garland across the altar and/or crown the statues of the Lares with flowers and pray: (*Plautus*)

With this garland and with this crown I venerate the Lares of our family; may our house have Your blessings of good fortune, happiness and prosperity.

Make an offering of bread drizzled with olive oil and pray:

With this offering of bread and oil, may our family and house be blessed with health and long life.

Pour a libation of wine to the Lares and pray:

May this wine find favor with You venerable Lares.

Adoratio while praying: (*Afranius Fabula Togata fr. 11*).

I pray by the Gods that everything will be made fortunate.

Burn some incense while praying manu supina: (*Plautus Rudens 1338-49*)

Be well ye Immortal Gods, if I have done anything to

**violate this rite may You kindly receive this incense in
expiation of my mortal error.**

Adoratio to the altar and announce:

It is done.

10 IDES RITUAL

Preparation

This ritual is performed in clean clothing; if possible, a clean tunica and toga are best, even better if they are white. The toga should be draped in capite velato, so as to veil the performer from any and all ill omens that might present themselves in the course of the ritual.

Wash both hands in clean water and pray:

**May this water cast out all impurities from my substance as
from lead to gold.**

Place both hands upon your head and pray:

Purify my mind.

Bring the arms down to your sides with hands in gesture to your body and pray:

Purify my body.

Place both hands on the chest, over the heart and pray:

Purify my heart.

Take a moment to focus and become fully present and affirm:

It is so.

The Ritual

Approach the Lararium in capite velato, adoratio, and ignite the lucerna, then pray:

Be Thou well, Mother Vesta. May Your flames always guide us to the Gods.

Ignite the turibulum and burn some incense, with the right hand over the heart, pray:

Mother Vesta, may all be well this morning/day in the House of __Family and/or Gens Name__.

Pray with both hands manu supina: (Carmen Sali in Varro Lingua Latina 7.26)

Arise Father Janus, God of Good Beginnings. Arise, Good Creator. Arise, Janus the Gatekeeper.

Burn incense in the turibulum and pray manu supina:

Janus, Opener of the Way, may this incense find favor with You that the final days of __Month__ may be propitious to all of Nova Roma.

Offer a spelt cake sprinkled with salt and pray:

May You be honored by this cake that You may be kind and favorable to the citizens of Nova Roma.

Adoratio while praying: (Silius Italicus Punica 7.78-85)

Be Thou well Father Jupiter, be present O Best and Greatest King of the Gods. Your sons and daughters of Nova Roma bring forth venerable gifts on this day, the Ides of (Month). May You find favor with Nova Roma, that You may look kindly and favorably upon our families and households. May Your blessings of health, good fortune and happiness be with us always!

Pour a libation and offer a spelt cake with a prayer: (Cato, De Agricultura 132)

Jupiter Pater, may You be strengthened by this libation, may You be honored by the small portion of our _____.

Jupiter Optimus Maximus, in offering you this cake I pray good prayers that You will be gracious and merciful to me and family, my house and household.

Honor the Family Gods with some incense and pray:

(adoratio) **Hail Lar Familiaris! May You tend to the family You have established.** (Ennius Annales I.141)

(adoratio) **Be ye well, Divine Penates, may You always safeguard our home.** (Plautus Mercator 834-5)

(anoint with olive oil) **Be Thou well Genius/Iuno of the Pater/Materfamilias, may You guide us always.**

Hang a garland across the altar and/or crown the statues of the Lares with flowers and pray: (Plautus)

With this garland and with this crown I venerate the Lares of our family; may our house have Your blessings of good fortune, happiness and prosperity.

Make an offering of bread drizzled with olive oil and pray:

With this offering of bread and oil, may our family and house be blessed with health and long life.

Pour a libation of wine to the Lares and pray:

May this wine find favor with You venerable Lares.

Adoratio while praying: (Afranius Fabula Togata fr. 11).

I pray by the Gods that everything will be made fortunate.

Burn some incense while praying manu supina: (Plautus Rudens 1338-49)

Be well ye Immortal Gods, if I have done anything to violate this rite may You kindly receive this incense in expiation of my mortal error.

Adoratio to the altar and announce:

It is done.

11 ON DOMESTIC ROMAN SACRIFICE

Template and Guidelines

The main source for the study of domestic Roman sacrifices is no doubt Cato in his work *De Agricultura*. Comparison with surviving descriptions of public sacrifices reveals that private and public sacrifices followed much the same set of guidelines, which allow us to fill the gaps left open by Cato with elements that survived in the descriptions of public sacrifices. In fact, several public sacrifices were originally private to some families, the state having decided to preserve them (e.g. after the lineage of the family was broken) because of their importance to the city of Rome as a whole. We can even go further and state that the public cult in Rome was nothing more than a domestic cult adapted to the scale of the city. Just like any private household, the city had its own hearth (the Temple of Vesta) where Vesta and the Penates Publici (Public Penates) were honored.

In this chapter we will provide a template for a standard traditional domestic roman sacrifice, as well as information about the correct offerings to give to the main deities. Non-standard sacrifices (e.g. *lectisternia*, *sellisternia*, *devotiones*) or sacrifices with special mysterious rites performed at specific occasions and/or stemming from a long tradition (the meaning of many being already forgotten by the time of the Republic), fall out of the span of the present work. On the other hand, most simple daily rites and

offerings can be considered as consisting on a small subset of the procedures described below (e.g. libation of wine, daily offering of incense).

The provided template will be illustrated with the original description of a simple offering to Iuppiter Dapalis [Cato, *De Agricultura*, 132], as well as other sources when needed.

We can divide the standard sacrificial procedures in several parts or moments:

1. Praeparatio
2. Praefatio
3. Precatio
4. Immolatio
5. Redditio
6. Profanatio
7. Epulum

The page finishes with an appendix which presents a table with the sacrificial details for specific deities. For any doubts or information on deities not included in the table feel free ask the Collegium Pontificum. You can also join the Religio Romana mailing list to discuss these and other related matters.

Praeparatio

In domestic sacrifices the preparation is easier. The sacrifice takes place in front of the *Lararium* usually placed near or above an hearth or fireplace (*focus*). If it is a blood sacrifice, it can be made on an outdoor *Lararium* or on a *focus* prepared on purpose outside the house.

The sacrificer is usually the paterfamilias, but the materfamilias can also sacrifice in some occasions (e.g. she sacrifices to her Iuno - guardian spirit or female equivalent of the Genius - on her birthday). Other members of the household can help to carry the

offerings or other objects. In order to ensure that the words are correctly spoken, one of the assistants may be charged to read the words and whisper them to the sacrificer [Plinius, *Naturalis Historia*, 28.3.10]. The sacrificer should also bath himself before the sacrifice [Livius, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 1.45].

Once the time comes, the officiants approach the *Lararium* where an image of the deity honored in the sacrifice is placed among the Penates (deities worshiped in the household). The sacrificer faces the *Lararium*, while the assistants and audience remain on his back.

For more information regarding the preparation of the *Lararium* and the sacrificial tools, please refer to *Lararium* section of Chapter 4, *Worshiping the Gods at Home*.

The two forms of sacrifice

In general there can be said to have been two forms of sacrifice previously practiced in the religio Romana: bloodless offerings and blood sacrifice. While recognizing that blood sacrifices were made in the past and may be regarded as part of the tradition, there is more precedence in the tradition that rejects the use of blood sacrifice. At different places in the *Fasti*, Ovid mentions that "Formerly what served to conciliate gods and men was spelt and pure salt's glistening grain," Sabine juniper and laurel, and garlands of flowers alone [1], and that blood sacrifices were a later introduction. Later offerings of incense from distant lands were begun by Liber, these being myrrh, frankincense, and Indian nard, and also that he introduced libations of milk and honey, and special liba cakes (3.727-736). Still later, after the introduction of the vine, libations of wine were made to some of the gods, while milk was retained as the appropriate libation for the gods and goddesses of an older tradition. Pliny mentions that rites established by Romulus continued the custom of using milk libations, and that Numa had forbidden wine libations on funeral pyres [2]. Tradition held that Pompilius Numa was the second king of Rome, succeeding

Romulus. That same tradition credited Numa with having founded most of the institutions of the *religio Romana*, including its calendar and priesthoods. The rites instituted for the state *religio* by Numa did not include the use of blood sacrifices, and explicitly disallowed their use. Plutarch too mentions that blood sacrifices were uncommon in the time of Numa, and that grain was the most frequently used offering (Numa 8.8). We should understand this to mean then that blood sacrifices continued in private practices, although not in the tradition of the public rites. This tradition forsaking blood sacrifices goes back further, to Pythagoras, and this was recognized in Roman traditions by making Numa a student of Pythagoras. This story may trace back to Aristoxenus who is said to have written that Romans were among Pythagoras' followers. The story continued at least until 186 BCE, and although officially abandoned later, it is still found with Ovid into the early empire (Cicero, *Republica* 2.28, *Tusculum* 4.3; Livy 1.18, 40.29.9-14; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.59; Plutarch, *Numa* 18; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15.4.481, *Fasti* 3.153; Pliny, *Natural History* XIII.87). From Pythagoras and Numa, through Seneca and in a broader sense Apollonius of Tyana as well, there was within the *religio Romana* another, older tradition which not only rejected the use of blood sacrifices, but which also made vegetarianism a pious choice in private practice.

The first blood sacrifice, that of a sow, is said to have been ordered for Ceres [3]. In Rome the Aventine Temple of Ceres had a strong association with Greek influences arriving from southern Italy. Cicero considered the worship of Ceres at Rome to have derived from the Greeks (*pro Balbo* 55; *In C. Verrem* 72.187). He states that the rituals were Greek in origin and in name, and that even the priestesses who conducted the rituals in his time were Greek and performed their rites in Greek. But we should understand these Greek rites to have been the later introduction brought to Rome when priestesses from Capua were invited in 196 BCE to perform the *ritus Graecus*. The earlier Temple of Ceres, dedicated in 494 BCE, was also associated with Sabellian Capua and may have had some Greek influences, but was distinctly an Italic cult. The Temple of Ceres was also dedicated to Liber and Libera in 494 BCE. The assimilation of Dionysus with Liber did not occur until 186 BCE, however, and so the *cultus deorum* of Ceres, Liber,

and Libera was Italic at the time of its initial introduction. It cannot therefore be said that Ceres was introduced to Rome by Greeks in the same manner that the *Magna Mater* arrived from Asia; only that certain aspects of Her worship was derived from Greek influences. These traditions on the *cultus Cereri* suggest that the adoption of blood sacrifice was a foreign introduction to the *religio Romana* originally established by Pompilius Numa, but not that blood sacrifices were necessarily of Greek origin.

We should recall, also, that human sacrifices were made in an earlier period. The Senate outlawed the practice in 454 BCE (Pliny *N. H.* XXX.12; the Twelve Tablets), although we know of some later instances. The Senate again outlawed human sacrifices in 97 BCE when Licinius Crassus was consul. In certain Roman rites puppets were substituted for human victims. There is the well-known example of the *Argei*. These straw puppets were tossed by the Vestal Virgins into the River Tiber on 14 (15) May, who Ovid and Cicero mention as substitutes for old men that were sacrificed in an earlier age (Ovid, *Fasti* 5.621-662; Cicero, *pro Roscio Amerino*, 35.100 mentions the *sexagenarios de ponte*). Similarly at the *Feriae Sementiva* and *Paganalia* in January, and at the *Feriae Latinae* in April, puppets (*oscillae*) were hung in trees in substitution of an earlier practice of sacrificing boys (Probus and Servius commenting on *Georgic* II.389, where Virgil wrote, "invoke Thee with glad hymns, O Bacchus, and to thee hang puppet-faces on tall pines to swing." Macrobius 1.7.34). One legend held that Remus had been sacrificed to purify the pomerium wall, and recently (summer 2000) there was discovered a pomerium wall around the Palatine under which the remains of four sacrificial victims had been placed. These are believed to have been sacrificed at the time when Servius Tullius built the walls of Rome, expanding the pomerium. When Augustus rededicated the city, four pillars were buried, one inscribed in memory of Remus, either commemorating or in substitution of the Servian sacrifices. Recalling ancient practices, yet substituting puppets of straw, wax, or bread in the *religio Romana* may be compared to the practices of other religions. The main celebration of Christian churches is that of a human sacrifice and a cannibalistic meal, where bread is substituted for the flesh of their founder. Among the Chinese objects made of paper are burned in sacrifice as substitutes for what they represent.

In a similar fashion the attitude towards the use of animals for blood sacrifices changed over time. In the Republican era pontifical regulations permitted wax figures or animal forms made of dough to be substituted for animal victims. In the time of Nero, the philosopher and miracle-worker Apollonius of Tyana spoke out against not only human sacrifices, but also against any of the traditional blood sacrifices. "I am not," he said, "the sort of person who prays with his eye on a knife or offers these kind of sacrifices...and if I had...I would become guilty of murder and operate with entrails that are an abomination to me and wholly unacceptable to the gods (Philstratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 8.7.9-10)." Blood sacrifices of all kinds were then banned by an imperial decree on 24 February, 391 CE. Modern practitioners of the religio Romana, rejecting the use of blood sacrifices, have thus returned to honoring the practices first instituted by Pompilius Numa. The reasons for sacrifices

The rites of the religio Romana employ the use of sacrifices in conjunction with prayers offered up to the gods and goddesses. The reasons for including sacrifices are given by the fourth century Neoplatonist Cynic Sallustius.

1. First is the matter of giving thanks to the gods and goddesses for all they have provided. One gives back a portion of what they have received. As such, what is appropriate to sacrifice to any deity depends upon what specific providence is under the deity. An appropriate sacrifice to Ceres, the goddess of grain, would therefore be grain or bread; for Pomona, the goddess of fruiting plants, the appropriate sacrifice would be the fruits She has provided.

2. "Prayers offered without sacrifices are only words, with sacrifices they are live words; the wording gives meaning to the life while the life animates the words." The religio Romana promotes the growth and development of the whole person, in body, mind and soul. Thus in every rite we perform, these three components of ourselves must be involved. It is with our physical actions that we involve the use of the body, our mind in the thoughts and words we use, and our soul is in the sincere intent and devotion of the performance of our rites. The words of a prayer voices the meaning

and intent, the sacrifice gives it substance, but there must also be the third portion to conjoin our soulful essence with our actions. The essence of our actions is then carried along with the essence of the sacrifice back to its divine source.

3. "The happiness of every object is its own perfection, and perfection for each is communion with its own cause." Everything proceeds from the gods and shall return to the gods in its own time. Or as Proclus stated, "Every effect remains in its cause, proceeds from it, and reverts upon it (*Elements of Theology*, Prop. 35). Having lived its life, performed its purpose in life, each constituent part of an object shall return to its source, its being perfected in the completion of its entire cycle of life. That is true for humans, animals, and plants, and even, it may be said, for inanimate objects as well. In the first reason given above, the perspective was from that of the deities, returning what is already under their providence. Here Sallustius looked at sacrifice from the perspective of what is being offered, that is, its returning to its divine source alone, to achieve its perfection of being. Reverting back to its origin, returning through each stage of its procession from the source, and thus returning towards the divine, a sacrifice reverts upon its own perfection in the Divine (*Proclus Elements of Theology* Prop. 37).

The six types of sacrifices

There are six types of sacrifices that may be made in the religio Romana.

1. First is to honor the gods and to commemorate certain events such as the dedication of a temple.
2. To propitiate the gods when some disaster has occurred or other event whereby the gods demand a sacrifice.
3. Similarly, if divination, dreams or visions reveal a requirement that a sacrifice needs to be made.
4. By far though, most sacrifices made by individuals are performed in thanks, after a contract was met by the gods. A vow (*nuncupatio*) is first made that a sacrifice will be offered, or that an

altar will be erected, or a temple built or renovated, or some other action that will be taken to fulfill the vow, on condition that the god perform some request. If the request is fulfilled, the deity having accepted the vow, then one is obliged to fulfill the vow (ex voto); failure to do so would make that person sacer.

5. Sometimes, in expectation that prayers will be answered, a sacrifice is made, but there is no obligation on the part of the deity. Most often these types of sacrifices would be dedicated pro salute in hopes of being healed of some illness.

6. Lastly there are those sacrifices made, not to honor the gods or to fulfill a vow, but made instead as part of a purification rite.

Oblationes

In ancient times ludi were established to honor the gods and goddesses. The Ludi plebii of November, established in 220 BCE, and the Ludi Taurei Quinquennales conducted every five years in June, first established in 186 BCE, consisted of chariot races and horse races. The Ludi Apollinares of July, established in 212 BCE, and the Ludi Florales of April, established in 173 BCE, consisted of theatrical performances and chariot races. While the Ludi Saeculares of May and June consisted of three days and three nights of continuous theatrical performances. At other times poetry contests were held in honor of gods and goddesses. Composing poetry for the gods and goddesses, especially odes to the deities, is still an accepted form of offering made today.

Another ancient practice was to hold a feast in honor of the gods, a lectisternium. Couches (lecti) were set outside in front of temples, upon which were placed their images, representing that the gods and goddesses join with the celebrants at the feast. Offerings of food were placed on tables before them. In private homes this practice was also made for the Lares, not unlike at the Seder of Judaism, or the Sicilian practice for St. Joseph's Day. Today bringing the images of the gods from the lararium to a dinner table to share in the family meal continues this practice, or otherwise food is set before the lararium. Such offerings of food are left for

only as long a time as the meal takes place, and then are properly disposed.

By far the most common form of sacrifice made in ancient times was the erection of altars to the gods and goddesses of Roma antiqua. These were small column-like altars with a hallow (focus) in the upper surface for a flame in which to make offerings of incense. Such arae are inscribed with the name of the deity (in dative case) to whom it is offered, the name of the practitioner (in nominative) who erected the ara, followed by a statement of the reason. The reasons usually given were: pro salute for health, ex visu following a vision, ex voto following a vow or VSLM (votum solvit libens merito, "kept his vow freely to the god who deserved it"), or simply to say dono dedit ("He gave this gift"). Such arae were erected at roadside shrines or in front of temples. Today grottoes and arae are set up either in a family garden or inside the home.

Following the erection of arae then, the most common offerings used on them, ancient or modern, is that of incense or the burning of aromatic herbs. Herbs used for all gods and goddesses are myrtle, bay laurel and juniper, while frankincense, myrrh, nard, gum Arabic and orris root are common incenses. Cut flowers and floral wreaths are another common offering. Certain herbs and flowers are more closely associated with certain goddesses and gods than others. An incomplete list of these associations is given below:

Adonis: fennel, barley, roses.

Apollo: bay laurel, hyacinth.

Asclepius: butterfly weed, milkweed, mustard, thin-leaf parsnip.

Castor and Pollux: frankincense.

Ceres: barley, dittany of Crete, hyacinth, pennyroyal, poppies, spelt, storax.

Chiron: chiron vine, greater centaury, St. John's wort, wormwood, yarrow.

Diana: hazel, jasmine, lavender, mandrake, rosemary, wormwood.

Faunus: peony, myrtle.

Faustus: ivy, pine.

Hecate: garlic, hemlock, mandrake, rue.

Hercules: henbane, herb Robert, opopanax, oregano, monkshood.

Juno: iris, lily, orris root, saffron.

Juppiter: benzoin, cassia, cinnamon, marjoram, saffron, sage, vervain.

Lares: myrtle, juniper.

Liber and Libera: honey, ivy, mint, pennyroyal, cinnamon, frankincense.

Mercury: dill, hellebore niger, marjoram, mercurialis, myrtle.

Mars: cinnamon, red clover, peony.

Minerva: ampelos or chiron vine, olive, rosemary.

Pales: basil.

Priapus: lotus tree.

Proserpina: hyacinth, mandrake, mint, myrtle, parsley, rosemary, rue, violet.

Quirinus: juniper.

Saturnus: costus, storax, violets.

Venus: ambergris, fennel, lily, marjoram, myrtle, rose.

Vesta: bay laurel, juniper, violets.

Libations of unmixed wine may be offered to any of the goddesses and gods, with the exception of Ceres, Tellus, and Pales, to whom only milk, or honey mixed in water or in milk is offered. Wine offered in a libation to Fauna, the Bona Dea, may be made, provided it is referred to only as milk and to its container as a honey pot, while no myrtle may be offered to Her. One may also note a passage from Virgil, (*Eclogue* 7.33-34): *Sinum lactis et haec te liba, Priape, quotannis exspectare sat est: custos es pauperis horti.* (A bowl of milk, Priapus, and these cakes, yearly, it is enough for you to claim; you are the guardian of a poor man's plot.) Following in the tradition of Numa, milk is a more acceptable general libation.

Often mentioned as an offering to the gods is libum, a special cake made for religious rituals. See Cato's *De Agricultura* 75 for a recipe. The libum is cut into small squares, then piled into a neat stack. Honey may be dripped over the liba, which is then served into a fire with a knife, as a burnt offering. Any offering or sacrifice, once dedicated to a god or goddess, should not be touched or profaned in any manner. Other special breads used for sacrifices are known. Cato also offers a recipe for placenta at *De Agricultura* 76, and mentions fertum at other places, although the recipe is not given.

Special moulds were used to make a sacrificial bread for Quirinus that had a wheel impressed into the top. Some had deep indentations to facilitate breaking the bread. Another specially prepared offering is moretum, described in a poem by that name and attributed to Virgil. Ovid mentions moretum as an offering to Magna Mater [4] . This is an herb salad, made with garlic, celery, rue, and coriander combined with cheese to form a pate (some oil and vinegar can be added to help smooth it into a paste). It may be molded into a round form and covered with a flour and water paste, then baked and used like libum. In modern practice any home baked bread may be substituted, with perhaps a focaccia being the best to use. These may be drizzled with honey or oil before offering.

It was duty of the Vestal Virgins to make the mola salsa used in sacrifices. Spelt was dry roasted in ovens, then crushed into course flour and combined with pure salt. The mola salsa was then drizzled over the backs of sacrificial animals. Today mola salsa may be drizzled directly into a fire as an offering, or used to season other offerings. If a wax or dough figure is being used in substitution of an animal sacrifice then it would be treated in the manner employed in the past. Some hairs would be made into the figure's forehead, which would be cut and fed to a flame first. Its head would then be anointed with wine and mola salsa drizzled over its back. The figure would then be sliced into and the whole figure fed into a flame. For the use of vegetable substitutes for animal sacrifices, see the contest between Jupiter and Numa given by Ovid (*Fasti* 3.337-348). Similar to the mola salsa was the februa or pium far made for the purification rituals of the house and curiae that took place in February. This too was made of spelt roasted in an antique fashion, but salt is not mentioned in its preparation. The spelt was then pounded into rude cakes and offered to Juno on crude tables (*mensae*). Roman *lictors* carried februa for use in purifying houses, believed to have been used by strewing it on a doorsill of a house where someone had died and also as an incense (Ovid *Fasti* 2.24-5). There was also the *salsamina* "made by mixing four kinds of fruit" (Arnobius *Adversus Gentes* 7.24), i.e. four kinds of grains.

Votives

Another type of offering is the use of votives. These may be made of wood, terracotta, silver, copper or bronze. They can be coins or figurines of the gods and goddesses. They may be miniature tools or weapons, or models of feathers or leaves. Often miniature parts of the body, such as hands and feet or specific organs, were used as votives in sacrifices made for assistance in healing. Plaques with triangular handles were also used, either made with a relief depicting the gods or inscribed with a special request. Votives were then broken and buried in special deposits beneath *arae* or near or under *templa*.

Unique sacrificial terms for offerings of various kinds are known to us only from Arnobius (*Adversus Gentes* 7.24). These include a number of consecrated cakes formed into different shapes: *africa*, *gratilla*, *catumeum*, *cumpolium*, and *cubula*. Prior to bread making Romans ate grain in pottages, and two these, differing only in quality, were retained in sacrifices – *fitilla* and *frumen*. There are several other specialized terms referring to blood sacrifices, such as the *taedae* that is animal fat cut into very small pieces like dainties. These specialized terms for different offerings, and instruction on how to prepare them, were kept in the *Libri pontificales*. Other strictures gave the specific animals that were to be offered to various deities, along with their markings, such as the use of a goat for *Liber*, a virgin calf for *Minerva*, or a special breed of oxen for *Jupiter*. There were also specialized terms for the instruments used in sacrifices, and the archaic utterances to be recited, all the details to be followed to the letter. But all of these strictures were meant for the formalized rituals of the state *religio*. In private practice there was greater variance and the same pontifical books provided for substitutions by using images made of wax or flour dough. Cato's *lustratio* is an example of a private rite, that mentions that a piglet, lamb, and calf may be substituted in a *suovitaurlia* which required matured animals be sacrificed, provided that they were not referred to as such (*De Agricultura* 141). A modern practitioner of the *religio Romana* who researches ancient rites for their own rites should bear this in mind. While attention to detail and exactness is emphasized in the *religio Romana*, more attention

should be given to pious devotion than to outward performances. Performing a Sacrifice

Daily prayers and offerings are made before the *lararium*. At the main meal of the day a portion of wine is offered to *Jupiter* by pouring it onto the ground, or otherwise in a small bowl which can later be poured on soil, with a simple prayer, *Jupiter Pater macte vino in ferio esto*. Other simple rites may be performed in a similar fashion.

A sacrifice however is a more formal rite and requires some preparation. First the practitioner should prepare himself or herself through fasting, purification, and prayer. Usually this will involve a period of days, five to nine days being common. One should fast, abstaining from meats, grain products, sweets and any heavy foods, and instead eat fruits and light foods. Alcohol, caffeine, drugs and preservatives should also be avoided. Herbal teas and tonics are taken as drink. Bathing, fumigations with sulphur or vervain, and anointings with oil are made in this period; the hair and beard should not be cut, nor should the nails be trimmed in this period. Daily rites of prayer and offerings should be maintained. On the day the sacrifice will be made, the celebrant should eat no food and drink only a small amount of vervain tea; bathe, anoint with oil, and dress in white. Other precautions may be warranted when approaching certain deities, or when sacrificing to a deity whose identity is unknown.

An area is then prepared in which to perform the sacrifice. The area should be swept, then aspersed with vervain water and incensed with frankincense. The altar is scrubbed with fresh vervain or mints, and wound with woolen filaments three times. A fire is then lit upon the altar and incense of vervain or frankincense is offered. (Pliny, *Natural History* 25.59; Virgil, *Eclogue VIII*. 64-66.) Facing south, auguries should then be taken for any sign of an ill omen before proceeding (see *On Auguries*).

If no signs appear which prohibit the sacrifice from being made at that time, then the sacrifice must be ordered. This is an important step as it signifies what action is about to be made. In *De Agricultura* 141 Cato states this ordering of the sacrifice as “*Impera*

suovitaurlia circumagi, and then gives an example of the instructions one gives in ordering a sacrifice to be made. Another example is found in Plautus (Pseudolus 326-7), *Ei accerse hostias, victumas, lanios, ut ego sacrificem summo Jovi* (“Go, fetch offerings, victims, and those who slay them, that I may sacrifice to Jove most high”). Usually a sacrifice is promised to the deity on some previous occasion. One must fulfill such a promise, but a specific time when it is to be performed is not generally given. Now however, having then ordered the sacrifice, one is committed to begin performing the sacrifice. Failure to perform the sacrifice beyond this step would place a person in *sacer*. The sacrifice that is to be made will depend upon the occasion and the deity to whom it is offered. Every precaution should be taken to follow exactly what a formula requires in a particular ritual. Here we will consider the various steps required in making sacrifices, speaking only in general terms.

1) One should always begin with an invocation in the manner of “Jane, Jupiter, Mars Pater, Quirine.” Other deities may be called upon in addition to, or substituted for these deities, however Janus should always be included, and should always be named first to begin a formal sacrifice. In general, a priest would face east when invoking Janus and the other deities. Gods of the sea are invoked by facing in the direction of the largest nearby body of water. Certain other deities may be traditionally thought of as living in other directions. The *Dii Inferi* and chthonic goddesses and gods like *Tellus* and *Ceres* are generally invoked with the palm of the right hand placed on the earth or otherwise facing downward (Sallustius: *pecora quae natura prona finxit*; Varro: *puerum imponere equo pronum in ventrem, postea sedentem*). Most of the *Dii Consentes* are invoked with the palm of the right hand raised to the sky, the fingers bent slightly backward (*supinas manus ad caelum tendere*). The gods invoked in this first step are called to witness the sacrifice. In addition to the invocation, they are also given offerings individually, beginning with Janus. The manner of making these offerings is the same as in a daily ritual. Cato offers an example (*De Agricultura* 134): *Iano pater, te hac strueo ommovendo bonas preces precoruti sies volens propitius mihi* (“Father Janus, in offering you this heap of cakes, I pray with virtuous prayers, in order that you may be favorable and gracious to me.”) And again, *Iano pater, uti te strue ommovenda bonas preces bene precatus*

sum, eiusdem rei ergo macte vino inferio esto (“Father Janus, as in offering you the heap of cakes prayers were well spoken, for the sake of the same things, be honored by this humble wine.”) After offerings have been made in turn to each deity who has been invoked aloud, the formal sacrifice may proceed. At the conclusion of the sacrifice itself, a prayer and offering should be made to *Vesta* in the same manner to conclude the ceremony.

2) The invocation that will be made to the deity to whom the sacrifice is offered is performed a little differently. This invocation is made in two parts, the manner of which is described on the *Iguvium Tavolo*, in *Umbrium*, as *Sevum kutef pesnimu arepes arves*, or in Latin, *Formulam clare precator tostis granis*. The instruction given here is that the prayer is to be spoken over each offering (in the example given, over each pile of grain), and that it is to be made according to ritual formula. This indicates that the invocation is first to be made aloud, and it is to be intoned, not simply spoken. Further, the particular phrasing used here, *formulam clare*, means that the invocation is to be murmured. The reason why both forms of invocation are inferred here is simple. At a public sacrifice such as is described on the *Iguvium Tavolo* the names of gods who are invoked aloud are for the benefit of those witnessing the ceremony. But the names of the gods who are invoked to sanctify the sacrifice, and thus are spoken by formula over the sacrifices themselves, are murmured because the names which will be used are known only to the attending priests. The deity is first addressed aloud in a formula that is more elaborate than used above. An example from Plautus for Jupiter is, *Iovi opulento, inculto, Ope gnato, supreme, valido, viripotentis, Ope, spes bonas, copias commodenti, lubens disque omnibus ago gratias virtulorque merito...* (O Jove, opulent, glorious son of Ops, supreme God, powerful and mighty, bestower of wealth, good hopes and bounty, gladly I give thanks and rightly praise you and all the gods...) (*Persa* 251-4). Or again in Plautus, *Iuppiter, qui genus colis alisque hominem, per quem vivimus aevom, quem penes spes vitae sunt hominum omnium, ...* (O Jupiter, you who cherish and nurture the human race, through who we live and draw the breath of being, in who rests the hopes and lives of all mankind...) (*Poenulus* 1187-88). This initial address of the deity may call upon Him with several references to myths about Him, His titles and His attributes, in a

manner that is found among the Orphic Hymns. Offerings of incense and libations are made along with the invocation.

3) The sacrifice is first led to the altar. The altar is approached with the right hand raised to waist level, palm up, either by the individual carrying the sacrifice, or the one who leads the procession. Taking position at or near the altar along with the celebrant will be the priest (*popa*) who will perform the ceremony, certain assistants (*gemelli*, *flamines*, and *victimi*) and the flute players (*tibiae*) or other musicians who are to play throughout the ceremony.

A) The ceremony begins with the celebrant invoking the deity aloud, as described above.

B) Then is followed a ceremony in the manner described by Livy (A.U.C. 1.24). The *popa* requires of the chief celebrant, "Do you order me to make this sacrifice to (the name of the deity)?" Upon an affirmative answer, the *popa* then says, "I demand of thee, (name or title), some tufts of grass." The celebrant then replies, "Take those that are pure." (For the meaning of the 'grass' see Ovid, *Fasti* 3.27-28.) A small portion of the sacrifice is then cut away and offered into the fire on the altar. In ancient times tufts of hair would be cut from the forehead of a sacrificial animal. One rite described by Cato involves a sacrifice of leeks to Jupiter, in which he specifies that the tops are first cut from the heads, and that both are offered. The *popa* next asks, 'Do you constitute me as the representative of (those on whose behalf the sacrifice is made), sanctioning also my vessels and assistants?' To which the celebrant replies, 'So far as may be without hurt to myself and (those named above), I do.'

C) The *popa* takes the portion of the sacrifice that was removed and touches it to the forehead of the celebrant. Whatever else is being sacrificed, this first portion represents the whole, and is connected to the person authorizing the sacrifice. This portion is then offered to the flames before it is sanctified. Observance is made to see that the selected sacrifice is acceptable to the invoked deity. Were the sacrifice made to Jupiter or any of the celestial gods and goddesses, then the smoke should rise; if to a chthonic deity,

then the smoke should seep to the ground. Other omens such as the calls of birds or the sound of lightning are also taken into consideration.

D) Next the sacrifice is to be sanctified to the deity. Over the sacrifice some *mola salsa* should be sprinkled. In ancient times the *mola salsa* was specifically used in sanctifying a blood sacrifice. Yet its components, salt and spelt, go back to an earlier period, before blood sacrifices were used (*Fasti* 1.37-38). A sacrifice of bread, or grain, fruit or herbs, or even some inanimate objects may be sanctified with a sprinkling of pure salt, or *mola salsa* which has been specially prepared for ritual use. The sacrifice should also be sprinkled with either wine or milk (salted water may be substituted) depending upon the deity invoked. Over the sacrifice is then murmured a formula invoking the deity by His or Her secret names. Here an ancient formula of invocation is made, making use of alliteration and assonance in an enumeration of attributes, made with parallels of paired terms, the second term expanded from the first, and the parallels linked together in a chiasmus relation. Also to be enumerated are the reasons the sacrifice is being made. A slit is then made into the sacrifice. Sacrificial knives were usually made of chipped flint or bronze, iron and steel should not be used anywhere in the area of a sacrifice. The sacrifice is now sanctified and may no longer be touched by human hands. Instruments are used to cut the sacrifice into small pieces, stack them into a pile, and feed them into a flame. In the case where votives are being offered, they are held with one instrument and struck by a hammer to bend or break them, before being deposited into the ground. Prayers said while making an offering are usually made with the right hand extended over the fire, palm down, and striking the chest over the heart whenever the name of the deity is said. The chest is also struck at the name of the deity while bending over the sacrifice in sanctifying it.

E) If the sacrifice is to involve a shared meal (*daps*), a portion offered to the deity and the rest to be eaten by the celebrants, then the latter must be profaned. The entire sacrifice was first sanctified to the deity and is thus sacred. That which is offered to the deity is therefore not to be touched by human hands. In contrast, what is then to be served to the celebrants is touched by the priest,

profaning it so that humans may eat of it. In *De Agricultura* 132, Cato refers to the sanctified sacrifice itself as being Jove, which is “piously profaned,” Jove caste profanato sua contagione. If the sacrifice were several loaves of bread, one loaf might be offered into the fire, the rest would each have to be touched by the popa before distributing them to the celebrants. These must all be consumed immediately, within the sacred place that was made for the sacrifice (Cato’s *Ubi res divina facta erit, statim ibidem consumito* ~*De Agricultura* 83.) Sacrifices made to the Dii Inferni may not be shared in this manner, but must be completely consumed by fire, or otherwise buried in a manner that will not be disturbed. A sacrifice offered to the Dii Inferni becomes one with them as with all sanctified sacrifices, and as they are deities of putrefaction, among other things, the sanctified sacrifice is no longer suitable for human consumption.

F) A final consideration is that a sacrifice offered to the deity may be found unacceptable. In that case an additional sacrifice is made. Here again reference is made to Cato, as in *De Agricultura* 141. “If less than all of the sacrifice is successfully made,” then make an additional sacrifice with the formula “if something of this sacrifice was not pleasing to you, this sacrifice (I make) to you in atonement.”

4) Finally the ceremony is concluded with additional offerings of wine (or milk) and incense. These may include offerings to the deities invited in the first part of the ceremony to witness it, and to the deity invoked in the sacrifice, and properly should conclude with an offering to Vesta. Use of this guide

The above description of sacrificial rites is to serve as a general guide for modern practitioners of the religio Romana. Any ceremony developed for your own rites should be carefully researched. Ancient texts will provide guidance on different aspects of a ceremony, but rarely provide guidance on a complete ceremony.

Praefatio

A more solemn sacrifice (namely a sacrifice of a living victim) starts with a *praefatio*, which consists on offerings of incense and wine where some deities are invited to witness the sacrifice. Small offerings like the offering to Iuppiter Dapalis [Cato, *De Agricultura*, 132] do not include a *praefatio*. Others like [Cato, *De Agricultura* 134] seem to present two *praefationes*, one of incense and wine and another of cakes and wine. In temple sacrifices, the *praefatio* was performed before the temple entrance using a portable hearth, the *foculus*.

The *praefatio* starts with the invocation of Ianus [Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II.67], the god of beginnings. Cato adds Iuppiter [Cato, *De Agricultura* 141] and Iuno [Cato, *De Agricultura* 134]. According to [Ovidius, *Fasti*, 6.303 seq.], Vesta can also be among the deities invoked in the *praefatio*, as she governs the fire of the hearth through which the offerings reach the gods (see [Servius, ad *Aen.*, 1.292]). In [ILS154] the deity in whose honor the sacrifice is performed is addressed in the *praefatio*.

The following procedures illustrate a *praefatio* where the deities invoked are Ianus and Iuppiter. The prayers are based on [Cato, *De Agricultura* 134].

1) The sacrificer will normally be wearing a toga (the *toga praetexta* is used by magistrates in public sacrifices). The sacrificer veils his head with the toga (called *capite velato* or *cinctu Gabinu*) as the deities invoked in the *praefatio* are to be honored *romano ritu* (according to the roman rite). [CIL 32329] shows that this is true even if the main sacrifice is performed *graeco ritu*.

2) The sacrificer offers incense to Ianus as follows:

“Iano pater, te hoc ture ommovendo bonas preces precor, uti sies volens propitius mihi liberisque meis domo familiaeque meae.”

“Father Ianus, in offering this incense to you I pray good

prayers, so that you may be propitious to me and my children, to my house and to my household.”

The sacrificer places the incense on the *focus*.

3) Then incense is offered to Iuppiter in the same way:

“Iuppiter, te hoc ture ommovendo bonas preces precor, uti sies volens propitius mihi liberisque meis domo familiaeque meae.”

“Iuppiter, in offering this incense to you I pray good prayers, so that you may be propitious to me and my children, to my house and to my household.”

The sacrificer places the incense on the *focus*.

4) Then an offering dish (*patera*) of wine is offered to Janus:

“Iano pater, uti te ture ommovendo bonas preces bene precatus sum, eiusdem rei ergo macte vino inferio esto.”

“Father Janus, as in offering to you the incense virtuous prayers were well prayed, for the sake of this be honored by this wine offered in libation.”

The sacrificer pours the wine on the *focus*.

5) Then the same to Iuppiter:

“Iuppiter macte isto ture esto, macte vino inferio esto.”

“Iuppiter, be honored by that incense, be honored by this wine below.”

The sacrificer pours the wine on the *focus*.

Precatio

The main sacrifice starts with a prayer directed to the deity in whose honor the sacrifice is performed. In this prayer, the sacrificer states the reason for the sacrifice, the goods that he will sacrifice, and the blessings he wants to receive in return. In [Horatius, Carmina, 3.23] it is suggested that the altar or Lararium should be touched while the prayers are being said, which is confirmed by [Virgilius, Aeneis, 4.219]. According to Servius Honoratus, Varro wrote that this gesture is necessary to grant the good will of the deity [Servius, Aeneidos Commentarius, 4.219].

The following procedures illustrate the *precatio*. The prayer is taken from [Cato, *De Agricultura*, 132], where the deity to be honored in the sacrifice is Iuppiter Dapalis:

1) If the sacrifice is to be performed *graeco ritu*, the sacrificer uncovers his head, adorns his head with a laurel crown and takes off his *toga*, becoming dressed with his tunic only (usually a fringed tunic).

2) The sacrificer washes his hands on a vessel placed beside him, or carried by one of the assistants. Although this is the usual place for this observance, [Cato, *De Agricultura*, 132] places the washing of the hands after the prayer in step 3.

3) The sacrificer touches the altar or Lararium and addresses the deity with a prayer where the purpose and nature of the sacrifice are described:

“Iuppiter dapalis, quod tibi fieri oportet in domo familia mea culignam vini dapi, eius rei ergo macte hac illace dape pollucenda esto.”

“Iuppiter Dapalis, because it is proper for a cup of wine to be given to you in the house of my family for the sacred feast, for the sake of this thing may you be honored by this feast offering.”

When the sacrifice was performed Graeco Ritu, some Greek

words could be interspersed in the Latin text.

Immolatio

This part only applies to blood sacrifices, i.e. when the offering is a living creature. As the Collegium Pontificum of Nova Roma has many reserves towards this type of sacrifice, the information in this section should be regarded as informative only with no intentions of motivating its practice. Although blood sacrifices were common in classical Rome, it must be said that the Religio Romana has also an ancient tradition for the absence of that practice as stated in [Ovid, *Fasti*, I.337]:

"Of old the means to win the goodwill of gods for man were spelt and the sparkling grains of pure salt. As yet no foreign ship had brought across the ocean waves the black-distilled myrrh; the Euphrates had sent no incense, India no balm, and the red saffron's filaments were still unknown. The altar was content to smoke with savine, and the laurel burned with crackling loud. To garlands woven of meadow flowers he who could violets add was rich indeed. The knife that now lays bare the bowels of the slaughtered bull had in sacred rites no work to do. (...)"

The immolation procedures are better known in the public context than in the domestic context. Nevertheless it is very likely that domestic sacrifices followed at least a subset (probably variable according to the habits and possibilities of each household) of the public sacrifices.

The sacrificed victims were always domestic animals carefully selected according to species, sex, color and size, in order to match the nature of the deity to which they were offered. Male deities received male victims (some received castrated victims, others complete victims), while female deities received female victims. White victims were offered to the Celestial gods, black victims to the Underworld gods (*Dii Inferi* such as Dis, Proserpina, the Manes) or of the night, red victims were offered to Vulcanus and Robigo.

Pregnant sows were offered to Ceres and Tellus in some expiatory rites. Swine and rams were usually offered in funerary sacrifices.

Blood sacrifices required special preparation. The animals were washed and adorned with ribbons and strips of white or scarlet wool. The horns of the bovines were usually gilded and/or adorned with disk. The back of the porcines and bovines was covered with a richly decorated fringed coverture (*dorsuale*). The phases of the immolation were the following:

1) The first act was the consecration of the victim, which was different depending on the rite (*Ritus Romanus* or *Ritus Graecus*). According to the *Ritus Romanus*, the sacrificer consecrated the victim by the *mola salsa* (roasted wheat flour with added salt originally made by the Vestales and thus associated with the fire of Vesta; the *mola salsa* is origin for the word *immolatio* or *inmolatio*), wine and the knife (*mola, vino cultroque*). In order to do this he powdered the back of the victim with the *mola salsa*, poured a little wine on its forehead with a *paterna*, and finally passed the sacrificial knife along the back of the animal.

In the *Ritus Graecus*, the sacrificer consecrated the victim by dropping a few grains of corn and some drops of water on the head of the victim. He then cut some hair from the head of the victim and offered it on the fire.

2) After the consecration, the sacrificer or the butchers (*victimarii*) proceeded to kill the victim (if butchers were available, the sacrificer would give the sign). The victim should show no sign of panic, otherwise that would be considered a bad omen and the sacrifice would be polluted. On the contrary, the victim should show its consent by lowering its head helped by the sacrificer. Bigger victims (e.g. bovines) were firstly stunned with a poleaxe and then bled to death. Smaller victims had their throat cut.

3) The victim was then laid on its back, and its belly was opened. With the help of its assistants (namely the *haruspex*), the sacrificer verified if the victim had been well accepted through the examination of the entrails: the liver, the lungs, the biliary blister, peritoneum and heart. If entrails did not present any anomalies it was considered that the sacrifice had been accepted (*litatio*) and it

could proceed. Otherwise the sacrifice was aborted and had to restart with new victims. This was repeated until the *litatio* was achieved. Sometimes the entrails could be examined in Etruscan fashion with the purpose of divination (*haruspicatio*).

4) The victim was then divided. The entrails (*exta*) were destined to the deity. The rest would normally be destined to the humans, being eaten in a banquet (*epulum*) after the sacrifice. With the exception of some deities of more savage nature (e.g. Mars - see [Suetonius, *Vita Divi Augusti*, 1] and [Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, 2.68]), the entrails were cooked before being offered. Those of bovines were boiled, while those of porcines and ovines were grilled on skewers. The entrails were then powdered with *mola salsa* and wine before being offered to the deity (see below).

Redditio

In this phase the offerings are actually given to the deity. Usually, only a part of the offerings is actually given to the deity, the rest being profanated and consumed by the humans after the sacrifice. An exception is when the sacrifice is performed in honor of the Underworld gods (e.g. Dis and Proserpina, etc.), as no one can sit at the same table with the gods that govern Death and the Dead.

If the sacrifice is performed in honor of a water divinity, it is usually thrown to the water (a river, sea, spring, etc.). If the sacrifice is performed in honor of a chthonic deity (e.g. Lar/Genius Loci, Ceres, etc.) the offering is simply thrown to the ground or burned inside a ditch previously excavated for the effect. The latter also applies to the Underworld gods, in which case the offering is completely burned on the ditch.

For other deities, including the domestic deities (Genii, Lares and Penates, etc.), the offerings are normally given through the fire of the *focus*. Of course there were some variations depending of the specific deity or the specific offering (e.g. flowers were usually to be

offered as a decoration and not to be burned; the same was true regarding the ears of grain offered to Ceres).

While giving each offering, the act is confirmed with words. The following example is again taken from [Cato, *De Agricultura*, 132]. Like many other public and private sacrifices it takes the form of "[Deity (voc.)], macte [offerings (abl.)] esto":

"Iuppiter dapalis, macte istace dape pollucenda esto, macte vino inferio esto."

"Iuppiter Dapalis, may you be honored by this feast offering, may you be honored by the wine offered below."

Meat offerings are usually sprinkled with wine and salt or *mola salsa* (roasted wheat flour with added salt) before being served to the deities.

Besides the main deity of the sacrifice, other deities may receive offerings as well during this phase. This happens for example in [Cato, *De Agricultura* 134], where Janus and Iuppiter receive cakes and wine in the style of a *postfatio* after the entrails of the sow are cut, but before the entrails are actually given to Ceres.

On the other hand, [Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II.67] says that Vesta is the last deity to receive offerings during sacrifices for she governs the sacrificial fire. This is confirmed by [Cato, *De Agricultura*, 132], where the reader is given the option to offer to Vesta after Iuppiter Dapalis has received his share of the feast.

Profanatio

Usually, if the sacrifice is not in honor of the gods of Hades, only a small fraction of it is actually offered to the deity, the rest being eaten by the humans, as if the humans were now guests of the deity to whom the offerings were given. In order to make this possible, the sacrificer must profanate the offerings (i.e. make the given

offerings become again human property) with his touch, a procedure explicitly instructed in [Cato, *De Agricultura*, 132].

Epulum

After the profanation, the remaining offerings are eaten by the sacrificer and sometimes the other officiants, family and guests in a banquet. During the banquet, people sometimes address the deities, making additional offerings and asking for favors and blessings in return.

Table of Traditional Offerings and Sacrifices

The table below provides some general guidelines for the offerings and sacrificial procedures that are most propitious to specific deities. It is by no means an exhaustive reference and it will be expanded in the future. Moreover, some of the data (namely in what concerns blood sacrifice) is based on the public cult, which means that in a domestic context there could be some variations and offerings would be typically more modest. Variations related to specific rites/celebrations and/or specific aspects of the deities are also not reflected in the table

Deity	Character	Rite	Known Inanimate Offerings	Known Living Offerings	Comments	Sources
Penates (domestic gods) in general	Domestic	Ritus Romanus	incense, wine, cakes, food, etc.	ewe-lamb (see below on the Lares Familiares), cow	The Penates were the set of gods worshiped in a household. This row presents default guidelines for their worship. The specificities of some gods are presented below.	[Cicero, <i>De Divinatione</i> , II.39] [Dionysius of Halicarnassus, <i>Roman Antiquities</i> , 2.23] [Festus-Paul, <i>On the meaning of the words</i> , Lindsay ed. p.298] [CIL 6.2042]

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Lar Familiaris / Lares Familiares	Domestic	Ritus Romanus	incense, wine, food (namely fruits and roasted meat with <i>mola salsa</i>), garlands of flowers	ewe-lamb, pig, ram (funeral)	Flowers are to adorn the Lararium and not to be burnt.	[Plautus, Aulularia] [Plinius, Naturalis Historia, 21.11] [Plinius, Naturalis Historia, 28.27] [Varro in Nonius Marcellus, De Compendiosa Doctrina, Lindsay ed. p.554 1-2] [Deutero-Servius, Aeneidos, 1.730] [Ovidius, Fasti, 2.633] [Ovidius, Fasti, 2.631-634] [Valerius Maximus, Memorable deeds and sayings, 2.5.5] [Horatius, Satires, 2.5.14] [Horatius, Odes, 3.23.4] [Tibullus, Elegies, 1.3.33 seq.] [Tibullus, Elegies, 1.1.23] [Virgilius, Bucolics, 1.43]
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personal Genius or luno	Domestic	Ritus Romanus	incense, wine, cakes of boiled salted wheat (<i>liba</i>)	two-month old piglet (on the Saturnalia)	Blood sacrifice was not recommended on one's birthday	[Persius, Satires, 2.1-3] [Tibullus, Elegies, 2.6.8] [Ovidius, Tristia, 5.5.12] [Tibullus, Elegies, 4.6.14] [Plinius, Naturalis Historia, 18.84] [Varro in Censorinus, De Die Natali, 2.2] [Horatius, Odes, 3.17.14-16]
Manes	Underworld	Ritus Romanus	unmixed wine, fresh milk, blood of sacrificial victims, roses, violets, black beans, salted corn, wheat mixed with wine	ewe, pig, black bull-calves	Inanimate offerings are dropped/poured to the ground in libation without burning. Banquet can take place in the presence of the deceased.	[Virgilius, Aeneidos, 5.55-103] [Plinius, Naturalis Historia, 21.11] [Ovidius, Fasti, 2.535-540]
Mania / Mater Larum (mother of the Lares)	Underworld	Ritus Romanus	garlic, poppy heads	sheep	The poppy heads seem to have replaced primitive human sacrifices of children.	[Macrobius, Saturnalia, 1.7.35 seq.] [ILS 5047]

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Lar/Genius Loci	Domestic/Chthonic	Ritus Romanus	fruits of the Earth (namely first samplings), wine, garlands of flowers	pig, heifer, ewe-lamb	Inanimate offerings should be dropped/poured to the ground or natural altar in libation	[Cato, De Agricultura 139 - 140] [Apuleius, Apologia, 56.5-6] [Apuleius, Florides, 1.3-4] [Tibullus, Elegies, 1.1.19-24]
Lares Compitales	Chthonic	Ritus Romanus	?	pig shining with grease		[Propertius, Elegies, 4.1.23]
Vesta	Domestic	Ritus Romanus	incense, meat	sheep		[Cato, De Agricultura, 132] [Ovidius, Fasti, 3.418] [ILS 5047]
Ceres	Chthonic	Ritus Romanus (a part of the cult celebrated on the Aventine Hill corresponded to the Mysteries of Eleusis and was considered Graeca Sacra and thus not included in the Roman public cult)	spelt cakes, incense, salt, bread, first samplings of ears of wheat, oak leaves, wine, honeycombs mixed with milk	sow (sometimes pregnant)		[Cato, De Agricultura 134] [Tibullus, Elegies, 1.1.11-18] [Virgilius, Georgics, 1.338-349] [Ovidius, Fasti, 2.520] [Ovidius, Fasti, 1.657-704] [Ovidius, Fasti, 4.393-416] [Ovid, Metamorphoses, 10.433] [Macrobius, Saturnalia, 3.11.10]
Tellus	Chthonic	Ritus Romanus	spelt cakes	sow (sometimes pregnant)	Ceres and Tellus were	[Ovid, Fasti, 1.657-704]

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				s pregnant), pregnant cow	usually identified and normally the offerings that suited Ceres also suited Tellus.	[Ovid, Fasti, 629-636]
Ianus	Domestic (doors, passages) / Celestial (beginnings and ends)	Ritus Romanus	incense, wine, cakes (<i>strues</i>)	ram		[Cato, De Agricultura 141] [Cato, De Agricultura 134] [Varro, De Lingua Latina, 6.12] [ILS 5047]
Iuppiter	Celestial	Ritus Romanus	incense, wine (namely first samplings), cakes (<i>fertum</i>), meat, spelt cake (<i>far</i>), fruits	white heifer, ox, ewe-lamb, whether, <i>suovetaurilia</i> (sheep, pig and ox), bull?, ram?	According to the ancient books, only castrated victims should be offered to Iuppiter.	[Cato, De Agricultura 141] [Cato, De Agricultura 134] [Festus-Paul, On the meaning of the words, Lindsay ed., p.40.27 and 57.16-18] [Ovidius, Fasti, 1.55-57] [Ovidius, Fasti, 1.83 seq.] [Ovidius, Fasti, 2.67-70] [Ovidius, Fasti, 3.730] [Ovidius, Fasti, 4.863-900] [Servius, ad Virg. Eclog., 8.82] [Macrobius, Saturnalia, 3.10.3]

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						[CIL 6.2065] [ILS 5047]
Iuno	Celestial	Ritus Romanus	incense, wine	bull, ram, cow, sheep, <i>suovetaurilia</i> (sheep, pig and bull),		[Cato, De Agricultura 134] [ILS 5047] [Feriale Duranum]
Mars	Celestial	Ritus Romanus	spelt, bacon fat, meat, wine, cakes (<i>strues</i> and <i>fertum</i>)	<i>suovetaurilia</i> (sheep, pig and bull), bull, ram	Entrails were offered raw	[Suetonius, Vita Divi Augusti, 1] [Macrobius, Saturnalia, 3.10.4] [ILS 5047]
Saturnus	Chtonic	Ritus Graecus	?	pig?	Saturnus is worshiped according to the <i>Ritus Graecus</i> although he is a very ancient Roman deity.	[Festus-Paul, On the meaning of the words, Lindsay ed., p.274.29-32]
Salus	Celestial	Ritus Romanus	?	cow		[CIL 6.2065]
Minerva	Celestial	Ritus Romanus	?	cow, <i>suovetaurilia</i> (sheep, pig and bull),		[CIL 6.2065]
Victoria	Celestial	Ritus Romanus	incense	cow		[Ambrosius, Epistles 18.31] [Feriale Duranum]
Dis	Underworld	Ritus Romanus	?	black sheep and other black victims		[Valerius Maximus, Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium, 2.4.5] [Macrobius, Saturnalia, 3.9.10-12]

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Proserpina	Underworld	Ritus Romanus	?	black victims		[Valerius Maximus, Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium, 2.4.5]
Liber Pater	Chtonic	Ritus Romanus (the Bachannalia are considered Graeca Sacra, i.e. a foreign rite not included in the Roman public cult.)	cakes (<i>liba</i>), libations of must (namely first samplings)	?		[Ovid, Fasti, 3.713-740] [Plinius, Naturalis Historia, 18.8] [Festus-Paul, On the meaning of the words, Lindsay ed., p.423.1 seq.]
Neptunus	Waterly	Ritus Romanus	?	bull		[Macrobius, Saturnalia, 3.10.4]
Diana	Celestial	Ritus Romanus (although at the Ludi Saeculares she was honored - like any other deity - Graeco Ritu)	cakes of cheese, cakes of honey, cakes of parsley	hind, white she-goat?, cow		[Livius, Ab Urbe Condita, 1.45] [Livius, Ab Urbe Condita, 25.12, 27, 23.5] [Ovidius, Fasti, 1.387-388] [CIL 6.32323] [Valerius Maximus, Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium, 7.3.1]
Carna	Domestic	Ritus Romanus	beans mixed with hot spelt, bacon	-		[Ovid, Fasti, 6.169-170]
Robigo	Chtonic	Ritus Romanus	incense, wine	red (?) dog, ewe, unweaned		[Columella, De Re Rustica, 342 seq.]

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				puppy		[Festus-Paul, On the meaning of the words, Lindsay ed., p.358.27-30]
Vulcanus	Fiery (destructive)	Ritus Romanus		fish, red (?) animals	Victims were burned alive	[Varro, De Lingua Latina, 6.20] [Festus-Paul, On the meaning of the words, Lindsay ed., p.276.3]
Genius Augusti	Celestial	Ritus Romanus	incense, wine	bull, bull-calf		[Petronius, Satiricon, 60.7] [Horatius, Odes, 4.5.30 seq.] [CIL 6.32352]
Iuno Augustae	Celestial	Ritus Romanus	incense, wine	cow		[CIL VI.2043]
Numen Augusti	Celestial	Ritus Romanus	incense, wine	bull-calf		[ILS 154], [CIL 12.4333]
Lares Augusti	Domestic	Ritus Romanus	same as Lares Familiares	same as Lares Familiares, wether		[ILS 5047]
Divus	Celestial	Ritus Romanus	?	ox, sheep	Probably the same as Iuppiter	[ILS 5047] [Feriale Duranum]
Diva	Celestial	Ritus Romanus	?	cow	Probably the same as Iuno	[CIL 6.32349]
Apollo	Celestial	Ritus Graecus	cakes of cheese, cakes of honey, cakes of parsley, crowns of laurel	bull		[Macrobius, Saturnalia, 3.10.4] [CIL 6.32323] [Livius, Ab Urbe Condita, 25.12, 27, 23.5]
Ilithia	Domestic	Ritus Graecus (at least at the	cakes of cheese, cakes of	-		[CIL 6.32323]

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		Ludi Saeculares. Anyway she is a Greek deity)	honey, cakes of parsley			
Priapus	Domestic/Fertility	Ritus Romanus	milk, cakes (<i>liba</i>)	-		[Virgilius, Eclogae, 7.33-34]

12 POSTURE AND GESTURE IN ROMAN PRAYER

Both textual and pictorial testimonies show that prayer and gesture complement themselves. It is known that some rare sacrifices involved no prayer [Livius, *Ab Urbe Condita*, XLI.16.1], though this was rare according to Pliny [Plinius, *Historia Naturalis*, 28.3.10]. The equivalence of meaning between prayer and gesture is also attested by several descriptions of sacrifices (namely taken from the *Comentarii Fratrum Arvalium*) which describe the consecration of the victim by the *mola salsa*, wine and the knife, while usually they omit the corresponding prayer.

Written sources



Some books like the *Dictionary of Roman Religion* by Lesley and Roy Adkins (1996) oversimplify the problem of ritual attitude claiming that the Romans prayed with the arms outstretched. In fact there are some Roman descriptions and depictions of rites being performed with outstretched arms. The following picture is a relief, in which the cultor is attending prayer. His arms are not outstretched; however, he may be in between prayers.

This ritual is the *supplicatio* (supplication), and is textually described in the surviving *Acta Ludorum Saeculariorum*. The following was taken from the description of the *Ludi Saeculares* of 17 BC in CIL VI 32323:

"DEINDE CX MATRIBVS FAMILIAS NVPTIS QVIBVS DENVINTIATVM ERAT M AGRIPPA] / PRAEIT IN HAEC VERBA / IVNO REGINA AST QVID EST QVOD MELI[VS SIET P R QVIRITIBVS MATRES FAMILIAE / NVPTAE GENIBVS NIXAE TE VTI / MAIESTATEMQVE P R QVIRITI[VM DVELLI DOMIQVE AVXIS VTIQVE SEMPER LATINVM NOMEN TVEARE INCOLVMITATEM] / SEMPITERNAM VICTORIAM [VALETVDINEM POPVLO ROMANO QVIRITIBVS TRIBVAS FAVEASQVE POPVLO ROMANO QVIRITIBVS LEGIONIBVSQVE P R] / QVIRITIVM REMQVE PVBLI[CAM P R QVIRITIVM SALVAM SERVES VTI SIES VOLENS PROPITIA POPVLO ROMANO] / QVIRITIBVS XVVIR S F NO[BIS HAEC MATRES FAMILIAS CX POPVLI ROMANI] / QVIRITIVM NVPTAE GENI[BVS NIXAE QVAESVMVS PRECAMVRQVE]"

"After that, to/by 110 married matresfamilias to whom was announced ...[this part is lost] M. Agrippa precedes/dictates with the following words: 'Iuno Regina, yet this is as far as any better may fall on the roman people of the quirites ...[this part is lost] married matresfamilias kneeling to you may you ... [this part is lost] majesty of the roman people of the quirites both in the war and at the homeland, and also that you may always watch over the Latin name. May you provide to the roman people of the quirites the eternal safety victory and good health and may you also favour the roman people of the quirites as well as its legions. May you preserve the public affairs ["res publica" = Republic] of the roman people of the quirites unarmed. May you be willing to be propitious to the roman people of the quirites, to the Quindecimviri Sacris Faciundis and to us... [We,] 110 married matresfamilias of the roman people of the quirites on our knees beg and pray ... [this part is lost]"

To extend the hand or hands to heaven seems to be used also when addressing deities of the sky [Horatius, Odes, III.XXIII]:

Caelo supinas si tuleris manus Nascente luna, [O pie erga divem], Si ture placaris et horna Fruge Lares [sacrificares]: Nec pestilentem sentiet Africum Fecunda vitis nec sterilem seges Robiginem aut dulces alumni Pomifero grave tempus anno...

This is confirmed by the description of a *devotio*, which was vowed before the walls of Carthage. The *devotio* was a ritual performed with the objective of vowing someone to the gods of the underworld (*Dii Inferi*), the gods of death. Its use was more common in a military context, where an enemy army and/or city were vowed to destruction. Sometimes this act involved the self-sacrifice of the commander or a soldier chosen for the effect. According to Macrobius the ritual was the following [Macrobius, Saturnalia, 3.9.10-12]:

"DIS PATER VEIOVIS MANES, SIVE QUO ALIO NOMINE FAS EST NOMINARE, UT OMNES ILLAM URBEM CARTHAGINEM EXERCITUMQUE QUEM EGO ME SENTIO DICERE FUGA FORMIDINE TERROR CONPLEATIS, QUIQUE ADVERSUM LEGIONES EXERCITUMQUE NOSTRUM ARMA TELAQUE FERENT, UTI VOS EUM EXERCITUM EOS HOSTES EOSQUE HOMINES URBES AGROSQUE EORUM ET QUI IN HIS LOCIS REGIONIBUSQUE AGRIS URBIBUSVE HABITANT ABDUCATIS LUMINE SUPERO PRIVETIS EXERCITUMQUE HOSTIUM URBES AGROSQUE EORUM QUOS ME, SENTIO DICERE, UTI VOS EAS URBES AGROSQUE CAPITA AETATESQUE EORUM DEVOTAS CONSECRATASQUE HABEATIS OLLIS LEGIBUS QUIBUS QUANDOQUE SUNT MAXIME HOSTES DEVOTI. EOSQUE EGO VICARIOS PRO ME FIDE MAGISTRATUQUE MEO PRO POPULO ROMANO EXERCITIBUS LEGIONIBUSQUE NOSTRIS DO DEVOVEO, UT ME MEAMQUE FIDEM IMPERIUMQUE LEGIONES EXERCITUMQUE NOSTRUM QUI IN HIS REBUS GERUNDIS SUNT BENE SALVOS SIRITIS ESSE. SI HAEC ITA FAXITIS UT EGO SCIAM SENTIAM INTELLEGAMQUE, TUNC QUISQUIS HOC VOTUM FAXIT UBI FAXIT RECTE FACTUM ESTO OVIBUS ATRIS TRIBUS. TELLUS MATER TEQUE IUPPITER OBTESTOR. Cum Tellurem dicit,

manibus terram tangit: cum Iovem dicit, manus ad caelum tollit: cum votum recipere dicit, manibus pectus tangit."

"DIS PATER, VEIOVIS, MANES, OR WHOM WHOSE NAME IS LAWFUL TO NAME, MAY YOU FULFILL TO PUT TO FLIGHT IN PANIC AND TERROR ALL THOSE INHABITANTS OF THAT CITY OF CARTHAGE AND ARMY, WHICH I INTEND TO DESIGNATE, AS WELL AS THOSE WHO OPPOSE OUR LEGIONS AND ARMY WITH ARMS AND SPEARS. MAY YOU DRIVE AWAY THAT ENEMY ARMY AND MEN, CITIES AND FIELDS, AND THOSE WHO INHABIT THIS PLACE AND REGIONS, FIELDS AND CITIES. DEPRIVE THE ENEMY ARMY, THEIR CITIES AND FIELDS, WHICH I INTEND TO DESIGNATE FROM THE LIGHT OF THE SKY. MAY YOU HAVE THOSE CITIES AND FIELDS, THOSE HEADS AND PEOPLE OF ALL AGES DEVOTED AND CONSECRATED, ACCORDING TO THOSE PRINCIPLES BY WHICH AND AT WHICH TIME THE ENEMIES ARE ESPECIALLY DEVOTED. THEM I CONSECRATE AS SUBSTITUTES FOR MYSELF, FOR MY CREDIT AND MAGISTRACY, FOR THE ROMAN PEOPLE, FOR OUR ARMIES AND LEGIONS. MAY YOU ALLOW MY CREDIT AND AUTHORITY, OUR LEGIONS AND ARMY THAT ARE CARRIED ON IN THIS AFFAIR TO BE WELL SAFE. IF YOU LET ME KNOW, FEEL AND UNDERSTAND THAT YOU WILL ACT IN THIS WAY, WHOEVER HAS PROMISED TO SACRIFICE THREE BLACK EWES TO YOU, WHEREVER HE HAS DONE SO, LET IT BE UNDERSTOOD THAT HE HAS ACTED WITHIN THE RULES. I CALL ON YOU TO WITNESS, MOTHE EARTH, AND YOU, IUPPITER. Touches the ground with the hands while saying 'Tellus', directs the hands to the sky while saying 'Iuppiter' and touches his chest with the hands while saying the vow to be received."

The important part is the last sentence in which it is said that while pronouncing the formula, the vower "touches the ground while saying 'Tellus', directs the hands to the sky while saying 'Iuppiter' and touches his chest with the hands while saying the vow to be received". Again, the arms are extended to heaven when a deity of the sky (Iuppiter) is invoked, but the ground is touched when chtonic deities are invoked.

This is very important when compared with other information. In [Horatius, Carmina, 3.23] it is suggested that the altar should be touched while the prayers are being said, which is confirmed by [Virgilius, Aeneis, 4.219].

According to Servius Honoratus, Varro wrote that this gesture is necessary to grant the good will of the deity [Servius, Aeneidos Commentarius, 4.219]. These examples suggest that it was a norm to direct the hands (or hand) towards the deity (or alternately touching the altar when one was present) when saying the prayer.

The posture of the officiant is also referred, for example, in another description of the *devotio* ritual provided by Livy. He describes the *devotio* performed by Consul Decius under the direction of a *Pontifex*, during a battle against the Latin League [Livy, Ab Urbe Condita, 8.9.4-8]:

"(...) pontifex eum togam praetextam sumere iussit et uelato capite, manu subter togam ad mentum exserta, super telum subiectum pedibus stantem sic dicere: 'Iane, Iuppiter, Mars pater, Quirine, Bellona, Lares, Diui Nouensiles, Di Indigetes, Diui, quorum est potestas nostrorum hostiumque, Dique Manes, uos precor ueneror, ueniam peto feroque, uti populo Romano Quiritium uim uictoriam prosperetis hostesque populi Romani Quiritium terrore formidine morteque adficiatis. sicut uerbis nuncupauit, ita pro re publica [populi Romani] Quiritium, exercitu, legionibus, auxiliis populi Romani Quiritium, legiones auxiliaque hostium mecum Deis Manibus Tellurique deuoueo.' (...)"

"(...) the Pontifex ordered him [i.e. Decius] to take the 'toga praetexta' and with the head covered, a hand protruding from beneath the toga touching the chin, standing with his feet over a spear said the following: "Janus, Jupiter, Father Mars, Quirinus, Bellona, Lares, ye Novensiles and Indigetes, deities to whom belongs the power over us and over our foes, and ye, too, Divine Manes, I pray to you, I do you reverence, I crave your grace and favor that you will bless the Roman People, the Quirites, with power and victory, and visit the enemies of

the Roman People, the Quirites, with fear and dread and death. In like manner as I have uttered this prayer so do I now on behalf of the commonwealth of the Quirites, on behalf of the army, the legions, the auxiliaries of the Roman People, the Quirites, devote the legions and auxiliaries of the enemy, together with myself to the Divine Manes and to Earth. (...)"

Important information can be extracted from this description. Here we see that before saying the formula, Decius is instructed to dress the *toga praetexta* and to cover his head, which, as we have already seen, are usual procedures of a standard sacrifice *Romano Ritu*. The only elements not found elsewhere are the use of a spear laid on the ground and the act of touching the chin.

While the detail of the spear is surely specific of the *devotio* (for Livy says later that the spear could not be captured by the enemy), the act of touching the chin may or may not be specific of the *devotio*. In fact it resembles the *adoratio* (kissing of one's right hand used to salute a deity [Plinius, Historia Naturalis, 28.25]), and it might well be a variant. But it can also be a symbol that Decius was also an offering to the gods as he was about to give his life in the sacrifice.

Let's see another example, which is the yearly announcement of the sacrifice to Dea Dia by the *Fratres Aruales* before the temple of Concordia, extracted from the *Comentarii Fratrum Arualium* [CIL VI, 32340.0-20]:

"ille mag. manibus lautis capite uelato sub diuo contra orientem sacrificium indixit deae Diae sic Quod bonum faustum felix fortunatumque sit populo Romano Quiritibus, fratribusque arualibus, Tiberio Caesar Augusto, Iuliae Augustae et liberis nepotibus totique domui eorum, sacrificium deae Diae hoc anno erit a.d. VI Kalendas Iunias"

"The *magister* [of the *Fratres Aruales*], with washed hands, head covered, below the open sky and turned to East proclaimed the sacrifice to Dea Dia in the following way: 'In order that it may be auspicious, prosperous and happy to the Roman people of the Quirites, to the *Fratres Aruales*, to

Tiberius Caesar Augustus, to Iulia Augusta and to all grandchildren of their household, the sacrifice to Dea Dia this year will be on the 6th day before the Kalends of June."

The description refers to the act of covering the head (*capite velato*), the direction of the officiant and details like the washing of hands, but it does not mention anything about the gestures made while prayer is being said. This may be due to the fact that special gestures were not required in this ritual. But it mentions that the prayer should be directed to the East, which is the preferred direction to offer prayer according to [Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, IV.5], which was a guideline for the construction of temples. Nevertheless, temples were built with a variety of orientations according to the possibilities, and Vitruvius implies that the sacrificer should in any case be looking at the deity during the sacrifice. In case of the announcement of the sacrifice to Dea Dia, the ceremony is done before the temple of Concordia and so the *magister* addresses Dea Dia towards the East. This may indicate that if there is no altar or image of the deity the prayers should be addressed to the East. Varro indicates an association of Ceres with the East [Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, 7.9], which can be related with this.

Depictions

Although there is a large number of bas-reliefs and paintings representing traditional Roman sacrifices both private and public, these depictions usually obey to rigid artistic conventions, which limit the information we can extract from them. Yet, they are a valuable source of information.

The available depictions of traditional Roman sacrifice invariably depict the sacrificer during the act of offering at the burning altar or hearth, usually during the *praefatio* or preliminary offering of incense and wine (for a detailed study about Roman sacrifice see [Scheid, J., *Romulus et ses Freres - Le College des Freres Arvales, modele du culte public dans la Rome des Empereurs*, Ecole

frangaise de Rome, 1990, ISBN 2-7283-0203-7]). An example of this is the bas-relief that decorates the temple of Vespasian in Pompey:



The sacrificer is standing *cinctu Gabino* (with the head covered - *capite velato* - by a fold of the *toga praetexta*), placing the offerings on the fire with one hand, while the other hand is free holding the *toga*.

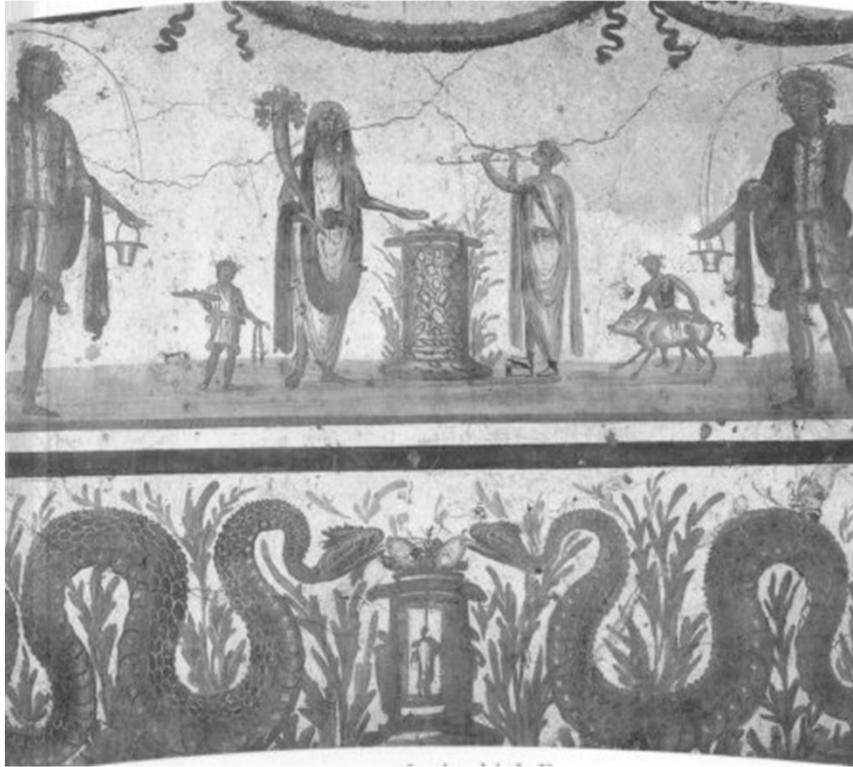


prayer:

A similar scene is depicted in the following relief in which Marcus Aurelius sacrifices before the temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus. In this case the emperor seems to be imposing his right hand over the fire (a *foculus*, usually used for the *praefatio*), which may be equivalent to touching the altar. But it can also be the simple gesture of the orator who is saying a

Similar scenes are also depicted in private *lararia*, such as the

following:



In this case the sacrificer is holding a *rhytium* (drinking horn) with the right hand while placing the offering on the sacred fire with the other hand.

13 FOREIGN CULTS IN ROME

The "foreign" cults include religions that came to Rome from other countries and were never completely adopted as part of the official Religio Romana, as well as the cults of deities that were specific to the various Provinciae.

Generally such priesthoods are a Sacerdos position, unless there is another specific historical title.

Greco-Roman Cults

Apollo

Apollinis Templi Sacerdotes (*priests who tend the temple of Apollo*)

Bacchic Mysteries

Mystagogos (*Priest who leads others in initiation*)

Eleusinian Mysteries

Mystagogos (*Priest who leads others in initiation*)

Roman -Persian Cults

Mithraic Mysteries

Mystagogos (*Priest who leads others in initiation*)

Orphic Mysteries

Mystagogos (*Priest who leads others in initiation*)

Mysteries of Magna Mater (Cybele)

Archigalli (*senior priests who are responsible for performing the Taurobolium sacrifice*)

Galii (*eunuch-priests-- cannot be Citizens of Rome*)

Sacerdotes Magnae Matris (*ordinary priests and priestesses*)

Roman-Egyptian Cults

Mysteries of Isis and Serapis

Sacerdotes (*ordinary priests and priestesses*)

14 GODS AND GODDESSES OF ROME

Introduction

At the founding of Rome, the gods were numina, divine manifestations, faceless, formless, but no less powerful. The idea of gods as anthropomorphized beings came later, with the influence from Etruscans and Greeks, which had human form. Some of the Roman Gods are at least as old as the founding of Rome.

The concept of numen continued to exist and it was related to any manifestation of the divine. For the Romans, everything in Nature is thought to be inhabited by numina, which explains the big number of deities in the Roman pantheon, as will be shown. Numina manifest the divine will by means of natural phenomena, which the pious Roman constantly seeks to interpret. That's why great attention is paid to omens and portents in every aspect of Roman daily life.

A group of twelve Gods called Dii Consentes is especially honored by the Romans:

- Iuppiter
- Iuno
- Minerva
- Vesta
- Ceres

- **Diana**
- **Venus**
- **Mars**
- **Mercurius**
- **Neptunus**
- **Vulcanus**
- **Apollo**

These are the ones listed by the Poet Ennius about the 3rd Century, B.C.E.. Their gilt statues stood in the Forum, later apparently in the Porticus Deorum Consentium. As there were six male and six female, they may well have been the twelve worshipped at the lectisternium of 217 BC.

A lectisternium is a banquet of the gods, where the statues of the gods were put upon cushions, and where these statues were offered meals. The number 12 was taken from the Etruscans, which also worshipped a main pantheon of 12 Gods. Nevertheless, the Dii Consentes were not identified with Etruscan deities but rather with the Greek Olympian Gods (though the original character of the Roman Gods was different from the Greek, having no myths traditionally associated). The twelve Dii Consentes are led by the first three, which for the Capitoline Triad. These are the three cornerstones of Roman religion, whose rites were conducted in the Capitolium Vetus on the Capitoline Hill.

But what better characterizes the traditional Roman Religion is the household or family cult of the Dii Familiaris. In this cult, the Lar Familiaris (guardian spirit - Genius - of the family), the Lares Loci (guardian spirits of the place where the house is built), the Genius of the paterfamilias (House-Father), the Dii Penates (patron gods of the storeroom), the Dii Manes (spirits of the deceased) and a multitude of other domestic deities are daily worshipped by the members of the family. The household cult is so important that it even serves as the model for several practices of the state cult (e.g. there were the Lar Praestites, Penates Publici, etc.. Even during the Empire, the Imperial cult came to be based on the household cult, now interpreted as the cult of the Genius of the Emperor, paterfamilias of the family of all the Romans).

Other important Gods are

- **Ianus**
- **Saturnus**
- **Quirinus**
- **Voltumnus**
- **Pales**
- **Furrina**
- **Flora**
- **Carmenta**
- **Pomona**
- **Portunus**
- **Fontanus**

There is also a group of mysterious deities formed by native tutelary deities, river Gods or deified heroes from Latium which are collectively called Dii Indigites (e.g. deified Aeneas, Faunus, Sol Indiges, Iuppiter Indiges, Numicus). A multitude of other deities is also traditionally worshipped, which includes tutelary deities (e.g. Roma, Tiberinus), native Latin deities (e.g. Bellus, Bellona, Liber, Libera), abstract deities such as Fortuna (Fate), Concordia (Concord), Pax (Peace), Iustitia (Justice), etc.. Pre-Roman native Italian deities mainly adopted from the Sabines and Etruscans are also worshipped: Nerio (Sabine deity and the consort of Mars), Dius Fidius (Sabine as well), etc. In fact, Quirinus and Vertumnus were also adopted respectively from the Sabines and Etruscans. The Dii Inferi, Gods of the Underworld (Inferus) are Dis/Orcus and Proserpina, equated to the Greek Gods Hades/Plouton (Pluto in Latin) and Persephone. These Gods symbolize the creative power of the Earth which provide human beings the means for subsistence (Dis = wealth = Plouton in Greek). The Inferus is also traditionally regarded as the home for the spirits of the dead, though the concept of afterlife was quite varied.

The pious spirit of the Romans consists of a constant wish to bring the favor of the divine upon him, the family and the state. As such, the Roman is naturally willing to pay the deserved homage and sacrifice to foreign deities, especially if he is in their land. In order to achieve victory in war, the Romans often asked the favor of

the Gods of their enemies, paying them sacrifices even greater than those offered by their own people. This spirit joined by the affluence of foreigners which resulted either from trade or conquest, brought new cults to Rome. These were, as expected, democratically adopted by permitting the priests of these Gods to establish temples in Rome. Among the foreign deities, the Dii Novensiles, are Apollo, Ceres (these were adopted as early as to allow them to become part of the Dii Consentes), Bacchus/Dionysus, Sol Invictus Elagabalus, Isis, Serapis, Cybele, Attis, Mithras and many others.

Dii Consentes

Iuppiter is the God of the sky, moon, winds, rain and thunder, who became king of the Gods after overthrowing his father Saturnus. The ancient name of Iuppiter was Diespiter, whose root is Dios (= Zeus, God) + Pater (= Father). As Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, he is the tutelary God of Rome. As a warrior, he is Iuppiter Stator, protector of the City and State who exhorts soldiers to be steadfast in battle. But Iuppiter has many aspects, attributes, names and epithets...

Iuno is Iuppiter's sister, wife and queen of the Gods, is the protectress of the Roman State. Her festival, the Matronalia, is celebrated in March on the Kalends. She is also honored as Iuno Lucetia, celestial light; Iuno Lucina, childbirth, in which the child is brought into light; Iuno Sospita, who protects labor and delivery of children; Iuno Moneta, whose sacred geese warned Rome of an impending invasion. Iuno Moneta's temple was near the mint, thus her name was the root for "money". But Iuno has many aspects, attributes, names and epithets...

Minerva, Goddess of wisdom and learning, meditation, inventiveness, accomplishments, the arts, spinning and weaving, and commerce. Minerva was identified with Pallas Athene, bestower of victory, when Pompey the Great built her temple with the proceeds from his eastern campaigns. Minerva and Mars are

honored Quinquatras, five days at the Spring equinox. But Minerva has many aspects, attributes, names and epithets...

Vesta is the Goddess of hearth and home, of domestic and religious fire. Her festival is the Vestalia, held on June 7, when Her temple is open to all mothers who bring plates of food. Vesta's temple was the hearth of Rome, where the sacred fire burned. The fire was tended by six Vestal Virgins, priestesses who were dedicated to the Goddess' service for thirty years, and who were headed by the Virgo Maxima, the eldest Vestal. Vestals were always preceded by lictors, the only women in Rome allowed the privilege. If a condemned man met a Vestal, he was reprieved. When a Roman made his will, he entrusted it to the Vestal Virgins. But Vesta has many aspects, attributes, names and epithets...

Ceres is the Goddess of agriculture. During a drought in 496 BCE, the Sibylline Books ordered the institution of the worship of Demeter, Dionysus and Persephone, called by the Latin names Ceres, Liber and Libera. Ceres was the Goddess of the plebeians: the Ædiles Plebis cared for her temple and had their official residences in it, and were responsible for the games at the Cerealia, her original festival on April 12-19. There was a women's 9-day fast and festival when women offered the first corn harvest to Ceres, originally celebrated every five years, but later - by the time of Augustus - held every October 4.

Diana, Goddess of the Moon and of wild places, the Divine Huntress, protectress of women and virgin Goddess. In earlier times, She was the mother Goddess of Nature. Her temple at Lake Nemi was in a sacred grove and was guarded by her priest, the Rex Nemorensis, the King of the Wood. He was always an escaped slave who was entitled to food, sanctuary and honor - until he was slain by the next candidate. But Diana has many aspects, attributes, names and epithets...

Venus was originally a Goddess of Spring, flowers and vines. By order of the Sibylline Books a temple on Mt. Eryx was dedicated to Venus as the Goddess of love and beauty. She was also Venus Genetrix, mother of the Roman people through Her son Aeneas, Who was also an ancestor of the Julii. Both Julius Caesar and

Hadrian dedicated temples to Venus Genetrix. Hadrian's still stands near the Flavian Amphitheatre. She has darker aspects too, such as Venus Libitina, an aspect of Venus associated with the extinction of life force. But Venus has many aspects, attributes, names and epithets...

Mars, God of war, was originally an agricultural God whose character changed with that of His people. For this reason, he is the most Roman of the Gods, representing the abundance of the fields, and the battles that must be won to keep and enlarge the provinces that kept Rome fed and thriving. His priests were dancing warriors, the Salii, who sang their war-songs in the streets during his festivals. His sacred spears and 12 shields were kept in his temple on the Palatine Hill. But Mars has many aspects, attributes, names and epithets...

Mercurius is the God of commerce. The guild of merchants honored Mercurius at his temple near the Circus Maximus on his festival on May 15. They also sprinkled themselves and their merchandise with sacred water in a ceremony at the Capena Gate. When Mercurius became identified with Hermes, he took on the duties of messenger of the Gods, Psychopompus who guides the souls of the dead through the Underworld, and God of sleep and dreams. He also became God of thieves and trickery, owing to a trick he had played on Apollo by stealing and hiding the Sun God's cattle. His serpent-twined staff, the caduceus, was originally a magician's wand for wealth (which may be why it is the symbol of the medical profession) but became identified later as a herald's staff. But Mercurius has many aspects, attributes, names and epithets...

Neptunus, God of all the fresh water (from rivers, springs, etc.) and of equestrian accomplishments. Equated to the Greek Poseidon, He is also the God of the sea. He had temples in the Circus Flaminius and later on the Campus Martius. His festival, the Neptunalia is celebrated on July 23. But Neptunus has many aspects, attributes, names and epithets...

Vulcanus, the God of the fire of the sky, the lightning and the fires caused by it, he is the raging fire (opposed to the domestic fire,

Vesta). He was equated to the Greek Haephestus, God of the fire, forge and volcanos. As a Nature God, he was married to Maia, Goddess of Spring. Equated to Haephestus, he made Iuppiter's thunderbolts and married to Venus. At his festival, the Volcanalia on August 23, fishes were thrown into the hearth fires. The eruption of mount Vesuvius in 79 AD took place in the day of His festival. As God of metal workers, He also has a festival on May 23. As God of conflagration, His temples were built outside the pomerium, on the Campus Martius. But Vulcanus has many aspects, attributes, names and epithets...

Apollo, Greek God of the Sun, prophecy, archery, music, poetry, inspiration and healing, perfection of male beauty, twin brother of Diana. Apollo came to prominence in the 5th century BCE, when the Sibylline Books of Apollo's prophecy (which had been offered to King Tarquinius Superbus by the Sibyl of Cumae) dictated the introduction of His cult in Rome following a plague. Besides Cumae, His oracles were also in other places such as Ionia, Delos, Delphi, Erithrea. It was Apollo who gave the gift of prophecy to His lover Cassandra, who was doomed to speak the truth, but never to be believed. Apollo is father of the God Aesculapius. But Apollo has many aspects, attributes, names and epithets...

Dii Familiaris

The **Lar Familiaris** is the guardian spirit of a family and symbolizes the household. He was honored on all family occasions: a new bride offered a coin and a sacrifice on entering her new house. Rams are sacrificed to the Lar Familiaris after funerals as a purification rite. During the 1st century AD, the Romans came to honor two Lares instead of one, becoming strongly connected with the Penates. In the lararium, the Lares are usually represented in dancing poses, carrying Greek rhytones of wine.

The **Lares Loci** are the guardian spirits of a place. In the lararium, the Lares Loci of the place where the house is built are also honored, being represented by one or more serpents.

Each man has a **Genius**, each woman a **Iuno**. This is the creative force that engenders the individual and imbues him/her with growth, learning and morality. This spirit stays with the person until death. The Genius of the paterfamilias deserves special honor, and is represented in the lararium by a man dressed in white with the head covered by the toga.

The **Penates** are connected with each family. If the family moves, the Penates go with it. They are the spirits of the larder, of food and drink, and they share the hearth as an altar with the Goddess Vesta.

The **Manes** are the spirits of the dead ancestors. When the deceased receives the due honors and rites, he is allowed to ascend from the Underworld to protect his family. This is in contrast with the Lemures or Larvae, evil ghosts which are the souls of the dead who the Dii Inferi refused to receive in the Underworld.

Each corner of the house is under the influence of a protector God. **Forculus** protects the door, **Limentinus** the threshold, **Cardea** the hinges. **Vesta** protects the hearth. Each tool has also its protector spirit: **Deverra** protects the broom, **Pilumnus** the rammer, **Intercidona** the axe.

The generation of a human being is also ruled by protector Gods. **Iuno** and **Mena** assure the menstrual flux of the future mother. **Jugatinus** presides to the union of man and woman. **Cinxia** or **Virginensis** uncover the woman's girdle. **Subigus** delivers her to the man. **Prema** commands the penetration. **Inuus** (**Tutunus** or **Mutunus**) and **Pertunda** put an end to virginity. **Ianus**, God of passage, opens the way for the generating seed emanated from **Saturnus**, but it is Liber who allows the ejaculation. Once **concepted**, the new human being needs **Fluonia** or **Fluvionia**, Who retains the nourishing blood. But the nourishing itself is presided by **Alemona**. To avoid the dangers of upside-down pregnancy, **Postverta** and **Prosa** are invoked. **Diana Nemorensis** is also invoked to allow a good pregnancy. Three deities protect the mother from the violence of **Silvanus**: **Intercidona**, **Deverra** and **Pilumnus**. In the atrium, a bet is setup for **Pilumnus** and **Picumnus** or **Iuno**, and a table is setup for

Hercules. **Nona** and **Decima** allow the birth between the ninth and tenth month. But it is **Egeria** who makes the baby come out (egerere). **Parca** or **Partula** preside to the birth, but it is **Vitumnus** Who gives life, **Sentinus** the senses. After the birth, **Lucina**, bringer of light, must be invoked. **Lucina** is also the Goddess to whom sterile (or with pregnancy disease) women direct their prayer. After the birth, the pregnant women must be purified, and it is **Iuno Februa** (**Februalis** or **Februlis**) Who frees them from the placental membrane. With the aid of **Levana**, the sage-woman raises and presents the child to the mother. The father then raises the child with the aid of **Statina** (**Statilina**, **Statinus** or **Statilinus**).

Dii Indigetes

There is also a group of mysterious deities formed by native tutelary deities, river gods or deified heroes from Latium which are collectively called **Dii Indigetes** (e.g. deified **Aeneas**, **Faunus**, **Sol Indiges**, **Iuppiter Indiges**, **Numicus**). A multitude of other deities is also traditionally worshipped, which includes tutelary deities (e.g. **Roma**, **Tiberinus**), native Latin deities (e.g. **Bellus**, **Bellona**, **Liber**, **Libera**), abstract deities such as **Fortuna** (Fortune), **Concordia** (Concord), **Pax** (Peace), **Iustitia** (Justice), etc.

Pre-Roman native Italian deities mainly adopted from the Sabines and Etruscans are also worshipped: **Nerio** (Sabine deity and the consort of Mars), **Dius Fidius** (Sabine as well), etc. In fact, **Quirinus** and **Vertumnus** were also adopted respectively from the Sabines and Etruscans.

Other important gods are **Ianus**, **Saturnus**, **Quirinus**, **Voltumnus**, **Pales**, **Furrina**, **Flora**, **Carmenta**, **Pomona**, **Portunus** and **Fontanus**.

Dii Novensiles

The pious spirit of the Romans consists of a constant wish to

bring the favor of the divine upon him, the family and the state. As such, the Roman is naturally willing to pay the deserved homage and sacrifice to foreign deities, especially if he is in their land. In order to achieve victory in war, the Romans often asked the favor of the gods of their enemies, paying them sacrifices even greater than those offered by their own people. This spirit joined by the affluence of foreigners which resulted either from trade or conquest, brought new cults to Rome. These were as expected democratically adopted by permitting the priests of these gods to establish temples in Rome. Among the foreign deities, the Dii Novensiles, are **Apollo**, **Ceres** (these were adopted as early as to allow them to become part of the Dii Consentes), **Bacchus** (Dionysus), **Sol Invictus**, **Isis**, **Serapis**, **Magna Mater (Cybele)**, **Attis**, **Mithras** and many others.

Dii Inferi

The Dii Inferi, gods of the Underworld (Inferus) are **Dis (Orcus)** and **Proserpina**, equated to the Greek gods Hades/Pluton (Pluto in Latin) and Persephone. These gods symbolize the creative power of the Earth which provide human beings the means for subsistence (Dis = wealth = Pluton in Greek). The Inferus is also traditionally regarded as the home for the spirits of the dead, though the concept of afterlife was quite varied.

The Roman Pantheon

This is a directory of Roman gods and goddesses, their offspring and consorts, and other minor deities:[1]

Abundantia

A minor Roman goddess of abundance, prosperity and good fortune. Her attribute is a cornucopia ("horn of plenty") with which she distributes grain and money. After the Roman occupation of France, she remained in French folklore as Lady Hobunde.

Acca Larentia

In Roman myth a loose woman and a mistress of Hercules. She married the wealthy Tarutius and after his death she donated his money to the Roman people. In return, Rome celebrated the festival of the Larentalia (possible a feast of the dead in honor of the goddess Larentia) on December 23. In another version, Acca Larentia is the wife of the shepherd Faustulus who raised the twins Romulus and Remus.

Acestes

A hero of Trojan origin, who founded Segesta on Sicily. In a trial of skill Acestes shot his arrow with such force that it took fire. He helped Aeneas when the latter arrived on Sicily after his wanderings.[2]

Achates

A loyal friend and companion of Aeneas.[3]

Acmon

A companion of Aeneas.

Adeona

The Roman goddess who guides the child back home, after it has left the parental house for the first time.

Aequitas

The Roman god of fair dealing.

Aera Cura

The Roman goddess of the infernal regions.

Aeternitas

The Roman personification of eternity. He is symbolized a worm or serpent biting its own tail (similar to the Ouroboros) and by a phoenix rising from its ashes.

Africus

The Roman personification of the south-western wind.

Albunea

A Roman nymph of the sulfuric spring near Tibur (the current Tivoli).

Alemonia

The Roman goddess who feeds the unborn child.

Anchises

Anchises was the son of Capys, and a cousin of King Priam of Troy. He was loved by Venus, who bore him a son, Aeneas. Anchises was the owner of six remarkable horses, which he acquired by secretly mating his own mares with the divinely-bred stallions of Laomedon. But he was chiefly remembered because of the career of his son. After the fall of Troy, Aeneas escaped from the burning ruins of the city, carrying his father and the household gods (see Lares and Penates) on his shoulders. Anchises then accompanied Aeneas and the band of Trojan refugees who set sail for Italy, where it was prophesied that they would found the city of Rome. Anchises died before the trip was over, and was buried in Sicily. After his death, Anchises saw his son once more, when Aeneas visited the underworld to learn more about his own destiny.

Angerona

The protecting deity of ancient Rome and a goddess of secrecy and of the winter solstice. Angerona is shown with a bandaged mouth with a finger to her lips commanding silence. Her feast -- the Divalia or Angeronalia -- was celebrated on December 21.

Angita

An early Roman goddess of healing and witchcraft.

Angitia

A Roman snake-goddess who was especially worshipped by the Marsi, a tribe in central Italy.

Anna

The daughter of Belus, and sister of Dido. After Dido's death she fled from Africa to Latium, where she was welcomed by Aeneas. Dido's shade warned her for the jealousy of Lavinia, the wife of Aeneas. After hearing this, she threw herself into the river

Numicius and drowned. As a river nymph she was later venerated as Anna Perenna. According to some sources, this name has no connection with Dido's sister.

Anna Perenna

The Roman goddess of the new year. Her festival was celebrated on March 15. The Romans gave various explanations to the origin of her name, *annis perennis* ("eternal stream"): she was a river nymph; her name was derived from *annis* ("year"); she was a moon-goddess of the running year; also, she was equated with Anna, the sister of Dido, who was received in Latium by Aeneas, but drowned herself in a river. In the class-struggle between the patricians and plebeians she chose the side of the plebeians.

Annonaria

An alternative name of Fortuna as protector of the corn supplies.

Antevorte

The Roman goddess of the future.

Appiades

The five Roman goddesses who had a temple near the Appian aqueducts. They are Concordia, Minerva, Pax, Venus, and Vesta.

Appias

A Roman nymph. Two fountains dedicated to her flanked the entrance to the temple of Venus Genitrix on the Forum of Caesar in Rome.

Aquilo

The Roman personification of the North Wind. His Greek counterpart is Boreas.

Aurora

Aurora is the Roman personification of the dawn. She is also the Roman equivalent of the Greek goddess Eos. Aurora is seen as a lovely woman who flies across the sky announcing the arrival of the sun. Aurora has two siblings: a brother, the sun, and a sister, the moon. She has had quite a number of husbands and sons. Four of her sons are the four winds (north, south, east, and west).

According to one myth, her tears cause the dew as she flies across the sky weeping for one of her sons, who was killed. Aurora is certainly not the most brilliant goddess as she asked Zeus to grant one of her husbands immortality, but forgot to ask for everlasting youth. As a result, her husband soon became aged. Aurora is not one of the better-known goddesses. However, Shakespeare refers to her in his famous play *Romeo and Juliet*.

Ascanius

Ascanius was the son of Aeneas and Creusa, and the grandson of Venus; he was also called Iulus. He accompanied his father to Italy after the fall of Troy, and fought briefly in the Italian wars. The Julian gens claimed descent from him.

Auster

The personification of the south wind which brought fogs and rain or sultry heat. He is equivalent with the Greek Notus. It is the modern sirocco.

Averna

The Roman queen of the dead

Bacchus

The Roman god of wine and intoxication, equated with the Greek Dionysus. His festival was celebrated on March 16 and 17. The Bacchanalia, orgies in honor of Dionysus, were introduced in Rome around 200 BCE. These infamous celebrations, notorious for their sexual and criminal character, got so out of hand that they were forbidden by the Roman Senate in 186 BCE. Bacchus is also identified with the old-Italian god Liber.

Bellona

The Roman goddess of war, popular among the Roman soldiers. She accompanied Mars in battle, and was variously given as his wife, sister or daughter. She had a temple on the Capitoline (inaugurated in 296 BCE and burned down in 48 BCE), where, as an act of war, a spear was cast against the distant enemy. Her festival was celebrated on June 3. Bellona's attribute is a sword and she is depicted wearing a helmet and armed with a spear and a torch. She could be of Etruscan origin, and is identified with the Greek Enyo.

Bona Dea

Bona Dea ("the Good Goddess") is a Roman fertility goddess, especially worshipped by the Roman matrons. She presided over both virginity and fertility in women. She is the daughter of the god Faunus and she herself is often called Fauna. She had a temple on the Aventine Hill, but her secret rites (on December 4) were not held there but in the house of a prominent Roman magistrate. Only women were admitted and even representations of men and beasts were removed. At these secret meetings it was forbidden to speak the words 'wine' and 'myrtle' because Faunus had once made her drunk and beaten her with a myrtle stick. Her festival was observed on May 1. Similarly, no men were allowed to be present here either. She was also a healing goddess and the sick were tended in her temple garden with medicinal herbs. Bona Dea was portrayed sitting on a throne, holding a cornucopia. The snake is her attribute, a symbol of healing, and consecrated snakes were kept in her temple at Rome, indicating her phallic nature. Her image could often be found on coins.

Bubona

The Roman goddess of horses and cattle. She is equal to the Gaulish goddess Epona, whose cult was later adopted by the Roman army.

Caca

The Roman goddess of the hearth and the sister of the fire-breathing giant Cacus. When Heracles returned with the cattle of Geryon, Cacus stole some of the animals and hid them in his cave. According to some sources, out of sympathy for the hero, Caca told Heracles the location of that cave and he killed the giant. Caca was later succeeded by Vesta.

Cacus

Originally a pre-Roman god of fire, who gradually became a fire-breathing demon. Cacus lived in a cave in the Aventine Hill from where he terrorized the countryside. When Heracles returned with the cattle of Geryon, he passed Cacus' cave and lay down to sleep in the vicinity. At night Cacus dragged some of the cattle to his cave backward by their tails, so that their tracks would point in the opposite direction. However, the lowing of the animals betrayed their presence in the cave to Heracles and he retrieved them and

slew Cacus. Other sources claim that Cacus' sister told Heracles the location of his cave. On the place where Heracles slew Cacus he erected an altar, where later the Forum Boarium, the cattle market, was held.

Caeculus

An ancient Italian hero, son of Vulcan. He is regarded as the founder of Praeneste (the current Palestrina).

Camenae

The Camenae were originally ancient Roman goddesses of wells and springs. Later they were identified with the Greek Muses. In Rome, they were worshipped in a sacred forest at the Porta Capena.

Candelifera

The Roman goddess of birth. She is identified with Carmenta and the goddess Lucina.

Canens

A nymph from Latium and the personification of song. She was the wife of king Picus, who was loved by Circe but when he rejected her, Circe transformed him into a woodpecker. After she had wandered for six days without finding him, Canens threw herself from a rock into the Tiber. After one final song she evaporated.

Cardea

The goddess of thresholds and especially door-pivots (cardo "door-pivot"). Just as Carina she is also a goddess of health. Cardea is the protectress of little children against the attacks of vampire-witches. She obtained the office from Janus in exchange for her personal favors. Ovid says of Cardea, apparently quoting a religious formula: 'Her power is to open what is shut; to shut what is open.'

Carmenta

Carmenta is the Roman goddess of childbirth and prophecy, one of the Camenae. Her temple (where it was forbidden to wear leather), was in Rome, next to the Porta Carmentalis. Her festival, the Carmentalia, took place on 11 and 15 January, and was mostly celebrated by women. She is the mother of Euander.

Castores

The Roman name of the Dioscuri; from Castor, who seems to have been the first of the twins to be worshipped by the Romans.

Catillus

The brother of the river-deity Tibertus, and co-founder of the city of Tibur (current Tivoli).

Ceres

The old-Italian goddess of agriculture, grain, and the love a mother bears for her child. The cult of Ceres was originally closely connected with that of Tellus, the goddess earth. In later mythology, Ceres is identified with the Greek Demeter. She is the daughter of Saturn and the mother of Proserpina. Ceres had a temple on the Aventine Hill, where she was worshipped together with Liber and Libera. Her festival, the Cerealia, was celebrated on April 19. Ceres is portrayed with a scepter, a basket with flowers or fruits, and a garland made of the ears of corn. Another festival was the Ambarvalia, held in May.

Chnubis

A Roman syncretic god with Greek and Egyptian associations, portrayed as a snake with a lion's head.

Cinxia

The Roman goddess of marriage.

Clementia

The Roman goddess of mercy and clemency.

Clitunno

A Roman river deity.

Cloacina

The goddess who presides of the system of sewers (from the Latin cloaca, "sewer") which drained the refuse of the city of Rome. The main sewer was called Cloaca Maxima.

Coelus

"Sky". The Roman personified god of the heavens who is identified

with the Greek Uranus. His wife is Terra.

Concordia

The Roman goddess of concord. She was worshipped in many temples, but the oldest was on the Forum Romanum and dates back to 367 BCE and was built by Camillus. The temple also served as a meeting-place for the Roman senate. Concordia is portrayed sitting, wearing a long cloak and holding a sacrificial bowl in her left hand and a cornucopia in her right. Sometimes she can be seen standing between two members of the Royal House who clasp hands.

Conditor

The Roman god of harvesting the crops.

Consentes Dii

The twelve major gods of the Roman pantheon, identified by the Roman with the Greek Olympians. Six male and six female gods and goddesses. They are: Jupiter and Juno, Neptune and Minerva, Apollo and Diana, Mars and Venus, Vulcan and Vesta, and Mercury and Ceres. Their statues could be found in the hall of the Consentes Dii at the Forum Romanum.

Consus

The Roman god who presides over the storing of grain. Since the grain was stored in holes underneath the earth, Consus' altar was also placed beneath the earth (near the Circus Maximus). It was uncovered only during the Consualia, his festival on August 21 and December 15. One of the main events during this festival was a mule race (the mule was his sacred animal). Also on this day, farm and dray horses were not permitted to work and attended the festivities. He is closely connected with the fertility goddess Ops (Ops Consiva). Later he was also regarded as god of secret counsels.

Convictor

The Roman god of bringing in the crops.

Copia

The Roman goddess of wealth and plenty, who carried a cornucopia ("horn of plenty"). She belongs to the retinue of Fortuna.

Corus

The Roman god representing the north/north-west wind.

Cuba

The Roman goddess who protects the infants in their cribs and sends them to sleep.

Cumaean Sibyl

The earliest of the Sibyls. She was believed to have come from the east, and resided at Cumae. She owned, according to tradition, nine books of prophecies. When the Roman king Tarquin (Tarquinius Priscus) wanted to buy those books he thought the price she asked far too high. The Sibyl threw three books into the fire and doubled the price; this she did again with the next three books, and the king was forced to buy the remaining three books for a price four times as high as the original nine. makes the victim fall in love. He is also portrayed as a young man with his beloved Psyche, with Venus or with a small group of winged infants (the Amoretti or Amorini). Some traditions say that he was born from a silver egg. His Greek equivalent is Eros. The name is derived from the Latin cupidus, "desire".

Cura

A goddess who first fashioned humans from clay.

Curtius

Marcus Curtius, a Roman hero. When one day a gap suddenly appeared on the Forum in Rome, an oracle said that it could only be closed by the most precious thing Rome possessed. The wellbeing of the town depended on it. Curtius sacrificed himself by jumping fully armed and mounted on the finest horse into the gap, which then closed itself. The gap, called the Lacus Curtius is situated at the Forum Romanum. According to other sources, the gap was created when lightning struck, which was then consecrated by the consul Caius Curtius in 445 BCE.[4]

Dea Dia

A Roman goddess of growth, identified with Ceres. Her priests were the Fratres Arvales who honored her in the feast of the Ambarvalia, held in May. During these days, the priests blessed the fields and

made offerings to the powers of the underworld.

Dea Tacita

The 'silent goddess'. A Roman goddess of dead.

Decima

A Roman goddess of childbirth. Together with Nona and Morta she forms the Parcae (the Roman goddesses of Fate).

Dei Lucrii

The Roman gods of profit. In time they were superseded by Mercury.

Devera

Devera is the Roman goddess that rules the brooms used to purify ritual sites.

Di Inferi

The Roman deities of the underworld. They were honored with the Ludi Tauri quinquennales, games which took place every five years on June 25 and 26 and which was held at the Circus Flaminius in Rome. The games were, according to legend, instituted to placate the gods of the underworld who were held responsible for sending a plague during the reign of Tarquinius Superbus (534-510 BCE).

Dia

Her name shows that she was one of Italy's original goddesses, but there is little information about her today.

Diana

The Roman goddess of nature, fertility and childbirth. She is closely identified with the Greek goddess Artemis. Diana is also a moon-goddess and was originally worshipped on the mountain Tifata near Capua and in sacred forests (such as Aricia in Latium). Her priest lived in Aricia and if a man was able to kill him with a bough broken from a tree in this forest, he would become priest himself 1. Also torch-bearing processions were held in her honor here.

Later she was given a temple in the working-class area on the Aventine Hill where she was mainly worshipped by the lower class

(plebeians) and the slaves, of whom she was the patroness. Slaves could also ask for asylum in her temple. Her festival coincided with the idus (13th) of August. Diana was originally a goddess of fertility and, just as Bona Dea, she was worshipped mainly by women as the giver of fertility and easy births. Under Greek influence she was equated with Artemis and assumed many of her aspects. Her name is possibly derived from 'diviana' ("the shining one"). She is portrayed as a huntress accompanied by a deer. Diana was also the goddess of the Latin commonwealth.

Dii Mauri

The 'Moorish gods' mentioned in Latin inscriptions in North Africa, who are almost never named. They were supposed to be 'salutares' (redemptory), 'immortales' (immortal), and 'augusti' (exalted).

Dirae

Literally "the terrible"; a Latin name for the Furies. The name was mainly used in poetry.

Dis Pater

The Roman ruler of the underworld and fortune, similar to the Greek Hades. Every hundred years, the Ludi Tarentini were celebrated in his honor. The Gauls regarded Dis Pater as their ancestor. The name is a contraction of the Latin Dives, "the wealthy", Dives Pater, "the wealthy father", or "Fater Wealth". It refers to the wealth of precious stone below the earth.

Disciplina

Disciplina is the Roman goddess of discipline.

Discordia

The personified Roman goddess of strife and discord. She belonged to the retinue of Mars and Bellona. She is the Greek Eris.

Dius Fidus

The Roman god of oaths. Dius Fidus is of Sabine origin.

Domiduca

The Roman goddess who escorts the child safely back home.

Domiducus

The Roman god who guides a bride to her new home.

Domitius

The Roman god who kept a woman in the house of her husband.

Duellona

A Roman goddess.

Egeria

The Roman goddess who inspired and guided Numa Pompilius, the successor of Romulus in the kingship of Rome. She is also regarded as his wife. They used to meet in a sacred grove in the midst of which a spring gushed forth and there she taught him wise legislation and the forms of public worship. After his death in 673 BCE she changed into a well in the forest of Aricia in Latium, which was dedicated to Diana. Egeria is one of the Camenae and was also worshipped as a goddess of birth.

Egestes

The Roman personification of poverty. Virgil mentioned her later as a demon in the underworld.

Empanda

This goddess personified the idea of openness and generosity.

Endovelicus

Endovelicus is a native god of the pre-Roman communities (Iron Age) in Lusitania (south west of Iberia) later adopted by the Romans themselves. As a god he was concerned with the good health and welfare of the people. There are hundreds of inscriptions of him in Portugal and Spain.

Erycina

An epithet of Venus because of her worship on mount Eryx on Sicily.

Evander

A minor Roman deity who was believed to have introduced the Greek pantheon, laws, the alphabet, and other arts and skills in

Rome.

Eventus Bonus

Eventus Bonus ("good ending") is the Roman god of success in business, but who also ensured a good harvest. His statue stood on the Capitol in Rome, near the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

Fabulinus

A minor Roman god of infants. Mentioned by Varro, Fabulinus taught Roman children to utter their first word. He received an offering when the child spoke its first words. (From *fabulari*, to speak.)

Facunditas

The Roman personification of fertility.

Fama

The Roman personified goddess of fame, and the personification of popular rumor. What she heard she repeated first in a whisper to few, then louder and louder until she communicated it to all heaven and earth. Mentioned as a daughter of Tellus. Not truly a goddess, she was more a literary conceit. She had as many eyes, ears, and tongues as she had feathers. Virgil mentions Fama ("rumor") as a horrible creature with multiple tongues and tattling mouths. The Greek version is Pheme.[5]

Fames

The Roman personification of hunger. Virgil mentioned that Fames lived in the underworld, next to Poverty. Ovid wrote that she lived in the inhospitable Scythia.

Fauna

A Roman earth-mother and fertility goddess, usually termed the Bona Dea. She is thought to be the wife, sister or daughter of Faunus. Fauna is identified with Terra, Tellus or Ops.

Fauns

Among the Romans, fauns were wild forest deities with little horns, the hooves of a goat, and a short tail. They accompanied the god

Faunus. Fauns are analogous to the Greek satyrs.

Faunus

The god of wild nature and fertility, also regarded as the giver of oracles. He was later identified with the Greek Pan and also assumed some of Pan's characteristics such as the horns and hooves. As the protector of cattle he is also referred to as Lupercus ("he who wards off the wolf"). One particular tradition tells that Faunus was the king of Latium, and the son of Picus. After his death he was deified as Fatuus, and a small cult formed around his person in the sacred forest of Tibur (Tivoli). On February 15 (the founding date of his temple) his feast, the Lupercalia, was celebrated. Priests (called the Luperci) wearing goat skins walked through the streets of Rome and hit the spectators with belts made from goat skin. Another festival was the Faunalia, observed on December 5. He is accompanied by the fauns, analogous to the Greek satyrs. His feminine counterpart is Fauna. The wolf skin, wreath, and a goblet are his attributes.

Faustitas

The goddess who protects the herds.

Faustulus

In Roman myth, the shepherd who found the twins Romulus and Remus on the Palatine Hill where they were reared by a she-wolf. He took them with him and gave them to his wife Acca Larentia to rear.

Favonius

The Roman god of the gentle western wind, the herald of spring. Favonius ("favorable") is equal to the Greek Zephyrus.

Febris

The goddess who protects against fever. Febris ("fever") had three temples in ancient Rome, of which one was located between the Palatine and Velabrum.

Felicitas

The Roman personification of success. Her temples were closely associated with the person of the emperor and one was located on

the Forum Romanum.

Ferentina

The goddess of the mountain city of Ferentinum in Latium. She was protector of the Latin commonwealth.

Feronia

The Roman goddess who was invoked to secure a bountiful harvest. She was worshipped in Capena, located at the base of Mount Soracte, and Terracina, and had a temple on the Campus Martius in Rome. She was worshipped as the goddess of freedom by slaves, for it was believed that those who sat on a holy stone in her sanctuary were set free. Her festival took place on November 15.

Fides

The Roman goddess of good faith and faithfulness. She was worshipped as Fides Publica Populi Romani (loyalty towards the Roman state). In her temple on the Capitol the Roman Senate confirmed state treaties with foreign powers, which were kept there under her protection.

Flora

The goddess of blossoming flowers of spring. She had a minor temple on the Quirinalis and was given a sanctuary near the Circus Maximus in 238 BCE. The festival of the Floralia, celebrated on April 28 -May 1, existed until the 4th century CE. Flora is identified with the Greek Chloris.

Fontus

The Roman god of wells and springs, son of Janus and Juturna. The festival of Fontus took place on October 13. He is also called Fons.

Fornax

Fornax ("oven") is the personified Roman goddess of the baking of bread.

Fortuna

The Roman personification of good fortune, originally a goddess of blessing and fertility and in that capacity she was especially worshipped by mothers. Her cult is thought to be introduced by

Servius Tullius. She had a temple on the Forum Boarium and a sanctuary, the Fortuna Populi Romani, stood on the Quirinalis. In Praeneste she had an oracle where a small boy randomly choose a little oak rod (sors), upon which a fate was inscribed. Some of Fortuna's names include: Primigenia, Virilis, Respiciens, Muliebris, and Annonaria. She is portrayed standing, wearing a rich dress. The cornucopia, rudder, ball, and blindfold are her attributes. Her Greek counterpart is Tyche.

Fraus

The Roman personification of treachery.

Fulgora

The Roman goddess of lightning.

Furies

The Roman goddess of vengeance. They are equivalent to the Greek Erinyes. The Furies, who are usually characterized as three sisters (Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megaera) are the children of Gaia and Uranus. They resulted from a drop of Uranus' blood falling onto the earth. They were placed in the Underworld by Virgil and it is there that they reside, tormenting evildoers and sinners. However, Greek poets saw them as pursuing sinners on Earth. The Furies are cruel, but are also renowned for being very fair.

Furina

The Roman goddess of thieves.

Furrina

An ancient Roman goddess, who was perhaps a spirit of darkness. Her festival, the Furrinalia, continued to be observed on July 25 in later Roman times, despite the fact that her nature had been forgotten. Her priest was called the flamen Furrinalis. It was in the grove of Furrina that Gaius Sempronius Gracchus ordered his slave to kill him.

Galli

The hierodules or priests of Cybele, who castrated themselves in identification with the goddess. The Roman name for the Corybantes.

Geminus

"Double". An epithet of Janus, referring to his two faces.

Genius / Juno

In Roman mythology, the genius was originally the family ancestor who lived in the underworld. Through the male members he secured the existence of the family. Later, the genius became more a protecting or guardian spirit for persons. These spirits guided and protected that person throughout his life. Every man had a genius, to whom he sacrificed on birthdays. It was believed that the genius would bestow success and intellectual powers on its devotees. Women had their own genius, which was called a juno.

The juno was the protector of women, marriage and birth. It was worshipped under many names: Virginalis (juno of the virgin), Matronalis (of the married woman), Pronuba (of the bride), Iugalis (of marriage), etc. Juno was also the name for the queen of the gods. However, not only individuals had guardian spirits: families, households, and cities had their own. Even the Roman people as a whole had a genius. The genius was usually depicted as a winged, naked youth, while the genius of a place was depicted as a serpent. (See also: Lares.)

Hercules

Hercules, the Latin equivalent of Heracles, was the son of Jupiter and Alcmena. His jealous stepmother, Juno, tried to murder the infant Hercules by putting a serpent in his cradle. Luckily for Hercules, he was born with great strength and killed the serpent. By the time Hercules was an adult, he had already killed a lion. Eventually, Juno drove Hercules insane. Due to his insanity, Hercules killed his wife, Megara, and their three children. Hercules exiled himself because of the shame that he had brought on himself through his lack of sanity. Hercules decided to ask the Delphic Oracle what he should do to regain his honor. The Oracle told Hercules to go to Eurystheus, king of Mycenae, and serve him for twelve years. King Eurystheus couldn't think of any tasks that might prove difficult for the mighty son of Jupiter, so Juno came down from her palace on Olympus to help him.

Together, the twosome came up with twelve tasks for Juno's mortal

stepson to complete. These tasks are now known as the twelve labors of Hercules.

Hercules' first labor was to kill the menacing Nemean Lion; Hercules strangled the creature and carried it back to Mycenae.

The second task was to overcome the nine-headed snake known as the Hydra; Hercules' cousin Ioloas helped him out by burning the stumps of the heads after Hercules cut off the heads; since the ninth head was immortal, Hercules rolled a rock over it.

The third task was to find the golden-horned stag and bring it back alive; Hercules followed the stag around for one full year; he finally captured the stag and took it back alive.

The fourth labor was to capture a wild boar that terrorized Mycenae's people; Hercules chased the boar up a mountain where the boar fell in to a snow drift, where Hercules subdued it.

The fifth task of Hercules was to clean the Augean stables, where thousands of cattle were housed, in a single day; Hercules diverted two rivers so that they would flow into the Augean stables.

The sixth labor was to destroy the man-eating Stymphalian birds; Hercules drove them out of their hiding places with a rattle and shot them with poison-tipped arrows.

The seventh task was for Hercules to capture a Cretean savage bull; Hercules wrestled it to the ground and took it back to King Eurystheus.

The eighth labor was to capture the four man-eating mares of Thrace; Hercules threw the master of the mares to them; the horses became very tame, so Hercules safely led them back to Mycenae.

Hercules' ninth labor was to obtain the girdle of the fierce Amazon warrior queen, Hippolyta; Hippolyta willingly gave her girdle to Hercules, but Juno convinced the Amazons that Hercules was trying to take Hippolyta from them, so Hercules fought them off and returned to his master with the girdle.

The tenth labor was to capture the cattle of the monster, Geryon; Hercules killed Geryon, claimed the cattle, and took them back to the king.

The eleventh task was to get the golden-apples of the Hesperides; Hercules told Atlas that if he would get the apples for him, he (Hercules) would hold the heavens for him; when Atlas returned from his task, Hercules tricked him into taking back the heavens.

The final labor of Hercules was to bring the three-headed watchdog of the underworld, Cerberus, to the surface without using any weapons; Hercules seized two of Cerberus' heads and the dog gave in. Hercules took the dog to his master, who ordered him to take it back.

Finally, after twelve years and twelve tasks, Hercules was a free man. Hercules went to the town of Thebes and married Deianira. She bore him many children. Later on in their life, the male centaur, Nessus, abducted Deianira, but Hercules came to her rescue by shooting Nessus with a poison tipped arrow. The dying Nessus told Deianira to keep a portion of his blood to use as a love potion on Hercules if she felt that she was losing him to another woman. A couple of a months later, Deianira thought that another woman was coming between her and her husband, so Deianira washed one of Hercules' shirts in Nessus' blood and gave it to him to wear. Nessus had lied to her, for the blood really acted as a poison and almost killed Hercules. On his funeral pyre, the dying Hercules ascended to Olympus, where he was granted immortality and lived among the gods.

Hersilia

The wife of Romulus. She was, just as her husband, deified after his death.

Herulus

The son of the goddess Feronia. He had three lives and was killed by Evander.

Hippona

The Roman goddess of horses. Her image is derived from the Gallic

goddess Epona, whose cult was adopted by the Roman soldiers.

Honos

The Roman deity of morality and military honor. There were several temples devoted to him in Rome. Honos is depicted as a young warrior bearing a lance and a Cornucopia ("horn of plenty").

Horatus Cocles

A legendary hero from the earliest history of Rome. When the Etruscans lay siege to Rome and occupied the Janiculum Hill, Cocles defended the bridge that led to the city all by himself, against overwhelming odds. Meanwhile the Romans demolished the bridge behind his back and when they were done, he dove into the water and swam to safety.

Imporcitor

The Roman god of the third ploughing. See also Redarator and Vervactor.

Indigites Dii

The group of original, native Roman gods, in contrast to the Novensiles Dii, gods imported from elsewhere. The Indigites Dii were only invoked in special situations. They are the protectors of homes, stables, barns, fields, meadows, et cetera.

Indivia

The Roman goddess of jealousy.

Inferi Dii

The Roman gods of the underworld.

Inuus

The Roman gods of herds.

Italus

An ancient Italian hero, the son of Penelope and Telegonus. He was king of the Oenotrians or of the Siculi, who are regarded as the first inhabitants of Italy.

Iuppiter

See Jupiter below.

Jana

A minor Roman goddess. She is the wife of the god Janus.

Janus

Janus is the Roman god of gates and doors (ianua), beginnings and endings, and hence represented with a double-faced head, each looking in opposite directions. He was worshipped at the beginning of the harvest time, planting, marriage, birth, and other types of beginnings, especially the beginnings of important events in a person's life. Janus also represents the transition between primitive life and civilization, between the countryside and the city, peace and war, and the growing-up of young people. One tradition states that he came from Thessaly and that he was welcomed by the Latins in Latium, where they shared a kingdom. They married and had several children, among which the river god Tiberinus (after whom the river Tiber is named). When his wife died, Janus became the sole ruler of Latium. He sheltered Saturn when he was fleeing from Jupiter. Janus, as the first king of Latium, brought the people a time of peace and welfare; the Golden Age. He introduced money, cultivation of the fields, and the laws. After his death he was deified and became the protector of Rome. When Romulus and his associates stole the Sabine Virgins, the Sabines attacked the city. The daughter of one of the guards on the Capitoline Hill betrayed her fellow countrymen and guided the enemy into the city. They attempted to climb the hill but Janus made a hot spring erupt from the ground, and the would-be attackers fled from the city.

Ever since, the gates of his temple were kept open in times of war so the god would be ready to intervene when necessary. In times of peace the gates were closed. His most famous sanctuary was a portal on the Forum Romanum through which the Roman legionaries went to war. He also had a temple on the Forum Olitorium, and in the first century another temple was built on the Forum of Nerva. This one had four portals, called Janus Quadrifons. When Rome became a republic, only one of the royal functions survived, namely that of rex sacrorum or rex sacrificulus. His priests regularly sacrificed to him. The month of January (the eleventh

Roman month) is named after him. Janus was represented with two faces, originally one face was bearded while the other was not (probably a symbol of the sun and the moon). Later both faces were bearded. In his right hand he holds a key. The double-faced head appears on many Roman coins, and around the 2nd century BCE even with four faces.

Jove

The genitive form of the name, and specifically in this form, of the sky god Jupiter.

Juno

Protector and special counselor of the Roman state and queen of the gods. She is a daughter of Saturn and sister (but also the wife) of the chief god Jupiter and the mother of Juventas, Mars, and Vulcan. As the patron goddess of Rome and the Roman empire she was called Regina ("queen") and, together with Jupiter and Minerva, was worshipped as a triad on the Capitol (Juno Capitolina) in Rome. As the Juno Moneta (she who warns) she guarded over the finances of the empire and had a temple on the Arx (one of two Capitoline hills), close to the Royal Mint. She was also worshipped in many other cities, where temples were built in her honor. The primary feast of Juno Lucina, called the Matronalia, was celebrated on March 1. On this day, lambs and other cattle were sacrificed to her. Another festival took place on July 7 and was called Nonae Caprotinae ("The Nones of the Wild Fig"). The month of June was named after her. She can be identified with the Greek goddess Hera and, like Hera, Juno was a majestic figure, wearing a diadem on the head. The peacock is her symbolic animal. A Juno is also the protecting and guardian spirit of females.

Jupiter

Jupiter is the supreme god of the Roman pantheon, called *dies pater*, "shining father". He is a god of light and sky, and protector of the state and its laws. He is a son of Saturn and brother of Neptune and Juno (who is also his wife). The Romans worshipped him especially as Jupiter Optimus Maximus (all-good, all-powerful). This name refers not only to his rulership over the universe, but also to his function as the god of the state who distributes laws, controls the realm and makes his will known through oracles. His

English name is Jove. He had a temple on the Capitol, together with Juno and Minerva, but he was the most prominent of this Capitoline triad.

His temple was not only the most important sanctuary in Rome; it was also the center of political life. Here official offerings were made, treaties were signed and wars were declared, and the triumphant generals of the Roman army came here to give their thanks. Other titles of Jupiter include: *Caelestis* (heavenly), *Lucetius* (of the light), *Totans* (thunderer), *Fulgurator* (of the lightning). As Jupiter Victor he led the Roman army to victory. Jupiter is also the protector of the ancient league of Latin cities. His attribute is the lightning bolt and the eagle is both his symbol and his messenger. Jupiter is completely identical with the Greek Zeus.

Justitia

The Roman goddess of justice, portrayed as a woman holding a cornucopia and scales. Later she is portrayed with a blindfold, holding scales and a sword (or scepter).

Juturna

The Roman goddess of wells and springs, sister of Turnus (the king of Rutuli) whom she supported in his battle against Aeneas. Jupiter turned her into a nymph and gave her a well near Lavinium in Latium. She also gave her name to a well near the Vesta-temple of the Forum Romanum, called the *Lacus Juturnae*. The water from this well was used for the state-offerings. Also, the Dioscuri were thought to have watered their horses here. She is the mother of *Fontus* (Fons) and wife of Janus.

Juventas

"Youth". An early Roman goddess of youth, equal to the Greek goddess Hebe. Boys offered a coin to her when they wore a man's toga for the first time. The temple of Juventas on the Capitol was more ancient than that of Jupiter. She also had a second temple in the Circus Maximus.

Lactans

The Roman god of agriculture of whom it was said that he made the crops 'yield milk' (thrive).

Lara

Lara is a nymph who betrayed the love affair of Jupiter and Juturna. As punishment, the chief god struck her with dumbness. She is regarded as the mother of the Lares.

Larenta

The Roman earth-goddess, also called Dea Tacita, the silent goddess. Her festival, called the Larentalia, was observed on December 23. On this day offerings were brought to her in a mundus, a opened groove.

Lares

Roman guardian spirits of house and fields. The cult of the Lares is probably derived from the worshipping of the deceased master of the family. It was believed that he blessed the house and brought fertility to the fields. Just like the Penates, the Lares were worshipped in small sanctuaries or shrines, called Lararium, which could be found in every Roman house. They were placed in the atrium (the main room) or in the peristylum (a small open court) of the house. Here people sacrificed food to the Lares on holidays. In contrast to their malignant counterparts the Larvae (Lemures), the Lares are beneficent and friendly spirits. There were many different types of guardians.

The most important are the Lares Familiares (guardians of the family), Lares Domestici (guardians of the house), Lares Patrii and Lares Privati. Other guardians were the Lares Permarini (guardians of the sea), Lares Rurales (guardians of the land), Lares Compitales (guardians of crossroads), Lares Viales (guardians of travelers) and Lares Praestitis (guardians of the state). The Lares are usually depicted as dancing youths, with a horn cup in one hand and a bowl in the other. As progenitors of the family, they were accompanied by symbolic phallic serpents.

Larvae

The Larvae are Roman spirits of deceased family members. These malignant spirits dwell throughout the house and frighten the inhabitants. People tried to reconcile or avert the Larvae with strange ceremonies which took place on May 9, 11, and 13; this was called the "Feast of the Lemures". The master of the house usually

performed these ceremonies, either by offering black beans to the spirits or chasing them away by making a lot of noise. Their counterparts are the Lares, friendly and beneficent house spirits.

Latarius

"God of Latium", an epithet of Jupiter.

Latinus

The son of Faunus and the nymph Marica. He was the king of Laurentum in Latium and ancestor of the Latini. According to Roman myth he had welcomed Aeneas, who returned from exile, and offered the hero the hand of his daughter Lavinia.[6]

Latona

The Roman name of Leto. Leto, the daughter of the Titans Phoebe and Coeus. Known as the hidden one and bright one, her name came to be used for the moon Selene. Hera was jealous of Leto because Zeus, the husband of Hera, had fallen in love with her. From their union Leto bore the divine twins, Artemis and Apollo. Leto found this to be an arduous task, as Hera had refused Leto to give birth on either terra firma or on an island out at sea. The only place safe enough to give birth was Delos because Delos was a floating island. Therefore, Leto did not refute the wishes of Hera. In some versions, Leto was refused by other vicinities because they feared the great power of the god she would bear. To show her gratitude, Leto anchored Delos to the bottom of the Aegean with four columns, to aid its stability. A conflict of legends arises when in one version it says that Artemis was born one day before Apollo, and the birth took place on the island of Ortygia. Then the next day, Artemis helped Leto to cross to the island of Delos, and aided Leto with the delivery of Apollo. Leto, being the mother of Artemis and Apollo, figured as the motive for the slaughter was Niobe's children was that Niobe had been bragging to Leto about bearing fourteen children (in some versions six or seven). Leto had only born two, and to make matters worse, Niobe then had the audacity to say, it must make her more significant than Leto. When the divine twins were told of this insult, they killed all Niobe's children with their deadly arrows. After which Niobe wept for her dead children so much that she turned into a pillar of stone. From one version of how Apollo slew the monster Python, it was said that

while Leto was still pregnant with the divine twins, Python tried to molest her. As punishment, Apollo killed him and then took control of the oracle of Delphi. Leto was worshiped throughout Greece, but principally in Lycia (Asia Minor). In Delos and Athens, there were temples dedicated to her, although in most regions she was worshiped in conjunction with her children, Artemis and Apollo. In Egypt there is the Temple of Leto (Wadjet) at Buto, which was described by Herodotus as being connected to an island which floated. On this island (Khemmis) stood a temple to Apollo, but Herodotus dismissed the claim that it floated as merely the legend of Delos brought to Egypt from Greek tradition. The Romans called Leto "Latona".

Laverna

The Roman goddess of unlawfully obtained profits and therefore a goddess of thieves, imposters and frauds. Her sanctuary in Rome was near the Porta Lavernalis.

Lavinia

The daughter of Latinus and Amata. Although she was engaged to Turnus, king of the Rutuli, she was given by her father to Aeneas as his bride. This resulted in a grim battle between Turnus and Aeneas, which is described by Virgil in one of his last books of the epic 'Aeneas', and which ended with the death of Turnus. Aeneas married Lavinia and she gave birth to Silvius. The city Aeneas founded in Latium, called Lavinium, was named after her.

Letum

A monster which lives in the underworld. The name means 'death'.

Levana

Levana ("lifter") is the protector of newborn babes. The father recognized his child by lifting it from the ground, where it was placed by the mother.

Liber

The old-Italian god of fertility and growth in nature. In later times Liber ("the free one") was equated with Dionysus and became thus a god of viniculture. His feminine counterpart is Libera. Their festival, the Liberia, was observed on March 17.

Liber Pater

The Roman god of fertility, both human and agricultural. He is closely connected with Dionysus.

Libera

A Roman goddess, wife of Liber. She is later equated with Proserpina.

Liberalitas

The Roman god of generosity.

Libertas

The Roman goddess of freedom. Originally as goddess of personal freedom, she later became the goddess of the Roman commonwealth. She had temples on the Aventine Hill and the Forum. Libertas was depicted on many Roman coins as a female figure with a pileus (a felt cap, worn by slaves when they were set free), a wreath of laurels and a spear.

Libitina

The Roman goddess of corpses and the funeral, her name often being a synonym for death itself. In her temple all the necessary equipment for burials were kept. Here, people could rent these attributes as well as grave diggers. Later she was equated with Proserpina.

Lima

The Roman goddess of thresholds.

Lua

The goddess to whom the Romans offered captured weapons by ritually burning them.

Lucina

The Roman goddess of childbirth, who eased the pain and made sure all went well. Lucina became later an epithet of Juno, as "she who brings children into the light" (Latin: lux).

Luna

The personified goddess of the moon. Later she is identified with Diana and Hecate. Her temple, on the Aventine Hill, was erected in

the 6th century BCE but was destroyed by the great fire under Nero's regime. She is equivalent to the Greek Selene.

Lupercus

The Roman god of agriculture and shepherds, also an epithet of Faunus. The Luperci sacrificed two goats and a dog on the festival of the Lupercalia, celebrated on February 15. This took place in the Lupercal, a cave where, according to tradition, the twins Romulus and Remus were reared by a wolf. This cave is located at the base of the Palatine Hill. Goats were used since Lupercus was a god of shepherds, and the dog as protector of the flock.

Magna Mater

The Roman name for the Phrygian goddess Cybele, but also an appellation of Rhea. The full name was Magna Mater deorum Idaea: Great Mother of the gods, who was worshipped on Mount Ida. The cult spread through Greece from the 6th to 4th century, and was introduced in Rome in 205 BCE.

Maia

The goddess of whom the month of May is probably named after. Offerings were made to her in this month. She is associated with Vulcan and sometimes equated with Fauna and Ops.

Maiesta

The Roman goddess of honor and reverence, and the wife of the god Vulcan. Some sources say that the month of May is named after her. Others say she is the goddess Maia.

Manes

Manes or Di Manes ("good ones") is the euphemistic description of the souls of the deceased, worshipped as divinities. The formula D.M. (= Dis Manibus; "dedicated to the Manes-gods") can often be found on tombstones. Manes also means metaphorically 'underworld' or 'realm of death'. Festivals in honor of the dead were the Parentalia and the Feralia, celebrated in February.

Mania

Mania was known as the Roman goddess of the dead. She is also the guardian of the underworld, together with Mantus. Mania -- the

name -- is the Greek personification of madness. In addition, she is called the mother or grandmother of ghosts. She is also considered the mother of the Lares and Nanes, the gods of the household.

Marica

An Italian nymph, the consort of Faunus and mother of Latinus[7] According to others, she was the mother of Faunus. She possessed a sacred forest near Minturnae (Minturno) on the border of Latium and Campania[8]. A lake near Minturnae was named after her.

Mars

The god of war, and one of the most prominent and worshipped gods. In early Roman history he was a god of spring, growth in nature, and fertility, and the protector of cattle. Mars is also mentioned as a chthonic god (earth-god) and this could explain why he became a god of death and finally a god of war. He is the son of Jupiter and Juno. According to some sources, Mars is the father of Romulus and Remus by the Vestal Ilia (Rhea Silvia). Because he was the father of these legendary founders of Rome, and thus of the Roman people, the Romans styled themselves 'sons of Mars'. His main sanctuaries were the temple on the Capitol, which he shared with Jupiter and Quirinus, the temple of Mars Gradivus ("he who precedes the army in battle") where the Roman army gathered before they went to war, and the temple of Mars Ultor ("the avenger"), located on the Forum Augustus. The Campus Martius ("field of Mars"), situated beyond the city walls, was also dedicated to him. Here the army was drilled and athletes were trained. In the Regia on the Forum Romanum, the 'hastae Martiae' ("lances of Mars") were kept. When these lances 'moved', it was seen as a portent of war. The warlord who was to lead the army into battle had to move the lances while saying 'Mars vigila' ("Mars awaken"). As Mars Gradivus, the god preceded the army and led them to victory. He had several festivals in his honor. On March 1, the Feriae Marti was celebrated. The Armilustrium was held on October 19, and on this day the weapons of the soldiers were ritually purified and stored for winter. Every five years the Suovetaurilia was held. During these fertility and cleansing rites, a pig (sus), a sheep (ovis) and bull (taurus) were sacrificed. The Equirria were on February 27 and March 14, on which horse races were held. The Quinquatrus was on March 19 and the Tubilustrium

on March 23, on which weapons and war-trumpets were cleansed. The priests of Mars, who also served Quirinus, were called the Salii ("jumpers"), derived from the procession through the streets of the city which they completed by jumping the entire way and singing the Carmen Saliare. Mars' own priest was called the flamen Martialis.

Mars is portrayed as a warrior in full battle armor, wearing a crested helmet and bearing a shield. His sacred animals are the wolf and the woodpecker, and he is accompanied by Fuga and Timor, the personifications of flight and fear. The month March (Martius) is named after him (wars were often started or renewed in spring). His Greek equivalent is the god Ares.

Matronae

The three mother-goddess of Roman mythology who oversee fertility. They are lovers of peace, tranquility and children.

Matuta

The Roman goddess of the dawn. Later she was known as Mater Matuta, the patroness of newborn babes, but also of the sea and harbors. Her temple was situated on the Forum Boarium (the cattle market). Every June 11, the Matralia was celebrated here. This festival was only open to women who were still in their first marriage. She was associated with Aurora and identified with the Greek Eos.

Mavors

An ancient and poetic name for Mars.[9]

Meditrina

A Roman goddess of wine and health whose name means "healer". Her festival, the Meditrinalia, was observed on October 11.

Mefitis

The Roman goddess who was especially worshipped in volcanic areas and swamps. She is the personification of the poisonous vapors of the earth.

Melite

A Roman sea nymph.[10]

Mellona

The Roman divinity who protects the bees. Her name is derived from mel ("honey").

Mena

The Roman goddess of menstruation.

Mens

The Roman goddess of mind and consciousness. Her festival was observed on May 8.

Mephitis

A Roman goddess who was particularly worshipped regions with volcanoes or solfataras (volcanic vents emitting hot gases and vapors). She was called upon to protect against damages and poisonous gases).

Mercury

Mercury is god of trade and profit, merchants and travelers, but originally of the trade in corn. In later times he was equated with the Greek Hermes. He had a temple in Rome near the Circus Maximus on the Aventine Hill which dates back to 495 BCE. This temple was connected to some kind of trade fair. His main festival, the Mercuralia, was celebrated on May 15 and on this day the merchants sprinkled their heads and their merchandise with water from his well near the Porta Capena. During the time of the Roman Empire the cult of Mercury was widely spread, especially among the Celtic and Germanic peoples. The Celts have their Gaulish Mercury, and the Germans identified him with their Wodan. The attributes of Mercury are the caduceus (a staff with two intertwined snakes) and a purse (a symbol of his connection with commerce). He is portrayed similarly to Hermes: dressed in a wide cloak, wearing talaria (winged sandals) and petasus (winged hat). Mercury is also known as Alipes ("with the winged feet").

Messor

Messor ("mower") is the Roman god agriculture, and especially of

mowing.

Minerva

The Roman goddess of wisdom, medicine, the arts, dyeing, science and trade, but also of war. As Minerva Medica she is the patroness of physicians. She is the daughter of Jupiter. In the temple on the Capitoline Hill she was worshipped together with Jupiter and Juno, with whom she formed a powerful triad of gods. Another temple of her was located on the Aventine Hill. The church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva is built on one of her temples. Every year from March 19 - 23 the Quinquatria was held, the primary Minerva-festival. This festival was mainly celebrated by artisans but also by students. On June 13 the minor Quinquatrus was observed. Minerva is believed to be the inventor of numbers and musical instruments. She is thought to be of Etruscan origin, as the goddess Menrva or Menerva. Later she was equated with the Greek Athena.

Moneta

A Roman goddess of prosperity.

Mors

The personified Roman god of death. It is a translation of Thanatos.

Morta

The Roman goddess of death. She is one of the Parcae.

Mulciber

"The softener". A surname of the smith-god Vulcan and alluding to the softening of metals in his fiery forge.

Murcia

A Roman goddess of indistinct origin and of whom is little known. As Murtia she was sometimes equated with Venus. She had a temple in the vale between the Aventine and the Palatine Hill.

Muta

The Roman personification of silence, and its goddess.

Mutinus Mutunus

A Roman fertility god who was invoked by women seeking to bear

children. He was depicted as ithyphallic or as a phallus. Also the Roman form (Mutinus) of the Greek Priapus.

Naenia

Naenia is the Roman goddess of funerals.

Nascio

One of the many Roman goddesses of birth.

Necessitas

Necessitas ("necessity") is a Roman goddess of destiny. She is similar to the Greek Ananke.

Nemestrinus

A Roman god of the woods.

Neptune

The god of the sea among the Romans. He was not a very powerful god, and little is known of his origin. When he was first introduced in Rome, he already had all the characteristics of the Greek Poseidon. Despite the fact that his cult grew after his equation with Poseidon, Neptune was far less popular among sailors than Poseidon was among the Greek mariners. Neptune was held in much higher regard as Neptune Equester, the god and patron of horse-racing and horses. One of temples was located near the Circus Flaminius, one of the larger trace-tracks. Another sanctuary was in the Campus Martius (25 BCE) where the Neptunalia was celebrated on July 23. The trident is Neptune's attribute.

Nerio

A minor Roman goddess, and the consort of Mars.

Nixi

Roman divinities who were invoked by women in labor and who assisted in giving birth (from the Latin nitor, "give birth to").

Nodutus

The Roman god who was held responsible for making the knots in the stalks of corn.

Nona

The Roman goddess of pregnancy. Nona ("ninth") was called upon by a pregnant mother in the ninth month when the child was due to be born. In later times she became associated with the goddesses Morta and Decima and formed the Parcae, the Roman Fates.

Novensilus

The Roman appellation of the nine great gods of the Etruscans.

Nox

"Night". The Roman personification of the night[11]

Nundina

The Roman goddess of the ninth day, on which the newborn child received its name.

Obarator

The Roman god of ploughing.

Occator

The Roman god of harrowing.

Ops

The Roman (Sabine) goddess of the earth as a source of fertility, and a goddess of abundance and wealth in general (her name means "plenty"). As goddess of harvest she is closely associated with the god Consus. She is the sister and wife of Saturn. One of her temples was located near Saturn's temple, and on August 10 a festival took place there. Another festival was the Opalia, which was observed on December 9.

On the Forum Romanum she shared a sanctuary with the goddess Ceres as the protectors of the harvest. The major temple was of Ops Capitolina, on the Capitoline Hill, where Caesar had located the Treasury. Another sanctuary was located in the Regia on the Forum Romanum, where also the Opiconsivia was observed on August 25. Only the official priests and the Vestal Virgins had access to this altar.

Orbona

The Roman goddess invoked by parents who became childless, and begged her to grant them children again.

Orcus

The Roman god of death and the underworld, either a terrible god or a gentle one. He is the god of oaths and punisher of perjurers. Orcus is identical to the Greek Hades, both the god and his domains.

Pales

The Roman patron goddess of shepherds and flocks. Pales also presides over the health and fertility of the domestic animals. Her festival is the Palilia (also called the Parilia) and was celebrated by shepherds on April 21, the legendary founding date of Rome. On that day large fires were made through which they drove the cattle. Pales was originally a single deity, variously male or female, with the same characteristics. The name is believed by some to be related to the Greek and Latin word phallus.

Palici

The twin sons of Jupiter and the nymph Thalia. They were chthonic deities worshipped at the Palica, near Mount Etna. In early times humans were sacrificed to them and oaths were verified through divine judgment.

Parcae

The Parcae are the Roman goddess of fate, similar to the Greek Moirae (Fates). Originally there was only one of them, Parca, a goddess of birth. Her name is derived from parere ("create, give birth") but later it was associated with pars (Greek: moira, "part") and thus analogous with the three Greek Moirae. The three Parcae are also called Tria Fata.

Partula

A minor Roman goddess of birth. She is concerned with the parturition.

Patalena

The Roman deity who protects the blossoms.

Paventia

The Roman goddess who protects children against sudden fright.

Pax

Pax ("peace") is the personified Roman goddess of peace, corresponding with the Greek Eirene. Under the rule of Augustus, she was recognized as a goddess proper. She had a minor sanctuary, the Ara Pacis, on the Campus Martius, and a temple on the Forum Pacis. A festival in her honor was celebrated on January 3. Her attributes are the olive branch, a cornucopia, and a scepter.

Penates

In Roman mythology, the Penates ("the inner ones") are the patron gods of the storeroom. Later they gradually changed into patron gods for the entire household. Their cult is closely related to that of Vesta and the Lares. They were worshipped at the hearth and were given their part of the daily meals. The Roman state had its own Penates, called Penates Publici. They were rescued by Aeneas from burning Troy and via Lavinium and Longa brought to Rome. Upon their arrival, the Penates were housed in the Temple of Vesta, on the Forum Romanum.

Picumnus

Picumnus is a minor Roman god of growth and the fertility of the fields. He is the patron of matrimony and infants at birth and stimulated their growth. He is also worshipped as Sterquilinus (or Stercutus) because he invented the manuring of the fields.

Picus

The ancient Roman deity of agriculture. He also possessed the powers of prophecy. He was changed into a woodpecker by Circe when he did not requite her passion.

Pietas

The Roman personification of feelings of duty towards the gods, the state and one's family. Her temple at the foot of the Capitoline Hill dates from the beginning of the second century BCE.

Pilumnus

Pilumnus is a minor Roman god, the brother of Picumnus and together they stimulated the growth of little children and avert sickness. To ensure to help of these gods, people made an extra bed right after the birth of a child. Pilumnus is also believed to have taught mankind how to grind corn.

Pluto

Pluto is the Roman god of the underworld and the judge of the dead. Pluto was the son of Saturn. Pluto's wife was Proserpina (Greek name, Persephone) whom he had kidnapped and dragged into the underworld. His brothers were Jupiter and Neptune. People referred to Pluto as the rich one because he owned all the wealth in the ground. People were afraid to say his real name because they were afraid it might attract his attention. Black sheep were offered to him as sacrifices. Pluto was known as a pitiless god because if a mortal entered his Underworld they could never hope to return. Pluto's Greek name is Hades.

Pluvius

Literally, "sender of rain", an epithet of the Roman god Jupiter. During long droughts the ancient Romans called upon Jupiter using that name. It is also an epithet of the Hyades.

Poena

The Roman goddess of punishment.

Pomona

The goddess presiding over fruit trees. She was the beloved of many ancient Roman rustic deities such as Silvanus and Picus until Vertumnus, disguised as an old woman, goaded her into marrying him. Her special priest is the flamen Pomonalis. The pruning knife is her attribute.

Portunes

The Roman god of ports and harbors, identified with the Greek Palaemon or Melicertes. Originally he was a god of keys and doors and domestic animals. He protects the warehouses where grain is stored, and is as such a god of the harbors. His temple was located near the Forum Boarium. The Portunalia were observed on August

17, and on this festival keys were thrown into the fire to safeguard them against misfortune. His attribute is a key.

Porus

The Roman god of plenty.

Postverta

The Roman goddess of the past.

Potina

The Roman goddess associated with the first drink of children or children's potions.

Priapus

The Roman patron god of gardens, viniculture, sailors and fishermen. He is portrayed wearing a long dress that leaves the genitals uncovered. The Romans placed a satyr-like statue of him, painted red and with an enormous phallus, in gardens as some kind of scarecrow, but also to ensure fruitfulness. The fruits of the fields, honey and milk were offered to him, and occasionally donkeys. He was very popular and in his honor the Priapea was written--a collection of 85 perfectly written poems, sometimes funny but usually obscene. Originally, Priapus was a fertility god from Asia Minor, especially in Lampsacus on the Hellespont, and was the most important god of the local pantheon (see: the Greek Priapus). He was introduced in Greece around 400 BCE but never was very popular. Priapus' attribute is the pruning knife.

Promitor

The Roman god associated with the bringing out of the harvest from the barns.

Prorsa Postverta

The Roman double-goddess who was called upon by women in labor. She guarded over the position of the child in the womb (forwards or backwards). Some sources mention her as another aspect of Carmenta.

Proserpina

The Roman name for the Greek Persephone. The name is possibly

derived from proserpere ("to emerge"), meaning the growing of the grain. Gradually, Libera was equated with her.

Providentia

The Roman goddess of forethought.

Pudicitia

Literally, "modesty". The personified Roman goddess of modesty and chastity.

Putia

A Roman goddesses who watched over the pruning of vines and trees.

Quirinus

An old Roman deity whose origin is uncertain, and there is also little known about his cult. He was worshipped by the Sabines, an old Italian people who lived north-east of Rome. They had a fortified settlement near Rome, the Quirinal, which was named after their god. Later, when Rome expanded, this settlement was absorbed by the city, and Quirinus became, together with Jupiter and Mars, the god of the state. The Quirinalis, one of the Roman hills, was named after him. His consort is Hora. He was usually depicted as a bearded man who wears clothing that is part clerical and part military. His sacred plant is the myrtle. His festival, the Quirinalia, was celebrated on February 17. Romulus was also identified with Quirinus, especially in the late-Roman era^[12].

Quiritis

Quiritis is a Sabine protective goddess of motherhood.

Rederator

The Roman god of the second ploughing. See also Imporcitor and Vervactor.

Rederator

The Roman god of the second ploughing. See also Imporcitor and Vervactor.

Remus

The twin brother of Romulus. He was killed by his brother during a quarrel.[13]

Rhea Silvia

The Vestal virgin who became, by Mars, the mother of the twins Romulus and Remus. She is the daughter of king Numitor of Alba Longa, who was dethroned by his brother Amulius. Her uncle gave her to the goddess Vesta so she would remain a virgin for the rest of her life. Amulius had learned from an oracle that her children would become a threat to his power. However, because she had violated her sacred vow, she and her children were cast in the Tiber. The god Tiberinus rescued her and made her his wife.[14]

Robigo

A Roman goddess of corn. She is probably the feminine form of Robigus.

Robigus

The Roman god who protected the corn against diseases. Robigus ("wheat rust", "mildew") was worshipped together with Flora. His festival, the Robigalia, took place on April 25. His functions were also attributed to the female goddess Robigo.

Roma

The personification of the city of Rome. She is portrayed as a helmeted woman sitting on a throne, holding a spear and a sword. Resting against her throne is a shield. Her head was commonly depicted on coins, symbolizing the Roman state. Her temple and the temple of Venus were situated on the Velian Hill in Rome. Hadrianus started building it in 121 CE and the temple was inaugurated around 140 CE by Antonius Pius.

Romulus

Romulus and Remus were the twin sons of Rhea Silvia and Mars. They were, together with their mother, cast into the Tiber. The god Tiberinus saved Rhea Silvia from drowning, and the brothers were miraculously rescued by a she-wolf. The wolf reared the twins together with her cubs underneath a fig tree (the 'ruminalus ficus'). After a few years they were found by the shepherd Faustulus, who

took the brothers home and gave them to his wife Acca Larentia to rear. When they reached maturity they killed Amelius, the brother of their grandfather, and built a settlement on the Palatine Hill. During a quarrel where Remus mocked the height of the walls, Romulus slew Remus and became the sole ruler of the new Rome, which he had named after himself. He took Hersilia as his wife. To enlarge his empire, he allowed exiles and refugees, homicides and runaway slaves to populate the area. The shortage of women he solved by stealing Sabine women whom he invited to a festival. After a few wars, the Sabines agreed to accept Romulus as their king. Upon his death he was taken to the heavens by his father Mars. He is later revered as the god Quirinus.

Rumina

The Roman protector of nursing mothers and suckling infants, both human and animal. She had a temple near the Ficus Ruminales, the fig tree on the Palatine Hill where Romulus and Remus were reared by a she-wolf. When the tree started to droop in 58 CE this was seen as a bad portent.

Runcina

A Roman deity associated with reaping.

Rusina

A Roman divinity who protects the fields (also known as Rusor).

Sabus

The son of Sancus, the oldest king of the Sabines, who worshipped him as a god.

Salacia

A Roman sea goddess. The god Neptune wanted to marry her but she ran off and hid from him in the Atlantic ocean. Neptune sent a dolphin to look for her and when the animal found her it brought her back to him. Salacia agreed to marry Neptune and the dolphin was awarded a place in the heavens. Salacia bore Neptune three children. She is identified with the Greek god, Amphitrite.

Salus

Salus ("salvation") is the personified Roman goddess of health and

prosperity, both of the individual and the state. As Salus Publica Populi Romani ("goddess of the public welfare of the Roman people") she had a temple on the Quirinal, inaugurated in 302 BCE^[15]. Later she became more a protector of personal health. Around 180 BCE sacrificial rites in honor of Apollo, Aesculapius, and Salus took place there^[16]. Her attribute was a snake or a bowl and her festival was celebrated on March 30. Salus is identified with the Greek Hygieia.

Sancus

An ancient Roman deity who presides over oaths and good faith. He is also called Semo Sancus Dius Fidus.

Saritor

The Roman god of weeding and hoeing.

Saturn

The Roman god of agriculture concerned with the sowing of the seeds. He is regarded as the father of Jupiter, Ceres, Juno and many others. His wife is the goddess Ops. Jupiter supposedly chased him away and he was taken in by the god Janus in Latium where he introduced agriculture and viniculture. This event heralded a period of peace, happiness and prosperity, the Golden Age. In memory of this Golden Age, each year the Saturnalia was observed on December 17 at his temple on the Forum Romanum. This temple, below the Capitoline Hill, contained the Royal Treasury and is one of the oldest in Rome.

The Saturnalia was one of the major events of the year. Originally only one day, it was later extended to seven days. During this festival, business was suspended, the roles of master and slaves were reversed, moral restrictions were loosened and gifts were exchanged. Offerings made in his honor were done with uncovered heads, contrary to the Roman tradition. In contrast to his festival, Saturn himself was never very popular. From the 3rd century on, he was identified with the Greek Cronus, and his cult became only marginally more popular. That he ruled over the Golden Age is an extension to the Greek myth. Saturday is named after him.

Semonia

The Roman goddess of sowing.

Sentia

The Roman goddess who brought about a young child's first awareness.

Sergestus

One of the companions of Aeneas. He was the ancestor of the gens Sergia, a renowned Patrician family of Rome, to whom also Catilina belonged^[17].

Silvanus

The Roman god of forests, groves and wild fields. As fertility god he is the protector of herds and cattle and is associated with Faunus. He shows many similarities with the Greek Pan (Silvanus also liked to scare lonely travelers). The first fruits of the fields were offered to him, as well as meat and wine--a ritual women were not allowed to witness. His attributes are a pruning knife and a bough from a pine tree.

Silvius

The son of Aeneas and Lavinia. He was the successor of Ascanius as the king of Alba Longa.^[18]

Sol

The personified Roman god of the sun, completely identical to the Greek Helios. He was possibly worshipped as Sol Indiges in his temple on the Quirinalis. A second temple was located at the Circus Maximus, near the race-tracks, where he was considered to be the protector of the four-in-hands which joined the races. The emperor Heliogabalus imported the cult of Sol Invictus ("the invincible sun") from Syria and Sol was made god of the state.

Somnus

The Roman god of sleep, a translation of the Greek Hypnos. Somnus caused the death of Palunurus, the helmsman of Aeneas, who fell asleep at the coast of Lucania^[19]

Soranus

A Sabine sun-god who was venerated at Mount Soracte (north of Rome). His priests were called the Hirpi Sorani ("wolves of Soranus") who celebrated a rite in which they walked barefoot on burning coals. Virgil identified Soranus with Apollo (as Apollo Soranus)[20]. At the foot of the Soracte was the precinct of Feronia.

Sors

A Roman god of luck.

Spes

The personified Roman goddess of hope. She had a sanctuary on the vegetable market. Spes is portrayed as a young woman holding a cornucopia and a flower.

Spiniensis

The Roman god who was called upon when people removed thorns from the fields. The name is derived from spina ("spine").

Stata Mater

The Roman goddess who guards against fires, and was thus associated with Vulcan. She was at times equated with Vesta. A statue of Stata Mater was located on the Forum.

Statanus

The Roman god who, together with his wife Statina, watched over the first time a child went away and returned.

Stator

An alternative name of Jupiter as the god who halted retreat or flight (stare - standing). In Rome there were two temples of Jupiter Stator. The oldest (on the Velia Hill) was, according to legend, built by Romulus himself during the war against the Sabeans, when the Romans were forced to retreat[21]. The simple sanctuary of Romulus was replaced by a proper temple in 294 BCE [22].

Stercutus

A Roman god who took care of the fertilization of farmland (stercus, manure). An alternative name of Saturn or, according to others, Picumnus.

Stimula

The Roman goddess who incites passion in women (especially in the Bacchae). She is equated with the Greek Semele.

Strenua

The Roman goddess of strength and vigor, of Sabine origin. She was worshipped in Rome at the beginning of the new year. Her sanctuary was in the Via Sacra.

Suadela

The goddess of persuasion, and especially in love. She is a follower of Venus.

Subruncinator

The Roman god of weeding.

Summanus

The Roman god of nightly thunder (Jupiter is the god of thunder during daytime). Sammunas' temple stood at the Circus Maximus and on June 20 cakes were offered to him. Probably of Etruscan or Sabeian origin. A Roman or Etruscan marital demon who was called upon when the bride was taken to the house of the groom. He is supposed to have been a friend of Romulus and played a part in the stealing of Sabine women. The term 'Talassio' was used when the bride entered her new house[23]

Terra

"Earth". The personified Roman goddess of the earth. She is also a fertility goddess, known as Bona Dea.

Terra Mater

The Roman 'mother earth', the goddess of fertility and growth. Her most prominent festival was the Fordicidia on April 15 where cows being with young were sacrificed. Another festival was the Feriae Sementivae ("the sowing feast in January") where offering were made to her and Ceres before harvesting.

Tiberinus

The Roman god of the river Tiber. When Aeneas and his Trojan exiles arrived in Latium, the god assisted them. Later Tiberinus also appeared to Aeneas to give him advice. The Volturina was his

festival. His is the father of Ocnus with Manto. There existed a cult of Tiberinus in the early days of Rome, but practically nothing is known about it now.

Tibertus

The god of the river Anio, a tributary of the Tiber. Legend has it that he founded the Italian city Tibur (Tivoli).

Trivia

In Roman mythology, Trivia is the personified deity of crossroads, derived from the Latin trivium ("meeting of three roads"). She was represented with three faces, and sometimes identified with the Greek Hecate.

Ultor

A title given to Mars when, after defeating the murderers of Julius Caesar at Philippi, Augustus built a temple to him in the Forum at Rome.

Ulysses

Ulysses, the Latin equivalent of the Greek Odysseus, was the king of Ithaca, a Greek island. He was married to Penelope and they had a son named Telemachus. He was one of the Greek leaders in the Trojan War. The Greeks fought the Trojans for ten years, but Ulysses came up with a plan to burn down Troy and save Helen, the wife of Melanos, the Spartan king. He had the Greek army build a wooden horse that he and nineteen other soldiers could fit in. All of the Greek warships left the shores of Troy and left the horse behind.

The Trojans thought that it was a gift from the Greeks, so the people of Troy brought it through the gates of the city. Late that night, Ulysses and the nineteen soldiers snuck out of the wooden horse and let the newly arrived Greek army through the gates. The Greeks burned down Troy and saved Helen, but Ulysses still had a long journey ahead of him. Ulysses and his men set sail for Ithaca. After a few weeks of sailing, Ulysses and his men ran out of food. They landed on an island, to look for food and water. They found a whole cave full of food, but they soon found out that the food belonged to a one-eyed giant called a cyclops. Ulysses and his men

tricked the cyclops and escaped with the food.

Unfortunately for Ulysses, the cyclops was a son of Neptune, the God of the Sea. Once again, Ulysses' men ran out of food, so they landed on another island. The sailors divided into two groups, Ulysses and some of the crew stayed with the ship, while the others went to look for food. The next morning, one of the "food-searchers" came running back to the boat. The sailor told Ulysses of a sorceress named Circe who had turned the other crew members into hogs. At once, Ulysses ran with the sailor to Circe's palace, but on the way, Mercury came with a gift from one of the gods.

It was a magical flower that would act a shield on Ulysses from Circe's magic. Ulysses met with Circe. Circe tried to use her magic on him, but it didn't work, so she gave in and turned the back into humans. Plus, she warned Ulysses of the dangers to come. With lots of food, Ulysses and his men left the island. Thanks to Circe, Ulysses overcame the next dangers. He overcame the dooming song of the Sirens by plugging the ears of he and his crew.

The sailors came upon the six-headed monster called Scylla. Though all of his crew were eaten by Scylla, Ulysses escaped, only to be washed ashore by a storm where a princess found him and took him to her father. The king gave Ulysses his fastest ship to use to sail home with. When, Ulysses reached Ithaca, he deceived the men that wanted to marry his wife, and killed them. Ulysses finally reclaimed his throne.

Vacuna

A Sabean goddess of agriculture. She was worshipped in a sacred forest near Reate (the current Reati).

Veiovis

Veiovis (Vediovis) is one of the oldest of the Roman gods. He is a god of healing, and was later associated with the Greek Asclepius. He was mostly worshipped in Rome and Bovillae in Latium. On the Capitoline Hill and on the Tiber Island temples were erected in his honor. In spring, goats were sacrificed to avert plagues. Veiovis is portrayed as a young man, holding a bunch of arrows (or lightning bolts) in his hand, and is accompanied by a goat. He is probably

based on the Etruscan god Veive.

Venus

The Roman goddess of love and beauty, but originally a vegetation goddess and patroness of gardens and vineyards. Later, under Greek influence, she was equated with Aphrodite and assumed many of her aspects. Her cult originated from Ardea and Lavinium in Latium. The oldest temple known of Venus dates back to 293 BCE, and was inaugurated on August 18. Later, on this date the Vinalia Rustica was observed. A second festival, that of the Veneralia, was celebrated on April 1 in honor of Venus Verticordia, who later became the protector against vice. Her temple was built in 114 BCE.

After the Roman defeat near Lake Trasum in 215 BCE, a temple was built on the Capitol for Venus Erycina. This temple was officially opened on April 23, and a festival, the Vinalia Priora, was instituted to celebrate the occasion. Venus is the daughter of Jupiter, and some of her lovers include Mars and Vulcan, modeled on the affairs of Aphrodite. Venus' importance rose, and that of her cult, through the influence of several Roman political leaders. The dictator Sulla made her his patroness, and both Julius Caesar and the emperor Augustus named her the ancestor of their (Julian) family: the 'gens Julia' was Aeneas, son of Venus and the mortal Anchises.

Caesar introduced the cult of Venus Genetrix, the goddess of motherhood and marriage, and built a temple for her in 46 BCE. She was also honored in the temple of Mars Ultor. The last great temple of Venus was built by the emperor Hadrianus near the Coliseum in 135 CE. Roman statues and portraits of Venus are usually identical to the Greek representations of Aphrodite.

Vercvactor

The Roman god of the first ploughing. See also Imporcitor and Redarator.

Veritas

Veritas ("truth") is the Roman goddess of truth. She is a daughter of Saturn.

Verminus

Verminus ("worm-god") is the Roman god of the worms in cattle.

Vertumnus

The Roman divinity of seasons, changes and ripening of plant life. He is the patron of gardens and fruit trees. He has the power to change himself into various forms, and used this to gain the favor of the goddess Pomona. Vertumnus' cult was introduced in Rome around 300 BCE and a temple was built on the Aventine Hill in 264 BCE. The Vertumnalia, observed on August 13, is his festival. A statue of Vertumnus stood at the Vicus Tuscus.

Vesta

One of the most popular and mysterious goddesses of the Roman pantheon. Vesta is the goddess of the hearth, equated with the Greek Hestia. There is not much known of her origin, except that she was at first only worshipped in Roman homes, a personal cult. Her cult eventually evolved to a state cult. One myth tells that her service was set up by king Numa Pompilius (715-673 BCE). In her temple on the Palatine Hill, the sacred fire of the Roman state burned, which was maintained by the Vestal Virgins.

At the start of the new Roman year, March 1, the fire was renewed. The sacred fire burned until 394 CE. Vesta's temple was situated on the Forum Romanum and was built in the third century BCE. None of her temples, however, contained a statue of the goddess. Her festival is the Vestalia, which was observed from June 7 - 15. On the first day of this festival, the 'penus Vestae', the inner sanctum of the Vesta temple which was kept closed the entire year, was opened for women who came to bring offerings bare-footed. The temple was ritually cleansed on the last day. The ass is Vesta's sacred animal, whose braying supposedly kept the lascivious Priapus away. Vesta is portrayed as a stern woman, wearing a long dress and with her head covered. Her right hand rests against her side and in her left hand she holds a scepter.

Vestius Alonieus

A god who was revered in north-west Hispania. He had a military function and was associated with the bull.

Vica Pota

An ancient Roman goddess of victory. She had a temple at the base of the Velia, Rome.[24]

Victoria

The Roman personification of Victory, worshipped as a goddess, especially by triumphant generals returning from battle. She was held in higher regard by the Romans than her counterpart Nike by the Greeks and when in 382 CE her statue was removed by the emperor Gratianus there was much resistance in the heathen reactionary circles.

Viduus

Viduus ("divider") is the Roman deity who separates soul from the dead body.

Virbius

A minor Roman deity who is mainly mentioned as the consort of Diana. He was worshipped in the sacred forest of Egeria, near Aricia in Latium, and identified with the resurrected Hippolytus.

Viriplaca

The Roman goddess to whom spouses made offering when they had domestic problems.

Virtus

The Roman god of courage and military prowess.

Vitumnus

The Roman god who gave life to the child in the mother's womb.

Voltumnus

A river deity associated with the river Voltumnus in Campania (Italy), but it could also be an ancient name for the Tiber. The Voltumnalia was observed on August 27.

Volumna

The Roman protective goddess of the nursery.

Vulcan

The Roman god of fire, especially destructive fire, and craftsmanship. His forge is located beneath Mount Etna. It is here that he, together with his helpers, forges weapons for gods and heroes. Vulcanus is closely associated with Bona Dea with whom he shared the Volcanalia, observed on August 23. This festival took place during the height of the Mediterranean drought and the period of highest risk of fire. On the banks of the river Tiber, fires were lighted on which living fish were sacrificed. His temples were usually located outside the cities, due to the dangerous nature of fire.

In 215 BCE his temple on the Circus Flaminius was inaugurated. In Ostia he was the chief god as the protector against fire in the grain storages. He is identified with the Greek Hephaestus.

Vultumnus

The Roman god of the East Wind, equal to the Greek Eurus.

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15 ROMAN FESTIVALS AND LUDI (GAMES)

Festivals in ancient Rome were an important part of Roman religious life during both the Republican and Imperial eras, and one of the primary features of the Roman calendar. *Feriae* ("holidays" in the sense of "holy days"; singular also *feriae* or *dies ferialis*) were either public (*publicae*) or private (*privatae*). State holidays were celebrated by the Roman people and received public funding. Games (*ludi*), such as the *Ludi Apollinares*, were not technically *feriae*, but the days on which they were celebrated were *dies festi*, holidays in the modern sense of days off work. Although *feriae* were paid for by the state, *ludi* were often funded by wealthy individuals. *Feriae privatae* were holidays celebrated in honor of private individuals or by families.[1] This article deals only with public holidays, including rites celebrated by the state priests of Rome at temples, as well as celebrations by neighborhoods or families held simultaneously throughout Rome.

Feriae were of three kinds:

- ***Stativae*** were annual holidays that held a fixed or stable date on the calendar.
- ***Conceptivae*** were annual holidays that were moveable feasts (like Easter on the Christian calendar, or Thanksgiving in North America); the date was announced by the magistrates or priests

who were responsible for them.

- *Imperativae* were holidays held "on demand" (from the verb *impero*, *imperare*, "to order, command") when special celebrations or expiations were called for.[2]

One of the most important sources for Roman holidays is Ovid's *Fasti*, an incomplete poem that describes and provides origins for festivals from January to June at the time of Augustus.

Keeping the *feriae*

Varro defined *feriae* as "days instituted for the sake of the gods." [3] Religious rites were performed on the *feriae*, and public business was suspended. Even slaves were supposed to be given some form of rest. Cicero says specifically that people who were free should not engage in lawsuits and quarrels, and slaves should get a break from their labors.[4]

Agricultural writers recognized that some jobs on a farm might still need to be performed, and specified what these were. Some agricultural tasks not otherwise permitted could be carried out if an expiation were made in advance (*piaculum*), usually the sacrifice of a puppy.[5]

Within the city of Rome, the *flamens* and the priest known as the *Rex sacrorum* were not allowed even to see work done.

On a practical level, those who "inadvertently" worked could pay a fine or offer up a *piaculum*, usually a pig. Work considered vital either to the gods or preserving human life was excusable, according to some experts on religious law. Although Romans were required not to work, they were not required to take any religious action unless they were priests or had family rites (*sacra gentilicia*) to maintain.[6]

List of festivals by month

Following is a month-by-month list of Roman festivals and games that had a fixed place on the calendar. For some, the date on which they were first established is recorded. A deity's festival often marked the anniversary (*dies natalis*, "birthday") of the founding of a temple, or a rededication after a major renovation.

Festivals not named for deities are thought to be among the oldest on the calendar.[7]

Some religious observances were monthly. The first day of the month was the *Kalends* (or *Calends*, from which the English word "calendar" derives). Each *Kalends* was sacred to *Juno*, and the *Regina sacrorum* ("Queen of the Rites," a public priestess) marked the day by presiding over a sacrifice to the goddess. A pontiff and the *Rex sacrorum* reported the sighting of the new moon, and the pontiff announced whether the *Nones* occurred on the 5th or 7th of that month.

On the *Nones*, announcements were made regarding events to take place that month; with the exception of the *Poplifugia*, no major festivals were held before the *Nones*, though other ceremonies, such as anniversaries of temple dedications, might be carried out.

The *Ides* (usually the 13th, or in a few months the 15th) were sacred to *Jupiter*. On each *Ides*, a white lamb was led along the *Via Sacra* to the *Capitolium* for sacrifice to *Jupiter*.

The list also includes other notable public religious events such as sacrifices and processions that were observed annually but are neither *feriae* nor *dies natales*. Unless otherwise noted, the calendar is that of H.H. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic*.

Ianuarius (January)

1 (Kalends): From 153 BC onward, consuls entered office on this date, accompanied by vota publica (public vows for the wellbeing of the republic and later of the emperor) and the taking of auspices. Festivals were also held for the imported cult of Aesculapius and for the obscure god Vediovis.[8]
3-5: most common dates for Compitalia, a moveable feast (feriae conceptivae)
5 (Nones): Dies natalis (founding day) of the shrine of Vica Pota on the Velian Hill[9]
9: Agonalia in honor of Janus, after whom the month January is named; first of at least four festivals named Agonalia throughout the year
11 and 15: Carmentalia, with Juturna celebrated also on the 11th
13 (Ides)
24-26: most common dates for the Sementivae, a feriae conceptivae of sowing, perhaps also known as the Paganalia as celebrated by the pagi
27: Dies natalis of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, or perhaps marking its rededication (see also July 15); Ludi Castores ("Games of the Castors") celebrated at Ostia during the Imperial period

Februarius (February)

In the archaic Roman calendar, February was the last month of the year. The name derives from februa, "the means of purification, expiatory offerings." It marked a turn of season, with February 5 the official first day of spring bringing the renewal of agricultural activities after winter.[10]
1 (Kalends): Dies natalis for the Temple of Juno Sospita, Mother and Queen; sacra at the Grove of Alernus, near the Tiber at the foot of the Palatine Hill
5: Dies natalis for the Temple of Concordia on the Capitoline Hill
13 (Ides): minor festival of Faunus on the Tiber Island
13-22: Parentalia, a commemoration of ancestors and the dead among families 13: Parentatio, with appeasement of the Manes

beginning at the 6th hour and ceremonies performed by the chief Vestal; temples were closed, no fires burned on altars, marriages were forbidden, magistrates took off their insignia, until the 21st
15: Lupercalia
17: last day of the feriae conceptivae Fornacalia, the Oven Festival; Quirinalia, in honor of Quirinus
21: Feralia, the only public observation of the Parentalia, marked F (dies festus) in some calendars and FP (a designation of uncertain meaning) in others, with dark rites aimed at the gods below (di Inferi)
22: Caristia (or Cara Cognatio, "Dear Kindred"), a family pot luck in a spirit of love and forgiveness
23: Terminalia, in honor of Terminus
24: Regifugium
27: Equirria, first of two horse-racing festivals to Mars

Martius (March)

In the old Roman calendar (until perhaps as late as 153 BC), the mensis Martius ("Mars' Month") was the first month of the year. It is one of the few months to be named for a god, Mars, whose festivals dominate the month.
1 (Kalends): the original New Year's Day when the sacred fire of Rome was renewed; the dancing armed priesthood of the Salii celebrated the Feriae Marti (holiday for Mars), which was also the dies natalis ("birthday") of Mars; also the Matronalia, in honor of Juno Lucina, Mars' mother
7: a second festival for Vediovis
9: a dies religiosus when the Salii carried the sacred shields (ancilia) around the city again
14: the second Equirria, a Feriae Marti also called the Mamuralia or sacrum Mamurio
15 (Ides): Feriae Iovi, sacred to Jove, and also the feast of the year goddess Anna Perenna
16-17: the procession of the Argei
17: Liberalia, in honor of Liber; also an Agonalia for Mars
19: Quinquatrus, later expanded into a five-day holiday as

Quinquatria, a Feriae Marti, but also a feast day for Minerva, possibly because her temple on the Aventine Hill was dedicated on this day
23: Tubilustrium, purification of the trumpets
24: a day marked QRFC, when the Comitia Calata met to sanction wills
31: anniversary of the Temple of Luna on the Aventine

Aprilis (April)

A major feriae conceptivae in April was the Latin Festival.
1 (Kalends): Veneralia in honor of Venus
4–10: Ludi Megalenses or Megalesia, in honor of the Magna Mater or Cybele, whose temple was dedicated April 10, 191 BC
5: anniversary of the Temple of Fortuna Publica
12–19: Cerialia or Ludi Cereri, festival and games for Ceres, established by 202 BC
13 (Ides): anniversary of the Temple of Jupiter Victor
15: Fordicidia, offering of a pregnant cow to Tellus ("Earth")
21: Parilia, rustic festival in honor of Pales, and the dies natalis of Rome
23: the first of two wine festivals (Vinalia), the Vinalia Priora for the previous year's wine, held originally for Jupiter and later Venus
25: Robigalia, an agricultural festival involving dog sacrifice
27 (28 in the Julian calendar) to May 1: Ludi Florales in honor of Flora, extended to May 3 under the Empire

Maius (May)

The feriae conceptivae of this month was the Ambarvalia.
1 (Kalends): Games of Flora continue; sacrifice to Maia; anniversary of the Temple of Bona Dea on the Aventine; rites for the Lares Praestites, tutelaries of the city of Rome
3: in the Imperial period, a last celebration for Flora, or the

anniversary of one of her temples
9, 11, 13: Lemuria, a festival of the dead with both public and household rites, possibly with a sacrifice to Mania on the 11th
14: anniversary of the Temple of Mars Invictus (Mars the Unconquered); a second procession of the Argei ^[11]
15 (Ides): Mercuralia, in honor of Mercury; Feriae of Jove
21: one of four Agonalia, probably a third festival for Vediovis
23: a second Tubilustrium; Feriae for Vulcanus (Vulcan)
24: QRCF, following Tubilustrium as in March
25: anniversary of the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia

Iunius (June)

Scullard places the Taurian Games on June 25–26, ^[12] but other scholars doubt these ludi had a fixed date or recurred on a regular basis. ^[13]
1 (Kalends): anniversaries of the Temple of Juno Moneta; of the Temple of Mars on the clivus (slope, street) outside the Porta Capena; and possibly of the Temple of the Tempestates (storm goddesses); also a festival of the complex goddess Cardea or Carna
3: anniversary of the Temple of Bellona
4: anniversary of the restoration of the Temple of Hercules Custos
5: anniversary of the Temple of Dius Fidius
7: Ludi Piscatorii, "Fishermen's Games"
7–15: Vestalia, in honor of Vesta; June 9 was a dies religiosus to her
8: anniversary of the Temple of Mens
11: Matralia in honor of Mater Matuta; also the anniversary of the Temple of Fortuna in the Forum Boarium
13 (Ides): Feriae of Jove
13–15: Quinquatrus minusculae, the lesser Quinquatrus celebrated by tibicines, flute-players in their role as accompanists to religious ceremonies
19: a commemoration involving the Temple of Minerva on the Aventine, which had its anniversary March 19
20: anniversary of the Temple of Summanus
24: festival of Fors Fortuna, which "seems to have been a rowdy

affair"[14]
27: poorly attested observance in honor of the Lares; anniversary of the Temple of Jupiter Stator
29: anniversary of the Temple of Hercules Musarum, Hercules of the Muses

Iulius (Quinctilis) (July)

Until renamed for Julius Caesar, this month was called Quinctilis or Quintilis, originally the fifth month (quint-) when the year began in March. From this point in the calendar forward, the months had numerical designations.
1 (Kalends): a scarcely attested anniversary of a temple to Juno Felicitas
5: Poplifugia
6–13: Ludi Apollinares, games in honor of Apollo, first held in 212 BC as a one-day event (July 13) and established as annual in 208 BC.
6: anniversary of the Temple of Fortuna Muliebris
7 (Nones): Nonae Caprotinae; Ancillarum Ferae (Festival of the Serving Women);[15] sacrifice to Consus by unspecified public priests (sacerdotes publici); also a minor festival to the two Pales
8: Vitulatio
14–19: a series of markets or fairs (mercatus) following the Ludi Apollinares; not religious holidays
15 (Ides): Transvectio equitum, a procession of cavalry
17: anniversary of the Temple of Honos and Virtus; sacrifice to Victory
18: a dies ater ("black day," meaning a day of ill omen) marking the defeat of the Romans by the Gauls at the Battle of the Allia in 390 BC, leading to the sack of Rome by the Gauls
19, 21: Lucaria
20–30: Ludi Victoriae Caesaris, "Games of the Victorious Caesar", held annually from 45 BC [16]
22: anniversary of the Temple of Concordia at the foot of the Capitol
23: Neptunalia held in honor of Neptune
25: Furrinalia, feriae publicae in honor of Furrina

30: anniversary of the Temple of the Fortune of This Day (Fortunae Huiusque Diei)

Augustus (Sextilis) (August)

1 (Kalends): anniversary of the Temple of Spes (Hope) in the Forum Holitorium, with commemorations also for the "two Victories" on the Palatine
3: Supplicia canum ("punishment of the dogs") an unusual dog sacrifice and procession at the temples of Iuventas ("Youth") and Summanus, connected to the Gallic siege
5: public sacrifice (sacrificium publicum) at the Temple of Salus on the Quirinal
9: public sacrifice to Sol Indiges
12: sacrifice of a heifer to Hercules Invictus, with a libation from the skyphos of Hercules
13 (Ides): festival of Diana on the Aventine (Nemoralia), with slaves given the day off to attend; other deities honored at their temples include Vortumnus, Fortuna Equestris, Hercules Victor (or Invictus at the Porta Trigemina), Castor and Pollux, the Camenae, and Flora
17: Portunalia in honor of Portunes; anniversary of the Temple of Janus
19: Vinalia Rustica, originally in honor of Jupiter, but later Venus
21: Consualia, with a sacrifice on the Aventine
23: Vulcanalia or Ferae Volcano in honor of Vulcan, along with sacrifices to Maia, the Nymphs in campo ("in the field", perhaps the Campus Martius), Ops Opifera, and a Hora
24: sacrifices to Luna on the Graecostasis; and the first of three days when the mysterious ritual pit called the mundus was opened
25: Opiconsivia or Ferae Opi in honor of Ops Consiviae at the Regia
27: Volturnalia, when the Flamen Volturnalis made a sacrifice to Volturnus
28: Games at the Circus Maximus (circenses) for Sol and Luna

September

1 (Kalends): ceremonies for Jupiter Tonans ("the Thunderer") on the Capitolium, and Juno Regina on the Aventine
5: anniversary of one of the temples to Jupiter Stator
5-19, Ludi Romani or Ludi Magni, "the oldest and most famous" of the ludi ^[17]
13 (Ides): anniversary of the Temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus; an Epulum Iovis; an epulum to the Capitoline Triad
14: Equorum probatio ("Approval of the Horses"), a cavalry parade of the Imperial period
20-23: days set aside for markets and fairs (mercatus) immediately following the Ludi Romani
23: anniversary of the rededication of the Temple of Apollo in the Campus Martius; Latona was also honored
26: anniversary of the Temple of Venus Genetrix vowed by Julius Caesar

October

1 (Kalends): ceremonies for Fides and the Tigillum Sororium
3-12: Ludi Augustales, established 14 AD after the death of Augustus, based on the Augustalia ^[18]
4: Ieiunium Cereris, a day of fasting in honor of Ceres, instituted in 191 BC as a quinquennial observance, made annual by Augustus
5: second of the three days when the mundus was opened
6: dies ater ("black day") to mark the anniversary of the battle of Arausio (105 BC)
7 (Nones): rites for Jupiter Fulgur (Jupiter of daytime lightning) and Juno Curitis
9: rites at shrines for the Genius Publicus, Fausta Felicitas, and Venus Victrix on the Capitolium
10: ceremonies to mark a rededication of the Temple of Juno Moneta
11: Meditrinalia
12: Augustalia, celebrated from 14 AD in honor of the divinized

Augustus, established in 19 BC with a new altar and sacrifice to Fortuna Redux ^[19]
13: Fontinalia in honor of Fons
14: ceremonies to mark a restoration of the Temple of the Penates Dei on the Velian Hill
15 (Ides): October Horse sacrifice to Mars in the Campus Martius; also Feriae of Jupiter
19: Armilustrium, a dies religiosus in honor of Mars
26 to November 1: Ludi Victoriae Sullanae, "Victory Games of Sulla", established as an annual event in 81 BC

November

1 (Kalends): Ludi circenses to close the Sullan Victory Games
4-17: Plebeian Games
8: third of the three days when the mundus ritual pit was opened
13 (Ides): Epulum Jovis; also ceremonies for Feronia and Fortuna Primigeniae
14: a second Equorum probatio (cavalry parade), as on July 15
18-20: markets and fairs (mercatus)

December

1 (Kalends): ceremonies at temples for Neptune and for Pietas
3: Bona Dea rites for women only
5 (Nones): a country festival for Faunus held by the pagi
8: festival for Tiberinus Pater and Gaia
11: Agonalia for Indiges; also the (probably unrelated) Septimontium
12: ceremonies at the Temple of Consus on the Aventine
13 (Ides): dies natalis of the Temple of Tellus, and associated lectisternium for Ceres
15: Consualia or Feriae for Consus, the second of the year
17-23: Saturnalia in honor of Saturn, with the public ritual on the

17th
19: Opalia in honor of Ops
21: Divaia in honor of Angerona; Hercules and Ceres also received a sacrifice
22: anniversary of the Temple of the Lares Permarini in the Porticus Minucia
23: Larentalia; commemorations for the temples of Diana and Juno Regina in the Circus Flaminius, and for the Tempestates; Sigillaria, the last day of the Saturnalia, devoted to gift-giving
25: Dies Natalis Solis Invicti ("Birthday of the Unconquered Sun"); Brumalia (both Imperial)

Feriae conceptivae

The following "moveable feasts" are listed roughly in chronological order.

- **Compitalia**, held sometime between December 17 (the Saturnalia) and January 5; in the later Empire, they were regularly held January 3–5, but Macrobius (5th century AD) still categorized them as conceptivae.[20]
- **Sementivae**, a festival of sowing honoring Tellus and Ceres, placed on January 24–26 by Ovid, who regards these feriae as the same as Paganalia; Varro may indicate that the two were separate festivals.[21]
- **Fornacalia**, a mid-February baking festival celebrated by the curiae, the 30 archaic divisions of the Roman people; the date was announced by the curio maximus and set for each curia individually, with a general Fornacalia on February 17 for those who had missed their own or who were uncertain to which curia they belonged.
- **Amburbium**, a ceremony to purify the city (urbs) as a whole, perhaps held sometime in February.

- **Feriae Latinae (Latin Festival)**, a major and very old conceptivae in April.
- **Ambarvalia**, purification of the fields in May.

The **Rosalia** or "Festival of Roses" also had no fixed date, but was technically not one of the feriae conceptivae with a date announced by public priests based on archaic practice.

Feriae imperativae

Festivals were also held in ancient Rome in response to particular events, or for a particular purpose such as to propitiate or show gratitude toward the gods. For example, Livy reports that following the Roman destruction of Alba Longa in the 7th century BC, and the removal of the Alban populace to Rome, it was reported to have rained stones on the Mons Albanus.

A Roman deputation was sent to investigate the report, and a further shower of stones was witnessed. The Romans took this to be a sign of the displeasure of the Alban gods, the worship of whom had been abandoned with the evacuation of Alba Longa. Livy goes on to say that the Romans instituted a public festival of nine days, at the instigation either of a 'heavenly voice' heard on the Mons Albanus, or of the haruspices. Livy also says that it became the longstanding practice in Rome that whenever a shower of stones was reported, a festival of nine days would be ordered in response.[22]

Mercatus

The noun mercatus (plural mercatūs) means "commerce" or "the market" generally, but it also refers to fairs or markets held immediately after certain ludi. Cicero said[23] that Numa Pompilius, the semi-legendary second king of Rome, established

mercatus in conjunction with religious festivals to facilitate trade, since people had already gathered in great numbers.

In early times, these mercatus may have played a role in wholesale trade, but as commerce in Rome became more sophisticated, by the late Republic they seem to have become retail fairs specialized for the holiday market. The Sigillaria attached to the Saturnalia may have been a mercatus in this sense. Surviving fasti[24] record Mercatus Apollinares, July 14–19; Mercatus Romani, September 20–23; and Mercatus Plebeii, November 18–20. Others may have existed. The English word "fair" derives from Latin feria.[25]

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16 ROMAN BELIEFS ABOUT THE AFTERLIFE

Preparation

This essay was posted to the Nova Roma mailing list by Flavia Claudia, Founder, Vestal Order of Nova Roma, in response to a question about what Romans believed happened after death.

When you die ("you" being a good Roman of the Religio persuasion), you are escorted to the River Styx by spirits. There, you and the other recently life-challenged are met by Charon, the ferryman. A coin, an obolus, will have been placed in your former body's mouth to pay Charon (although an aurus gets you a better seat in the boat, some believed). This payment is not representative of money so much as of the relationship between god and man, acknowledging your debt to the gods and their protection and guidance to you.

On the other side of Styx, you will pass Cerberus, the three-headed watchdog belonging to Father Dis, god of the Underworld. Cerberus will be friendly — he only becomes unfriendly when shades try to get OUT of the Underworld unauthorized.

You will go before the three judges, Minos, Rhadamanthos and Aeacus, who will ask you to account for your life. After you've made your accounting, you will be given the water of the River Lethe, the river of forgetfulness and one of five Rivers in the Underworld, which makes you forget your past life. You will be sent to the

Elysian Fields (a version of paradise) if you've been a warrior or hero; The Plain of Asphodel, if you've been a good citizen, where you will continue to live a good life as a shade; or — if you've really offended the gods — to Tartarus, where you'll be punished by the Furies until your debt to society is paid. (There's no "eternal damnation" in the Roman underworld, although you can be there a pretty long time, depending on what you've done.) Your punishment depends on your crime.

Every once in a while, Dis or Persephone, the Queen of the Underworld, will reprieve a candidate for the entire process and send him or her back to live again, especially if the deceased was unjustly murdered. He is given the Water of Forgetfulness and sent back across the Styx, presumably with a treat for Cerberus! (This is where the old phrase, "a sop for Cerberus" comes from — a bribe.)

Dis, while he is God of the Underworld, is NOT the God of Death. He does not decide who lives and dies. Instead, this is determined by the Three Fates. However, Dis does dispatch the god of death, Mors or Thanatos, to do his duty. He also has some connection with Morpheus, god of dreams. Interestingly, Dis Pater is the only god with no name. He is known by the name of his kingdom: Hades, Pluto, or Dis, all of which refer to the secret riches of the earth.

17 GLOSSARY OF ROMAN RELIGIOUS TERMS

abominari

The verb *abominari* ("to avert an omen", from *ab-*, "away, off," + *ominari*, "to pronounce on an omen") was a term of augury for an action that rejects or averts an unfavorable omen indicated by a *signum*, "sign". The noun is *abominatio*, from which English "abomination" derives. At the taking of formally solicited auspices (*auspicia impetrativa*), the observer was required to acknowledge any potentially bad sign occurring within the *templum* he was observing, regardless of the interpretation.[2] He might, however, take certain actions in order to ignore the *signa*, including avoiding the sight of them, and interpreting them as favourable. The latter tactic required promptness, wit and skill based on discipline and learning.[3] Thus the omen had no validity apart from the observation of it.[4]

aedes

The *aedes* was the dwelling place of a god.[5] It was thus a structure that housed the deity's image, distinguished from the *templum* or sacred district.[6] *Aedes* is one of several Latin words that can be translated as "shrine" or "temple"; see also *delubrum* and *fanum*. For instance, the Temple of Vesta, as it is called in English, was in Latin an *aedes*.^[7] See also the diminutive *aedicula*, a small shrine.

In his work *On Architecture*, Vitruvius always uses the word

templum in the technical sense of a space defined through augury, with *aedes* the usual word for the building itself.[8] The design of a deity's *aedes*, he writes, should be appropriate to the characteristics of the deity.

For a celestial deity such as Jupiter, *Coelus*, *Sol* or *Luna*, the building should be open to the sky; an *aedes* for a god embodying *virtus* (valor), such as *Minerva*, *Mars*, or *Hercules*, should be Doric and without frills; the Corinthian order is suited for goddesses such as *Venus*, *Flora*, *Proserpina* and the *Lymphae*; and the Ionic is a middle ground between the two for *Juno*, *Diana*, and *Father Liber*. Thus in theory, though not always in practice, architectural aesthetics had a theological dimension.[9]

The word *aedilis* (*aedile*), a public official, is related by etymology; among the duties of the *aediles* was the overseeing of public works, including the building and maintenance of temples.[10] The temple (*aedes*) of *Flora*, for instance, was built in 241 BC by two *aediles* acting on *Sibylline oracles*. The plebeian *aediles* had their headquarters at the *aedes* of *Ceres*.^[11]

ager

In religious usage, *ager* (territory, country, land, region) was terrestrial space defined for the purposes of augury in relation to *auspicia*. There were five kinds of *ager*: *Romanus*, *Gabinus*, *peregrinus*, *hosticus* and *incertus*. The *ager Romanus* originally included the urban space outside the *pomerium* and the surrounding countryside.[12] According to *Varro*, the *ager Gabinus* pertained to the special circumstances of the oppidum of *Gabii*, which was the first to sign a sacred treaty (*pax*) with Rome.[13] The *ager peregrinus*^[14] was other territory that had been brought under treaty (*pacatus*).

Ager hosticus meant foreign territory; *incertus*, "uncertain" or "undetermined," that is, not falling into one of the four defined categories.[15] The powers and actions of magistrates were based on and constrained by the nature of the *ager* on which they stood, and *ager* in more general usage meant a territory as defined legally or politically. The *ager Romanus* could not be extended outside Italy

(terra Italia).[16]

ara

The focal point of sacrifice was the altar (ara, plural arae). Most altars throughout the city of Rome and in the countryside would have been simple, open-air structures; they may have been located within a sacred precinct (templum), but often without an aedes housing a cult image.[17] An altar that received food offerings might also be called a mensa, "table."[18]

Perhaps the best-known Roman altar is the elaborate and Greek-influenced Ara Pacis, which has been called "the most representative work of Augustan art." [19] Other major public altars included the Ara Maxima.

arbor felix

See also: Ficus Ruminalis

A tree (arbor) was categorized as felix if it was under the protection of the heavenly gods (di superi). The adjective felix here means not only literally "fruitful" but more broadly "auspicious".

Macrobius[20] lists arbores felices (plural) as the oak (four species thereof), the birch, the hazelnut, the sorbus, the white fig, the pear, the apple, the grape, the plum, the cornus and the lotus. The oak was sacred to Jupiter, and twigs of oak were used by the Vestals to ignite the sacred fire in March every year. Also among the felices were the olive tree, a twig of which was affixed to the hat of the Flamen Dialis, and the laurel and the poplar, which crowned the Salian priests.[21]

Arbores infelices were those under the protection of chthonic gods or those gods who had the power of turning away misfortune (avertentium). As listed by Tarquinius Priscus in his lost ostentarium on trees,[22] these were buckthorn, red cornel, fern, black fig, "those that bear a black berry and black fruit," holly, woodland pear, butcher's broom, briar, and brambles." [23]

attrectare

The verb attrectare ("to touch, handle, lay hands on") referred in specialized religious usage to touching sacred objects while performing cultic actions. Attrectare had a positive meaning only in reference to the actions of the sacerdotes populi Romani ("priests of the Roman people"). It had the negative meaning of "contaminate" (= contaminare) or pollute when referring to the handling of sacred objects by those not authorized, ordained, or ritually purified.[24]

augur

An augur (Latin plural augures) was an official and priest who solicited and interpreted the will of the gods regarding a proposed action. The augur ritually defined a templum, or sacred space, declared the purpose of his consultation, offered sacrifice, and observed the signs that were sent in return, particularly the actions and flight of birds. If the augur received unfavorable signs, he could suspend, postpone or cancel the undertaking (obnuntiatio). "Taking the auspices" was an important part of all major official business, including inaugurations, senatorial debates, legislation, elections and war, and was held to be an ancient prerogative of Regal and patrician magistrates. Under the Republic, this right was extended to other magistrates. After 300 BC, plebeians could become augurs.

auguraculum

The solicitation of formal auspices required the marking out of ritual space (auguraculum) from within which the augurs observed the templum, including the construction of an augural tent or hut (tabernaculum). There were three such sites in Rome: on the citadel (arx), on the Quirinal Hill, and on the Palatine Hill. Festus said that originally the auguraculum was in fact the arx. It faced east, situating the north on the augur's left or lucky side.[25] A magistrate who was serving as a military commander also took daily auspices, and thus a part of camp-building while on campaign was the creation of a tabernaculum augurale. This augural tent was the center of religious and legal proceedings within the camp.[26]

augurium

Augurium (plural auguria) is an abstract noun that pertains to the augur. It seems to mean variously: the "sacral investiture" of the augur;^[27] the ritual acts and actions of the augurs;^[28] augural law (ius augurale);^[29] and recorded signs whose meaning had already been established.^[30] The word is rooted in the IE stem *aug-, "to increase," and possibly an archaic Latin neuter noun *augus, meaning "that which is full of mystic force." As the sign that manifests the divine will,^[31] the augurium for a magistrate was valid for a year; a priest's, for his lifetime; for a temple, it was perpetual.^[32]

The distinction between augurium and auspicium is often unclear. Auspicia is the observation of birds as signs of divine will, a practice held to have been established by Romulus, first king of Rome, while the institution of augury was attributed to his successor Numa.^[33] For Servius, an augurium is the same thing as auspicia impetrativa, a body of signs sought through prescribed ritual means.^[34] Some scholars think auspicia would belong more broadly to the magistracies and the patres^[35] while the augurium would be limited to the rex sacrorum and the major priesthoods.^[36]

Ancient sources record three auguria: the augurium salutis in which every year the gods were asked whether it was fas (permissible, right) to ask for the safety of the Roman people (August 5); the augurium canarium, a dog sacrifice to promote the maturation of grain crops, held in the presence of the pontiffs as well as the augurs;^[37] and the vernisera auguria mentioned by Festus, which should have been a springtime propitiary rite held at the time of the harvest (auguria messalia).

auspex

The auspex, plural auspices, is a diviner who reads omens from the observed flight of birds (avi-, from avis, "bird", with -spex, "observer", from spicere). See auspicia following and auspice.

auspicia

The auspicia (au- = avis, "bird"; -spic-, "watch") were originally signs derived from observing the flight of birds within the templum of the sky. Auspices are taken by an augur. Originally they were the prerogative of the patricians,^[38] but the college of augurs was opened to plebeians in 300 BC.^[39] Only magistrates were in possession of the auspicia publica, with the right and duty to take the auspices pertaining to the Roman state.^[40] Favorable auspices marked a time or location as auspicious, and were required for important ceremonies or events, including elections, military campaigns and pitched battles.

According to Festus, there were five kinds of auspicia to which augurs paid heed: ex caelo, celestial signs such as thunder and lightning; ex avibus, signs offered by birds; ex tripudiis, signs produced by the actions of certain sacred chickens; ex quadrupedibus, signs from the behavior of four-legged animals; and ex diris, threatening portents.^[41] In official state augury at Rome, only the auspicia ex caelo and ex avibus were employed.

The taking of the auspices required ritual silence (silentium). Watching for auspices was called spectio or servare de caelo. The appearance of expected signs resulted in nuntiatio, or if they were unfavorable obnuntiatio. If unfavorable auspices were observed, the business at hand was stopped by the official observer, who declared alio die ("on another day").^[42]

The practice of observing bird omens was common to many ancient peoples predating and contemporaneous with Rome, including the Greeks,^[citation needed] Celts,^[43] and Germans.^[citation needed]

auspicia impetrativa

Auspicia impetrativa were signs that were solicited under highly regulated ritual conditions (see spectio and servare de caelo) within the templum.^[44] The type of auspices required for convening public assemblies were impetrativa,^[45] and magistrates had the "right and duty" to seek these omens actively.^[46] These auspices could only be sought from an auguraculum, a ritually constructed

augural tent or "tabernacle" (tabernaculum).[47] Contrast *auspicia oblativa*.

auspicia maiora

The right of observing the "greater auspices" was conferred on a Roman magistrate holding *imperium*, perhaps by a *Lex curiata de imperio*, although scholars are not agreed on the finer points of law.[48] A censor had *auspicia maxima*. [49] It is also thought that the *flamines maiores* were distinguished from the *minores* by their right to take the *auspicia maiora*; see *Flamen*.

auspicia oblativa

Signs that occurred without deliberately being sought through formal augural procedure were *auspicia oblativa*. These unsolicited signs were regarded as sent by a deity or deities to express either approval or disapproval for a particular undertaking. The prodigy (*prodigium*) was one form of unfavorable *oblativa*. [50] Contrast *auspicia impetrativa*.

auspicia privata

Private and domestic religion was linked to divine signs as state religion was. It was customary in patrician families to take the auspices for any matter of consequence such as marriages, travel, and important business. [51] The scant information about *auspicia privata* in ancient authors [52] suggests that the taking of private auspices was not different in essence from that of public auspices: absolute silence was required, [53] and the person taking the auspices could ignore unfavorable or disruptive events by feigning not to have perceived them. [54] In matters pertaining to the family or individual, both lightning [55] and *exta* (entrails) [56] might yield signs for *privati*, private citizens not authorized to take official auspices. Among his other duties, the *Pontifex Maximus* advised *privati* as well as the official priests about prodigies and their forestalling. [57]

averruncare

In pontifical usage, the verb *averruncare*, "to avert," denotes a ritual action aimed at averting a misfortune intimated by an omen. Bad omens (*portentaque prodigiaque mala*) are to be burnt, using trees that are in the tutelage of underworld or "averting" gods (see *arbores infelices* above). [58] Varro says that the god who presides over the action of averting is *Averruncus*. [59]

bellum iustum

A "just war" was a war considered justifiable by the principles of *fetial law* (*ius fetiale*). [60] Because war could bring about religious pollution, it was in itself *nefas*, "wrong," and could incur the wrath of gods unless *iustum*, "just". [61] The requirements for a just war were both formal and substantive. As a formal matter, the war had to be declared according to the procedures of the *ius fetiale*. On substantive grounds, a war required a "just cause," which might include *rerum repetitio*, retaliation against another people for pillaging, or a breach of or unilateral recession from a treaty; or necessity, as in the case of repelling an invasion. [62] See also *Jus ad bellum*.

caerimonia

The English word "ceremony" derives from the Latin *caerimonia* or *caeremonia*, a word of obscure etymology first found in literature and inscriptions from the time of Cicero (mid-1st century BC), but thought to be of much greater antiquity. Its meaning varied over time. Cicero used *caerimonia* at least 40 times, in three or four different senses: "inviolability" or "sanctity", a usage also of Tacitus; "punctilious veneration", in company with *cura* (carefulness, concern); more commonly in the plural *caerimoniae*, to mean "ritual prescriptions" or "ritual acts." The plural form is endorsed by Roman grammarians.

Hendrik Wagenvoort maintained that *caerimoniae* were originally the secret ritual instructions laid down by Numa, which are described as *statae et sollemnes*, "established and solemn." [63] These were interpreted and supervised by the College of Pontiffs,

flamens, rex sacrorum and the Vestals. Later, caerimoniae might refer also to other rituals, including foreign cults.[64] These prescribed rites "unite the inner subject with the external religious object", binding human and divine realms. The historian Valerius Maximus makes clear that the caerimoniae require those performing them to attain a particular mental-spiritual state (animus, "intention"), and emphasizes the importance of caerimoniae in the dedication and first sentence of his work. In Valerius' version of the Gallic siege of Rome, the Vestals and the Flamen Quirinalis rescue Rome's sacred objects (sacra) by taking them to Caere; thus preserved, the rites take their name from the place.[65] Although this etymology makes a meaningful narrative connection for Valerius,[66] it is unlikely to be correct in terms of modern scientific linguistics. An Etruscan origin has sometimes been proposed. Wagenvoort thought that caerimonia derived from caerus, "dark" in the sense of "hidden", hence meaning "darknesses, secrets." [67]

In his *Etymologiae*, Isidore of Seville says that the Greek equivalent is *orgia*, but derives the word from *carendo*, "lacking", and says that some think caerimoniae should be used of Jewish observances, specifically the dietary law that requires abstaining from or "lacking" certain foods.[68]

calator (kalator)

The calatores were assistants who carried out day-to-day business on behalf of the senior priests of the state such as the *flamines maiores*. A calator was a public slave.[69] Festus derives the word from the Greek verb *kalein*, "to call."

capite velato

At the traditional public rituals of ancient Rome, officiants prayed, sacrificed, offered libations, and practiced augury *capite velato*, [70] "with the head covered" by a fold of the toga drawn up from the back. This covering of the head is a distinctive feature of Roman rite in contrast with Etruscan practice [71] or *ritus graecus*, "Greek rite." [72] In Roman art, the covered head is a symbol of *pietas* and the individual's status as a *pontifex*, *augur* or other priest. [73]

It has been argued that the Roman expression of piety *capite velato* influenced Paul's prohibition against Christians praying with covered heads: "Any man who prays or prophesies with his head covered dishonors his head." [74]

carmen

In classical Latin, *carmen* usually means "song, poem, ode." In magico-religious usage, a *carmen* (plural *carmina*) is a chant, hymn, spell, or charm. In essence "a verbal utterance sung for ritualistic purposes", the *carmen* is characterized by formulaic expression, redundancy, and rhythm. [75] Fragments from two archaic priestly hymns are preserved, the *Carmen Arvale* of the Arval Brethren and the *Carmina Salaria* of the *Salii*. The *Carmen Saeculare* of Horace, though self-consciously literary in technique, was also a hymn, performed by a chorus at the Saecular Games of 17 BC and expressing the Apollonian ideology of Augustus. [76]

A *carmen malum* or *maleficum* is a potentially harmful magic spell; a *carmen sepulchrale* is a spell that evokes the dead from their tombs; a *carmen veneficum*, a "poisonous" charm. [77] In magic, the word *carmen* comes to mean also the object on which a spell is inscribed, hence a charm in the physical sense. [78]

castus, castitas

Castus is an adjective meaning morally pure or guiltless (English "chaste"), hence pious or ritually pure in a religious sense. *Castitas* is the abstract noun. Various etymologies have been proposed, among them two IE stems: **k'(e)stos* [79] meaning "he who conforms to the prescriptions of rite"; or **kas-*, from which derives the verb *careo*, "I defice, am deprived of, have none..." i.e. *vitia*. [80] In Roman religion, the purity of ritual and those who perform it is paramount: one who is correctly cleansed and *castus* in religious preparation and performance is likely to please the gods. Ritual error is a pollutant; it vitiates the performance and risks the gods' anger. *Castus* and *castitas* are attributes of the *sacerdos* (priest), [81] but substances and objects can also be ritually *castus*. [82]

cinctus gabinus

A priest or officiant who was cinctus Gabinus wore his toga bound around the waist in a "Gabinian cincture", a particular belting for a vestment that was derived from the practice of Gabii.[83] This style of fastening left both hands free to perform ritual tasks, as the wearing of the toga usually did not.[84] The cincture accompanied the veiling or covering of the head (*capite velato*) with a cowl-like fold of the toga.[85] Like the conical, helmet-like headgear worn by priests such as the *Salii*, the Gabinian cincture was originally associated with warriors, and was worn for a solemn declaration of war. It was also part of Etruscan priestly dress.[86]

clavum fingere

Clavum fingere ("to nail in, to fasten or fix the nail") was an expression that referred to the fixing or "sealing" of fate.[87] A nail was one of the attributes of the goddess *Necessitas*[88] and of the Etruscan goddess *Athrpa* (Greek *Atropos*). According to Livy, every year in the temple of *Nortia*, the Etruscan counterpart of *Fortuna*, a nail was driven in to mark the time. In Rome, the senior magistrate[89] on the Ides of September drove a nail called the *clavus annalis* ("year-nail")[90] into the wall of the Temple of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*. The ceremony occurred on the *dies natalis* ("birthday" or anniversary of dedication) of the temple, when a banquet for *Jove* (*Epulum Jovis*) was also held. The nail-driving ceremony, however, took place in a *templum* devoted to *Minerva*, on the right side of the *aedes* of *Jupiter*, because the concept of "number" was invented by *Minerva* and the ritual predated the common use of written letters.[91]

The importance of this ritual is lost in obscurity, but in the early Republic it is associated with the appointment of a dictator *clavi figendi causa*, "dictator for the purpose of driving the nail,"[92] one of whom was appointed for the years 363, 331, 313, and 263 BC.[93] Livy attributes this practice to *religio*, religious scruple or obligation. It may be that in addition to an annual ritual, there was a "fixing" during times of pestilence or civil discord that served as a *piaculum*. [94] Livy says that in 363, a plague had been ravaging Rome for two years. It was recalled that a plague had once been

broken when a dictator drove a ritual nail, and the senate appointed one for that purpose.[95] The ritual of "driving the nail" was among those revived and reformed by Augustus, who in 1 AD transferred it to the new Temple of *Mars Ultor*. Henceforth a censor fixed the nail at the end of his term.[96]

collegium

A *collegium* ("joined by law"), plural *collegia*, was any association with a legal personality. The priestly colleges oversaw religious traditions, and until 300 BC only patricians were eligible for membership. When plebeians began to be admitted, the size of the colleges was expanded. By the Late Republic, three *collegia* wielded greater authority than the others, with a fourth coming to prominence during the reign of Augustus. The four great religious corporations (*quattuor amplissima collegia*) were:

Pontifices, the College of Pontiffs headed by the *Pontifex Maximus*;
Augures;

Quindecimviri sacris faciundis, the fifteen priests in charge of the *Sibylline Books*;

Septemviri epulonum, the board of seven priests who organized public banquets for religious holidays.

Augustus was a member of all four *collegia*, but limited membership for any other senator to one.[97]

In Roman society, a *collegium* might also be a trade guild or neighborhood association; see *Collegium* (ancient Rome).

comitia calata

The *comitia calata* ("calate assemblies") were non-voting assemblies (*comitia*) called for religious purposes. The verb *calare*, originally meaning "to call," was a technical term of pontifical usage, found also in *calendae* (*Calends*) and *calator*. According to *Aulus Gellius*, [98] these *comitia* were held in the presence of the college of pontiffs in order to inaugurate the *rex* (the king in the *Regal Period* or the *rex sacrorum* in the Republic)[99] or the *flamines*. The *pontifex maximus* auspiciated and presided; assemblies over which annually elected magistrates presided are never *calata*, nor

are meetings for secular purposes or other elections even with a pontiff presiding.[100]

The comitia calata were organized by curiae or centuriae.[101] The people were summoned to comitia calata to witness the reading of wills, or the oath by which sacra were renounced (detestatio sacrorum).[102] They took no active role and were only present to observe as witnesses.[103]

Mommsen thought the calendar abbreviation QRCF, given once as Q. Rex C. F.[104] and taken as Quando Rex Comitiavit Fas, designated a day when it was religiously permissible for the rex to "call" for a comitium, hence the comitia calata.[105]

commentarii augurales

The Commentaries of the Augurs were written collections probably of the decreta and responsa of the college of augurs. Some scholarship, however, maintains that the commentarii were precisely not the decreta and responsa.[106] The commentaries are to be distinguished from the augurs' libri reconditi, texts not for public use.[107] The books are mentioned by Cicero,[108] Festus,[109] and Servius Danielis.[110] Livy includes several examples of the augurs' decreta and responsa in his history, presumably taken from the commentarii.[111]

commentarii pontificum

The Commentaries of the Pontiffs contained a record of decrees and official proceedings of the College of Pontiffs. Priestly literature was one of the earliest written forms of Latin prose, and included rosters, acts (acta), and chronicles kept by the various collegia,[112] as well as religious procedure.[113] It was often occultum genus litterarum,[114] an arcane form of literature to which by definition only priests had access. The commentarii, however, may have been available for public consultation, at least by senators,[115] because the rulings on points of law might be cited as precedent.[116] The public nature of the commentarii is asserted by Jerzy Linderski in contrast to libri reconditi, the secret priestly books.[117] The commentarii survive only through quotation or references in

ancient authors.[118] These records are not readily distinguishable from the libri pontificales; some scholars maintain that the terms commentarii and libri for the pontifical writings are interchangeable. Those who make a distinction hold that the libri were the secret archive containing rules and precepts of the ius sacrum (holy law), texts of spoken formulae, and instructions on how to perform ritual acts, while the commentarii were the responsa (opinions and arguments) and decreta (binding explications of doctrine) that were available for consultation.

Whether or not the terms can be used to distinguish two types of material, the priestly documents would have been divided into those reserved for internal use by the priests themselves, and those that served as reference works on matters external to the college.[119] Collectively, these titles would have comprised all matters of pontifical law, ritual, and cult maintenance, along with prayer formularies[120] and temple statutes.[121] See also libri pontificales and libri augurales.

coniectura

Coniectura is the reasoned but speculative interpretation of signs presented unexpectedly, that is, of novae res, "novel information." These "new signs" are omens or portents not previously observed, or not observed under the particular set of circumstances at hand. Coniectura is thus the kind of interpretation used for ostenta and portenta as constituting one branch of the "Etruscan discipline"; contrast observatio as applied to the interpretation of fulgura (thunder and lightning) and exta (entrails). It was considered an ars, a "method" or "art" as distinguished from disciplina, a formal body of teachings which required study or training.[122]

The origin of the Latin word coniectura suggests the process of making connections, from the verb conicio, participle coniectum (con-, "with, together", and iacio, "throw, put"). Coniectura was also a rhetorical term applied to forms of argumentation, including court cases.[123] The English word "conjecture" derives from coniectura.

consecratio

Consecratio was the ritual act that resulted in the creation of an aedes, a shrine that housed a cult image, or an ara, an altar. Jerzy Linderski insists that the consecratio should be distinguished from the inauguratio, that is, the ritual by which the augurs established a sacred place (locus) or templum (sacred precinct).[124] The consecration was performed by a pontiff reciting a formula from the libri pontificales, the pontifical books.[125] One component of consecration was the dedicatio, or dedication, a form of ius publicum (public law) carried out by a magistrate representing the will of the Roman people.[126] The pontiff was responsible for the consecration proper.[127]

cultus

Cicero defined religio as cultus deorum, "the cultivation of the gods." [128] The "cultivation" necessary to maintain a specific deity was that god's cultus, "cult," and required "the knowledge of giving the gods their due" (scientia colendorum deorum).[129] The noun cultus originates from the past participle of the verb colo, colere, colui, cultus, "to tend, take care of, cultivate," originally meaning "to dwell in, inhabit" and thus "to tend, cultivate land (ager); to practice agriculture," an activity fundamental to Roman identity even when Rome as a political center had become fully urbanized. Cultus is often translated as "cult", without the negative connotations the word may have in English, or with the Anglo-Saxon word "worship", but it implies the necessity of active maintenance beyond passive adoration. Cultus was expected to matter to the gods as a demonstration of respect, honor, and reverence; it was an aspect of the contractual nature of Roman religion (see do ut des).[130] St. Augustine echoes Cicero's formulation when he declares that "religio is nothing other than the cultus of God." [131]

decretum

Decreta (plural) were the binding explications of doctrine issued by the official priests on questions of religious practice and interpretation. They were preserved in written form and archived.[132] Compare responsum.

delubrum

A delubrum was a shrine. Varro says it was a building that housed the image of a deus, "god", [133] and emphasizes the human role in dedicating the statue.[134] According to Varro,[135] the delubrum was the oldest form of an aedes, a structure that housed a god. It is an ambiguous term for both the building and the surrounding area ubi aqua currit ("where water runs"), according to the etymology of the antiquarian Cincius.[136] Festus gives the etymology of delubrum as fustem delibratum, "stripped stake," that is, a tree deprived of its bark (liber) by a lightning bolt, as such trees in archaic times were venerated as gods. The meaning of the term later extended to denote the shrine built to house the stake.[137] Compare aedes, fanum, and templum.

Isidore connected the delubrum with the verb diluere, "to wash", describing it as a "spring-shrine", sometimes with annexed pool, where people would wash before entering, thus comparable to a Christian baptismal font.[138]

detestatio sacrorum

When a person passed from one gens to another, as for instance by adoption, he renounced the religious duties (sacra) he had previously held in order to assume those of the family he was entering.[139] The ritual procedure of detestatio sacrorum was enacted before a calate assembly.[140]

deus, dea, di, dii

Deus, "god"; dea, "goddess", plural deae; di or dii, "gods", plural, or "deities", of mixed gender. The Greek equivalent is theos, which the Romans translated with deus. Servius says [141] that deus or dea is a "generic term" (generale nomen) for all gods.[142] In his lost work Antiquitates rerum divinarum, assumed to have been based on pontifical doctrine,[143] Varro classified dii as certi, incerti, praecipui or selecti, i.e. "deities whose function could be ascertained", [144] those whose function was unknown or indeterminate, main or selected gods.[145] Compare divus. For etymological discussion, see Deus and Dyeus. See also List of

Roman deities.

devotio

The devotio was an extreme form of votum in which a Roman general vowed to sacrifice his own life in battle along with the enemy to chthonic deities in exchange for a victory. The most extended description of the ritual is given by Livy, regarding the self-sacrifice of Decius Mus.[146] The English word "devotion" derives from the Latin. For another votum that might be made in the field by a general, see evocatio.

dies imperii

A Roman emperor's dies imperii was the date on which he assumed imperium, that is, the anniversary of his accession as emperor. The date was observed annually with renewed oaths of loyalty and vota pro salute imperatoris, vows and offerings for the wellbeing (salus) of the emperor. Observances resembled those on January 3, which had replaced the traditional vows made for the salus of the republic after the transition to one-man rule under Augustus. The dies imperii was a recognition that succession during the Empire might take place irregularly through the death or overthrow of an emperor, in contrast to the annual magistracies of the Republic when the year was designated by the names of consuls serving their one-year term.[147]

The dies Augusti or dies Augustus was more generally any anniversary pertaining to the imperial family, such as birthdays or weddings, appearing on official calendars as part of Imperial cult.[148] References to a dies Caesaris are also found, but it is unclear whether or how it differed from the dies Augusti.[149]

dies lustricus

The dies lustricus ("day of purification") was a rite carried out for the newborn on the eighth day of life for girls and the ninth day for boys. Little is known of the ritual procedure, but the child must have received its name on that day; funerary inscriptions for infants who died before their dies lustricus are nameless.[150] The

youngest person found commemorated on a Roman tombstone by name was a male infant nine days old (or 10 days in Roman inclusive counting).[151] Because of the rate of infant mortality, perhaps as high as 40 percent,[152] the newborn in its first few days of life was held as in a liminal phase, vulnerable to malignant forces (see List of Roman birth and childhood deities). Socially, the child did not exist.[153] The dies lustricus may have been when the child received the bulla, the protective amulet that was put aside when a boy passed into adulthood.[154]

dies natalis

Page listing imperial natales by month from the 17th-century Codex Vaticanus Barberini latinus, based on the Calendar of Filocalus (354 AD)

A dies natalis was a birthday ("natal day"; see also dies lustricus above) or more generally the anniversary of a founding event. The Romans celebrated an individual's birthday annually, in contrast to the Greek practice of marking the date each month with a simple libation.[155] The Roman dies natalis was connected with the cult owed to the Genius.[156] A public figure might schedule a major event on his birthday: Pompeius Magnus ("Pompey the Great") waited seven months after he returned from his military campaigns in the East before he staged his triumph, so he could celebrate it on his birthday.[157] The coincidence of birthdays and anniversaries could have a positive or negative significance: news of Decimus Brutus's victory at Mutina was announced at Rome on his birthday, while Caesar's assassin Cassius suffered defeat at Philippi on his birthday and committed suicide.[158] Birthdays were one of the dates on which the dead were commemorated.[159]

The date when a temple was founded, or when it was rededicated after a major renovation or rebuilding, was also a dies natalis, and might be felt as the "birthday" of the deity it housed as well. The date of such ceremonies was therefore chosen by the pontiffs with regard to its position on the religious calendar. The "birthday" or foundation date of Rome was celebrated April 21, the day of the Parilia, an archaic pastoral festival.[160] As part of a flurry of religious reforms and restorations in the period from 38 BC to 17

AD, no fewer than fourteen temples had their dies natalis moved to another date, sometimes with the clear purpose of aligning them with new Imperial theology after the collapse of the Republic.[161]

The birthdays of emperors were observed with public ceremonies as an aspect of Imperial cult. The Feriale Duranum, a military calendar of religious observances, features a large number of imperial birthdays. Augustus shared his birthday (September 23) with the anniversary of the Temple of Apollo in the Campus Martius, and elaborated on his connection with Apollo in developing his special religious status.[158]

A birthday commemoration was also called a natalicium, which could take the form of a poem. Early Christian poets such as Paulinus of Nola adopted the natalicium poem for commemorating saints.[162] The day on which Christian martyrs died is regarded as their dies natalis; see Calendar of saints.

dies religiosus

According to Festus, it was wrong (nefas) to undertake any action beyond attending to basic necessities on a day that was religiosus on the calendar. On these days, there were to be no marriages, political assemblies, or battles. Soldiers were not to be enlisted, nor journeys started. Nothing new was to be started, and no religious acts (res divinae) performed. Aulus Gellius said that dies religiosi were to be distinguished from those that were nefasti.[163]

dies vitiosus

The phrase diem vitare ("to vitiate a day") in augural practice meant that the normal activities of public business were prohibited on a given day, presumably by obnuntiatio, because of observed signs that indicated defect (morbus; see vitium).[164] Unlike a dies religiosus or a dies ater ("black day," typically the anniversary of a calamity), a particular date did not become permanently vitiosus, with one exception. Some Roman calendars (fasti) produced under Augustus and up to the time of Claudius[165] mark January 14 as a dies vitiosus, a day that was inherently "vitiating". January 14 is the only day to be marked annually and officially by decree of the

Roman senate (senatus consultum) as vitiosus. Linderski calls this "a very remarkable innovation." [166] One calendar, the Fasti Verulani (c. 17–37 AD), explains the designation by noting it was the dies natalis of Mark Antony, which the Greek historian and Roman senator Cassius Dio says had been declared ἡμέρα μιάρá (hēmera miara) (= dies vitiosus) by Augustus.[167] The emperor Claudius, who was the grandson of Antony, rehabilitated the day.[168]

dirae

The adjective dirus as applied to an omen meant "dire, awful." It often appears in the feminine plural as a substantive meaning "evil omens." Dirae were the worst of the five kinds of signs recognized by the augurs, and were a type of oblativ or unsought sign that foretold disastrous consequences. The ill-fated departure of Marcus Crassus for the invasion of Parthia was notably attended by dirae (see Ateius Capito). In the interpretive etymology of ancient writers,[169] dirae was thought to derive from dei irae, the grudges or anger of a god, that is, divine wrath. Dirae is an epithet for the Furies, and can also mean curses or imprecations,[170] particularly in the context of magic and related to defixiones (curse tablets).[171] In explaining why Claudius felt compelled to ban the religion of the druids, Suetonius[172] speaks of it as dirus, alluding to the practice of human sacrifice.[173]

disciplina Etrusca

The collective body of knowledge pertaining to the doctrine, ritual practices, laws, and science of Etruscan religion and cosmology was known as the disciplina Etrusca.[174] Divination was a particular feature of the disciplina. The Etruscan texts on the disciplina that were known to the Romans are of three kinds: the libri haruspicini (on haruspicy), the libri fulgurales (lightning), and the libri rituales (ritual).[175] Nigidius Figulus, the Late Republican scholar and praetor of 58 BC, was noted for his expertise in the disciplina.[176] Extant ancient sources on the Etrusca disciplina include Pliny the Elder, Seneca, Cicero, Johannes Lydus, Macrobius and Festus.

divus

The adjective *divus*, feminine *diva*, is usually translated as "divine." As a substantive, *divus* refers to a "deified" or divinized mortal. Both *deus* and *divus* derive from Indo-European **deywos*, Old Latin *deivos*. Servius confirms^[177] that *deus* is used for "perpetual deities" (*deos perpetuos*), but *divus* for people who become divine (*divos ex hominibus factos*). While this distinction is useful in considering the theological foundations of Imperial cult, it sometimes vanishes in practice, particularly in Latin poetry; Vergil, for instance, mostly uses *deus* and *divus* interchangeably. Varro and Ateius,^[178] however, maintained that the definitions should be reversed.^[179] See also Imperial cult: *Divus*, *deus* and the *numen*.

do ut des

The formula *do ut des* ("I give that you might give") expresses the reciprocity of exchange between human being and deity, reflecting the importance of gift-giving as a mutual obligation in ancient society and the contractual nature of Roman religion. The gifts offered by the human being take the form of sacrifice, with the expectation that the god will return something of value, prompting gratitude and further sacrifices in a perpetuating cycle.^[180] The *do ut des* principle is particularly active in magic and private ritual.^[181] *Do ut des* was also a judicial concept of contract law.^[182]

In Pauline theology, *do ut des* was viewed as a reductive form of piety, merely a "business transaction", in contrast to the Christian God's unilateral grace (*χάρις*, *charis*).^[183] Max Weber, in *The Sociology of Religion*, saw it as "a purely formalistic ethic."^[184] In *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, however, Émile Durkheim regarded the concept as not merely utilitarian, but an expression of "the mechanism of the sacrificial system itself" as "an exchange of mutually invigorating good deeds between the divinity and his faithful."^[185]

effatio

The verb *effari*, past participle *effatus*, means "to create boundaries

(fines) by means of fixed verbal formulas."^[186] *Effatio* is the abstract noun. It was one of the three parts of the ceremony inaugurating a *templum* (sacred space), preceded by the consulting of signs and the *liberatio* which "freed" the space from malign or competing spiritual influences and human effects.^[187] A site *liberatus et effatus* was thus "exorcized and available."^[188] The result was a *locus inauguratus* ("inaugurated site"), the most common form of which was the *templum*.^[189] The boundaries had permanent markers (*cippi* or *termini*), and when these were damaged or removed, their *effatio* had to be renewed.^[190]

evocatio

The "calling forth" or "summoning away" of a deity was an *evocatio*, from *evoco*, *evocare*, "summon." The ritual was conducted in a military setting either as a threat during a siege or as a result of surrender, and aimed at diverting the favor of a tutelary deity from the opposing city to the Roman side, customarily with a promise of better-endowed cult or a more lavish temple.^[191] As a tactic of psychological warfare, *evocatio* undermined the enemy's sense of security by threatening the sanctity of its city walls (see *pomerium*) and other forms of divine protection. In practice, *evocatio* was a way to mitigate otherwise sacrilegious looting of religious images from shrines.^[192]

Recorded examples of evocations include the transferral of *Juno Regina* ("Juno the Queen", originally Etruscan *Uni*) from *Veii* in 396 BC;^[193] the ritual performed by *Scipio Aemilianus* in 146 BC at the defeat of Carthage, involving *Tanit* (*Juno Caelestis*);^[194] and the dedication of a temple to an unnamed, gender-indeterminate deity at *Isaura Vetus* in Asia Minor in 75 BC.^[195] Some scholars think that *Vortumnus* (Etruscan *Voltumna*) was brought by evocation to Rome in 264 BC as a result of *M. Fulvius Flaccus*'s defeat of the *Volsinii*.^[196] In Roman myth, a similar concept motivates the transferral of the *Palladium* from Troy to Rome, where it served as one of the *pignora imperii*, sacred tokens of Roman sovereignty.^[197] Compare *invocatio*, the "calling on" of a deity.

Formal evocations are known only during the Republic.^[198] Other forms of religious assimilation appear from the time of Augustus,

often in connection with the establishment of the Imperial cult in the provinces.[199]

Evocatio, "summons", was also a term of Roman law without evident reference to its magico-religious sense.[200]

exauguratio

A site that had been inaugurated (*locus inauguratus*), that is, marked out through augural procedure, could not have its purpose changed without a ceremony of reversal.[201] Removing a god from the premises required the correct ceremonial invocations.[202] When Tarquin rebuilt the temple district on the Capitoline, a number of deities were dislodged by exauguratio, though *Terminus* and *Juventas* "refused" and were incorporated into the new structure.[203] A distinction between the exauguratio of a deity and an evocatio can be unclear.[204] The procedure was in either case rare, and was required only when a deity had to yield place to another, or when the site was secularized. It was not required when a site was upgraded, for instance, if an open-air altar were to be replaced with a temple building to the same god.[205]

The term could also be used for removing someone from a priestly office (*sacerdotium*).[206] Compare *inauguratio*.

eximius

An adjective, "choice, select," used to denote the high quality required of sacrificial victims: "Victims (*hostiae*) are called 'select' (*eximiae*) because they are selected (*eximantur*) from the herd and designated for sacrifice, or because they are chosen on account of their choice (*eximia*) appearance as offerings to divine entities (*numinibus*)."[207] The adjective here is synonymous with *egregius*, "chosen from the herd (*grex, gregis*)."[208] Macrobius says it is specifically a sacerdotal term and not a "poetic epithet" (*poeticum ἐπίθετον*).

exta

The exta were the entrails of a sacrificed animal, comprising in

Cicero's enumeration the gall bladder (*fel*), liver (*iecur*), heart (*cor*), and lungs (*pulmones*).[209] The exta were exposed for litation (divine approval) as part of Roman liturgy, but were "read" in the context of the *disciplina Etrusca*. As a product of Roman sacrifice, the exta and blood are reserved for the gods, while the meat (*viscera*) is shared among human beings in a communal meal. The exta of bovine victims were usually stewed in a pot (*olla* or *aula*), while those of sheep or pigs were grilled on skewers. When the deity's portion was cooked, it was sprinkled with *mola salsa* (ritually prepared salted flour) and wine, then placed in the fire on the altar for the offering; the technical verb for this action was *porricere*. [210]

fanaticus

Fanaticus means "belonging to a fanum," a shrine or sacred precinct.[211] *Fanatici* as applied to people refers to temple attendants or devotees of a cult, usually one of the ecstatic or orgiastic religions such as that of *Cybele* (in reference to the *Galli*),[212] *Bellona-Ma*,[213] or perhaps *Silvanus*. [214] Inscriptions indicate that a person making a dedication might label himself *fanaticus*, in the neutral sense of "devotee".[215] Tacitus uses *fanaticus* to describe the troop of druids who attended on the Icenian queen *Boudicca*. [216] The word was often used disparagingly by ancient Romans in contrasting these more emotive rites to the highly scripted procedures of public religion,[217] and later by early Christians to deprecate religions other than their own; hence the negative connotation of "fanatic" in English.

Festus says that a tree struck by lightning is called *fanaticus*, [218] a reference to the Romano-Etruscan belief in lightning as a form of divine sign.[219] The Gallic bishop *Caesarius of Arles*, writing in the 5th century, indicates that such trees retained their sanctity even up to his own time,[220] and urged the Christian faithful to burn down the *arbores fanatici*. These trees either were located in and marked a fanum or were themselves considered a fanum. *Caesarius* is somewhat unclear as to whether the devotees regarded the tree itself as divine or whether they thought its destruction would kill the numen housed within it. Either way, even scarcity of firewood would not persuade them to use the sacred wood for fuel, a scruple

for which he mocked them.[221]

fanum

A fanum is a plot of consecrated ground, a sanctuary,[222] and from that a temple or shrine built there.[223] A fanum may be a traditional sacred space such as the grove (lucus) of Diana Nemorensis, or a sacred space or structure for non-Roman religions, such as an Iseum or Mithraeum. Cognates such as Oscan *físnú*,[224] Umbrian *fesnaf-e*,[225] and Paelignian *fesn* indicate that the concept is shared by Italic peoples.[226] By the Augustan period, fanum, aedes, templum, and delubrum are scarcely distinguishable in usage,[227] but fanum was a more inclusive and general term.[228]

The fanum or ambulatory temple of Roman Gaul was often built over an originally Celtic religious site, and its plan was influenced by the ritual architecture of earlier Celtic sanctuaries. The masonry temple building of the Gallo-Roman period had a central space (cella) and a peripheral gallery structure, both square.[229] Romano-Celtic fana of this type are found also in Roman Britain.[230][better source needed]

The English word "profane" ultimately derives from Latin *pro fano*,[231] "before, i.e. outside, the temple", "In front of the sanctuary," hence not within sacred ground.

fata deorum

Fata deorum or the contracted form *fata deum* are the utterances of the gods; that is, prophecies.[232] These were recorded in written form, and conserved by the state priests of Rome for consultation. The *fata* are both "fate" as known and determined by the gods, or the expression of the divine will in the form of verbal oracles.[233] *Fata deum* is a theme of the Aeneid, Vergil's national epic of Rome.[234]

The Sibylline books (*Fata Sibyllina* or *Libri Fatales*), composed in Greek hexameters, are an example of written *fata*. These were not Roman in origin, but were believed to have been acquired in only

partial form by Tarquin. They were guarded by the priesthood of the *decemviri sacris faciundis* ("ten men for carrying out sacred rites"), later fifteen in number (*quindecimviri*). No one read the books in their entirety; they were consulted only when needed. A passage was selected at random, and its relevance to the current situation was a matter of expert interpretation.[235] They were thought to contain *fata rei publicae aeterna*, "prophecies eternally valid for Rome".[236] They continued to be consulted throughout the Imperial period until the time of Christian hegemony. Augustus installed the Sibylline books in a special golden storage case under the statue of Apollo on the Palatine Hill.[237] The emperor Aurelian chastised the senate for succumbing to Christian influence and not consulting the books.[238] Julian consulted the books regarding his campaign against Persia, but departed before he received the unfavorable response of the college; Julian was killed, and the Palatine Temple of Apollo burned.[239]

fas

Fas is a central concept in Roman religion. Although translated in some contexts as "divine law,"[240] *fas* is more precisely that which is "religiously legitimate,"[241] or an action that is lawful in the eyes of the gods.[242] In public religion, *fas est* is declared before announcing an action required or allowed by Roman religious custom and by divine law.[243] *Fas* is thus both distinguished from and linked to *ius* (plural *iura*), "law, lawfulness, justice," as indicated by Vergil's often-cited phrase *fas et iura sinunt*, "fas and iura allow (it)," which Servius explains as "divine and human laws permit (it), for *fas* pertains to religion, *iura* to the human being." [244]

The *Fasti Antiates Maiores*, a pre-Julian calendar in a reconstructed drawing

In Roman calendars, days marked F are *dies fasti*, when it is *fas* to attend to the concerns of everyday life.[245] In non-specialized usage, *fas est* may mean generally "it is permissible, it is right."

The etymology of *fas* is debated. It is more commonly associated with the semantic field of the verb *for*, *fari*, "to speak,"[246] an

origin pressed by Varro.[247] In other sources, both ancient and modern, fas is thought to have its origin in an Indo-European root meaning "to establish," along with fanum and feriae.[248] See also Fasti and nefas.

fasti

A record or plan of official and religiously sanctioned events. All state and societal business must be transacted on dies fasti, "allowed days". The fasti were the records of all details pertaining to these events. The word was used alone in a general sense or qualified by an adjective to mean a specific type of record. Closely associated with the fasti and used to mark time in them were the divisions of the Roman calendar.

The Fasti is also the title of a six-book poem by Ovid based on the Roman religious calendar. It is a major source for Roman religious practice, and was translated into English by J.G. Frazer.

felix

In its religious sense, felix means "blessed, under the protection or favor of the gods; happy." That which is felix has achieved the pax divom, a state of harmony or peace with the divine world.[249] It is rooted in Indo-European *dhe(i)l, meaning "happy, fruitful, productive, full of nourishment." Related Latin words include femina, "woman" (a person who provides nourishment or suckles); felo, "to suckle"; and filius, "son" (a person suckled).[250] See also Felicitas, both an abstraction that expressed the quality of being felix and a deity of Roman state religion.

feria

A feria on the Roman calendar is a "free day", that is, a day in which no work was done. No court sessions were held, nor was any public business conducted. Employees were entitled to a day off, and even slaves were not obliged to work. These days were codified into a system of legal public holidays, the feriae publicae, which could be

- stativae, "stationary, fixed", holidays which recurred on the same

date each year;

- conceptivae, recurring holidays for which the date depended on some other factor, usually the agrarian cycle. They included Compitalia, Paganalia, Sementivae and Latinae (compare the moveable Christian holiday of Easter);
- imperativae, one-off holidays ordered to mark a special occasion, established with an act of auctoritas of a magistrate.

In the Roman Rite a feria is a weekday on which the faithful are required to attend Mass, such as Ash Wednesday. The custom throughout Europe of holding markets on the same day gave rise to the word "fair" (Spanish Feria, Italian Fiera), from feria.

festus

In the Roman calendar, a dies festus is a festive or holy day, that is, a day dedicated to a deity or deities. On such days it was forbidden to undertake any profane activity, especially official or public business. All dies festi were thus nefasti. Some days, however, were not festi and yet might not be permissible as business days (fasti) for other reasons. The days on which profane activities were permitted are profesti.[251]

fetial

The fetiales, or fetial priests, formed a college whose main responsibilities pertained to Rome's international affairs. They made formal proclamations of peace and of war, and confirmed treaties. They also served as traveling diplomats or ambassadors. They were said to have been first created by the Aeolian king Ferter Resius and introduced to Rome by Ancus Martius.[252]

finis

The finis (limit, border, boundary), plural fines, was an essential concept in augural practice, which was concerned with the definition of the templum. Establishing fines was an important part of a magistrate's duties.[253] Most scholars regard the finis as

having been defined physically by ropes, trees, stones, or other markers, as were fields and property boundaries in general. It was connected with the god Terminus and his cult.[254]

flamen

The fifteen flamines formed part of the College of Pontiffs. Each flamen served as the high priest to one of the official deities of Roman religion, and led the rituals relating to that deity. The flamines were regarded as the most ancient among the sacerdotēs, as many of them were assigned to deities who dated back to the prehistory of Latium and whose significance had already become obscure by classical times.

The archaic nature of the flamens is indicated by their presence among Latin tribes. They officiated at ceremonies with their head covered by a velum and always wore a filamen, thread, in contrast to public rituals conducted by Greek rite (*ritus graecus*) which were established later. Ancient authors derive the word flamen from the custom of covering the head with the filamen, but it may be cognate to Vedic Brahman. The distinctive headgear of the flamen was the apex.

Fratres Arvales

The "Brothers of the Field" were a college of 12 priests and one flamen whose duties were concerned with agriculture and farming. They were the most ancient religious *sodalitas*: according to tradition they were created by Romulus, but probably predated the foundation of Rome.

Gabinus

The adjective *gabinus* describes an element of religion that the Romans attributed to practices from Gabii, a town of Latium with municipal status about 12 miles from Rome. The incorporation of Gabinian traditions indicates their special status under treaty with Rome. See *cinctus gabinus* and *ager gabinus*. [83]

hostia

The *hostia* was the offering, usually an animal, in a sacrifice. The word is used interchangeably with *victima* by Ovid and others, but some ancient authors attempt to distinguish between the two.[255] Servius says[256] that the *hostia* is sacrificed before battle, the *victima* afterward, which accords with Ovid's etymology in relating the "host" to the "hostiles" or enemy (*hostis*), and the "victim" to the "victor." [257]

The difference between the *victima* and *hostia* is elsewhere said to be a matter of size, with the *hostia* smaller (*minor*). [258] *Hostiae* were also classified by age: *lactentes* were young enough to be still taking milk, but had reached the age to be *purae*; *bidentes* had reached two years of age [259] or had the two longer (*bi-*) incisor teeth (*dentes*) that are an indication of age. [260]

Hostiae could be classified in various ways. A *hostia consultatoria* was an offering for the purpose of consulting with a deity, that is, in order to know the will of a deity; the *hostia animalis*, to increase the force (*mactare*) of the deity. [261]

The victim might also be classified by occasion and timing. The *hostia praecidanea* was an "anticipatory offering" made the day before a sacrifice. [262] It was an advance atonement "to implore divine indulgence" should an error be committed on the day of the formal sacrifice. [263] A preliminary pig was offered as a *praecidanea* the day before the harvest began. [264] The *hostia praecidanea* was offered to Ceres a day in advance of a religious festival (*sacrum*, before the beginning of the harvest) in expiation for negligences in the duties of piety towards the deceased. [clarification needed] The *hostia praesentanea* was a pig offered to Ceres during a part of the funeral rites conducted within sight of the deceased, whose family was thereby ritually absolved. [265] A *hostia succidanea* was offered at any rite after the first sacrifice had failed owing to a ritual impropriety (*vitium*). [266] Compare *piaculum*, an expiatory offering.

Hostia is the origin of the word "host" for the Eucharistic sacrament of the Western Church; see *Sacramental bread*: Catholic Church.

See also *votum*, a dedication or a vow of an offering to a deity as well as that which fulfilled the vow.

inauguratio

A rite performed by augurs by which the concerned person received the approval of the gods for his appointment or their investiture. The augur would ask for the appearance of certain signs (*auspicia impetrativa*) while standing beside the appointee on the *auguraculum*. In the Regal period, *inauguratio* concerned the king and the major sacerdotess.[267] After the establishment of the Republic, the *rex sacrorum*,[268] the three *flamines maiores*,[269] the augurs, and the pontiffs[270] all had to be inaugurated.

The term may also refer to the ritual establishing of the augural *templum* and the tracing of the wall of a new city.[citation needed]

indigitamenta

The *indigitamenta* were lists of gods maintained by the College of Pontiffs to assure that the correct divine names were invoked for public prayers. It is sometimes unclear whether these names represent distinct minor entities, or epithets pertaining to an aspect of a major deity's sphere of influence, that is, an indigitation, or name intended to "fix" or focalize the local action of the god so invoked.[271] Varro is assumed to have drawn on direct knowledge of the lists in writing his theological books, as evidenced by the catalogues of minor deities mocked by the Church Fathers who used his work[272] as a reference.[273] Another source is likely to have been the non-extant work *De indigitamentis* of Granius Flaccus, Varro's contemporary.[274] Not to be confused with the *di indigetes*.

invocatio

The addressing of a deity in a prayer or magic spell is the *invocatio*, from *invoco*, *invocare*, "to call upon" the gods or spirits of the dead.[275] The efficacy of the *invocatio* depends on the correct naming of the deity, which may include epithets, descriptive phrases, honorifics or titles, and arcane names. The list of names

(*nomina*) is often extensive, particularly in magic spells; many prayers and hymns are composed largely of invocations.[276] The name is invoked in either the vocative[277] or the accusative case.[278] In specialized usage pertaining to augural procedure, *invocatio* is a synonym for *precatio*, but specifically aimed at averting mala, evil occurrences.[279] Compare *evocatio*.

The equivalent term in ancient Greek religion is *epiklesis*. [280] Pausanias distinguished among the categories of theonym proper, poetic epithet, the *epiclesis* of local cult, and an *epiclesis* that might be used universally among the Greeks.[281] *Epiclesis* remains in use by some Christian churches for the invocation of the Holy Spirit during the Eucharistic prayer.

ius

Ius is the Latin word for justice, right, equity, fairness and all which came to be understood as the sphere of law. It is defined in the opening words of the *Digesta* with the words of Celsus as "the art of that which is good and fair" and similarly by Paulus as "that which is always just and fair".[282] The polymath Varro and the jurist Gaius[283] consider the distinction between divine and human *ius* essential[284] but divine order is the source of all laws, whether natural or human, so the pontifex is considered the final judge (*iudex*) and arbiter.[285] The jurist Ulpian defines jurisprudence as "the knowledge of human and divine affairs, of what is just and unjust".[286]

ius divinum

"Sacred law"[287] or "divine law," particularly in regard to the gods' rights pertaining to their "property," that which is rightfully theirs.[288] Recognition of the *ius divinum* was fundamental to maintaining right relations between human beings and their deities. The concern for law and legal procedure that was characteristic of ancient Roman society was also inherent in Roman religion.[289] See also *pax deorum*.

lectisternium

The lectisternium was a ceremonial meal offered to deities represented by clothed statues or figures. The word derives from *lectum sternere*, "to spread (or "drape") a couch."

lex

The word *lex* (plural *leges*) derives from the Indo-European root **leg*, as do the Latin verbs *lego*, *legare*, *ligo*, *ligare* ("to appoint, bequeath") and *lego*, *legere* ("to gather, choose, select, discern, read": cf. also Greek verb *legein* "to collect, tell, speak"), and the abstract noun *religio*.^[290] Parties to legal proceedings and contracts bound themselves to observance by the offer of sacrifice to witnessing deities.^[291]

Even though the word *lex* underwent the frequent semantic shift in Latin towards the legal area, its original meaning of set, formulaic words was preserved in some instances. Some cult formulae are *leges*: an augur's request for particular signs that would betoken divine approval in an augural rite (*augurium*), or in the inauguration of magistrates and some sacerdotēs is named *legum dictio*.^[292] The formula *quaqua lege volet* ("by whatever *lex*, i.e. wording he wishes") allowed a cult performer discretion in his choice of ritual words.^[293] The *leges templi* regulated cult actions at various temples.^{[294][295]}

In civil law, ritualized sets of words and gestures known as *legis actiones* were in use as a legal procedure in civil cases; they were regulated by custom and tradition (*mos maiorum*) and were thought to involve protection of the performers from malign or occult influences.^[296]

libatio

Libation (Latin *libatio*, Greek *spondai*) was one of the simplest religious acts, regularly performed in daily life. At home, a Roman who was about to drink wine would pour the first few drops onto the household altar.^[297] The drink offering might also be poured on the ground or at a public altar. Milk and honey, water, and oil

were also used.^[298]

liberatio

The *liberatio* (from the verb *liberare*, "to free") was the "liberating" of a place (*locus*) from "all unwanted or hostile spirits and of all human influences," as part of the ceremony inaugurating the *templum* (sacred space). It was preceded by the consulting of signs and followed by the *effatio*, the creation of boundaries (*fines*).^[299] A site *liberatus et effatus* was "exorcized and available" for its sacred purpose.^[300]

libri augurales

The augural books (*libri augurales*) represented the collective, core knowledge of the augural college. Some scholars^[301] consider them distinct from the *commentarii augurum* (commentaries of the augurs) which recorded the collegial acts of the augurs, including the *decreta* and *responsa*.^[302] The books were central to the practice of augury. They have not survived, but Cicero, who was an augur himself, offers a summary in *De Legibus*^[303] that represents "precise dispositions based certainly on an official collection edited in a professional fashion."^[304]

libri pontificales

The *libri pontificales* (pontifical books) are core texts in Roman religion, which survive as fragmentary transcripts and commentaries. They may have been partly annalistic, part priestly; different Roman authors refer to them as *libri* and *commentarii* (commentaries), described by Livy as incomplete "owing to the long time elapsed and the rare use of writing" and by Quintilian as unintelligibly archaic and obscure. The earliest were credited to Numa, second king of Rome, who was thought to have codified the core texts and principles of Rome's religious and civil law (*ius divinum* and *ius civile*).^[305] See also *commentarii pontificum*.

litatio

In animal sacrifice, the *litatio* followed on the opening up of the

body cavity for the inspection of the entrails (*inspicere exta*). *Litatio* was not a part of divinatory practice as derived from the Etruscans (see *extispicy* and *Liver of Piacenza*), but a certification according to Roman liturgy of the gods' approval. If the organs were diseased or defective, the procedure had to be restarted with a new victim (*hostia*). The importance of *litatio* is illustrated by an incident in 176 BC^[306] when the presiding consuls attempted to sacrifice an ox, only to find that its liver had been inexplicably consumed by a wasting disease. After three more oxen failed to pass the test, the senate's instructions were to keep sacrificing bigger victims until *litatio* could be obtained.^[307] The point was not that those sacrificing had to make sure that the victim was perfect inside and out; rather, the good internal condition of the animal was evidence of divine acceptance of the offering. The need for the deity to approve and accept (*litare*) underscores that the reciprocity of sacrifice (*do ut des*) was not to be taken for granted.^[308]

lituus

The distinctively curved staff of an augur, or a similarly curved war trumpet. On Roman coins, the *lituus* is frequently accompanied by a ritual jug or pitcher to indicate that either the moneyer or person honored on the obverse was an augur.

lucus

In religious usage, a *lucus* was a grove or small wooded area considered sacred to a divinity. Entrance might be severely restricted: Paulus^[309] explains that a *capitalis lucus* was protected from human access under penalty of death. *Leges sacratae* (laws for the violation of which the offender is outlawed)^[310] concerning sacred groves have been found on cippi at Spoleto in Umbria and Lucera in Apulia.^[311] See also *nemus*.

ludi

Ludi were games held as part of religious festivals, and some were originally sacral in nature. These included chariot racing and the *venatio*, or staged animal-human blood sport that may have had a sacrificial element.

Luperci

The "wolf priests", organized into two colleges and later three, who participated in the *Lupercalia*. The most famous *Lupercus* was Mark Antony.

lustratio

A ritual of purification which was held every five years under the jurisdiction of censors in Rome. Its original meaning was purifying by washing in water (Lat. *lustrum* from verb *luo*, "I wash in water"). The time elapsing between two subsequent *lustrations* being of five years the term *lustrum* took up the meaning of a period of five year.^[312]

manubia

Manubia is a technical term of the Etruscan discipline, and refers to the power of a deity to wield lightning, represented in divine icons by a lightning bolt in the hand. It may be either a Latinized word from Etruscan or less likely a formation from *manus*, "hand," and *habere*, "to have, hold."^[313] It is not apparently related to the more common Latin word *manubiae* meaning "booty (taken by a general in war)."^[314] Seneca uses the term in an extended discussion of lightning.^[315] Jupiter, as identified with Etruscan *Tinia*,^[316] held three types of *manubiae*^[317] sent from three different celestial regions.^[318] Stefan Weinstock describes these as:

1. mild, or "perforating" lightning;
2. harmful or "crushing" lightning, which is sent on the advice of the twelve *Di Consentes* and occasionally does some good;
3. destructive or "burning" lightning, which is sent on the advice of the *di superiores et involuti* (hidden gods of the "higher" sphere) and changes the state of public and private affairs.^[319]

Jupiter makes use of the first type of beneficial lightning to persuade or dissuade.^[320] Books on how to read lightning were one of the three main forms of Etruscan learning on the subject of

divination.[321]

miraculum

One of several words for portent or sign, miraculum is a non-technical term that places emphasis on the observer's response (mirum, "a wonder, marvel").[322] Livy uses the word miraculum, for instance, to describe the sign visited upon Servius Tullius as a child, when divine flames burst forth from his head and the royal household witnessed the event.[323] Compare monstrum, ostentum, portentum, and prodigium.

Miraculum is the origin of the English word "miracle." Christian writers later developed a distinction between miracula, the true forms of which were evidence of divine power in the world, and mere mirabilia, things to be marveled at but not resulting from God's intervention. "Pagan" marvels were relegated to the category of mirabilia and attributed to the work of demons.[324]

mola salsa

Flour mixed with salt was sprinkled on the forehead and between the horns of sacrificial victims, as well as on the altar and in the sacred fire. This mola salsa (salted flour) was prepared ritually from toasted wheat or emmer, spelt, or barley by the Vestals, who thus contributed to every official sacrifice in Rome.[325] Servius uses the words pius and castus to describe the product.[326] The mola was so fundamental to sacrifice that "to put on the mola" (Latin immolare) came to mean "to sacrifice." Its use was one of the numerous religious traditions ascribed to Numa, the Sabine second king of Rome.[327]

monstrum

A monstrum is a sign or portent that disrupts the natural order as evidence of divine displeasure.[328] The word monstrum is usually assumed to derive, as Cicero says, from the verb monstro, "show" (compare English "demonstrate"), but according to Varro it comes from moneo, "warn." [329] Because a sign must be startling or deviant to have an impact, monstrum came to mean "unnatural

event"[330] or "a malfunctioning of nature." [331] Suetonius said that "a monstrum is contrary to nature <or exceeds the nature> we are familiar with, like a snake with feet or a bird with four wings." [332] The Greek equivalent was teras.[333] The English word "monster" derived from the negative sense of the word. Compare miraculum, ostentum, portentum, and prodigium.

In one of the most famous uses of the word in Latin literature, the Augustan poet Horace calls Cleopatra a fatale monstrum, something deadly and outside normal human bounds.[334] Cicero calls Catiline monstrum atque prodigium[335] and uses the phrase several times to insult various objects of his attacks as depraved and beyond the human pale. For Seneca, the monstrum is, like tragedy, "a visual and horrific revelation of the truth." [336]

mundus

Literally "the world", also a pit supposedly dug and sealed by Romulus as part of Rome's foundation rites. Its interpretation is problematic; it was normally sealed, and was ritually opened only on three occasions during the year. Still, in the most ancient Fasti, these days were marked C(omitiales)[337] (days when the Comitia met) suggesting the idea that the whole ritual was a later Greek import.[338] However Cato[disambiguation needed] and Varro as quoted by Macrobius considered them religiosi.[339] When opened, the pit served as a cache for offerings to underworld deities, particularly Ceres, goddess of the fruitful earth. It offered a portal between the upper and lower worlds; its shape was said to be an inversion of the dome of the upper heavens.[340]

nefandum

An adjective derived from nefas (following). The gerund of verb fari, to speak, is commonly used to form derivate or inflected forms of fas. See Vergil's fandi as genitive of fas. This use has been invoked to support the derivation of fas from IE root *bha, Latin fari.

nefas

Anything or action contrary to divine law and will is nefas (in archaic legalese, ne (not) ... fas).[341] Nefas forbids a thing as religiously and morally offensive, or indicates a failure to fulfill a religious duty.[342] It might be nuanced as "a religious duty not to", as in Festus' statement that "a man condemned by the people for a heinous action is sacer" — that is, given over to the gods for judgment and disposal — "it is not a religious duty to execute him, but whoever kills him will not be prosecuted".[343]

Livy records that the patricians opposed legislation that would allow a plebeian to hold the office of consul on the grounds that it was nefas: a plebeian, they claimed, would lack the arcane knowledge of religious matters that by tradition was a patrician prerogative. The plebeian tribune Gaius Canuleius, whose lex it was, retorted that it was arcane because the patricians kept it secret.[344]

nefastus

Usually found with dies (singular or plural), as dies nefasti, days on which official transactions were forbidden on religious grounds. See also nefas, fasti and fas.

nemus

Nemus, plural nemora, was one of four Latin words that meant "forest, woodland, woods." Lucus is more strictly a sacred grove,[345] as defined by Servius as "a large number of trees with a religious significance",[346] and distinguished from the silva, a natural forest; saltus, territory that is wilderness; and a nemus, an arboretum that is not consecrated.[347] In Latin poetry, a nemus is often a place conducive to poetic inspiration, and particularly in the Augustan period takes on a sacral aura.[348]

Named nemora include:

The nemus of Anna Perenna.[349]

Nemus Caesarum, dedicated to the memory of Augustus's grandsons Gaius and Lucius.[350]

The nemus Aricinum sacred to Diana, Egeria and Virbius.

nuntiatio

The chief responsibility of an augur was to observe signs (observatio) and to report the results (nuntiatio).[351] The announcement was made before an assembly. A passage in Cicero states that the augur was entitled to report on the signs observed before or during an assembly and that the magistrates had the right to watch for signs (spectio) as well as make the announcement (nuntiatio) prior to the conducting of public business, but the exact significance of Cicero's distinction is a matter of scholarly debate.[352]

obnuntiatio

Obnuntiatio was a declaration of unfavorable signs by an augur in order to suspend, cancel or postpone a proposed course of action. The procedure could be carried out only by an official who had the right to observe omens (spectio).[353] The only source for the term is Cicero, a conservative politician and himself an augur, who refers to it in several speeches as a religious bulwark against populist politicians and tribunes. Its details and workings are unknown; it may have derived from a radical intervention into traditional augural law of a civil Lex Aelia Fufia,[clarification needed] proposed by dominant traditionalists in an attempt to block the passing of popular laws and used from around the 130s BC. Legislation by Clodius as Tribune of the plebs in 58 BC was aimed at ending the practice,[354] or at least curtailing its potential for abuse; obnuntiatio had been exploited the previous year as an obstructionist tactic by Julius Caesar's consular colleague Bibulus. That the Clodian law had not deprived all augurs or magistrates of the privilege is indicated by Mark Antony's use of obnuntiatio in early 44 BC to halt the consular election.[355]

observatio

Observatio was the interpretation of signs according to the tradition of the "Etruscan discipline", or as preserved in books such as the libri augurales. A haruspex interpreted fulgura (thunder and

lightning) and exta (entrails) by observatio. The word has three closely related meanings in augury: the observing of signs by an augur or other diviner; the process of observing, recording, and establishing the meaning of signs over time; and the codified body of knowledge accumulated by systematic observation, that is, "unbending rules" regarded as objective, or external to an individual's observation on a given occasion. Impetrative signs, or those sought by standard augural procedure, were interpreted according to observatio; the observer had little or no latitude in how they might be interpreted. Observatio might also be applicable to many oblativae or unexpected signs. Observatio was considered a kind of scientia, or "scientific" knowledge, in contrast to coniectura, a more speculative "art" or "method" (ars) as required by novel signs.[356]

omen

An omen, plural omina, was a sign intimating the future, considered less important to the community than a prodigium but of great importance to the person who heard or saw it.[357]

Omens could be good or bad. Unlike prodigies, bad omens were never expiated by public rites but could be reinterpreted, redirected or otherwise averted. Sometime around 282 BC, a diplomatic insult formally "accepted as omen" was turned against Tarentum and helped justify its conquest. After a thunderclap cost Marcellus his very brief consulship (215 BC) he took care to avoid sight of possible bad omens that might affect his plans.[358] Bad omens could be more actively dealt with, by countersigns or spoken formulae. Before his campaign against Perseus of Macedon, the consul L Aemilius Paullus was said to have heard of the death of Perseus, his daughter's puppy. He accepted the omen and defeated King Perseus at the Battle of Pydna (168 BC).[359]

In 217 BC the consul Flaminius "disregarded his horse's collapse, the chickens, and yet other omens, before his disaster at Lake Trasimene".[360] Licinius Crassus took ship for Syria despite an ominous call of "Cauneas!" ("Caunean figs!"), which might be heard as "Cave ne eas!" ("Beware, don't go!"). He was killed on campaign. Cicero saw these events as merely coincidental; only the credulous

could think them ominous.[361] though by his time, politicians, military magnates and their supporters actively circulated tales of excellent omens that attended their births and careers.

See also abominari and signum.

ostentarium

One form of arcane literature was the ostentarium, a written collection describing and interpreting signs (ostenta).[362] Tarquinius Priscus wrote an Ostentarium arborarium, a book on signs pertaining to trees, and an Ostentarium Tuscum, presumably translations of Etruscan works.[363] Pliny cites his contemporary Umbricius Melior for an ostentarium aviarium, concerning birds.[364] They were consulted until late antiquity; in the 4th century, for instance, the haruspices consulted the books of Tarquinius before the battle that proved fatal to the emperor Julian — according to Ammianus Marcellinus, because he failed to heed them.[365] Fragments of ostentaria survive as quotations in other literary works.[366]

ostentum

According to Varro, an ostentum is a sign so called because it shows (ostendit) something to a person.[367] Suetonius specified that "an ostentum shows itself to us without possessing a solid body and affects both our eyes and ears, like darkness or a light at night." [368] In his classic work on Roman divination, Auguste Bouché-Leclercq thus tried to distinguish theoretical usage of ostenta and portenta as applying to inanimate objects, monstra to biological signs, and prodigia for human acts or movements, but in non-technical writing the words tend to be used more loosely as synonyms.[369]

The theory of ostenta, portenta and monstra constituted one of the three branches of interpretation within the disciplina Etrusca, the other two being the more specific fulgura (thunder and lightning) and exta (entrails). Ostenta and portenta are not the signs that augurs are trained to solicit and interpret, but rather "new signs", the meaning of which had to be figured out through ratio (the

application of analytical principles) and coniectura (more speculative reasoning, in contrast to augural observatio).[370]

ordo sacerdotum

A religious hierarchy implied by the seating arrangements of priests (sacerdotes) at sacrificial banquets. As "the most powerful", the rex sacrorum was positioned next to the gods, followed by the Flamen Dialis, then the Flamen Martialis, then the Flamen Quirinalis and lastly, the Pontifex Maximus.[371] The ordo sacerdotum observed and preserved ritual distinctions between divine and human power. In the human world, the Pontifex Maximus was the most influential and powerful of all sacerdotum.

paludatus

Paludatus (masculine singular, plural paludati) is an adjective meaning "wearing the paludamentum,"[372] the distinctive attire of the Roman military commander. Varro[373] and Festus say that any military ornament could be called a paludamentum, but other sources indicate that the cloak was primarily meant. According to Festus, paludati in the augural books meant "armed and adorned" (armati, ornati).[374] As the commander crossed from the sacred boundary of Rome (pomerium), he was paludatus, adorned with the attire he would wear to lead a battle and for official business.[375] This adornment was thus part of the commander's ritual investiture with imperium.[376] It followed upon the sacrifices and vows the commander offered up on the Capitol, and was concomitant with his possession of the auspices for war.[377]

Festus notes elsewhere that the "Salian virgins", whose relation to the Salian priests is unclear, performed their rituals paludatae,[378] dressed in military garb.[379]

pax deorum

Pax, though usually translated into English as "peace," was a compact, bargain or agreement.[380] In religious usage, the harmony or accord between the divine and human was the pax deorum or pax divom ("the peace of the gods" or "divine

peace").[381] Pax deorum was only given in return for correct religious practice. Religious error (vitium) and negligence led to divine disharmony and ira deorum (the anger of the gods).

piaculum

A piaculum is an expiatory sacrifice, or the victim used in the sacrifice; also, an act requiring expiation.[382]

Because Roman religion was contractual (do ut des), a piaculum might be offered as a sort of advance payment; the Arval Brethren, for instance, offered a piaculum before entering their sacred grove with an iron implement, which was forbidden, as well as after.[383] The pig was a common victim for a piaculum.[384] The Augustan historian Livy says P. Decius Mus is "like" a piaculum when he makes his vow to sacrifice himself in battle (see devotio).[385]

pius

The origin of the English word "pious", pius is found in Volscian as pihom estu, Umbrian as pihaz (a past participle equivalent to Latin piatum) and Oscan as pehed, from the Proto-Indo-European root *q(u)ei-.[386] In Latin and other Italic languages, the word seems to have meant "that which is in accord with divine law." Later it was used to designate actions respectful of divine law and even people who acted with respect towards gods and godly rules. The pius person "strictly conforms his life to the ius divinum.[387] "Dutiful" is often a better translation of the adjective than "pious." [388] Pius is a regular epithet of the Roman founding hero Aeneas in Vergil's Aeneid.[389] See also pietas, the related abstract noun.

pietas

Pietas, from which English "piety" derives, was the devotion that bound a person to the gods, to the Roman state, and to his family. It was the outstanding quality of the Roman hero Aeneas, to whom the epithet pius is applied regularly throughout the Aeneid.

pollucere

A verb of unknown etymology meaning "to consecrate." [390]

pontifex

The pontifex was a priest of the highest-ranking college. The chief among the pontifices was the Pontifex Maximus. The word has been considered as related to pons, bridge, either because of the religious meaning of the pons Sublicius and its ritual use [391] (which has a parallel in Thebae and in its gephiarioi) or in the original IE meaning of way. [392] Pontifex in this case would be the opener of the way corresponding to the Vedic adharvayu, the only active and moving sacerdos in the sacrificial group who takes his title from the figurative designation of lithurgy as a way.

Another hypothesis [393] considers the word as a loan from Sabine, language in which it would mean member of a college of five people, from Osco-Umbrian ponte, five. This explanation takes into account the fact that the college was established by Sabine king Numa Pompilius and the institution is Italic: the expressions pontis and pomperias found in the Iguvine Tablets may denote a group or division of five or by five. The pontifex would thence be a member of a sacrificial college known as pomperia (Latin quinio). [394]

popa

The popa was one of the lesser-rank officiants at a sacrifice. In depictions of sacrificial processions, he carries a mallet or axe with which to strike the animal victim. Literary sources in late antiquity say that the popa was a public slave. [395] See also victimarius.

porricere

The verb porricere had the specialized religious meaning "to offer as a sacrifice," especially to offer the sacrificial entrails (exta) to the gods. [396] Both exta porricere and exta dare referred to the process by which the entrails were cooked, cut into pieces, and burnt on the altar. The Arval Brethren used the term exta reddere, "to return the entrails," that is, to render unto the deity what has already been

given as due. [397]

portentum

A portentum is a kind of sign interpreted by a haruspex, not an augur, and by means of coniectura rather than observatio. Portentum is a close but not always exact synonym of ostentum, prodigium, and monstrum. [398] Cicero uses portentum frequently in his treatise De divinatione, where it seems to be a generic word for prodigies. [399] The word could also refer in non-technical usage to an unnatural occurrence without specific religious significance; for instance, Pliny calls an Egyptian with a pair of non-functional eyes on the back of his head a portentum. [400] Varro derives portentum from the verb portendit because it portends something that is going to happen. [401]

In the schema of A. Bouché-Leclercq, portenta and ostenta are the two types of signs that appear in inanimate nature, as distinguished from the monstrum (a biological singularity), prodigia (the unique acts or movements of living beings), and a miraculum, a non-technical term that emphasizes the viewer's reaction. [402] The sense of portentum has also been distinguished from that of ostentum by relative duration of time, with the ostentum of briefer manifestation. [403]

Although the English word "portent" derives from portentum and may be used to translate it, other Latin terms such as ostentum and prodigium will also be found translated as "portent." [404] Portentum offers an example of an ancient Roman religious term modified for Christian usage; in the Christian theology of miracles, a portentum occurring by the will of the Christian God could not be regarded as contrary to nature (contra naturam), thus Augustine specified that if such a sign appeared to be unnatural, it was only because it was contrary to nature as known (nota) by human beings. [405]

precatio

The precatio was the formal addressing of the deity or deities in a ritual. The word is related by etymology to prex, "prayer" (plural

preces), and usually translated as if synonymous. Pliny says that the slaughter of a sacrificial victim is ineffectual without *precatio*, the recitation of the prayer formula.[406] Priestly texts that were collections of prayers were sometimes called *precationes*.[407]

Two late examples of the *precatio* are the *Precatio Terrae Matris* ("The Prayer of Mother Earth") and the *Precatio omnium herbarum* ("Prayer of All the Herbs"), which are charms or *carmina* written metrically,[408] the latter attached to the medical writings attributed to Antonius Musa.[409] *Dirae precationes* were "dire" prayers, that is, imprecations or curses.[410]

In augural procedure, *precatio* is not a prayer proper, but a form of invocation (*invocatio*) recited at the beginning of a ceremony or after accepting an oblativ sign. The *precatio maxima* was recited for the *augurium salutis*, the ritual conducted by the augurs to obtain divine permission to pray for Rome's security (*salus*).[411]

In legal and rhetorical usage, *precatio* was a plea or request.[412]

prex

Prex, "prayer", usually appears in the plural, *preces*. Within the tripartite structure that was often characteristic of formal ancient prayer, *preces* would be the final expression of what is sought from the deity, following the invocation and a narrative middle.[413] A legitimate request is an example of *bonae preces*, "good prayer." [414] *Tacitae preces* are silent or *sotto voce* prayers as might be used in private ritual or magic; *preces* with a negative intent are described with adjectives such as *Thyestae* ("Thyestean"), *funestae* ("deadly"), *infelices* (aimed at causing unhappiness), *nefariae*, [415] or *dirae*. [416]

In general usage, *preces* could refer to any request or entreaty. The verbal form is *precor*, *precari*, "pray, entreat." The Umbrian cognate is *persklu*, "supplication." The meaning may be "I try and obtain by uttering appropriate words what is my right to obtain." It is used often in association with *quaeso* in expressions such as *te precor quaesoque*, "I pray and beseech you", or *prece quaesit*, "he seeks by means of prayer." [417] In Roman law of the Imperial era, *preces*

referred to a petition addressed to the emperor by a private person.[418]

prodigium

Prodigia (plural) were unnatural deviations from the predictable order of the cosmos. A *prodigium* signaled divine displeasure at a religious offense and must be expiated to avert more destructive expressions of divine wrath. Compare *ostentum* and *portentum*, signs denoting an extraordinary inanimate phenomenon, and *monstrum* and *miraculum*, an unnatural feature in humans.

Prodigies were a type of *auspicia oblativa*; that is, they were "thrust upon" observers, not deliberately sought.[419] Suspected *prodigies* were reported as a civic duty. A system of official referrals filtered out those that seemed patently insignificant or false before the rest were reported to the senate, who held further inquiry; this procedure was the *procuratio prodigiorum*. *Prodigies* confirmed as genuine were referred to the pontiffs and augurs for ritual expiation.[420] For particularly serious or difficult cases, the *decemviri sacris faciundis* could seek guidance and suggestions from the Sibylline Books.[421]

The number of confirmed *prodigies* rose in troubled times. In 207 BC, during one of the worst crises of the Punic Wars, the senate dealt with an unprecedented number, the expiation of which would have involved "at least twenty days" of dedicated rites.[422] Major *prodigies* that year included the spontaneous combustion of weapons, the apparent shrinking of the sun's disc, two moons in a daylit sky, a cosmic battle between sun and moon, a rain of red-hot stones, a bloody sweat on statues, and blood in fountains and on ears of corn. These were expiated by the sacrifice of "greater victims".

The minor *prodigies* were less warlike but equally unnatural; sheep became goats; a hen become a cock, and vice-versa. The minor *prodigies* were duly expiated with "lesser victims". The discovery of a hermaphroditic four-year-old child was expiated by its drowning[423] and a holy procession of 27 virgins to the temple of Juno Regina, singing a hymn to avert disaster; a lightning strike

during the hymn rehearsals required further expiation.[424]
 Religious restitution was proved only by Rome's victory.[425]
 The expiatory burial of living human victims in the Forum Boarium followed Rome's defeat at Cannae in the same wars. In Livy's account, Rome's victory follows its discharge of religious duties to the gods.[426] Livy remarked the scarcity of prodigies in his own day as a loss of communication between gods and men. In the later Republic and thereafter, the reporting of public prodigies was increasingly displaced by a "new interest in signs and omens associated with the charismatic individual." [427]

profanum

Literally, "in front of the shrine", therefore not within a sacred precinct; not belonging to the gods but to humankind.

propitius; praepetes (aves)

An adjective of augural terminology meaning favourable. From pro-before and petere seek, but originally fly. It implies a kind of favourable pattern in the flight of birds, i.e. flying before the person who is taking the auspices. Synonym secundus.[428]

pulvinar

The pulvinar (plural pulvinaria) was a special couch used for displaying images of the gods, that they might receive offerings at ceremonies such as the lectisternium or supplicatio.[429] In the famous lectisternium of 217 BC, on orders of the Sibylline books, six pulvinaria were arranged, each for a divine male-female pair.[430] By extension, pulvinar can also mean the shrine or platform housing several of these couches and their images. At the Circus Maximus, the couches and images of the gods were placed on an elevated pulvinar to "watch" the games.

regina sacrorum

The wife of the rex sacrorum, who served as a high priestess with her own specific religious duties.

religio

The word religio originally meant an obligation to the gods, something expected by them from human beings or a matter of particular care or concern as related to the gods.[431] In this sense, religio might be translated better as "religious scruple" than with the English word "religion".[432] One definition of religio offered by Cicero is cultus deorum, "the proper performance of rites in veneration of the gods." [433]

Religio among the Romans was not based on "faith", but on knowledge, including and especially correct practice.[434] Religio (plural religiones) was the pious practice of Rome's traditional cults, and was a cornerstone of the mos maiorum,[435] the traditional social norms that regulated public, private, and military life. To the Romans, their success was self-evidently due to their practice of proper, respectful religio, which gave the gods what was owed them and which was rewarded with social harmony, peace and prosperity.

religiosus

Religiosus was something pertaining to the gods or marked out by them as theirs, as distinct from sacer, which was something or someone given to them by humans. Hence, a graveyard was not primarily defined as sacer but a locus religiosus, because those who lay within its boundaries were considered belonging to the di Manes.[440] Places struck by lightning were taboo[441] because they had been marked as religiosus by Jupiter himself.[442] See also sacer and sanctus.

res divinae

Res divinae were "divine affairs," that is, the matters that pertained to the gods and the sphere of the divine in contrast to res humanae, "human affairs." [443] Rem divinam facere, "to do a divine thing," simply meant to do something that pertained to the divine sphere, such as perform a ceremony or rite. The equivalent Etruscan term is ais(u)na.[444]

The distinction between human and divine *res* was explored in the multivolume *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum*, one of the chief works of Varro (1st century BC). It survives only in fragments but was a major source of traditional Roman theology for the Church Fathers. Varro devoted 25 books of the *Antiquitates* to *res humanae* and 16 to *res divinae*. His proportional emphasis is deliberate, as he treats cult and ritual as human constructs.[445] Varro divides *res divinae* into three kinds:

the mythic theology of the poets, or narrative elaboration;

the natural theology of the philosophers, or theorizing on divinity among the intellectual elite;

the civil theology concerned with the relation of the state to the divine.

The schema is Stoic in origin, though Varro has adapted it for his own purposes.[446]

Res divinae is an example of ancient Roman religious terminology that was appropriated for Christian usage; for St. Augustine, *res divina* is a "divine reality" as represented by a *sacrum signum* ("sacred sign") such as a sacrament.[447]

responsum

Responsa (plural) were the "responses," that is, the opinions and arguments, of the official priests on questions of religious practice and interpretation. These were preserved in written form and archived.[448] Compare *decretum*.

rex sacrorum

The *rex sacrorum* was a senatorial priesthood[449] reserved for patricians. Although in the historical era the Pontifex Maximus was the head of Roman state religion, Festus says[450] that in the ranking of priests, the *rex sacrorum* was of highest prestige, followed by the *flamines maiores*.[451]

ritus

Although *ritus* is the origin of the English word "rite" via ecclesiastical Latin, in classical usage *ritus* meant the traditional and correct manner (of performance), that is, "way, custom". Festus defines it as a specific form of *mos*: "Ritus is the proven way (*mos*) in the performance of sacrifices." The adverb *rite* means "in good form, correctly." [452] This original meaning of *ritus* may be compared to the concept of *ῥτά* ("visible order", in contrast to *dhāman*, *dhārman*) in Vedic religion, a conceptual pairing analogous to Latin *fas* and *ius*.[453]

For Latin words meaning "ritual" or "rite", see *sacra*, *caerimoniae*, and *religiones*.[454]

ritus graecus

A small number of Roman religious practices and cult innovations were carried out according to "Greek rite" (*ritus graecus*), which the Romans characterized as Greek in origin or manner. A priest who conducted *ritu graeco* wore a Greek-style fringed tunic, with his head bare (*capite aperto*) or laurel-wreathed. By contrast, in most rites of Roman public religion, an officiant wore the distinctively Roman *toga*, specially folded to cover his head (see *capite velato*). Otherwise, "Greek rite" seems to have been a somewhat indefinite category, used for prayers uttered in Greek, and Greek methods of sacrifice within otherwise conventionally Roman cult.

Roman writers record elements of *ritus graecus* in the cult to Hercules at Rome's *Ara Maxima*, which according to tradition was established by the Greek king Evander even before the city of Rome was founded at the site. It thus represented one of the most ancient Roman cults. "Greek" elements were also found in the *Saturnalia* held in honor of the Golden Age deity Saturn, and in certain ceremonies of the *Ludi saeculares*. A Greek rite to Ceres (*ritus graecus cereris*) was imported from *Magna Graecia* and added to her existing *Aventine* cult in accordance with the *Sibylline books*, ancient oracles written in Greek. Official rites to Apollo are perhaps "the best illustration of the *Graecus ritus* in Rome."

The Romans regarded *ritus graecus* as part of their own *mos maiorum* (ancestral tradition), and not as *novus aut externus ritus*, novel or foreign rite. The thorough integration and reception of rite labeled "Greek" attests to the complex, multi-ethnic origins of Rome's people and religious life.[455]

sacellum

Sacellum, a diminutive from *sacer* ("belonging to a god"),[456] is a shrine. Varro and Verrius Flaccus give explanations that seem contradictory, the former defining a *sacellum* in its entirety as equivalent to a *cella*,[457] which is specifically an enclosed space, and the latter insisting that a *sacellum* had no roof.[458] "The *sacellum*," notes Jörg Rüpke, "was both less complex and less elaborately defined than a temple proper." [459] Each *curia* had its own *sacellum*. [460]

sacer

See also: *homo sacer*

Sacer describes a thing or person given to the gods, thus "sacred" to them. Human beings had no legal or moral claims on anything *sacer*. *Sacer* could be highly nuanced; Varro associates it with "perfection". [461] Through association with ritual purity, *sacer* could also mean "sacred, untouchable, inviolable".

Anything not *sacer* was *profanum*: literally, "in front of (or outside) the shrine", therefore not belonging to it or the gods. A thing or person could be made *sacer* (consecrated), or could revert from *sacer* to *profanum* (deconsecrated), only through lawful rites (*resacratio*) performed by a pontiff on behalf of the state. [462] Part of the *ver sacrum* sacrificial vow of 217 BC stipulated that animals dedicated as *sacer* would revert to the condition of *profanum* if they died through natural cause or were stolen before the due sacrificial date. Similar conditions attached to sacrifices in archaic Rome. [463] A thing already owned by the gods or actively marked out by them as divine property was distinguished as *religiosus*, and hence could not be given to them or made *sacer*. [464][465]

Persons judged *sacer* under Roman law were placed beyond further civil judgment, sentence and protection; their lives, families and properties were forfeit to the gods. A person could be declared *sacer* who harmed a plebeian tribune, failed to bear legal witness, [466] failed to meet his obligations to clients, or illicitly moved the boundary markers of fields. [467] It was not a religious duty (*fas*) to execute a *homo sacer*, but he could be killed with impunity. [468][469]

Dies sacri ("sacred days") were *nefasti*, meaning that the ordinary human affairs permitted on *dies profani* (or *fasti*) were forbidden.

Sacer was a fundamental principle in Roman and Italic religions. In Oscan, related forms are *sakoro*, "sacred," and *sakrim*, "sacrificial victim". Oscan *sakaraklum* is cognate with Latin *sacellum*, a small shrine, as Oscan *sakarater* is with Latin *sacratur*, consecrate, "consecrated". The *sacerdos* is "one who performs a sacred action" or "renders a thing sacred", that is, a priest. [470]

A *sacerdos* (plural *sacerdotes*, a word of either masculine or feminine gender) was any priest or priestess, from **sakro-dho-ts*, "the one who does the sacred act." [471] There was no priestly caste in ancient Rome, and in some sense every citizen was a priest in that he presided over the domestic cult of his household. Senators, magistrates, and the *decurions* of towns performed ritual acts, though they were not *sacerdotes per se*. [472] The *sacerdos* was one who held the title usually in relation to a specific deity or temple. [473] See also *collegium* and *flamen*.

sacra

Sacra (neuter plural of *sacer*) are the traditional cults, either *publica* or *privata*, both of which were overseen by the College of Pontiffs.

The *sacra publica* were those performed on behalf of the whole Roman people or its major subdivisions, the tribes and *curiae*. They included the *sacra pro populo*, "rites on behalf of the Roman people," i.e., all the *feriae publicae* of the Roman calendar year and the other feasts that were regarded of public interest, including those pertaining to the hills of Rome, [474] to the *pagi* and *curiae*,

and to the sacella, "shrines".[475] The establishment of the sacra publica is ascribed to king Numa Pompilius, but many are thought to be of earlier origin, even predating the founding of Rome. Thus Numa may be seen as carrying out a reform and a reorganization of the sacra in accord with his own views and his education.[476] Sacra publica were performed at the expense of the state, according to the dispositions left by Numa, and were attended by all the senators and magistrates.[477]

Sacra privata were particular to a gens, to a family, or to an individual, and were carried out at the expense of those concerned. Individuals had sacra on dates peculiar to them, such as birthdays, the dies lustricus, and at other times of their life such as funerals and expiations, for instance of fulgurations.[478] Families had their own sacra in the home or at the tombs of their ancestors, such as those pertaining to the Lares, Manes and Penates of the family, and the Parentalia. These were regarded as necessary and imperishable, and the desire to perpetuate the family's sacra was among the reasons for adoption in adulthood.[479] In some cases, the state assumed the expenses even of sacra privata, if they were regarded as important to the maintenance of the Roman religious system as a whole; see sacra gentilicia following.

sacra gentilicia

Sacra gentilicia were the private rites (see sacra above) that were particular to a gens ("clan"). These rites are related to a belief in the shared ancestry of the members of a gens, since the Romans placed a high value on both family identity and commemorating the dead.[480] During the Gallic siege of Rome, a member of the gens Fabia risked his life to carry out the sacra of his clan on the Quirinal Hill; the Gauls were so impressed by his courageous piety that they allowed him to pass through their lines.[481] The Fabian sacra were performed in Gabinie dress by a member of the gens who was possibly named a flamen.[482] There were sacra of Minerva in the care of the Nautii, and rites of Apollo that the Iulii oversaw.[483] The Claudii had recourse to a distinctive "propudial pig" sacrifice (propudialis porcus, "pig of shame") by way of expiation when they neglected any of their religious obligations.[484]

Roman practices of adoption, including so-called "testamentary adoption" when an adult heir was declared in a will, were aimed at perpetuating the sacra gentilicia as well as preserving the family name and property.[485] A person adopted into another family usually renounced the sacra of his birth (see detestatio sacrorum) in order to devote himself to those of his new family.[486]

Sacra gentilicia sometimes acquired public importance, and if the gens were in danger of dying out, the state might take over their maintenance. One of the myths attached to Hercules' time in Italy explained why his cult at the Ara Maxima was in the care of the patrician gens Potitia and the gens Pinaria; the diminution of these families by 312 BC caused the sacra to be transferred to the keeping of public slaves and supported with public funding.[487]

sacra municipalia

The sacra of an Italian town or community (municipium) might be perpetuated under the supervision of the Roman pontiffs when the locality was brought under Roman rule. Festus defined municipalia sacra as "those owned originally, before the granting of Roman citizenship; the pontiffs desired that the people continue to observe them and to practice them in the way (mos) they had been accustomed to from ancient times." [488] These sacra were regarded as preserving the core religious identity of a particular people.[489]

sacramentum

Sacramentum is an oath or vow that rendered the swearer sacer, "given to the gods," in the negative sense if he violated it.[490] Sacramentum also referred to a thing that was pledged as a sacred bond, and consequently forfeit if the oath were violated.[491] Both instances imply an underlying sacratio, act of consecration.

In Roman law, a thing given as a pledge or bond was a sacramentum. The sacramentum legis actio was a sum of money deposited in a legal procedure[492] to affirm that both parties to the litigation were acting in good faith.[493] If correct law and procedures had been followed, it could be assumed that the outcome was iustum, right or valid. The losing side had thus in

effect committed perjury, and forfeited his sacramentum as a form of piaculum; the winner got his deposit back. The forfeited sacramentum was normally allotted by the state to the funding of sacra publica.[494]

The sacramentum militare (also as militum or militiae) was the oath taken by soldiers in pledging their loyalty to the consul or emperor. The sacramentum that renders the soldier sacer helps explain why he was subjected to harsher penalties, such as execution and corporal punishment, that were considered inappropriate for civilian citizens, at least under the Republic.[495] In effect, he had put his life on deposit, a condition also of the fearsome sacramentum sworn by gladiators.[496] In the later empire, the oath of loyalty created conflict for Christians serving in the military, and produced a number of soldier-martyrs.[497] Sacramentum is the origin of the English word "sacrament", a transition in meaning pointed to by Apuleius's use of the word to refer to religious initiation.[498]

The sacramentum as pertaining to both the military and the law indicates the religious basis for these institutions. The term differs from iusiurandum, which is more common in legal application, as for instance swearing an oath in court. A sacramentum establishes a direct relation between the person swearing (or the thing pledged in the swearing of the oath) and the gods; the iusiurandum is an oath of good faith within the human community that is in accordance with ius as witnessed by the gods.[499]

sacrarium

A sacrarium was a place where sacred objects (sacra) were stored or deposited for safekeeping.[500] The word can overlap in meaning with sacellum, a small enclosed shrine; the sacella of the Argei are also called sacraria.[501] In Greek writers, the word is hierophylakion (hiero-, "sacred" + phylakion, something that safeguards).[502] See sacellum for a list of sacraria.

The sacrarium of a private home lent itself to Christian transformation, as a 4th-century poem by Ausonius demonstrates:[503] in contemporary Christian usage, the sacrarium

is a "special sink used for the reverent disposal of sacred substances" (see piscina).[504]

sacrificium

An event or thing dedicated to the gods for their disposal. The offer of sacrifice is fundamental to religio. See also Sacer and Religion in ancient Rome: Sacrifice.

sacrosanctus

An adjective first introduced to define the inviolability of the function (potestas) of the tribunes of the plebs and of other magistrates sanctioned by law leges Valeriae Horatiae in 449 BC, mentioned by Livy III 55, 1. It seems the sacrality of the function the tribune had already been established in earlier times through a religio and a sacramentum,[505] however it obliged only the contracting parties. In order to become a rule that obliged everybody it had to be sanctioned through a sanctio that was not only civil but religious as well: the trespasser was to be declared sacer, his family and property sold.[506] Sacer would thus design the religious compact, sanctus the law. According to other passages in Livy, the law was not approved by some jurists of the time who maintained that only those who infringed the commonly recognized divine laws (id (or Iovi corr. Mueller) sacrum sanciti) could fall into the category of those to be declared sacri. In fact in other places Livy states that only the potestas and not the person of the tribune was defined as sacrosancta.[507] The word is used in Livy III 19, 10 by the critics of the law in this way: "These people postulate they themselves should be sacrosancti, they who do not hold even gods for sacred and saint?"[508]

The meaning of the word is given as guaranteed by an oath by H. Fugier, however Morani thinks it would be more appropriate to understand the first part of the compound as a consequence of the second: sanxit tribunum sacrum the tribune is sanctioned by the law as sacer. This kind of word composition based on an etymological figure has parallels in other IE languages in archaic constructions.

Salii

The Salii were the "leaping" priests of Mars, so called because of the ritual dance they performed with sacred shields (ancilia).

sancio

A verb meaning to ratify a compact and put it under the protection of a sanctio, penalty, sanction. The formation and original meaning of the verb are debated. Some scholars think it is derived by the IE stem root *sak (the same of sacer) through a more recent way of word formation, i.e. by the insertion of a nasal n infix and the suffix -yo, such as Lithuanian iung-iu from IE stem *yug. Thence sancio would mean to render something sacer, i.e. belonging to the gods in the sense of having their guarantee and protection.[509] Some think it is a derivation from the theonym Sancus, the god of the ratification of foedera and protection of good faith, from the root sancu- plus suffix -io as inquo>incio.[510] In such case the verb would mean an act that reflects or conforms to the function of this god, i.e. the ratifying and guaranteeing compacts.

sanctus

Sanctus, an adjective formed on the past participle of verb sancio, describes that which is "established as inviolable" or "sacred", most times in a sense different to that of sacer and religiosus. In fact its original meaning would be that which is protected by a sanction (sanctio). It is connected to the name of the Umbrian or Sabine founder-deity Sancus (in Umbrian Sancius) whose most noted function was the ratifying and protecting of compacts (foedera).[511] The Roman jurist Ulpian distinguishes sanctus as "neither sacred (sacer) nor profane (profanum) ... nor religiosus." [512] Gaius writes that a building dedicated to a god is sacrum, a town's wall and gate are res sanctae because they belong "in some way" to divine law, and a graveyard is religiosus because it is relinquished to the di Manes. Thus some scholars think that it should originally be a concept related to space i.e. concerning inaugurated places, because they enjoyed the armed protection (sanctio) of the gods.[513][514] Various deities, objects, places and people – especially senators and magistrates – can be sanctus.

Claudia Quinta is described as a sanctissima femina (most virtuous woman) and Cato the Younger as a sanctus civis (a morally upright citizen).[515][516] See also sanctuary.

Later the epithet sanctus is given to many gods including Apollo Pythius by Naevius, Venus and Tiberinus by Ennius and Livy: Ennius renders the Homeric dia theaon as sancta dearum; in the early Imperial era, Ovid describes Terminus, the god who sanctifies land boundaries, as sanctus[517] and equates sancta with augusta (august).[518] The original spacial connotation of the word is still reflected in its use as an epithet of the river Tiber and of god Terminus that was certainly ancient: borders are sancti by definition and rivers used to mark borders. Sanctus as referred to people thus over time came to share some of the sense of Latin castus (morally pure or guiltless), pius (pious), and none of the ambiguous usages attached to sacer and religiosus.

In ecclesiastical Latin, sanctus is the word for saint, but even in the Christian era it continues to appear in epitaphs for people who had not converted to Christianity.[519]

servare de caelo

Literally, "to watch (for something) from the sky"; that is, to observe the templum of the sky for signs that might be interpreted as auspices. Bad omens resulted in a report of obnuntiatio.[520]

signum

A signum is a "sign, token or indication".[521] In religious use, signum provides a collective term for events or things (including signs and symbols) that designate divine identity, activity or communication, including prodigia, auspicia, omina, portenta and ostenta.

silentium

Silence was generally required in the performance of every religious ritual.[522] The ritual injunction favete linguis, "be favourable with your tongues," meant "keep silent." In particular, silence assured

the ritual correctness and the absence of vitia, "faults," in the taking of the auspices.[523] It was also required in the nomination (dictio) of the dictator.[524]

sodalitas

A sodalitas was a form of voluntary association or society. Its meaning is not necessarily distinct from collegium in ancient sources, and is found also in sodalicium, "fraternity." [525] The sodalis is a member of a sodalitas, which describes the relationship among sodales rather than an institution. Examples of priestly sodalitates are the Luperci, fetiales, Arval brothers and Titii; these are also called collegia, but that they were a kind of confraternity is suggested by the distinctive convivial song associated with some.[526] An association of sodales might also form a burial society, or make religious dedications as a group; inscriptions record donations made by women for the benefit of sodales.[527] Roman Pythagoreans such as Nigidius Figulus formed sodalicia,[528] with which Ammianus Marcellinus compared the fellowship (sodalicia consortia) of the druids in Gallo-Roman culture.[529] When the cult of Cybele was imported to Rome, the eunuchism of her priests the galli discouraged Roman men from forming an official priesthood; instead, they joined sodalitates to hold banquets and other forms of traditional Roman cultus in her honor.[530]

The sodalitates are thought to originate as aristocratic brotherhoods with cultic duties, and their existence is attested as early as the late 6th or early 5th century BC. The Twelve Tables regulated their potential influence by forbidding them to come in conflict with public law (ius publicum).[531] During the 60s BC, certain forms of associations were disbanded by law as politically disruptive, and in Ciceronian usage sodalitates may refer either to these subversive organizations or in a religious context to the priestly fraternities.[532] See also Sodales Augustales. For the Catholic concept, see sodality.

spectio

Spectio ("watching, sighting, observation") was the seeking of

omens through observing the sky, the flight of birds, or the feeding of birds. Originally only patrician magistrates and augurs were entitled to practice spectio, which carried with it the power to regulate assemblies and other aspects of public life, depending on whether the omens were good or bad.[533] See also obnuntiatio.

sponsio

Sponsio is a formal, religiously guaranteed obligation. It can mean both betrothal as pledged by a woman's family, and a magistrate's solemn promise in international treaties on behalf of the Roman people.[534]

The Latin word derives from a Proto-Indo-European root meaning a libation of wine offered to the gods, as does the Greek verb spendoo and the noun spondai, spondas, and Hittite spant-. [535] In Greek it also acquired the meaning "compact, convention, treaty" (compare Latin foedus), as these were sanctioned with a libation to the gods on an altar. In Latin, sponsio becomes a legal contract between two parties, or sometimes a foedus between two nations.

In legal Latin the sponsio implied the existence of a person who acted as a sponsor, a guarantor for the obligation undertaken by somebody else. The verb is spondeo, sponsus. Related words are sponsalia, the ceremony of betrothal; sponsa, fiancée; and sponsus, both the second-declension noun meaning a husband-to-be and the fourth declension abstract meaning suretyship.[536] The ceremonial character of sponsio suggests [537] that Latin archaic forms of marriage were, like the confarreatio of Roman patricians, religiously sanctioned. Dumézil proposed that the oldest extant Latin document, the Duenos inscription, could be interpreted in light of sponsio.[538]

superstitio

Superstitio was excessive devotion and enthusiasm in religious observance, in the sense of "doing or believing more than was necessary", [539] or "irregular" religious practice that conflicted with Roman custom. "Religiosity" in its pejorative sense may be a better translation than "superstition", the English word derived from the

Latin.[540] Cicero defined *superstitio* as the "empty fear of the gods" (*timor inanis deorum*) in contrast to the properly pious cultivation of the gods that constituted lawful *religio*,[541] a view that Seneca expressed as "*religio* honors the gods, *superstitio* wrongs them." [542] Seneca wrote an entire treatise on *superstitio*, known to St. Augustine but no longer extant.[543] Lucretius's famous condemnation of what is often translated as "Superstition" in his Epicurean didactic epic *De rerum natura* is actually directed at *Religio*. [544]

Before the Christian era, *superstitio* was seen as a vice of individuals. Practices characterized as "magic" could be a form of *superstitio* as an excessive and dangerous quest for personal knowledge.[545] By the early 2nd century AD, religions of other peoples that were perceived as resistant to religious assimilation began to be labeled by some Latin authors as *superstitio*, including druidism, Judaism, and Christianity.[546] Under Christian hegemony, *religio* and *superstitio* were redefined as a dichotomy between Christianity, viewed as true *religio*, and the *superstitiones* or false religions of those who declined to convert.[547]

supplicatio

Supplicationes are days of public prayer when the men, women, and children of Rome traveled in procession to religious sites around the city praying for divine aid in times of crisis. A *supplicatio* can also be a thanksgiving after the receipt of aid.[548] *Supplications* might also be ordered in response to prodigies; again, the population as a whole wore wreaths, carried laurel twigs, and attended sacrifices at temple precincts throughout the city.[549]

tabernaculum

See *auguraculum*. The origin of the English word "tabernacle."

templum

A *templum* was the sacred space defined by an augur for ritual purposes, most importantly the taking of the auspices, a place "cut off" as sacred: compare Greek *temenos*, from *temnein* to cut.[550] It

could be created as temporary or permanent, depending on the lawful purpose of the inauguration. Auspices and senate meetings were unlawful unless held in a *templum*; if the senate house (*Curia*) was unavailable, an augur could apply the appropriate religious formulae to provide a lawful alternative.[551]

To create a *templum*, the augur aligned his zone of observation (*auguraculum*, a square, portable surround) with the cardinal points of heaven and earth. The altar and entrance were sited on the east-west axis: the sacrificer faced east. The precinct was thus "defined and freed" (*effatum et liberatum*).[552] In most cases, signs to the augur's left (north) showed divine approval and signs to his right (south), disapproval.[553] Temple buildings of stone followed this ground-plan and were sacred in perpetuity.[554]

Rome itself was a kind of *templum*, with the *pomerium* as sacred boundary and the *arx* (citadel), and Quirinal and Palatine hills as reference points whenever a specially dedicated *templum* was created within. Augurs had authority to establish multiple *templa* beyond the *pomerium*, using the same augural principles.

verba certa

Verba certa (also found nearly as often with the word order *certa verba*) are the "exact words" of a legal or religious formula, that is, the words as "set once and for ever, immutable and unchangeable." Compare *certae preces*, fixed prayers of invocation, and *verba concepta*, which in both Roman civil law and augural law described a verbal formula that could be "conceived" flexibly to suit the circumstances.[555] With their emphasis on exact adherence, the archaic *verba certa*[556] are a magico-religious form of prayer.[557] In a ritual context, prayer (*prex*) was not a form of personal spontaneous expression, but a demonstration that the speaker knew the correct thing to say. Words were regarded as having power; in order to be efficacious, the formula had to be recited accurately, in full, and with the correct pronunciation. To reduce the risk of error (*vitium*), the magistrate or priest who spoke was prompted from the text by an assistant.[558]

verba concepta

In both religious and legal usage, verba concepta ("preconceived words") were verbal formulas that could be adapted for particular circumstances. Compare verba certa, "fixed words." Collections of verba concepta would have been part of the augural archives. Varro preserves an example, albeit textually vexed, of a formula for founding a templum.[559]

In the legal sense, concepta verba (the phrase is found with either word order) were the statements crafted by a presiding praetor for the particulars of a case.[560] Earlier in the Roman legal system, the plaintiff had to state his claim within a narrowly defined set of fixed phrases (certa verba); in the Mid Republic, more flexible formulas allowed a more accurate description of the particulars of the issue under consideration. But the practice may have originated as a kind of "dodge," since a praetor was liable to religious penalties if he used certa verba for legal actions on days marked nefastus on the calendar.[561]

St. Augustine removed the phrase verba concepta from its religious and legal context to describe the cognitive process of memory: "When a true narrative of the past is related, the memory produces not the actual events which have passed away but words conceived (verba concepta) from images of them, which they fixed in the mind like imprints as they passed through the senses." [562] Augustine's conceptualizing of memory as verbal has been used to elucidate the Western tradition of poetry and its shared origins with sacred song and magical incantation (see also carmen), and is less a departure from Roman usage than a recognition of the original relation between formula and memory in a pre-literate world.[563] Some scholars see the tradition of stylized, formulaic language as the verbal tradition from which Latin literature develops, with concepta verba appearing in poems such as Carmen 34 of Catullus.[564]

ver sacrum

The "sacred spring" was a ritual migration.

victima

The victima was the animal offering in a sacrifice, or very rarely a human. The victim was subject to an examination (probatio victimae) by a lower-rank priest (pontifex minor) to determine whether it met the criteria for a particular offering.[565] With some exceptions, male deities received castrated animals. Goddesses were usually offered female victims, though from around the 160s AD the goddess Cybele was given a bull, along with its blood and testicles, in the Taurobolium. Color was also a criterion: white for the upper deities, dark for chthonic, red for Vulcan and at the Robigalia. A sacred fiction of sacrifice was that the victim had to consent, usually by a nod of the head perhaps induced by the victimarius holding the halter. Fear, panic, and agitation in the animal were bad omens.[566][567]

The word victima is used interchangeably with hostia by Ovid and others, but some ancient authors attempt to distinguish between the two.[568] Servius says[569] that the hostia is sacrificed before battle, the victima afterward, which accords with Ovid's etymology of "victim" as that which has been killed by the right hand of the "victor" (with hostia related to hostis, "enemy").[570]

The difference between the victima and hostia is elsewhere said to be a matter of size, with the victima larger (maior).[258] See also piaculum and votum.

victimarius

The victimarius was an attendant or assistant at a sacrifice who handled the animal.[571] Using a rope, he led the pig, sheep, or bovine that was to serve as the victim to the altar. In depictions of sacrifice, a victimarius called the popa carries a mallet or axe with which to strike the victima. Multiple victimarii are sometimes in attendance; one may hold down the victim's head while the other lands the blow.[572] The victimarius severed the animal's carotid with a ritual knife (culter), and according to depictions was offered a hand towel afterwards by another attendant. He is sometimes shown dressed in an apron (limus). Inscriptions show that most victimarii were freedmen, but literary sources in late antiquity say

that the popa was a public slave.[573]

vitium

A mistake made while performing a ritual, or a disruption of augural procedure, including disregarding the auspices, was a vitium ("defect, imperfection, impediment"). Vitia, plural, could taint the outcome of elections, the validity of laws, and the conducting of military operations. The augurs issued an opinion on a given vitium, but these were not necessarily binding. In 215 BC the newly elected plebeian consul M. Claudius Marcellus resigned when the augurs and the senate decided that a thunderclap expressed divine disapproval of his election.[574] The original meaning of the semantic root in vitium may have been "hindrance", related to the verb vito, vitare, "to go out of the way"; the adjective form vitiosus can mean "hindering", that is, "vitiating, faulty." [575]

vitulari

A verb meaning chanting or reciting a formula with a joyful intonation and rhythm.[576] The related noun Vitulatio was an annual thanksgiving offering carried out by the pontiffs on 8 July, the day after the Nonae Caprotinae. These were commemorations of Roman victory in the wake of the Gallic invasion. Macrobius says vitulari is the equivalent of Greek paianizein (παίανίζειν), "to sing a paean", a song expressing triumph or thanksgiving.[577]

votum

In a religious context, votum, plural vota, is a vow or promise made to a deity. The word comes from the past participle of voveo, vovere; as the result of the verbal action "vow, promise", it may refer also to the fulfillment of this vow, that is, the thing promised. The votum is thus an aspect of the contractual nature of Roman religion, a bargaining expressed by do ut des, "I give that you might give." [578]

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98. Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* XV 27, 1–3, citing Laelius Felix in reference to M. Antistius Labeo.

99. George Willis Botsford, *The Roman Assemblies from Their Origin to the End of the Republic* (Macmillan, 1909), pp. 155–165.

100. Botsford, *Roman Assemblies*, p. 153.

101. Botsford, *Roman Assemblies*, p. 154.

102. Botsford, *Roman Assemblies*, pp. 104, 154.

103. George Mousourakis, *The Historical and Institutional Context of Roman Law* (Ashgate, 2003), p. 105.

104. In the *Fasti Viae Lanza*.

105. As summarized by Jörg Rüpke, *The Roman Calendar from Numa to Constantine: Time, History, and the Fasti* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), pp. 26–27.

106. Jerzy Linderski, "The Augural Law", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.16 (1986), p. 2245, note 387.

107. Jerzy Linderski, "The libri reconditi", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 89 (1985), pp. 228–229.

108. Cicero de *Div. II* 42

109. Festus, book 17, p. 819.

110. Serv. Dan. *Aen. I* 398

111. Livy, IV 31, 4; VIII 15, 6; XXIII 31, 13; XLI 18, 8.

112. Moses Hadas, *A History of Latin Literature* (Columbia University Press, 1952), p. 15 online.

113. C.O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry. Epistles Book II: The Letters to Augustus and Florus* (Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 64 online.

114. Cicero, *De domo sua* 136.

115. Wilfried Stroh, "De domo sua: Legal Problem and Structure", in *Cicero the Advocate* (Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 341.

116. W.S. Teuffel, *History of Roman Literature*, translated by George C.W. Warr (London, 1900), vol. 1, p. 104 online.

117. Jerzy Linderski, "The libri reconditi", *Harvard Studies in*

- Classical Philology* 89 (1985) 207–234, especially p. 216.
118. For example, Pliny, *Natural History* 18.14, in reference to the *augurium canarium*, a dog sacrifice. Other references include Cicero, *Brutus* 55 and *De domo sua* 186; Livy 4.3 and 6.1; Quintilian 8.2.12, as cited by Teuffel.
119. Linderski, "The libri reconditi", pp. 218–219.
120. Brink, *Horace on Poetry*, p. 64.
121. Adolf Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (American Philosophical Society, 1991 reprint), p. 399 online.
122. Jerzy Linderski, "The Augural Law", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II.16* (1986), 2231–2233, 2238.
123. Greek *stochasmos* (στοχασμός); Tobias Reinhardt, "Rhetoric in the Fourth Academy", *Classical Quarterly* 50 (2000), p. 534. The Greek equivalent of *conicere* is *ymballein*, from which English "symbol" derives; François Guillaumont, "Divination et prévision rationelle dans la correspondance de Cicéron," in *Epistulae Antiquae: Actes du Ier Colloque "Le genre épistolaire antique et ses prolongements"* (Université François-Rabelais, Tours, 18-19 septembre 1998) (Peeters, 2002).
124. Jerzy Linderski, "The Augural Law", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II.16* (1986), p. 2249 online.
125. Cicero, *De domo sua* 139; F. Sini, *Documenti sacerdotali di Roma antica* (Sassari, 1983), p.152
126. Cicero. *De domo sua* 136.
127. J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung III* (Leipzig, 1885), pp. 269 ff.; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, p.385.
128. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 2.8 and 1.117.
129. Clifford Ando, *The Matter of the Gods* (University of California Press, 2009), p. 6.
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131. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 10.1; Ando, *The Matter of the Gods*, p. 6.
132. Jerzy Linderski, "The libri reconditi" *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 89 (1985), pp. 218–219.
133. Sabine MacCormack, *The Shadows of Poetry: Vergil in the Mind of Augustine* (University of California Press, 1998), p. 75.
134. Clifford Ando, *The Matter of the Gods: Religion and the Roman Empire* (University of California Press, 2008), p. 110.

135. *apud Nonius* p. 792 L.
136. As recorded by Servius, *ad Aen. II* 225.
137. *Festus De verborum significatu s.v. delubrum* p. 64 L; G. Colonna "Sacred Architecture and the Religion of the Etruscans" in N. T. De Grummond *The Religion of the Etruscans* 2006 p. 165 n. 59.
138. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 15.4.9; Stephen A. Barney, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 310 online.
139. Servius, note to *Aeneid* 2.156; Robert Turcan, *The Gods of Ancient Rome* (Routledge, 2000), p. 44.
140. George Willis Botsford, *The Roman Assemblies from Their Origin to the End of the Republic* (Macmillan, 1909), pp. 161–162.
141. Servius, note to *Aeneid* 12.139.
142. David Wardle, "Deus or Divus: The Genesis of Roman Terminology for Deified Emperors and a Philosopher's Contribution", in *Philosophy and Power in the Graeco-Roman World: Essays in Honour of Miriam Griffin* (Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 182.
143. Servius *Aen. II* 141: "pontifices dicunt singulis actibus proprios deos praeesse, hos Varro certos deos appellat", the pontiffs say that every single action is presided upon by its own deity, these Varro calls certain gods"; A. von Domaszewski, "Dii certi und incerti" in *Abhandlungen fuer roemische Religion* 1909 pp. 154-170.
144. Jörg Rüpke, *Religion in Republican Rome: Rationalization and Ritual Change* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), p. 183.
145. As preserved by Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* VI 3.
146. Livy 8.9; for a brief introduction and English translation of the passage, see Mary Beard, J.A. North, and S.R.F. Price, *Religions of Rome: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 157 online.
147. Carlos F. Noreña, *Imperial Ideals in the Roman West: Representation, Circulation, Power* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 142.
148. C.E.V. Nixon, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The Panegyrici Latini* (University of California Press, 1994), pp. 179–185; Albino Garzetti, *From Tiberius To The Antonines* (Methuen, 1974), originally published 1960 in Italian), p. 618. *Paganism and Christianity, 100-425 C.E.: A Sourcebook* edited by Ramsay MacMullen and Eugene N. Lane (Augsburg Fortress, 1992), p. 154; Roger S. Bagnall and Raffaella Cribiore, *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt 300 BC–AD 800* (University of Michigan Press, 2006),

pp. 346–347.

149. Nixon, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors*, p. 182.
150. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.16.36; William Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London, 1922), pp. 28, 42.
151. Vernaculus was buried by his father, Lucius Cassius Tacitus, in Colonia Ubii. Maureen Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead: Roman Funerary Commemoration in Western Europe* (Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 172.
152. M. Golden, "Did the Ancients Care When Their Children Died?" *Greece & Rome* 35 (1988) 152–163.
153. Christian Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire: Outsiders Within* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 66.
154. Jens-Uwe Krause, "Children in the Roman Family and Beyond," in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World* (Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 627.
155. Caesar's Calendar, p. 148.
156. Feeney, Caesar's Calendar, p. 148.
157. Feeney, Caesar's Calendar, pp. 148–149.
158. a b Feeney, Caesar's Calendar, p. 149.
159. Regina Gee, "From Corpse to Ancestor: The Role of Tombside Dining in the Transformation of the Body in Ancient Rome," in *The Materiality of Death: Bodies, Burials, Beliefs, Bar International Series 1768* (Oxford, 2008), p. 64.
160. Gary Forsythe, *A Critical History of Early Rome: From Prehistory to the First Punic War* (University of California Press, 2005, 2006), p. 131.
161. Michael Lipka, *Roman Gods: A Conceptual Approach* (Brill, 2009), p. 47.
162. Patricia Cox Miller, "'The Little Blue Flower Is Red': Relics and the Poeticizing of the Body," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 8.2 (2000), p. 228.
163. H.H. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic* (Cornell University Press, 1981), p. 45.
164. Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 4.9.1; Festus 268 in the edition of Lindsay; Jerzy Linderski, "The Augural Law", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II.16* (1986), pp. 2187–2188.
165. Jörg Rüpke, *The Roman Calendar from Numa to Constantine: Time, History, and the Fasti*, translated by David M.B. Richardson (Blackwell, 2011, originally published 1995 in German), pp. 151–152. The *Fasti Maffeiiani* (= Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae* 13.2.72) reads *Dies*

- vitios[us] ex s[enatus] c[onsulto]*, as noted by Rüpke, *Kalender und Öffentlichkeit: Die Geschichte der Repräsentation und religiösen Qualifikation von Zeit in Rom* (De Gruyter, 1995), p. 436, note 36. The designation is also found in the *Fasti Praenestini*.
166. Linderski, "The Augural Law," p. 2188.
167. Cassius Dio 51.19.3; Linderski, "The Augural Law," pp. 2187–2188.
168. Suetonius, *Divus Claudius* 11.3, with commentary by Donna W. Hurley, *Suetonius: Divus Claudius* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 106.
169. Servius, note to *Aeneid* 4.453; Festus 69 (edition of Lindsay).
170. David Wardle, *Cicero on Divination, Book 1* (Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 178, 182; Jerzy Linderski, "The Augural Law", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II.16* (1986), p. 2203.
171. William Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London, 1922), p. 59; Georg Luck, *Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985, 2006, 2nd ed.), *passim*.
172. The phrase is *Druidarum religionem ... dirae immanitatis* ("the malevolent inhumanity of the religion of the druids"), where *immanitas* seems to be the opposite of *humanitas* as also evidenced among the Celts: Suetonius, *Claudius* 25, in the same passage containing one of the earliest mentions of Christianity as a threat.
173. P.A. Brunt, *Roman Imperial Themes* (Oxford University Press, 1990, 2001), p. 485 online.
174. The phrase is used for instance by Servius, note to *Aeneid* 4.166.
175. Massimo Pallottino, "The Doctrine and Sacred Books of the *Disciplina Etrusca*", *Roman and European Mythologies* (University of Chicago Press, 1992, from the French edition of 1981), pp. 43–44.
176. Elizabeth Rawson, "Caesar, Etruria, and the *Disciplina Etrusca*", *Journal of Roman Studies* 68 (1978), p. 138.
177. Servius, note to *Aeneid* 5.45, also 12.139.
178. Servius is unclear as to whether Lucius Ateius Praetextatus or Gaius Ateius Capito is meant.
179. David Wardle, "Deus or Divus: The Genesis of Roman Terminology for Deified Emperors and a Philosopher's Contribution", in *Philosophy and Power in the Graeco-Roman World* (Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 181–183.
180. Jörg Rüpke, *Religion of the Romans* (Polity Press, 2007, originally published in German 2001), p. 149 online.
181. Georg Luck, *Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult in the Greek*

- and Roman Worlds (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985, 2006), p. 479 online.
182. Adolf Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 1953, 2002), p. 414.
183. James R. Harrison, *Paul's Language of Grace in Its Graeco-Roman Context* (C.B. Mohr, 2003), p. 284. See Charites for the ancient Greek goddesses known as the Graces.
184. Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion* (Beacon Press, 1963, 1991, originally published in German 1922), p. 82 online.
185. Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (Oxford University Press, 2001 translation), p. 257 online.
186. Festus 146 (edition of Lindsay).
187. Jerzy Linderski, "The Augural Law", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II.16* (1986), pp. 2156–2157.
188. Robert Schilling, "Augurs and Augury," *Roman and European Mythologies* (University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 115.
189. Daniel J. Gargola, *Lands, Laws and Gods: Magistrates and Ceremony in the Regulation of Public Lands* (University of North Carolina Press, 1995), p. 27.
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191. Mary Beard, J.A. North, and S.R.F. Price, *Religions of Rome: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 41.
192. Nicholas Purcell, "On the Sacking of Corinth and Carthage", in *Ethics and Rhetoric: Classical Essays for Donald Russell on His Seventy* (Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 140–142.
193. Beard et al., *Religions of Rome: A Sourcebook*, pp. 41–42, with the passage from Livy, 5.21.1–7; Robert Turcan, *The Cults of the Roman Empire* (Blackwell, 1996, 2001, originally published in French 1992), p. 12; Robert Schilling, "Juno", *Roman and European Mythologies* (University of Chicago Press, 1992, from the French edition of 1981), p. 131.
194. Daniel J. Gargola, *Lands, Laws, and Gods: Magistrates and Ceremonies in the Regulation of Public Lands in Republican Rome* (University of North Carolina Press, 1995), p. 30. Elizabeth Rawson expresses doubts as to whether the evocatio of 146 BC occurred as such; see "Scipio, Laelius, Furius and the Ancestral Religion", *Journal of Roman Studies* 63 (1973) 161–174.
195. Evidenced by an inscription dedicated by an imperator Gaius Servilius, probably at the vowed temple; Beard et al., *Religions of*

- Rome: A Sourcebook*, p. 248.
196. As implied but not explicitly stated by Propertius, *Elegy 4.2*; Daniel P. Harmon, "Religion in the Latin Elegists", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II.16.3* (1986), pp. 1960–1961.
197. Eric Orlin, *Foreign Cults in Rome: Creating a Roman Empire* (Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 37–38.
198. Mary Beard, J.A. North, and S.R.F. Price, *Religions of Rome: A History* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 254.
199. Arnaldo Momigliano, *On Pagans, Jews, and Christians* (Wesleyan University Press, 1987), p. 178; Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 214.
200. George Mousourakis, *The Historical and Institutional Context of Roman Law* (Ashgate, 2003), p. 339 online.
201. Daniel J. Gargola, *Lands, Laws, and Gods: Magistrates and Ceremony in the Regulation of Public Lands* (University of North Carolina Press, 1995), p. 27; Jerzy Linderski, "The Augural Law", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II.16* (1986), p. 2273.
202. Clifford Ando, *The Matter of the Gods: Religion and the Roman Empire* (University of California Press, 2008), p. 184, citing Servius, note to Aeneid 2.351: "Pontifical law advises that unless Roman deities are called by their proper names, they cannot be exaugurated" (*et iure pontificum cautum est, ne suis nominibus dii Romani appellarentur, ne exaugurari possint*).
203. Livy 5.54.7; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 3.69.5; J. Rufus Fears, "The Cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II.17.2* (1981), p. 848.
204. Clifford Ando, "Exporting Roman Religion," in *A Companion to Roman Religion* (Blackwell, 2007), p. 442.
205. Fay Glinister, "Sacred Rubbish," in *Religion in Archaic and Republican Rome and Italy: Evidence and Experience* (Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p. 66.
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207. Macrobius, *Saturnalia III* 5, 6, quoting a passage from Veranius, *De pontificalibus quaestionibus: eximias dictas hostias quae ad sacrificium destinatae eximantur e grege, vel quod eximia specie quasi offerendae numinibus eligantur*.
208. F. SiniSua cuique civitati religio Torino 2001 p. 197

209. Cicero, *De divinatione* 2.12.29. According to Pliny (*Natural History* 11.186), before 274 BC the heart was not included among the *exta*.
210. Robert Schilling, "The Roman Religion", in *Historia Religionum: Religions of the Past* (Brill, 1969), vol. 1, pp. 471–472, and "Roman Sacrifice," *Roman and European Mythologies* (University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 79; John Scheid, *An Introduction to Roman Religion* (Indiana University Press, 2003, originally published in French 1998), p. 84.
211. Georg Luck, *Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985, 2006, 2nd ed.), p. 511.
212. Juvenal, *Satire* 2.110–114; Livy 37.9 and 38.18; Richard M. Crill, "Roman Paganism under the Antonines and Severans," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.16.2 (1976), p. 31.
213. Juvenal, *Satire* 4.123; Stephen L. Dyson, *Rome: A Living Portrait of an Ancient City* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), pp. 228, 328; John E. Stambaugh, "The Functions of Roman Temples," *ANRW* II.16.2 (1976), p. 593; Robert Turcan, *The Cults of the Roman Empire* (Blackwell, 1992, 2001 printing), p. 41.
214. Anonymous author of the *Historia Augusta*, Tacitus 17.1: *Fanaticus quidam in Templo Silvani tensis membris exclamavit*, as cited by Peter F. Dorsey, *The Cult of Silvanus: A Study in Roman Folk Religion* (Brill, 1992), p. 90, with some due skepticism toward the source.
215. CIL VI.490, 2232, and 2234, as cited by Stambaugh, "The Function of Roman Temples," p. 593, note 275.
216. *Fanaticum agmen*, Tacitus, *Annales* 14.30.
217. See for instance Cicero, *De domo sua* 105, *De divinatione* 2.118; and Horace's comparison of supposedly inspired poetic frenzy to the *fanaticus error* of religious mania (*Ars Poetica* 454); C.O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry: Epistles Book II, The Letters to Augustus and Florus* (Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 357; Marten Stol, *Epilepsy in Babylonia* (Brill, 1993), p. 121 online.
218. *Fanatica dicitur arbor fulmine icta*, *apud Paulus*, p. 92M.
219. Festus s.v. *delubrum* p. 64 M; G. Colonna "Sacred Architecture and the Religion of the Etruscans" in N. Thomas De Grummond *The Religion of the Etruscans* 2006 p. 165 n. 59
220. S. 53.1, CCSL 103:233–234, as cited by Bernadotte Filotas, *Pagan Survivals, Superstitions and Popular Cultures in Early Medieval*

- Pastoral Literature* (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005), p. 68.
221. "What a thing is that, that when those trees to which people make vows fall, no one carries wood from them home to use on the hearth! Behold the wretchedness and stupidity of mankind: they show honour to a dead tree and despite the commands of the living God; they do not dare to put the branches of a tree into the fire and by an act of sacrilege throw themselves headlong into hell": Caesarius of Arles, S. 54.5, CCSL 103:239, as quoted and discussed by Filotas, *Pagan Survivals*, p. 146.
222. As for instance in Livy 10.37.15, where he says that the temple of Jupiter Stator, established by the wartime *votum* of the consul and general M. Atilius Regulus in the 290s BC, had already been vowed by Romulus, but had remained only a *fanum*, a site (*locus*) delineated by means of verbalized ritual (*effatus*) for a *templum*.
223. Roger D. Woodard, *Indo-European Sacred Space: Vedic and Roman Cult* (University of Illinois Press, 2006), p. 150 online.
224. *Fíisnú* is the nominative form.
225. The form *fesnaf-e* is an accusative plural with an enclitic postposition.
226. Woodard, *Indo-European Sacred Space*, p. 150.
227. S.P. Oakley, *A Commentary on Livy, Books 6–10* (Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 378; Michel P.J. van den Hout, *A Commentary on the Letters of M. Cornelius Fronto* (Brill, 1999), p. 164.
228. Lawrence Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), p. 2.
229. Patrice Méniel, "Fanum and sanctuary," in *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia* (ABC-Clio, 2006), pp. 229, 733–734 online.
230. See *Romano-Celtic Temple Bourton Grounds in Great-Britain and Romano-British Temples*
231. T.F. Hoad, *English Etymology*, Oxford University Press 1993. p. 372a.
232. Servius, note to *Aeneid* 2.54; Nicholas Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 2: A Commentary* (Brill, 2008), p. 91.
233. Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 2*, p. 91.
234. Elisabeth Henry, *The Vigour of Prophecy: A Study of Virgil's Aeneid* (Southern Illinois University Press, 1989) *passim*.
235. Jerzy Linderski, "Founding the City," in *Ten Years of the Agnes Kirsopp Lake Michels Lectures at Bryn Mawr College* (Bryn Mawr

- Commentaries, 2006), p. 93.
236. R.L. Rike, *Apex Omnium: Religion in the Res Gestae of Ammianus* (University of California Press, 1987), p. 123.
237. Cynthia White, "The Vision of Augustus," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 55 (2004), p. 276.
238. Rike, *Apex Omnium*, pp. 122–123.
239. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* 23.1.7, as cited by Rike, *Apex Omnium*, p. 122, note 57; Sarolta A. Takács, *Vestal Virgins, Sibyls, and Matrons: Women in Roman Religion* (University of Texas Press, 2008), p. 68.
240. See Mary Beard et al., *Religions of Rome: Volume 1, a History* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 370 online, in a Christianized context with reference to Constantine I's AD 314 address of the Donatist dispute.
241. Robert Schilling, "Roman Festivals," *Roman and European Mythologies* (University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 92. So too R. Orestano, "Dal ius al fas," *Bullettino dell'Istituto di diritto romano* 46 (1939), p. 244 ff., and *I fatti di normazione nell'esperienza romana arcaica* (Turin 1967), p.106 ff.; A. Guarino, *L'ordinamento giuridico romano* (Naples 1980), p. 93; J. Paoli, *Le monde juridique du paganisme romain* p. 5; P. Catalano, *Contributi allo studio del diritto augurale* (Turin 1960), pp. 23 ff., 326 n. 10; C. Gioffredi, *Diritto e processo nelle antiche forme giuridiche romane* (Rome 1955), p. 25; B. Albanese, *Premesse allo studio del diritto privat romano* (Palermo 1978), p.127.
242. Valerie M. Warrior, *Roman Religion*, Cambridge University Press, 2006, p.160 [1]
243. Michael Lipka, *Roman Gods: A Conceptual Approach* (Brill, 2009), p.113 online.
244. Vergil, *Georgics* 1.269, with Servius's note: "divina humanaque iura permittunt: nam ad religionem fas, ad hominem iura pertinent". See also Robert Turcan, *The Gods of Ancient Rome: Religion in Everyday Life from Archaic to Imperial Times* (Routledge, 2000), p.5 online. and discussion of the relationship between fas and ius from multiple scholarly perspectives by Jerzy Linderski, "The Augural Law", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.16 (1986), pp. 2203–04 online.
245. Schilling, *Roman and European Mythologies*, p. 92.
246. *The Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982, 1985 reprinting), entry on fas p. 676, considers the etymology dubious

- but leans toward for, fari. The Indo-Europeanist Emile Benveniste derives fas, as a form of divine speech, from the IE root *bhā (as cited by Schilling, *Roman and European Mythologies*, p. 93, note 4).
247. Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, 6.29, because on dies fasti the courts are in session and political speech may be practiced freely. Ovid pursues the connection between the dies fasti and permissible speech (fas est) in his calendrical poem the *Fasti*; see discussion by Carole E. Newlands, *Playing with Time: Ovid and the Fasti* (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, 1995), p. 175 online.
248. Dumézil holds that fas derives from the IE root *dhē (as noted by Schilling, *Roman and European Mythologies*, p. 93, note 4). One ancient tradition associated the etymology of fas with that of Themis as the "establisher". See Paulus, epitome of Festus, p. 505 (edition of Lindsay); Ausonius, *Technopaegnion* 8, and *de diis* 1. For the scholarship, see U. Coli, "Regnum" in *Studia et documenta historiae et iuris* 17 1951; C. Ferrini "Fas" in *Nuovo Digesto Italiano* p. 918; C. Gioffredi, *Diritto e processo nelle antiche forme giuridiche romane* (Roma 1955) p. 25 n.1; H. Fugier, *Recherches sur l'expression du sacre' dans la langue latine* (Paris 1963), pp. 142 ff.; G. Dumezil, *La religion romaine archaïque* (Paris 1974), p. 144.
249. H. Fugier *Recherches sur l'expression du sacre' dans la langue latine* Paris, 1963
250. W. W. Skeat *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* New York 1963 sv felicity, feminine
251. G. Dumezil *La religion romaine archaïque* Paris 1974 part IV chapt. 2; Camillus: a study of Indo-European religion as Roman history (University of California Press, 1980), p. 214 online, citing Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.16.2.
252. Inc. Auc. de Praenomibus I apud Valerius Maximus X: "Fertorem Resium qui ius fetiale constituit"; Inc. Auc. de Viribus Illustribus V 4 apud Aurelius Victor p. 29: "(Ancus Martius) ius fetiale...ab Aequicolis transtulit quod primus Ferter Rhesus excogitavisse"; CIL VI 1302 from the Palatine (II-I century BC); Festus s. v. Ferctius p. 81 L; Propertius IV 105-146; Plutarch Marcellus 8. 4, Romulus 16. 6.
253. Livy I.18.9; Varro, *De lingua latina* V.143, VI.153, VII.8-9; Aulus Gellius XIII.14.1 (on the pomerium); Festus p. 488 L, tesca.
254. Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World* (MIT Press, 1988, originally published 1976), pp. 106–107, 126–127; Wissowa, *Religion*

- und Kultus der Römer (Munich 1912) 2nd pp. 136 ff.; G. Dumezil, *La religion romaine archaïque* (Paris 1974) 2nd, pp. 210 ff.; Varro, *De lingua latina* V.21; Isidore, *Origines* XV.14.3; Paulus, *Fest. epit.* p. 505 L; Ovid, *Fasti* II 639 ff.
255. Discussion and citation of ancient sources by Steven J. Green, *Ovid, Fasti 1: A Commentary* (Brill, 2004), pp. 159–160 online.
256. Servius, note to *Aeneid* 1.334.
257. *Hostibus a domitis hostia nomen habet* ("the hostia gets its name from the 'hostiles' that have been defeated"), Ovid, *Fasti* 1.336; *victima quae dextra cecidit victrix vocatur* ("the victim which is killed by the victor's right hand is named [from that act]"), 1.335.
258. a b Char. 403.38.
259. Macrobius *Sat.* VI 9, 5-7; Varro *Ling. Lat.* V
260. Macrobius *Sat.* VI 9, 7; *Festus s.v. bidentes* p.33 M
261. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* III 5, 1 ff.
262. Nathan Rosenstein, *Imperatores Victi: Military Defeat and Aristocratic Competition in the Middle and Late Republic* (University of California Press, 1990), p. 64.
263. Robert Turcan, *The Gods of Ancient Rome* (Routledge, 2001; originally published in French 1998), p. 9.
264. Turcan, *The Gods of Ancient Rome*, p. 39.
265. Veranius, *Iur.* 7: *praesentanea porca dicitur ... quae familiae purgandae causa Cereris immolatur, quod pars quaedam eius sacrificii fit in conspectu mortui eius, cuius funus instituitur.*
266. Aulus Gellius *Noctes Atticae* IV 6, 3-10 for *hostia succidanea* and *praecidanea*; also *Festus* p. 250 L. s. v. *praecidanea hostia*; *Festus* p. 298 L. s.v. *praesentanea hostia*. Gellius's passage implies a conceptual connexion between the *hostia praecidanea* and the *feriae succidanae*, though this is not explicated. Scholarly interpretations thus differ on what the *feriae praecidanae* were: cf. A. Bouché-Leclercq *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* III Paris 1898 s. v *Inauguratio* p. 440 and n. 1; G. Wissowa *Religion und Kultus der Römer* München 1912 p.438 f.; L. Schmitz in *W. Smith A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* London 1875 s. v. *feriae*; P. Catalano *Contributi allo studio del diritto augurale* Torino 1960 p. 352.
267. Cicero, *De legibus* II 8,20; Dionysius *Halicarnassus* II 22,3.
268. Livy XXVII 36, 5; XL 42, 8-10; Aulus Gellius XV 17, 1
269. Gaius I 130; III 114; Livy XXVII 8,4; XLI 28, 7; XXXVII 47, 8; XXIX 38, 6; XLV 15,19; Macrobius II 13, 11;

270. Cicero, *Brutus* 1; Livy XXVII 36, 5; XXX 26, 10; Dionysius *Halicarnassus* II 73, 3.
271. William Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic* (London, 1908), p. 89.
272. In particular, Book 14 of the non-extant *Antiquitates rerum divinarum*; see Lipka, *Roman Gods*, pp. 69–70.
273. W.R. Johnson, "The Return of Tutunus", *Arethusa* (1992) 173–179; Fowler, *Religious Experience*, p. 163. Wissowa, however, asserted that Varro's lists were not *indigitamenta*, but *di certi*, gods whose function could still be identified with certainty; *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (unknown edition), vol. 13, p. 218 online. See also Kurt Latte, *Roemische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich, 1960), pp. 44–45.
274. Lactantius, *Div. inst.* 1.6.7; Censorinus 3.2; Arnaldo Momigliano, "The Theological Efforts of the Roman Upper Classes in the First Century B.C.", *Classical Philology* 79 (1984), p. 210.
275. Georg Luck, *Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985, 2006, 2nd ed.), p. 513.
276. Matthias Klinghardt, "Prayer Formularies for Public Recitation: Their Use and Function in Ancient Religion", *Numen* 46 (1999), pp. 44–45; Frances Hickson Hahn, "Performing the Sacred: Prayers and Hymns", in *A Companion to Roman Religion* (Blackwell, 2007), p. 240; Nicole Belayche, "Religious Actors in Daily Life: Practices and Shared Beliefs", in *A Companion to Roman Religion*, p. 279.
277. The vocative is the grammatical case used only for "calling" or invoking, that is, hailing or addressing someone paratactically.
278. Gábor Betegh, *The Derveni Papyrus: Cosmology, Theology and Interpretation* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 137.
279. Jerzy Linderski, "The Augural Law", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.16 (1986), pp. 2253
280. Luck, *Arcana Mundi*, pp. 497, 498.
281. Pausanias gave specific examples in regard to Poseidon (7.21.7); Claude Calame, "The Homeric Hymns as Poetic Offerings: Musical and Ritual Relationships with the Gods," in *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretive Essays* (Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 338.
282. A. Berger *Encyclopedical Dictionary of Roman Law* Philadelphia 1968 sv. *ius*
283. *Inst.* 2, 2 ap. *Dig.* 1, 8, 1: *Summa itaque rerum divisio in duos articulos diducitur: nam aliae sunt divini iuris, aliae humani, 'thus*

the highest division of things is reduced into two articles : some belong to divine right, some to human right'.

284. F.Sini *Bellum nefandum* Sassari 1991 p. 110
285. In *Festus: ...iudex atque arbiter habetur rerum divinarum humanarumque: 'he is considered to be the judge and arbiter of things divine and human'... his authority stems from his regal (originally king Numa's) investiture.* F. Sini *Bellum nefandum* Sassari 1991 p. 108 ff. R. Orestano *Dal ius al fas* p.201.
286. *Ulpian Libr. I regularum ap. Digesta 1, 1, 10, 2: Iuris prudentia est divinarum atque humanum rerum notitia, iusti atque iniusti scientia*
287. Mary Beard, J.A. North, and S.R.F. Price, *Religions of Rome: A History* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 105.
288. Jörg Rüpke, *Religion of the Romans* (Polity Press, 2007, originally published in German 2001), p. 130, citing Gaius, *Institutes* 2.1–9.
289. William Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London, 1922), p. 122ff.
290. W.W. Skeat, *Etymological dictionary of the English Language entries on legal, legion, diligent, negligent, religion.*
291. For example in Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 1.24.7, Jupiter is called on to hear the oath.
292. *Serv. in Aen. III, 89: legum here is understood as the uttering of a set of fixed, binding conditions.*
293. M. Morani "Lat. 'sacer'..." *Aevum* LV 1981 p. 38 n.22
294. For example, those dated to 58 BC, relating to the temple of Jupiter Liber at Furfo: *CIL IX 3513*
295. G. Dumezil *la religion romaine archaic* Paris, 1974.
296. P. Noailles *RH 19/20 (1940/41)* 1, 27 ff; A. Magdelain *De la royauté et du droit des Romaines* (Rome, 1995) chap. II, III
297. Paul Veyne, *The Roman Empire* (Harvard University Press, 1987), p. 213.
298. H.S. Versnel, *Transition and Reversal in Myth and Ritual* (Brill, 1993, 1994), pp. 62–63.
299. Jerzy Linderski, "The Augural Law", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.16 (1986), pp. 2156–2157, 2248.
300. Robert Schilling, "Augurs and Augury," in *Roman and European Mythologies* (University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 116.
301. F. Sini *Documenti sacerdotali di Roma antica* Sassari, 1983; S.

- Tondo Leges regiae e paricidas* Firenze, 1973; E. Peruzzi *Origini di Roma II*
302. Francesco Sini, *Documenti sacerdotali di Roma antica. I. Libri e documenti* Sassari, 1983, IV, 10, p. 175 ff.
303. Cicero, *De Legibus* ("On Laws"), 2, 21.
304. M. Van Den Bruwaene, "Precision sur la loi religieuse du de leg. II, 19-22 de Ciceron" in *Helikon* 1 (1961) p.89.
305. F. Sini *Documenti sacerdotali di Roma antica I. Libri e commentari* Sassari 1983 p. 22; S. Tondo *Leges regiae e paricidas* Firenze, 1973, p.20-21; R. Besnier "Le archives privees publiques et religieuses a' Rome au temps des rois" in *Studi Albertario II* Milano 1953 pp.1 ff.; L. Bickel "Lehrbuch der Geschichte der roemischen Literatur" p. 303; G. J. Szemler *The priests of the Roman Republic* Bruxelles 1972.
306. *Livy* 41.14–15.
307. Robert Schilling, "Roman Sacrifice", *Roman and European Mythologies* (University of Chicago Press, 1992, from the French edition of 1981), p. 79.
308. Jörg Rüpke, *Religion of the Romans* (Polity Press, 2007, originally published in German 2001), pp. 149–150.
309. *Paulus Festi epitome* p. 57 L s.v. *capitalis lucus*
310. Berger, Adolf (1953). *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*. *Transactions of The American Philosophical Society* 43. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society. p. 546. ISBN 1584771425 Check |isbn= value (help).
311. *CIL I* 2nd 366; XI 4766; *CIL I2* 401, IX 782; R. Del Ponte, "Santità delle mura e sanzione divina" in *Diritto e Storia* 3 2004.
312. W.W. Skeat *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* New York 1973 s.v. *lustration*
313. Stefan Weinstock, "Libri fulgurales," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 19 (1951), p. 125.
314. Weinstock, p. 125.
315. *Seneca, Naturales Questiones* 2.41.1.
316. Massimo Pallottino, "The Doctrine and Sacred Books of the *Disciplina Etrusca*," *Roman and European Mythologies* (University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 44.
317. According to Seneca, *NQ* 2.41.1. See also *Festus* p. 219M = 114 edition of Lindsay; entry on *peremptalia fulgura*, p. 236 in the 1997 Teubner edition; *Pliny, Natural History* 2.138; and *Servius*, note to *Aeneid* 1.42, as cited and discussed by Weinstock, p. 125ff. Noted also

- by Auguste Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* (Jérôme Millon, 2003 reprint, originally published 1883), p. 845, note 54.
318. Pallottino, "Doctrine and Sacred Books," p. 44.
319. Weinstock, p. 127. See also *The Religion of the Etruscans*, pp. 40–41, where an identification of the *dii involuti* with the *Favores Opertaneii* ("Secret Gods of Favor") referred to by Martianus Capella is proposed.
320. Georges Dumézil, *La religion romaine archaïque* (Paris 1974), pp. 630 and 633 (note 3), drawing on Seneca, NQ 2.41.1–2 and 39.
321. Pallottino, "Doctrine and Sacred Books", pp. 43–44.
322. Auguste Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité: Divination hellénique et divination italique* (Jérôme Millon, 2003 reprint), p. 873; T.P. Wiseman, "History, Poetry, and Annales", in *Clio and the Poets: Augustan Poetry and the Traditions of Ancient Historiography* (Brill, 2002), p. 359 "awe and amazement are the result, not the cause, of the miraculum.
323. Livy 1.39.
324. George Williamson, "Mucianus and a Touch of the Miraculous: Pilgrimage and Tourism in Roman Asia Minor", in *Seeing the Gods: Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity* (Oxford University Press, 2005, 2007), p. 245 online.
325. Ariadne Staples, *From Good Goddess to Vestal Virgins: Sex and Category in Roman Religion* (Routledge, 1998), pp. 154–155.
326. Servius, note to Eclogue 8.82:
327. Fernando Navarro Antolín, *Lygdamus. Corpus Tibullianum III.1–6: Lygdami Elegiarum Liber* (Brill, 1996), pp. 272–272 online.
328. David Wardle, *Cicero on Divination, Book 1* (Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 102.
329. Varro as recorded by Servius, note to Aeneid 3.336, cited by Wardle, *Cicero on Divination*, p. 330 online.
330. Philip R. Hardie, *Virgil: Aeneid, Book IX* (Cambridge University Press, 1994, reprinted 2000), p. 97.
331. Mary Beagon, "Beyond Comparison: M. Sergius, Fortunae victor", in *Philosophy and Power in the Graeco-Roman World: Essays in Honour of Miriam Griffin* (Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 127.
332. As cited by Wardle, *Cicero on Divination*, p. 330.
333. Beagon, "Beyond Comparison", in *Philosophy and Power*, p. 127.
334. Michèle Lowrie, *Horace's Narrative Odes* (Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 151–154.

335. Cicero, *In Catilinam* 2.1.
336. Gregory A. Staley, *Seneca and the Idea of Tragedy* (Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 80, 96, 109, 113 et passim.
337. L. Banti; G. Dumézil *La religion romaine archaïque* Paris 1974, It. tr. p. 482–3.
338. M. Humm, "Le mundus et le Comitium : représentations symboliques de l'espace de la cité," *Histoire urbaine*, 2, 10, 2004. French language, full preview.
339. *Dies religiosi* were marked by the gods as inauspicious, so in theory, no official work should have been done, but it was not a legally binding religious rule. G. Dumézil above.
340. *Festus* p. 261 L2, citing Cato's commentaries on civil law. An inscription at Capua names a sacerdos *Cerialis mundalis* (CIL X 3926). For the connection between deities of agriculture and the underworld, see W. Warde Fowler, "Mundus Patet" in *Journal of Roman Studies*, 2, (1912), pp.25–33
341. A. Guarino *L'ordinamento giuridico romano* Napoli, 1980, p. 93.
342. Olga Tellegen-Couperus, *A Short History of Roman Law*, Routledge, 1993. ISBN 978-0-415-07250-2 pp17–18.
343. *Festus* p. 424 L: *At homo sacer is est, quem populus iudicavit ob maleficium; neque fas est eum immolari, sed qui occidit, parricidi non damnatur.*
344. Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 4.3.9.
345. Paul Roche, *Lucan: De Bello Civili, Book 1* (Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 296.
346. Servius, note to Aeneid 1.310, *arborum multitudo cum religione.*
347. Jörg Rüpke, *Religion of the Romans* (Polity Press, 2007), p. 275, noting that he finds Servius's distinction "artificial."
348. Fernando Navarro Antolín, *Lygdamus: Corpus Tibullianum III.1–6, Lygdami Elegiarum Liber* (Brill, 1996), p. 127–128.
349. Martial, 4.64.17, as cited by Robert Schilling, "Anna Perenna," *Roman and European Mythologies* (University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 112.
350. Stephen L. Dyson, *Rome: A Living Portrait of an Ancient City* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), p. 147.
351. Jerzy Linderski, "The Augural Law," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.16 (1986), pp. 2159–2160, 2168, et passim.
352. S.W. Rasmussen, "Public Portents in Republican Rome" online.
353. W. Jeffrey Tatum, *The Patrician Tribune: Publius Clodius Pulcher* (University of North Carolina Press, 1999) p. 127.

354. Beard, M., Price, S., North, J., *Religions of Rome: Volume 1, a History, illustrated*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp 109-10.
355. J.P.V.D. Balsdon, "Roman History, 58–56 B.C.: Three Ciceronian Problems", *Journal of Roman Studies* 47 (1957) 16–16.
356. Jerzy Linderski, "The Augural Law", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II.16* (1986), pp. 2232–2234, 2237–2241.
357. The etymology is debated. The older Latin form is *osmen*", which may have meant "an utterance"; see W. W. Skeat *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* sv *omen* New York 1963. It has also been connected to an ancient Hittite exclamation *ha* ("it's true"); see R. Bloch *Les prodiges dans l'antiquité - Rome* Paris 1968; It. tr. Rome 1978 p. 74, and E. Benveniste "Hittite et Indo-European. Etudes comparatives" in *Bibl. arch. et hist. de l'Institut français a, Arch. de Stambul V*, 1962, p.10.
358. See Veit Rosenberger, in Rüpke, Jörg (Editor), *A Companion to Roman Religion*, Wiley-Blackwell, 2007, p.298; citing Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 2.77.
359. Donald Lateiner, "Signifying Names and Other Ominous Accidental Utterances in Classical Historiography", *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, (2005), pp.51-55, 45, 49.[2]. Paullus is said to have accepted the omen with the words, "accipio, mea filia, omen." ("I accept the omen, my daughter").
360. Donald Lateiner, "Signifying Names and Other Ominous Accidental Utterances in Classical Historiography", *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, (2005), 49.[3]
361. "If we are going to accept chance utterances of this kind as omens, we had better look out when we stumble, or break a shoe-string, or sneeze!" Cicero *De Divinatione* 2.84: Loeb translation (1923) online at Bill Thayer's site [4]. In Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, 15.83: *ex hoc genere sunt, ut diximus, cottana et caricae quaeque conscondendi navem adversus Parthos omen fecere M. Crasso venales praedicantes voce, Cavneae*. Teubner-Mahoff edn. transcribed at Bill Thayer's site [5]
362. Jerzy Linderski, "The libri reconditi", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 89 (1985), p. 231–232.
363. Both are mentioned by Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3.20.3 and 3.7.2; Nancy Thomson de Grummond, "Introduction: The History of the Study of Etruscan Religion", in *The Religion of the Etruscans* (University of Texas Press, 2006), p. 2.
364. Pliny, *Natural History* 10.6–42.

365. *Ex Tarquitianis libris in titulo "de rebus divinis": Ammianus Marcellinus XXV* 27.
366. Robert Schilling, "The *Disciplina Etrusca*", *Roman and European Mythologies* (University of Chicago Press, 1992, from the French edition of 1981), p. 44.
367. Varro quoted by Servius, note to *Aeneid* 3.336, as cited by David Wardle, *Cicero on Divination, Book 1* (Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 330 online.
368. As cited by Wardle, *Cicero on Divination*, p.330.
369. Wardle, *Cicero on Divination*, p. 330; Auguste Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* (Jérôme Millon, 2003, originally published 1882), pp. 873–874 online.
370. Jerzy Linderski, "The Augural Law", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II.16* (1986), pp. 2150 and 2230–2232; see Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 1.72 and 2.49.
371. Festus rationalises the order: the rex is "the most powerful" of priests, the Flamen Dialis is "sacerdos of the entire universe", the Flamen Martialis represents Mars as the parent of Rome's founder Romulus, and the Flamen Quirinalis represents the Roman principle of shared sovereignty. The Pontifex Maximus "is considered the judge and arbiter of things both divine and human": Festus, p. 198-200 L
372. H.S. Versnel, *Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion: Transition and Reversal in Myth and Ritual* (Brill, 1993, 1994), p. 158, especially note 104.
373. *De lingua latina* 7.37.
374. Festus, p. 291 L, citing Veranius (1826 edition of Dacier, p. 1084 online); R. Del Ponte, "Documenti sacerdotali in Veranio e Granio Flacco," *Diritto e Storia* 4 (2005).[6]
375. Jerzy Linderski, "Q. Scipio Imperator," in *Imperium sine fine: T. Robert S. Broughton and the Roman Republic* (Franz Steiner, 1996), p. 168; Jonathan Edmondson and Alison Keith, *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture* (University of Toronto Press, 2008), p. 12.
376. Fred K. Drogula, "Imperium, potestas and the pomerium in the Roman Republic," *Historia* 56.4 (2007), pp. 436–437.
377. Christoph F. Konrad, "Vellere signa," in *Augusto augurio: rerum humanarum et divinarum commentationes in honorem Jerzy Linderski* (Franz Steiner, 2004), p. 181; see Cicero, *Second Verrine* 5.34; Livy 21.63.9 and 41.39.11.
378. Festus 439L, as cited by Versnel, *Inconsistencies*, p. 158 online.
379. Thomas N. Habinek, *The World of Roman Song: From*

Ritualized Speech to Social Order (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), p. 256.

380. The noun derives from the past participle of *pacisci* to agree, to come to an agreement, allied to *pactus*, past participle of verb *pangere* to fasten or tie. Compare Sanskrit *pac* to bind, and Greek *peegnumi*, I fasten: W. W. Skeat *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* s.v. *peace*, *pact*

381. As in Plautus, *Mercator* 678; Lucetius, *De rerum natura* V, 1227; Livy III 5, 14.

382. Jörg Rüpke, *Religion of the Romans* (Polity Press, 2007, originally published in German 2001), p. 81 online.

383. William Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London, 1922), p. 191.

384. Robert E.A. Palmer, "The Deconstruction of Mommsen on *Festus* 462/464 L, or the Hazards of Interpretation", in *Imperium sine fine: T. Robert S. Broughton and the Roman Republic* (Franz Steiner, 1996), p. 99, note 129 online; Roger D. Woodard, *Indo-European Sacred Space: Vedic and Roman Cult* (University of Illinois Press, 2006), p. 122 online.

385. Livy 8.9.1–11.

386. Compare Sanskrit *cayati*. See M. Morani "Latino sacer..." in *Aevum* LV 1981 pp. 30–46. *Pius* may derive from Umbrian and thus appear with a *p* instead of a *q*; some Indo-European languages resolved the original velar *k(h)* into the voiceless labial *p*, as did Greek and Celtic. Umbrian is one of such languages although it preserved the velar before a *u*. In Proto-Italic it has given *ii* with a long first *i* as in *pii*–: cfr. G. L. Bakkum *The Latin Dialect of the Ager Faliscus: 150 Years of Scholarship* p. 57 n. 34 quoting Meiser 1986 pp.37–38.

387. William Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London, 1922), p. 462.

388. Gerard Mussies, "Cascelia's Prayer," in *La Soteriologia dei culti orientali nell' impero romano* (Brill, 1982), p. 160.

389. Along with *pater*, "father." Hendrik Wagenvoort, "Horace and Vergil," in *Studies in Roman Literature, Culture and Religion* (Brill, 1956), pp. 82–83.

390. M. Morani "Latino Sacer..." In *Aevum* 1981 LV.

391. Varro *Lingua Latina* V 15, 83; G. Bonfante "Tracce di terminologia palafitticola nel vocabolario latino?" *Atti dell' Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere e Arti* 97 (1937: 53–70)

392. K. Latte *Römische Religionsgeschichte*. Munich 1960 p. 400–1; H. Fugier *Recherches sur l' expression du sacree' dans la langue latine* Paris 1963 pp.161–172.

393. First proposed by F. Ribezzo in "Pontifices 'quinionalis sacrificii effectores' ", *Rivista indo-greco-italica di Filologia-Lingua-Antichità* 15 1931 p. 56.

394. For a review of the proposed hypotheses cfr. J. P. Hallet "Over Troubled Waters: The Meaning of the Title Pontifex" in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 101 1970 p. 219 ff.

395. Marietta Horster, "Living on Religion: Professionals and Personnel", in *A Companion to Roman Religion*, pp. 332–334.

396. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* III 2, 3–4: R. Del Ponte, "Documenti sacerdotali in Veranio e Granio Flacco" in *Diritto estoria*, 4, 2005.

397. Robert Schilling, "Roman Sacrifice," *Roman and European Mythologies* (University of Chicago Press, 1992, from the French edition of 1981), p. 79 online.

398. Jerzy Linderski, "The Augural Law", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.16 (1986), pp. 2232, 2247.

399. Claude Moussy, "Signa et portenta", in *Donum grammaticum: Studies in Latin and Celtic Linguistics in Honour of Hannah Rosén* (Peeters, 2002), p. 269 online.

400. Pliny, *Natural History* 11.272, Latin text at *LacusCurtius*; Mary Beagon, *Roman Nature: The Thought of Pliny the Elder* (Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 146.

401. Varro's passage is preserved by Servius, note to *Aeneid* 3.336, as cited by David Wardle, *Cicero on Divination, Book 1* (Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 330 online.

402. Auguste Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité: Divination hellénique et divination italique* (Jérôme Millon, 2003 reprint), pp. 873–874.

403. Blandine Cuny-Le Callet, *Rome et ses monstres: Naissance d'un concept philosophique et rhétorique* (Jérôme Millon, 2005), p. 48, with reference to Fronto.

404. For instance, *Roman and European Mythologies* (University of Chicago Press, 1992, from the French edition of 1981), pp. 43 and 98. Despite its title, S.W. Rasmussen's *Public Portents in Republican Rome* («L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2003), does not distinguish among prodigium, omen, portentum and ostentum (p. 15, note 9).

405. Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 21.8: *Portentum ergo fit non contra*

naturam, sed contra quam est nota natura ("therefore a portent does not occur contrary to nature, but contrary to what is known of nature"). See Michael W. Herren and Shirley Ann Brown, *Christ in Celtic Christianity* (Boydell Press, 2002), p. 163.

406. Pliny, *Natural History* 28.11, as cited by Matthias Klinghardt, "Prayer Formularies for Public Recitation: Their Use and Function in Ancient Religion", *Numen* 46 (1999), p. 15.

407. Jerzy Linderski, "The Augural Law", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II.16* (1986), p. 2246.

408. A.A. Barb, "Animula Vagula Blandula ... Notes on Jingles, Nursery-Rhymes and Charms with an Excursus on Noththe's Sisters", *Folklore* 61 (1950), p. 23; Maarten J. Vermaseren and Carel C. van Essen, *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca on the Aventine* (Brill, 1965), pp. 188–191.

409. W.S. Teuffel, *History of Roman Literature* (London, 1900, translation of the 5th German edition), vol. 1, p. 547.

410. Pliny, *Natural History* 28.19, as cited by Nicole Belayche, "Religious Actors in Daily Life", in *A Companion to Roman Religion* (Blackwell, 2007), p. 287.

411. Linderski, "The Augural Law", pp. 2252–2256.

412. Steven M. Cerutti, *Cicero's Accretive Style: Rhetorical Strategies in the Exordia of the Judicial Speeches* (University Press of America, 1996), *passim*; Jill Harries, *Law and Empire in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 36.

413. Fritz Graf, "Prayer in Magic and Religious Ritual", in *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 189.

414. Robert Schilling, "Roman Sacrifice", *Roman and European Mythologies* (University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 77.

415. Georg Luck, *Arcana Mundi* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985, 2006), p. 515.

416. *Dirae* is used by Tacitus (*Annales* 14.30) to describe the *preces* uttered by the druids against the Romans at Anglesey.

417. As in Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 5.1229. According to Emile Benveniste (*Le vocabulaire*, p. 404) *quaeso* would mean "I use the appropriate means to obtain"; in the interpretation of Morani, [citation needed] *quaeso* means "I wish to obtain, try and obtain", while *precor* designates the utterance of the adequate words to achieve one's aim.

418. Adolf Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*

(American Philosophical Society, 1991 reprint), p. 648; Detlef Liebs, "Roman Law", in *The Cambridge Ancient History. Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, A.D. 425-600* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), vol. 15, p. 243.

419. Andrew Lintott, *The Constitution of the Roman Republic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999, reprinted 2002), p. 103 online.

420. Orlin, in Rüpke (ed), 60.

421. R. Bloch *ibidem* p. 96

422. Rosenberger, in Rüpke (ed), 297.

423. Rosenberger, in Rüpke (ed), 295 - 8: the task fell to the *haruspex*, who set the child to drown in the sea. The survival of such a child for four years after its birth would have been regarded as extreme dereliction of religious duty.

424. Livy, 27.37.5–15; the hymn was composed by the poet Livius Andronicus. Cited by Halm, in Rüpke (ed) 244. For remainder, see Rosenberger, in Rüpke (ed), 297.

425. See Livy, 22.1 ff.

426. For Livy's use of prodigies and portents as markers of Roman impiety and military failure, see Feeney, in Rüpke (ed), 138 - 9. For prodigies in the context of political decision-making, see Rosenberger, in Rüpke (ed), 295 - 8. See also R. Bloch *Les prodiges dans l'antiquité - Les prodiges à Rome* It. transl. 1981, chap. 1, 2

427. Dennis Feeney, in Jörg Rüpke, (Editor), *A Companion to Roman Religion*, Wiley-Blackwell, 2007. p.140.

428. *Festus* s. v. *praepetes aves* p. 286 L "aves quae se ante auspicantem ferunt" "who go before the a.", 224 L "quia secundum auspicium faciunt praetervolantes...aut ea quae praepetamus indicent..." "since they make the auspice favourable by flying nearby...or point to what we wish for...". W. W. Skeat *An Etymological Dictionary of the English language* s. v. *propitious* New York 1963 (reprint).

429. William Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London, 1922), pp. 265–266; Mary Beard, J.A. North, and S.R.F. Price, *Religions of Rome: A History* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), vol. 1, p. 40.

430. Charlotte Long, *The Twelve Gods of Greece and Rome* (Brill, 1987), pp. 235–236.

431. Jerzy Linderski, "The Augural Law", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II.16* (1986), p. 2180, and in the same volume, G.J. Szemler, "Priesthoods and Priestly Careers in Ancient Rome," p. 2322.

432. Clifford Ando, *The Matter of the Gods: Religion and the Roman Empire* (University of California Press, 2008), p. 126.
433. Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2.8.
434. Ando, *The Matter of the Gods*, p. 13.
435. Nicole Belayche, in Rüpke, Jörg (Editor), *A Companion to Roman Religion*, Wiley-Blackwell, 2007, p. 279: "Care for the gods, the very meaning of *religio*, had [therefore] to go through life, and one might thus understand why Cicero wrote that religion was "necessary". Religious behavior – *pietas* in Latin, *eusebeia* in Greek – belonged to action and not to contemplation. Consequently religious acts took place wherever the faithful were: in houses, boroughs, associations, cities, military camps, cemeteries, in the country, on boats."
436. CIL VII.45 = ILS 4920.
437. Jack N. Lightstone, "Roman Diaspora Judaism," in *A Companion to Roman Religion* (Blackwell, 2007), pp. 360, 368.
438. Adelaide D. Simpson, "Epicureans, Christians, Atheists in the Second Century," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 72 (1941) 372–381.
439. Beard et al., Vol. 1, 217.
440. F. De Visscher "Locus religiosus" *Atti del Congresso internazionale di Diritto Romano*, 3, 1951
441. Warde Fowler considers a possible origin for *sacer* in taboos applied to holy or accursed things or places, without direct reference to deities and their property. W. Warde Fowler "The Original Meaning of the Word *Sacer*" *Journal of Roman Studies*, I, 1911, p.57-63
442. Varro. *LL V*, 150. See also *Festus*, 253 L: "A place was once considered to become *religiosus* which looked to have been dedicated to himself by a god": "*locus statim fieri putabatur religiosus, quod eum deus dicasse videbatur*".
443. Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2.3.82 and 2.28.72; Ittai Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion* (Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 4-6.
444. Massimo Pallottino, "Sacrificial Cults and Rites in Pre-Roman Italy," in *Roman and European Mythologies* (University of Chicago Press, 1992), p.33.
445. Clifford Ando, "Religion and *ius publicum*," in *Religion and Law in Classical and Christian Rome* (Franz Steiner, 2006), pp. 140–142.
446. Gian Biagio Conte, *Latin Literature: A History* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994, originally published 1987 in Italian), p. 213.

447. Herbert Vorgrimler, *Sacramental Theology* (Patmos, 1987, 1992), p. 45.
448. Jerzy Linderski, "The libri reconditi," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 89 (1985), pp.218–219.
449. Jörg Rüpke, *Religion of the Romans* (Polity Press, 2007, originally published in German 2001), p. 223 online.
450. *Festus* on the *ordo sacerdotum*, 198 in the edition of Lindsay.
451. Gary Forsythe, *A Critical History of Early Rome: From Prehistory to the First Punic War* (University of California Press, 2005), p. 136 online.
452. *Festus*, entry on *ritus*, p. 364 (edition of Lindsay): *ritus est mos comprobatus in administrandis sacrificis*. See also the entry on *ritus* from Paulus, *Festi Epitome*, p. 337 (Lindsay), where he defines *ritus* as *mos* or *consuetudo*, "customary use", adding that *rite autem significat bene ac recte*. See also Varro *De Lingua Latina* II 88; Cicero *De Legibus* II 20 and 21.
453. G. Dumézil *ARR It. tr.* Milan 1977 p. 127 citing A. Bergaigne *La religion védique* III 1883 p. 220.
454. Jean-Louis Durand, John Scheid "Rites et religion. Remarques sur certains préjugés des historiens de la religions des Grecs et des Romains" in *Arcives des sciences sociales des religions* 85 1994 pp. 23-43 part. pp. 24-25.
455. John Scheid, "Graeco Ritu: A Typically Roman Way of Honoring the Gods", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. 97, *Greece in Rome: Influence, Integration*, 1995, pp. 15–31.
456. Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 7.12.5, discounting the etymology proffered by Gaius Trebatius in his lost work *On Religions* (as *sacer + cella*).
457. Varro, *Res Divinae* frg. 62 in the edition of Cardauns.
458. Verrius Flaccus as cited by *Festus*, p. 422.15–17 L.
459. Jörg Rüpke, *Religion of the Romans* (Polity Press, 2007, originally published in German 2001), pp. 183–185.
460. Dionysius Halicarnassus II 64, 3.
461. Varro, *De res rustica*, 2.1., describes *porci sacres* (pigs considered *sacer* and thus reserved for sacrifice) as necessarily "pure" (or perfect); "*porci puri ad sacrificium*".
462. M. Morani "Lat. sacer...cit. p. 41. See also *Festus*. p. 414 L2 & p.253 L: *Gallus Aelius ait sacrum esse quodcumque modo atque instituto civitatis consecratum est, sive aedis sive ara sive signum, locum sive pecunia, sive aliud quod dis dedicatum atque consecratum*

sit; quod autem privati suae religionis causa aliquid earum rerum deo dedicent, id pontifices Romanos non existimare sacrum: "Gallus Aelius says that sacer is anything made sacred (consecratum) in any way or by any institution of the community, be it a building or an altar or a sign, a place or money, or anything that else can be dedicated to the gods; the Roman pontiffs do not consider sacer any things dedicated to a god in private religious cult."

463. *...si id moritur...profanum esto "if the animal dies ...it shall be profane": Livy, Ab Urbe Condita, 22.10. For the archaic variant, see G. Dumezil La religion romaine archaique Paris, 1974, Considerations preliminaires*

464. *F. De Visscher "Locus religiosus" Atti del Congressoo internazionale di Diritto Romano, 3, 1951*

465. *Warde Fowler considers a possible origin for sacer in the taboos applied to things or places holy or accursed without direct reference to deities and their property. W. Warde Fowler "The Original Meaning of the Word Sacer" Journal of Roman Studies, I, 1911, p.57-63*

466. *As in Horace, Sermones II 3, 181,*

467. *As in Servius, Aeneid VI, 609; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, II 10, 3; Festus 505 L.*

468. *Festus, p422 L: "homo sacer is est quem populus iudicavit ob maleficium; neque fas est eum imolari, sed qui occidit, parricidii non damnatur". For further discussion on the homo sacer in relation to the plebeian tribunes, see Ogilvie, R M, A Commentary on Livy 1-5, Oxford, 1965.*

469. *H. Bennet Sacer esto.. thinks that the person declared sacred was originally sacrificed to the gods. This hypothesis seems to be supported by Plut. Rom. 22, 3 and Macr. Sat.III, 7, 5, who compare the homo sacer to the victim in a sacrifice. The prerogative of declaring somebody sacer supposedly belonged to the king during the regal era; during the Republic, this right passed to the pontiff and courts.*

470. *G. Devoto Origini Indoeuropee (Firenze, 1962), p. 468*

471. *John Scheid, An Introduction to Roman Religion (Indiana University Press, 2003), p. 129.*

472. *Scheid, Introduction to Roman Religion, pp. 129-130.*

473. *Lesley E. Lundeen, "In Search of the Etruscan Priestess: A Re-Examination of the hatrencu," in Religion in Republican Italy (Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 46; Celia E. Schultz, Women's*

Religious Activity in the Roman Republic (University of North Carolina Press, 2006), pp. 70-71.

474. *Varro. De Lingua Latina VI 24; Festus sv Septimontium p. 348, 340, 341L; Plut. Quest. Rom. 69*

475. *Festus sv Publica sacra; Dionys. Hal. II 21, 23; Appian. Hist. Rom. VIII 138; de Bello Civ. II 106; Plut. Quaest. Rom. 89; Christopher John Smith, The Roman Clan: The gens from Ancient Ideology to Modern Anthropology (Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 44.*

476. *Plutarch Numa 14, 6-7 gives a list of Numa's ritual prescriptions: obligation of sacrificing an uneven number of victims to the heavenly gods and an even one to the inferi (cf. Serv. Ecl. 5, 66; Serv. Dan. Ecl. 8, 75; Macrobius I 13,5); the prohibition to make libations to the gods with wine; of sacrificing without flour; the obligation to pray and worship divinities while making a turn on oneself (Livy V 21,16; Suetonius Vit. 2); the composition of the indigitamenta (Arnobius Adversus nationes II 73, 17-18).*

477. *Livy I, 20; Dion. Hal. II*

478. *Macrobius I 12. Macrobius mentions in former times the inadvertent nomination of Salus, Semonia, Seia, Segetia, Tutilina required the observance of a dies feriatius of the person involved.*

479. *Cic. de Leg. II 1, 9-21; Turcan, The Gods of Ancient Rome, p. 44.*

480. *William Warde Fowler, The Religious Experience of the Roman People (London, 1922), p. 86.*

481. *Livy 5.46.2-3; Clifford Ando, The Matter of the Gods: Religion and the Roman Empire (University of California Press, 2009), pp. 142-143; Emmanuele Curti, "From Concordia to the Quirinal: Notes on Religion and Politics in Mid-Republican/Hellenistic Rome," in Religion in Archaic and Republican Rome and Italy: Evidence and Experience (Routledge, 2000), p. 85; Robert E.A. Palmer, "The Deconstruction of Mommsen on Festus 462/464, or the Hazards of Interpretation", in Imperium sine fine: T. Robert S. Broughton and the Roman Republic (Franz Steiner, 1996),*

482. *Liv. V 46; XXII 18; Dionys. Hal. Ant. Rom. IX 19; Cic. Har. Resp. XV 32; Turcan, The Gods of Ancient Rome, p. 43ff.; Smith, The Roman Clan, p. 46.*

483. *Mommsen thought, perhaps wrongly, that the Julian sacra for Apollo was in fact a sacrum publicum entrusted to a particular gens. Mommsen Staatsrecht III 19; G. Dumézil La religion romaine archaique It. tr. Milano 1977 p. 475*

484. *Festus, p. 274 (edition of Lindsay); Robert Turcan, The Gods of*

- Ancient Rome* (Routledge, 2001; originally published in French 1998), p. 44; Smith, *The Roman Clan*, p. 45.
485. Legal questions might arise about the extent to which the inheritance of property was or ought to be attached to the *sacra*; Andrew R. Dyck, *A Commentary on Cicero, De Legibus* (University of Michigan Press, 2004), pp. 381–382, note on an issue raised at *De legibus* 2.48a.
486. Cicero, *De legibus* 2.1.9–21; Turcan, *The Gods of Ancient Rome*, p. 44.
487. Jörg Rüpke, *Religion of the Romans* (Polity Press, 2007, originally published in German 2001), p. 26.
488. *Festus* 146 in the edition of Lindsay.
489. Olivier de Cazanove, "Pre-Roman Italy, Before and Under the Romans," in *A Companion to Roman Religion* (Blackwell, 2007), p. 55.
490. Jörg Rüpke, *Domi Militiae: Die religiöse Konstruktion des Krieges in Rom* (Franz Steiner, 1990), pp. 76–80.
491. D. Briquel "Sur les aspects militaires du dieu ombrien Fesus Sancius" in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*[full citation needed] i p. 150–151; J. A. C. Thomas *A Textbook of Roman law* Amsterdam 1976 p. 74 and 105.
492. Varro *De Lingua latina* V 180; *Festus* s.v. *sacramentum* p. 466 L; 511 L; *Paulus Festi Epitome* p.467 L.
493. George Mousourakis, *A Legal History of Rome* (Routledge, 2007), p. 33.
494. Mousourakis, *A Legal History of Rome*, pp. 33, 206.
495. See further discussion at *fustuarium*
496. *Gladiators swore to commit their bodies to the possibility of being "burned, bound, beaten, and slain by the sword"*; Petronius, *Satyricon* 117; Seneca, *Epistulae* 71.32.
497. Carlin A. Barton, *The Sorrows of the Ancient Romans: The Gladiator and the Monster* (Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 14–16, 35 (note 88), 42, 45–47.
498. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11.15.5; Robert Schilling, "The Decline and Survival of Roman Religion," in *Roman and European Mythologies* (University of Chicago Press, 1992, from the French edition of 1981)
499. Arnaldo Momigliano, *Quinto contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico* (*Storia e letteratura*, 1975), vol. 2, pp. 975–977; Luca Grillo, *The Art of Caesar's Bellum Civile: Literature,*

- Ideology, and Community* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 60.
500. Ulpian, *Digest* I.8.9.2: *sacrarium est locus in quo sacra reponuntur*.
501. Ittai Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion* (Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 10.
502. Robert E. A. Palmer, *The Archaic Community of the Romans*, p. 171, note 1.
503. R.P.H. Green, "The Christianity of Ausonius," *Studia Patristica: Papers Presented at the Eleventh International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 1991* (Peeters, 1993), vol. 28, pp. 39 and 46; Kim Bowes, "'Christianization' and the Rural Home," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 15.2 (2007), pp. 143–144, 162.
504. *Built of Living Stones: Art, Architecture, and Worship: Guidelines* (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, 2005), p. 73. See also Wolfred Nelson Cote, *The Archaeology of Baptism* (Lond, 1876), p. 138.
505. *Livy* II 33, 1; III 19, 10
506. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* VI 89, 3
507. *Livy* IV 3, 6; 44, 5; XXIX 20, 11
508. M. Morani *Latino sacer...* *Aevum* LV 1981 p. 40
509. H. Fugier *Recherches sur l'expression du sacré' dans la langue latine* Paris 1963; E. Benveniste *Le vocabulaire des institutions indoeuropeennes* Paris 1939, p. 427 ff.
510. P.Krestchmer in *Glotta* 1919, X, p. 155
511. H. Fugier, *Recherches*, pp. 125 ff.; E. Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire*, pp. 427 ff.; K. Latte *Roemische Religionsgeschichte* Muenchen 1960 p.127 ff.; D. Briquel "Sur les aspects militaires du dieu Ombrien Fesus Sancius" Paris 1978
512. Ulpian *Digest* 1.8.9: *dicimus sancta, quae neque sacra neque profana sunt*.
513. G. Dumezil *La religion Romaine archaïque* It. transl. Milano 1977 p. 127; F. Sini "Sanctitas: cose, uomini, dei" in *Sanctitas. Persone e cose da Roma a Costantinopoli a Mosca* Roma 2001; *Cic. de Nat. Deor.* III 94; *Festus* sv *tesca* p. 488L
514. Gaius, following Aelius Gallus: *inter sacrum autem et sanctum et religiosum differentias bellissime refert [Gallus]: sacrum aedificium, consecrato deo; sanctum murum, qui sit circa oppidum*. See also Marcian, *Digest* 1.8.8: "sanctum" est quod ab iniuria hominum defensum atque munitum est ("it is sanctum that which is defended and protected from the attack of men").

515. Huguette Fugier, *Recherches sur l'expression du sacré dans la langue latine*, *Archives des sciences sociales des religions*, 1964, Volume 17, Issue 17, p.180 [7]
516. Servius glosses *Amsancti valles* (*Aeneid* 7.565) as *loci amsancti, id est omni parte sancti* ("amsancti valleys: amsancti places, that is, sanctus here in the sense of secluded, protected by a fence, on every side"). *The Oxford Latin Dictionary*, however, identifies *Ampsancus* in this instance and in Cicero, *De divinatione* 1.79 as a proper noun referring to a valley and lake in Samnium regarded as an entrance to the Underworld because of its mephitic air.
517. Ovid, *Fasti* 2.658.
518. Ovid *Fasti* 1.608-9.
519. Nancy Edwards, "Celtic Saints and Early Medieval Archaeology", in *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 229 online.
520. Robert A. Castus, *Cicero: Speech on Behalf of Publius Sestius* (Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 416; Susanne William Rasmussen, *Public Portents in Republican Rome* (Rome, 2003), p. 163 online.
521. C.T. Lewis & C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford. Clarendon Press, 1879. Online at [8]
522. Pliny *Naturalis Historia* XXVIII 11; Seneca *De Vita Beata* XXVI 7; Cicero *De Divinatione* I 102; Servius *Danielis In Aeneidem* V 71.
523. Cicero *De Divinatione* II 71 and 72; Festus v. *Silentio surgere* p. 474 L; v. *Sinistrum*; Livy VII 6, 3-4; T. I. VI a 5-7.
524. Livy VIII 23, 15; IX 38, 14; IV 57, 5.
525. Jörg Rüpke, *Religion of the Romans* (Polity Press, 2007, originally published in German 2001), p. 206.
526. Thomas N. Habinek, *The World of Roman Song: From Ritualized Speech to Social Order* pp. 36-37.
527. For instance, a woman and her associates (*socii*) donated a lot with a "clubhouse" (*schola*) and colonnade to *Silvanus* and his *sodalitium*, who were to use it for sacrifice, banquets, and dinners; Robert E.A. Palmer, "Silvanus, Sylvester, and the Chair of St. Peter", *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 122 (1978), pp. 237, 243.
528. Attilio Mastrocinque, "Creating One's Own Religion: Intellectual Choices", in *A Companion to Roman Religion* (Blackwell, 2007), p. 382.
529. Ammianus Marcellinus, 15.9.8; Georges Dottin, *Manuel pour servir à l'étude de l'Antiquité Celtique* (Paris, 1906), pp. 279-289: the

- sodalicia consortia of the druids "ne signifie pas autre chose qu'associations corporatives, collèges, plus ou moins analogues aux collèges sacerdotaux des Romains"* (*sodalicia consortia can "mean nothing other than corporate associations, colleges, more or less analogous to the priestly colleges of the Romans"*).
530. Eric Orlin, "Urban Religion in the Middle and Late Republic", in *A Companion to Roman Religion*, pp. 63-64; John Scheid, "Sacrifices for Gods and Ancestors", p. 268.
531. Gaius, *Digest* xlvii.22.4 = *Twelve Tables* viii.27; A. Drummond, "Rome in the Fifth Century", *Cambridge Ancient History: The Rise of Rome to 220 B.C.* (Cambridge University Press, 1989, 2002 reprint), vol. 7, part 2, p. 158 online.
532. J.-M. David, S. Demougin, E. Deniaux, D. Ferey, J.-M. Flambard, C. Nicolet, "Le Commentariolum petitionis de Quintus Cicéron", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt I* (1973) pp. 252, 276-277.
533. W. Jeffrey Tatum, *The Patrician Tribune* (University of North Carolina Press, 1999), p.127.
534. W. H. Buckler *The origin and history of contract in Roman law* 1895 pp. 13-15
535. *The Hittite* is also written as *sipant* or *isphant*.
536. Servius, note to *Aeneid* X 79
537. In conjunction with archaeological evidence from *Lavinium*.
538. G. Dumezil "La deuxième ligne de l'inscription de Duenos" in *Latomus* 102 1969 pp. 244-255; *Idees romaines Paris* 1969 pp. 12 ff.
539. Jörg Rüpke, "Roman Religion — Religions of Rome," in *A Companion to Roman Religion* (Blackwell, 2007), p. 5.
540. Mary Beard, J.A. North, and S.R.F. Price, *Religions of Rome: A History* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 215-217.
541. Maijastina Kahlos, *Debate and Dialogue: Christian and Pagan Cultures c. 360-430* (Ashgate, 2007), p. 95.
542. Seneca, *De clementia* 2.5.1; Beard et al, *Religions of Rome: A History*, p. 216.
543. Beard et al, *Religions of Rome: A History*, p. 216.
544. Yasmin Haskell, "Religion and Enlightenment in the Neo-Latin Reception of Lucretius," in *The Cambridge Companion to Lucretius* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 198 online.
545. Beard et al, *Religions of Rome: A History*, pp. 217-219.
546. Beard et al, *Religions of Rome: A History*, p. 221.
547. Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 4.28.11; Beard et al, *Religions of*

Rome: A History, p. 216.

548. Frances Hickson Hahn, "Performing the Sacred: Prayers and Hymns," pp. 238, 247, and John Scheid, "Sacrifices for Gods and Ancestors," p. 270, both in *A Companion to Roman Religion* (Blackwell, 2007).

549. Veit Rosenberger, in "Religious Actors in Daily Life: Practices and Related Beliefs," in *A Companion to Roman Religion*, p. 296.

550. W. W. Skeat *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* New York 1963 sv temple

551. Mary Beard, Simon Price, John North, *Religions of Rome: A History* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), vol. 1, p. 23.

552. Beard et al., "Religions of Rome," vol. 1, p. 23.

553. Servius Ad Aeneid 4.200; Festus. s.v. calls the auguraculum *minora templa*.

554. G. Dumezil *La religion romaine archaïque* Paris, 1974 p.510: J. Marquardt "Le cult chez les romaines" *Manuel des antiquités romaines* XII 1. French Transl. 1889 pp. 187-188: See also Cicero, *De Legibus*, 2.2, & Servius, Aeneid, 4.200.

555. Jerzy Linderski, "The Augural Law", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.16 (1986), pp. 2266–2267 online, and 2292–2293. On legal usage, see also Elizabeth A. Meyer, *Legitimacy and Law in the Roman World* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 80ff.; Daniel J. Gargola, *Land, Laws and Gods: Magistrates and Ceremony in the Regulation of Public Lands in Republican Rome* (University of North Carolina Press, 1995), p. 202, note 55 online.

556. Meyer, *Legitimacy and Law*, p. 62 online.

557. Hendrik Wagenvoort, "Augustus and Vesta", in *Pietas: Selected Studies in Roman Religion* (Brill, 1980), p. 211 online.

558. Matthias Klinghardt, "Prayer Formularies for Public Recitation: Their Use and Function in Ancient Religion", *Numen* 46 (1999) 1–52.

559. Jerzy Linderski, "The Augural Law", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.16 (1986), pp. 2246, 2267ff.

560. The jurist Gaius (4.30) says that *concepta verba* is synonymous with *formulae*, as cited by Adolf Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (American Philosophical Society, 1991 reprint), p. 401, and Shane Butler, *The Hand of Cicero* (Routledge, 2002), p. 10.

561. T. Corey Brennan, *The Praetorship in the Roman Republic* (Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 131–132.

562. Augustine, *Confessions* 11.xviii, as cited by Paolo Bartoloni, *On the Cultures of Exile, Translation, and Writing* (Purdue University

Press, 2008), p. 69 online.

563. For instance, Karla Taylor, *Chaucer Reads "The Divine Comedy"* (Stanford University Press, 1989), p. 27 online. For an overview of the Indo-European background regarding the relation of memory to poetry, charm, and formulaic utterance, see Calvert Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics* (Oxford University Press, 1995), *passim*, especially pp. 68–70 on memory and the poet-priest (Latin *vates*) as "the preserver and the professional of the spoken word". "For the Romans", notes Frances Hickson Hahn, "there was no distinction between prayer and spell and poetry and song; all were intimately linked to one another"; see "Performing the Sacred: Prayers and Hymns", in *A Companion to Roman Religion* (Blackwell, 2007), p. 236

564. Gian Biagio Conte, *Latin Literature: A History* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994, originally published 1987 in Italian), pp. 15–23; George A. Sheets, "Elements of Style in Catullus," in *A Companion to Catullus* (Blackwell, 2011) n.p.

565. Katja Moede, "Reliefs, Public and Private", in *A Companion to Roman Religion* (Blackwell, 2007), p. 173.

566. John Scheid, "Sacrifices for Gods and Ancestors", in *A Companion to Roman Religion* (Blackwell, 2007), pp. 264, 266.

567. For the Taurobolium, see Duthoy, Robert, *The Taurobolium: Its Evolution and Terminology*, Volume 10, Brill, 1969, p. 1 ff, and Cameron, Alan, *The Last Pagans of Rome*, Oxford University press, 2011, p. 163. The earliest known Taurobolium was dedicated to the goddess Venus Caelestis in 134 AD.

568. Steven J. Green, *Ovid, Fasti 1: A Commentary* (Brill, 2004), pp.159–160.

569. Servius, note to Aeneid 1. 334.

570. *Victima quae dextra cecidit victrix vocatur*, Ovid, *Fasti* 1.335: ; *hostibus a domitis hostia nomen habet* ("the hostia gets its name from the 'hostiles' that have been defeated"), 1.336.

571. Mary Beard, J.A. North, and S.R.F. Price, *Religions of Rome: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 368.

572. Katja Moede, "Reliefs, Public and Private", in *A Companion to Roman Religion* (Blackwell, 2007), p. 168.

573. Marietta Horster, "Living on Religion: Professionals and Personnel", in *A Companion to Roman Religion* (ed. Rüpke), pp. 332–334.

574. Therefore the election must have been vitiated in some way

known only to Jupiter: see Veit Rosenberger, in Rüpke, Jörg (Editor), *A Companion to Roman Religion*, Wiley-Blackwell, 2007, p.298; citing Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 2.77.

575. David Wardle, *Cicero on Divination, Book 1* (Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 178.

576. Macrobius, *Saturnalia III* 2,12.

577. William Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic* (London, 1908), p. 179; Robert Turcan, *The Gods of Ancient Rome* (Routledge, 2001), p. 75.

578. John Scheid, "Sacrifices for Gods and Ancestors", in *A Companion to Roman Religion* (Blackwell, 2007), p. 270; William Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London, 1922), pp. 200–202.

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The Roman Way is the study and practical application of "Romanitas" and the "mos maiorum", the revival of all aspects of Roman life, culture, virtues, ethics and philosophies in our everyday lives.

It is as part of the mos maiorum that citizens are expected to take up Roman names for use within the society. Learning Latin, the language of Roman culture, is also an equally important step towards becoming a modern Roman.

One of the cornerstones of Romanitas are the Roman virtues; those qualities which define the ideal state of being and behavior of the Roman citizen.

He believes that we must remember and preserve the good parts of the past in the present, so that others will remember it in the future.

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