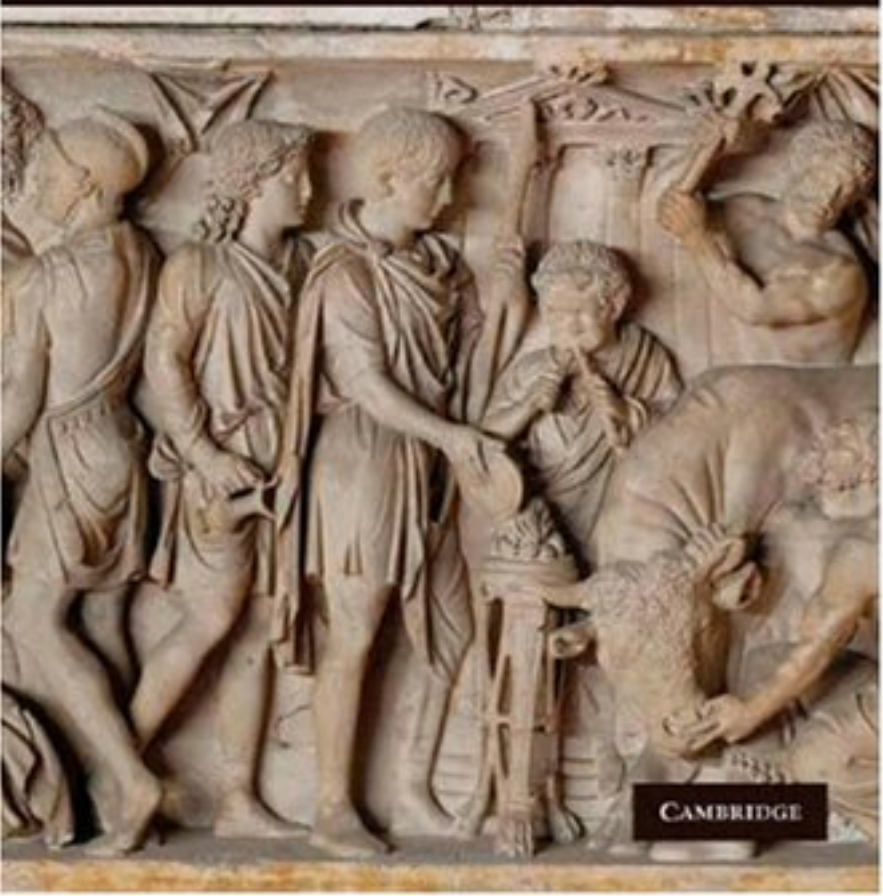
The Religion of Senators *in the* Roman Empire

Power and the Beyond

ZSUZSANNA VÁRHELYI



THE RELIGION OF SENATORS IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

This book examines the connection between political and religious power in the pagan Roman empire through a study of senatorial religion. Presenting a new collection of historical, epigraphic, prosopographical, and material evidence, the author argues that, as Augustus turned to religion to legitimize his powers, senators in turn also came to negotiate their own power, as well as that of the emperor, at least in part in religious terms. In Rome, the body of the senate and senatorial priesthoods helped to maintain its religious power; across the empire senators defined their magisterial powers by following the model of emperors and relying on the piety of sacrifice and benefactions. The ongoing participation and innovations of senators confirm the deep capacity of imperial religion to engage the normative, symbolic, and imaginative aspects of religious life among senators.

ZSUZSANNA VÁRHELYI is Assistant Professor of Classical Studies at Boston University. She has published extensively on Graeco-Roman history and religion, and co-edited, with J.-J. Aubert, *A Tall Order: Writing the Social History of the Ancient World. Essays in Honor of William V. Harris* (2005).

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BY

ZSUZSANNA VÁRHELYI

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To my family, whose lives in Hungary in a much-torn twentieth century made me want to become a historian,
and
to my daughter, in hopes for an ever-better world

Contents

Acknowledgments

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations of ancient names and works and of modern collections follow, where available, those of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. For periodicals see *L'Année philologique*; for epigraphical abbreviations see *L'Année épigraphique* and *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Other abbreviations are as follows:

Alt.v.Perg.	*Altertümer von Pergamon* (1885–)
CFA	J. Scheid, P. Tassini, and J. Rüpke, *Recherches archéologiques à la Magliana. Commentarii fratrum arvalium qui supersunt* (1998)
EE	*Ephemeris epigraphica: Corporis Inscriptionum Latinarum supplementum* (1872–1913)
EOS	*Atti del Colloquio Internazionale AIEGL su Epigrafia e Ordine Senatorio, Roma, 14–20 maggio 1981* (1982)
GRIAsia	R. A. Kearsley, *Greeks and Romans in Imperial Asia* (2001)
Halfmann, *Senatoren*	H. Halfmann, *Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum* (1979)
I.Alex.Troas	M. Ricl, *The Inscriptions of Alexandria Troas* (1997)
IDR	*Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae* (1975–)
I.Eph.	H. Wankel (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* (1979–84)
IGUR	L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae* (1968–90)
ILAfr.	R. Cagnat, *Inscriptions latines d'Afrique (Tripolitaine, Tunisie, Maroc)* (1923)
ILTun.	A. Merlin, *Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie* (1944)
I.Milet	P. Herrmann, *Inschriften von Milet* (1997–2006)

Insch. Ol.	W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold (eds.), *Die Inschriften von Olympia* (1896)
Inscr. Kourion.	T. B. Mitford, *The Inscriptions of Kourion* (1971)
IRC	G. Fabre, M. Mayer, and I. Rodà, *Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne* (1984–)
IRT	J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward Perkins (eds.), *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (1952)
IscM	*Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae* (1983–)
LTUR	E. M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (1993–2000)
NP	H. Cancik and H. Schneider (eds.), *Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike* (1996–2003)
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary* (1996)
PIR online	www.bbaw.de/bbaw/Forschung/Forschungsprojekte/pir/
Raepsaet, *FOS*	M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier (ed.), *Prosopographie des femmes de l'ordre sénatorial* (1987)
RIT	G. Alföldy, *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco* (1975)
RIU	L. Barkóczi and A. Mócsy, *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns* (1972–)
SIRIS	L. Vidman (ed.), *Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae* (1969)
SuppIt	*Supplementa Italica* (1981–)

Introduction

RELIGION AND POWER IN IMPERIAL ROME

In this book I analyze the related inter-workings of power and religion in the Roman empire by studying the religious involvements and interests of the Roman imperial senate and individual senators in the first two and a half centuries of the empire, from the reign of Augustus to the death of Severus Alexander. Augustus' establishment of a concentration of religious and political power in the same imperial hands offered a new central image of the emperor as prime sacrificer, an unprecedented development in Roman history. Analyzing the dynamics of this new conjunction of politics and religion, this study explores changes that found their way also into the coming of Christianity as Rome's state religion. Religion in Rome once functioned mainly as a *polis* religion and was therefore within the purview of the senatorial elite. I propose that in the empire religion came to play a new and prominent role in the processes of claiming and negotiating power relations between the emperor and the senate; along the way, the notion of power itself underwent a transformation. The position of the emperor was theorized and performed, in part, in religious terms. Similarly, individual senatorial posts gained religious significance, however political they might appear to us. Further, the divine associations of imperial power became part of a complex web connecting socioeconomic elements (such as the notion of Roman social order or the habit of euergetism) to transcendental notions of what makes a good leader, and in ways that approach what would later be considered theological ideals.

The success of this new, individualized association between power and religion, characteristic of imperial rule, can be especially well understood if we consider how senators related their own religious notions and practices to developing imperial practices and ideals. Transformed religious ideas and rituals shaped how senators perceived their own roles and also how they tried to shape that of the emperor. There were, of course, continuities from

the senatorial religion of the previous, republican period, when the senatorial elite, in priestly colleges, were primarily responsible for maintaining and controlling the priestly authority that was the foremost facet of Roman religion. Nevertheless, senatorial religion in its customary priestly forms grew increasingly ambivalent just as senators forsook their traditionally competitive initiatives in other areas of social, political, and cultural life. What followed was a new configuration of power, including a new kind of religiously inflected discussion about power, which was shaped not only by the emperor, but also by the senatorial elite. And in turn, as religion emerged as an integral part of these new, individualized and power-related contexts, senators found new paths in religion as well, most importantly, through individual and possibly even personal and imaginary engagements with imperial religion – unlike those we have been familiar with in the republic.

RELIGION AND POWER: A NEW APPROACH TO SENATORIAL RELIGION

In the historiography of Roman religion, imperial dominance, gained in part through religion, has been traditionally depicted as leading to a further politicization of senatorial religious life. The modern genealogy of this notion goes back to an argument first made by Mommsen, namely that the royal powers taken by the emperors meant the end of the separation of religious and civil powers.[1] Citing Mommsen, John Scheid argued that the empire brought about the end of the differentiation between *sacrum* and *publicum* with the particular result that religion lost its autonomy among the political realities of the day.[2] The emphasis on the political, so the argument goes, led to a loss of religious content from such traditional senatorial religious roles as priesthoods and the offering of sacrifices. Likewise, imperial control was extended over senatorial religious interests, which paved the way for the subordination of divinatory practices to imperial limitations, as well as for the strong promotion of the new imperial cult.[3] On this interpretation, the most important religious role of the senate as a body under the empire concerned secondary functions dictated by the

[1] Mommsen 1887–8: 11–13. For a summary of the *Wissenschaftsgeschichte* of Roman religion now see Phillips 2007.

[2] Scheid 1984: 279–280, with n. 96.

[3] For the loss of religious content in priesthoods see most prominently Scheid 1984: 278–280; for the imperial control of sacrificial symbolism Gordon 1990c: 201–218, and of divination Rosenberger 1998, with further literature.

new imperial religion, such as the "constitution" of temples for the imperial cult and the various ritual exercises related to the imperial family.[4] Even Simon Price, who envisions a relatively cooperative model in which religious authority between emperor and senate was shared, significantly limits the role of senatorial religion in his study of the imperial cult; essentially, the senate served as an alternative source for legitimating the introduction of these cults, so as to avoid involving the emperor in sanctioning his own cult.[5]

This study of senatorial religion is much wider in many respects than many of these earlier discussions. By extending the reach of religion into imperial society, I follow but also challenge and partially modify the rightfully influential reading of Beard, North, and Price.[6] These scholars suggest that there was a religious crisis in the late republic, in which the civic embeddedness of religion could not sustain control over an ever-increasing religious variety, which in turn led to a marketplace of less socially embedded religious choices in the imperial era. As they show, the absence of completely distinct categories of religion and politics in the republic, which is especially evident in the fragmentation of religious authority, contributed to later developments in the imperial era. Their study also makes it impossible to question the great variety of religious options available across the empire, suggesting that there must have been some individual freedom in selecting from amongst them. This picture of variety, individual creativity, and fascinating religious multiplicity in the imperial era has deeply influenced this study. Nevertheless, there have been some important criticisms of their conception of Roman religion, based mainly on a *polis* model, which would imply a tradition of religious participation based, to a significant extent, on one's civic position.[7] Moreover, as we shall see, an examination of the religion of Roman senators, an elite invested with power and status, offers an important adjustment to their model of a marketplace of religions. As I argue, the religious understanding of power and the overall imperial emphasis on social hierarchy significantly shaped how senators sought and found their paths among the religious options available in the empire.

[4] Talbert 1984: 386–391 sees the authorization of the imperial cult as the prime religious aspect of the imperial senate.

[5] Price 1984: 66–67.

[6] Beard, North, and Price 1998: I. 42–43, 245–249. Note especially the important suggestions made by Bendlin 2001 (esp. pp. 204–205), including the differentiation of the categories of politics and religion, while allowing for their correspondence.

[7] See Woolf 1997, now to be read with Scheid 1999.

That social status shaped religious preferences in the imperial era is a major claim of my study. Though it can be difficult to distinguish social, political, and cultural developments from their religious corollaries, it is clear that members of the senate understood power in at least partially transcendental terms.[8] In a certain sense, this difficulty reflects a continuation of some of the embedded characteristics of the religion of the republic: emperors and senators alike carried out public religious rituals on behalf of the whole Roman community. But the recruitment zone of the senate and, increasingly, of emperors, had now expanded to include a largely incongruous empire, and instead of civic homogeneity we tend to find evidence – religious and other – of a highly stratified and varied society. In this context the performance of religious rituals by emperors and senators became part of the larger repertoire that we may refer to as rituals of power, widely understood, marking status in a divinely sanctified social order. And it is unlikely that members of the elite would have fully differentiated between expressions of political and military power, on the one hand, and performances of "civic" religious ritual, on the other.

The first known case of a senator renouncing a position of political power, a magistracy, for its incompatibility with his personal views did not occur until a landmark case datable to the crisis of the mid third century, immediately after the end of the chronological scope of this monograph.[9] That Rogatianus, the senator in question, faced such a choice can be best explained as an outcome of the historical developments addressed by this study. The senator's actions, which included not only the renunciation of his political office, the praetorship, but also the abandonment of his possessions and the adoption of an ascetic lifestyle, offer the first signs of a disruption in an earlier, smoothly aligned imperial system combining political and religious elements. Rogatianus' own explanation, namely that he could not combine his senatorial position with his Neoplatonic studies, is more likely to be classifed as a philosophical rather than a religious incongruity today. Yet, as we shall see, philosophy had already played a role in earlier imperial discourses, shaping, to a significant extent, the understanding of what constituted virtue and also offering a rhetorical

[8] Cf. already Shaw 1985.

[9] Porphyry, *Plot.* 7.32–38. Hadot 1990: 492 read this story as a countercultural stance not uncharacteristic of earlier ancient *philosophers* – but my point is that this is the first case in which somebody renounced a political position he had reached and did so for a reason, which we would today consider a matter of conscience. To the extent that we accept such renouncements in the case of civic obligations today, these are privileged on the basis of a historical trajectory that grew out of an ongoing respect for religious convictions.

context in which to discuss proper religious behavior. Rogatianus' explanation can therefore be contextualized within a successful earlier synergy between senatorial power and such philosophical discussions – and thus we hear of no earlier senator abandoning his career for philosophical reasons (even if some might have refrained from pursuing a senatorial career completely for philosophical or other reasons). Evidently most senators saw little conflict between questioning traditional religious practices from a philosophical perspective and continuing in their own traditional roles within mainstream religion. As we know from other religious systems, discussions about a religious tradition are often used to claim authority or expertise in them and should not be understood as a generalized attempt to undermine the religion itself. Thanks to the successful integration of philosophical (and theological) concerns with the religious practices of traditional Roman religion among senators, Rogatianus could feel compelled to renounce *an integrated package of power and religion*, in which the *ordo* was highly implicit. This case then indirectly confirms the larger argument, namely that the social category of the senate, their political powers, however restricted, and senatorial religion were closely intertwined in the early empire. The Rogatianus incident, coinciding with the decline of the imperial cult itself, points to the chronological end of this smooth synergy and sets the parameters of this study, which concludes with the crisis of the third century.

The synergy of power and religion through the earlier imperial era complicates any easy application of modern distinctions between these two concepts. Thus, I have – admittedly and purposefully – cast a wide net in my interpretation of what might be included in this study of senatorial religion; modern conceptualizations about the separation of religion and politics simply do not suffice. The breadth of the approach seeks to emulate that of Peter Brown, whose studies of late antiquity have connected previously separate areas into a complex understanding of ancient society and its religion.[10] Yet, even within the study of the earlier period, the empire has sometimes been seen, to use Keith Hopkins' phrase, as a "world full of gods."[11] Moreover, recent work on late antique and medieval religion has taught us to appreciate the wide sway of religion in shaping social practices and norms. It thus seems reasonable to consider a similarly wide array of practices and notions when studying what imperial senators might have understood in transcendental terms. In analyzing what might be included within the category of religion in this specific period

[10] Várhelyi 2008. [11] Hopkins 1999.

of the empire, my approach sides with what can best be categorized as "culturalist" studies within the academic study of religion.[12] Nevertheless, any study of religion in the early empire inevitably faces a particular difficulty, namely the apparent connectivity of imperial "paganism" to contemporaneous early Christianity, which relies on claims about the divine that readers today are culturally trained to recognize as properly "religious."[13] In light of this added difficulty, in order to identify the connections of a non-Christian, senatorial religion to power, my approach looks at evidence for religion contextually rather than causally. This contextual orientation aims at sorting out how and what the senatorial elite saw as religious (and at times, irreligious) in their lives within the varied sociocultural landscape of the early Roman empire.[14]

Defining religion in cross-culturally acceptable terms is difficult, yet necessary. For the purposes of this study, the approach proposed by Bruce Lincoln and Willi Braun has proven to be especially helpful. These scholars emphasize (a) the ordinary nature of religion – it is just one unique variety of otherwise ordinary discourses and practices – that is nevertheless (b) characterized by a special reference to matters transcendent (i.e., beyond the limited spaces of the world) and eternal (i.e., beyond the limits of time).[15] Lincoln and Braun propose a further important characteristic: (c) religion requires a disposition on the part of its participants towards addressing their concerns with an authority equally transcendent and eternal. Authority is itself a focus of increasingly contested debates in the period of the early empire, whether within the larger elite, between the emperor and his satellites, on the one hand, and senators on the other, or, in various constellations, also among miracle-workers of various sorts, diviners, and diverse subsets of Jews and Christians. Yet caution is necessary: the emphasis on authority, rather than on the personal nature of the religious investment, may lead to a misleading impression that Roman senators had no "beliefs." As this study will show, the bifurcation of an authority-based Roman religion and a belief-based early Christianity is problematic. We must therefore ask how religious authority is claimed and used in religious ideas and practices as evidenced by senators themselves.

[12] Compare the different distinction between emic and etic in modern studies in Headland, Pike, and Harris 1990; and its best depiction in Pike 1967.

[13] See the judicious comments of Weckman 2006 on how such comparisons force us to be aware of our own predilections.

[14] On concerns with regard to "fuzzy boundaries of religion," or even relativism see Braun 2000: 10: "one's person's 'sacred' is someone else's 'profane.'"

[15] Braun 2000: 10 (modifying Lincoln 1996: 225) with some further minor modifications.

In posing these questions, my approach also builds on, although it does not necessarily agree with, social scientific work in the past decades that has tried to reclaim a sense of the "religious" in the Roman world. One of the main avenues towards this goal has been through challenging the Marxist viewpoint that religion is essentially a balm for the less fortunate. Prominent among the studies that launched a new phase in contemporary discussions about social power and its relation to religion is the 1972 work of Rodney Stark, *The Economics of Piety: Religious Commitment and Social Class*, a piece which, interestingly, opens with a citation from a Roman epic poet of the imperial period, Silius Italicus:[16]

> Tanta adeo, cum res trepidae, reverentia divum
> nascitur; at rarae fumant felicibus arae.
> (Silius Italicus, *Punica* 7.88–89)

> Such great reverence for the gods is born at times
> of trouble; yet altars rarely smolder in prosperous times.

Stark read this passage as marking a *social* difference between those "in trouble," on the one hand, and those prospering, on the other, exactly the kind of Marxist opposition that he intended to reject. As classicists would see it, however, the words of Silius are less indicative of the social distribution of power than of a *qualitative* or *temporal* distinction between more and less fortunate people or periods.[17] Still, Stark's larger argument – that the religious differences between people of higher and lower social status are a matter of *kind* rather than of *degree* – is an important predecessor for this project. His main thesis, which builds on Marxist class distinctions but includes the Weberian insight that the workings of religion are not based solely on material conditions, claims that the upper (and middle) classes take special interest in those aspects of religion that confirm the legitimacy of their claim to status.[18] Weber's response to Marx confirms the role of ideas in conjunction with material interests in shaping most human action, and Stark and his collaborators have combined these insights in ways that

[16] Stark 1972: 483, 495.

[17] *Felicibus* would more naturally refer back to *res*, "prosperous times," but could also imply *hominibus*, "prosperous men," as an agent of *fumant*, so Spaltenstein 1986: 449, ad loc. For a similar notion, he quotes Liv. 5.51.8, where the Romans return to religious worship in the wake of the Gallic threat. Even more relevant is the contemporary literary parallel, the same hexameter ending, *felicibus arae*, that occurs in Stat. *Theb*. 12.496 with reference to "prosperous men" in a similar context with regard to the sanctuary of Clementia: *semper habet trepidos, semper locus horret egenis | coetibus, ignotae tantum felicibus arae*. ("The place always has fearful people, always bristles with crowds of the destitute, the altars are unknown only to lucky *men*.")

[18] Pyle and Davidson 1998: 498.

establish the importance of social status in shaping religious preferences.[19] On this social-historical view, elites prefer involvement in the status-granting aspects of religion, such as religious knowledge, public ritual, and institutional participation, which can be positively associated with control and status in religious organizations. Such groups, however, are less likely to seek religious compensation when they fail to achieve worldly rewards, such as wealth or political success. In consequence, the particular religious choices of the elite do not make them any less religious, as they will desire transcendental rewards in any case. They will simply be religious in a different way.

Roman senators were certainly interested in the status-granting features of religion, although the changing conditions from republic to empire significantly complicate the story. While my findings corroborate Stark's thesis, at least to some degree, the religion of the Roman elite should not be too quickly correlated with a search for this-worldly social and political power. Any simple equation of the religious aspects of power with imperial ideology should be avoided and is especially inappropriate for studying the senatorial elite, whose stances on imperial power were often ambivalent. In fact, the classical Marxist notion of ideology as a superstructure that imposes a (possibly false) perception on reality can obfuscate rather than clarify Roman senatorial religion. Historical realities and symbolic notions about them (that were Weber's prime concern) should be seen as interwoven within a complex and dynamic interaction.

A dynamic study of elite religion in social life can be difficult to achieve: we are limited both by the forms and distributions of our evidence and also by a tendency – understandably common among the epigraphers and prosopographers who deal with large amounts of ancient material first-hand – to identify static, normative trends in the almost overwhelmingly rich data. Much of our evidence for religious practices and discourses that we can associate with senators is attested on inscriptions, rather than in literary and material forms, and thus most new findings about Roman elite religion have come from the associated fields of epigraphy and prosopography. This book has itself grown out of the primarily empirical project of establishing a prosopographical database, tracing evidence for the religion of senators in the first two and a half centuries of the Roman empire through the literary, epigraphical, and material evidence. Though this work is not

[19] For a succinct summary of the Weberian response to Marx, albeit without a discussion of the problems see Sadri 1992: 37–43. The most significant summary of Stark's position to date is his work with Finke, in Stark and Finke 2000.

primarily aimed at furthering the detailed analysis of individual senators, my project builds upon and advances the meticulous studies first undertaken by Sir Ronald Syme and continued today by Werner Eck and John Scheid, among others.[20] But to the extent that the prosopographical study of the evidence has shaped many of the insights offered in this field, it is now time to take a critical look at the often implicit assumptions about the roles individual senators played in Roman society and particularly in Roman religion.

"Prosopography" in and of itself is simply the methodology of tracing names through a variety of evidence – and it is striking how this same method has been put to radically diverse uses in the historical studies of different periods. To take the most influential approach outside ancient history, microhistorians of early modern Europe apply the methodology to the study of how the material conditions of everyday life were experienced, especially by those outside the center of power, persons usually relegated to the margins of traditional historiography.[21] A central critical point of these microhistorians is that the large-scale generalizations of historical scholarship have often distorted the reality of human life, which, on their view, is not spent in the macrostructures primarily studied in political history, but in the world of the individual. This rationale led Carlo Ginzburg to focus on Menocchio (a sixteenth-century miller who was burnt to death by the Inquisition) and Giovanni Levi to concentrate on Giovan Battista Chiesa (a seventeenth-century parish priest and exorcist-cum-healer), with both scholars selecting neither the typical nor the exceptional representatives of their times – but exactly the so-called "exceptional typical."[22] The stories of these individuals are *exceptional* in that they do not conform to established social norms, but they may also be understood as *typical* – that is, their experiences reveal certain characteristic aspects of contemporary society that are nevertheless absent from the norm. Insofar as the phrase "exceptional typical" seems to be an oxymoron, its use by microhistorians is suggestive of a double bind facing those interested in both normative macro- and potentially insubordinate micro-phenomena – a point that relates well to my own emphasis upon the dynamic potential of historical interpretations.[23]

While I clearly do not intend to analyze the non-elite here, it is significant to understand how these microhistorical practices in the field of modern

[20] Eck 1989, Scheid 1990a. [21] Iggers 1997: 101–102.
[22] Ginzburg 1976, Levi 1988; the term "exceptional typical" goes back to Edoardo Grendi, cf. Peltonen 2001: 348 n. 5.
[23] Peltonen 2001: 359.

European history challenge our practices within Roman prosopography. With their focus upon "historically significant" people, the first Roman historians to put prosopographical evidence to use, Matthias Gelzer and Friedrich Münzer, had a relatively uncritical approach to the ways that the web woven by the prosopographically identifiable family relations, intermarriage, or collegiality in office may have shaped individual behavior.[24] Whether the prosopographical focus was too narrow was a concern to Syme himself, which may have led him to forge a strong link between his prosopographical work on familial and office-based connections among the elite and the macrostructures of Roman history.[25] The main criticism from the 1970s onwards against "Syme Incorporated," as Thomas Carney jokingly referred to Roman prosopographers, has been aimed at this view of history as "made by the elites."[26] Along similar lines, Keith Hopkins coined the phrase "the Everest fallacy" to describe the "tendency to illustrate a category by an example which is exceptional," because to his mind such illustrations are misleading in that they suggest, for instance, that the famous orator and politician M. Tullius Cicero was "a 'typical' new man" – which would be tantamount to suggesting that Mount Everest is "a 'typical' mountain."[27] His suggested solution is to compare prosopographical data with sociological and demographic models, so as to check for potential distortions in the surviving material. In the past few decades we have seen plentiful results from such modeling, even if they are still primarily focused on establishing the same normative patterns for which Roman prosopographers have been searching.

In this volume, however, the exclusive focus on identifying static normative trends even within the elite studies of the Roman world is challenged. To apply the lessons of microhistory, we need to reconsider the degree to which normative trends can shape the individual, the Greek *prosopon* from which our common prosopographical method takes its name. A less static model of social interactions may allow us to read a variety of human discourses and actions that do not fully conform to social norms, while not excluding the possibility that some of these very same individuals followed established *mores* throughout most of their lives. Such a dynamic conceptualization of historical processes is especially useful for understanding the senatorial elite, who sometimes challenged imperial social norms even as they played a central role in the production of these same norms. We are

[24] Gelzer 1912, Münzer 1920; to be read with the critical remarks of Meier 1966.
[25] See, especially, the concern expressed in Syme 1968: 145.
[26] Carney 1973. [27] Hopkins and Burton 1983: 41.

fortunate that such a study of the senatorial elite is possible, given that the detailed prosopographical evidence for this social stratum allows us to analyze individual senators themselves from a close-up perspective.

Recent scholarship, and especially German scholarship, has already approached Roman emperors – and to a lesser extent the senate – with a view to their self-fashioning and self-legitimization.[28] In one recent study Egon Flaig analyzed the imperial senate in the vein of the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, presenting it as a relatively homogeneous yet politically ineffective social body, whose competitive elite self-understanding contrasted with the necessity for each individual senator to gain imperial favors.[29] Yet Flaig's emphasis upon a combination of symbolic goods and political inertia leaves us with the perception that the imperial senate was largely inactive, and its survival incidental to a political tradition that was increasingly sidetracked.[30] In an important critique of this study Jon Lendon questioned the underlying Weberian notion of legitimisation as a key aspect of imperial rule, which, if correct, would also significantly challenge Flaig's description of self-legitimisation on the part of senators.[31] Moreover, I would argue that the concept of self-legitimisation centers upon a presumed constancy of what it means to be an emperor or a senator, preventing us from attending to the intricacies of imperial power relations. In this regard, a more animated depiction of imperial and senatorial relations is highly desirable, including that of Aloys Winterling, whose historical narrative of Caligula identifies a heightened tension between emperor and senators, thus allowing both sides an active role.[32] But, to date, the best discussion focusing on the senate in these terms is Dirk Barghop's analysis of elite fear of the emperor – much discussed yet also silenced – as both reality and cultural object; but Barghop's emphasis is still on senatorial deprivation and in his theoretical orientation he sides with Bourdieu.[33] As I will argue, senators played an active part in imagining and participating in imperial rule, and therefore the complexities of ideals and realities in their day-to-day yet ever-changing reiterations require a more complex analysis.

Addressing how senators saw their own roles in the imperial era, I find a robust endurance of imperial practices as well as a dynamic continuity of a normalized social order in the period between Augustus and Severus

[28] For a critical, anti-Weberian review see Lendon 2006. [29] Flaig 1992: ch. 2.
[30] Remarkably, religion is largely missing from this discussion, although present in Flaig's work on republican Rome, cf. Flaig 2003: ch. 9.
[31] Lendon 2006: 58–62. [32] Winterling 2003: 93–103. [33] Barghop 1994: esp. 55–62.

Alexander. Religion and the senate, I will show, played an active role in the invention and maintenance of this evolving status quo. Michel Foucault's theoretical conceptualization of Roman society provides one orientation for this study,[34] suggesting, as it does, the emergence of a particular social pattern of "normalcy" in the Greco-Roman world. In Foucault's account this era marked a turning point, when "disciplines" – methods of controlling oneself along lines predefined by social power – started to guide individual discourse and action, though, of course, his analysis centered on sexual ethics.[35] Catherine Bell offers a further nuance to the perspective adopted here, particularly her connection of power and religion in a way that reads ritual not as a conservative attempt to enforce elite power over the rest of the population, but rather as a generative circulation of power, which produces (potentially resisting) subjects through the very performance of ritual.[36]

For the purposes of this study, Foucault's notion of power is to be preferred to classical conceptualizations of ideology in society; nevertheless, on my reading, culture is understood not simply as a discursive regime, as Foucault would have it, but as practices that put that language to work in order to reference and interpret the world.[37] In this I follow those scholars of historical theory who have recently begun to apply the term "practice theory" to a post-Foucauldian approach to historical cultures.[38] Moving beyond the linguistic turn's emphasis on language, these studies recall experiences and practices from their sidelined position (where a Foucauldian would see them as simply effects of discourse) and reinstate them within a dynamic model in which language and body – as much as social structure and practice – are in a dialectical relation. One prime advantage of such an approach is to ease the weight of the thought/action and belief/ritual dichotomies, insofar as ritual practices can now be seen as constitutive of beliefs, and vice versa, without collapsing the difference between the two.[39] As a further corrective, it allows for investigating historical experiences without losing sight either of their potentially lived aspects, or the social constructs that lie beneath them.[40]

[34] Cf. the important critical comments in Detel 2005: 15–16; for the most important alternative to a Foucauldian reading see Ando 2000: 73–80.
[35] Foucault 1990.
[36] Bell 1992: ch. 9. I want to thank Tom Habinek for calling my attention to her work.
[37] Spiegel 2005: 18–22. [38] Spiegel 2005: 22.
[39] This allows me to challenge some of the views expressed by Scheid 1993b, and to move beyond the problems with the notion of ritual as discussed in Durand and Scheid 1994. For my notion see Hollywood 2003: 80.
[40] See Scott's criticism of an unmediated notion of historical experience in Scott 1991: 777–780.

When interpreted from this theoretical framework, senatorial religion suggests a larger paradigm in which the emperor and senators cooperate and compete in mutually implicative ways to claim power – understood as the practice of defining, maintaining, and exercising divine *and* earthly order. Imperial religion itself can be viewed as a dynamic, not static practice, moving beyond the traditional notion of *orthopraxy* in the sense of maintaining proper relations with the gods through carefully repeated practices. Religious discourses and actions not only recognize and maintain a traditional code but also inevitably alter religious notions and practices through reiterations and applications to new circumstances. Thus some of the religious forms encountered are old, such as membership in priesthoods, while others, as we shall see, are new, at least in emphasis. New religious honors were established, and highly individualized religious roles were taken on by senatorial magistrates, innovations that followed the example of the emperor both in Rome and in the provinces. As I show, certain Stoic concepts also emerged to provide something of a framework, if not quite a "theology," in which elite associations of power and religion found their place. In this sense, elite roles in piety and religious benefaction fit within a concordant sense of a larger, cosmological order of the world, even if these claims never added up to a systematic theology on the part of either the emperor or the senators.

Finally, reading senatorial religion as part of a dynamic social order, I find it critically important not to collapse the newly developing *symbolic* order represented in imperial religion into an aspect, such as ideology, of the regime's political powers – despite the significant associations of the two. Further, distinguishing certain senatorial religious practices that push the boundaries of this *symbolic* order of the empire, this study shows that the psychic identification of senators with the newly developing symbolic order of imperial power – their *imaginary* – can offer us a unique insight into how senators in fact inhabited their worlds with images borrowed from a shared *symbolic* order.[41] An adequate conceptual model must engage not only individual senators' possible political ambitions, but also their fantasies, aspirations, and desires. Models that rely on conceptual pairings are especially helpful in this regard, given that by adding a counterpart to power (and its emphasis on static, normative elements) they can distinguish engagements with the world that were outside the currently established

[41] These are Lacanian psychoanalytic terms, used here from a critical perspective such as Hollywood 2002: 181–182. For the application of these terms in the historical study of religion, see Hollywood 1995, a reading of thirteenth-century mystics.

norm yet not necessarily aimed at the strategic acquisition of such power. Whether they oppose power understood as "strategy," with "tactics,"[42] or power understood as the workings of social institutions and representations, with the concepts of "belief" or "desire,"[43] these models suggest that history may be best understood as an ongoing process in which power's workings are facing subtle challenges and eventual modifications from creative, open-ended engagements with the traditional and accepted elements of social and cultural life. In order to avoid theoretical jargon I will simply refer to these latter types of innovative attempts in the religious discourses and practices of senators as aspirations and innovations. It is critical to separate these innovations from direct attempts at taking power, such as an imperial proclamation of a senator; rather, the main advantage of identifying them is that they may allow us insight into senatorial religious aspirations and hopes. As I propose, senatorial religion in the empire partook in constituting that normative order and in the subtle challenges and modifications to it through such aspirations and innovations.

Contrasting the normative structures of power with these types of innovative elements is to foreground imperial religion itself in all its multiple and competing forms as a dynamic and innovative element of social life.[44] Interpreted in this context, religion can claim a socially generative role – not simply as a discipline or as part of the larger regime of Foucauldian power understood as discursive norm.[45] Nevertheless, the religious innovations I identify in my final chapter are certainly not the *only* meaningful instances of social and religious practice exactly because they contest the normative aspects of power. Rather, identifying innovative practices with such aspirations in the elite religion of the empire makes it possible to appreciate the depth of social investment on the part of

[42] De Certeau 1984: 34–39 used, in place of "power," the concept of "strategy" to describe "the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships" that establishes a system of reference, a spatially understood order of the world, which he then contrasted to "tactics," the latter of which de Certeau considered as part of the network of a Foucauldian "antidiscipline," or more simply put, as ruses and devices, which still rely on the dominant forms of power, but combine heterogeneous elements of them in a way that defies the order set by power. For his critique of Foucault, see de Certeau 1984: xiv–xv and 45–49.

[43] Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 183–192 suggest that belief and desire act to challenge the workings of power by assigning new qualitative values, as believable and unbelievable, or desirable and undesirable, to any undefined aspect of the world. The appeal of this latter model is exactly in its emphasis on creative engagement with, rather than strategic subversion of, the social order. See here also the insightful comments of Holland 2005. Note also an interesting parallel to my approach, S. E. Hoffer's study on the "anxieties" of Pliny the Younger; in his work, anxieties and hypocrisies are seen, even if in a rather undetermined way, to show off the difference between the norms of upper-class society and "Pliny the man." See Hoffer 1999: esp. 227–228.

[44] On this issue, see the fascinating Foucauldian reading of Bell 1992: 169–238. [45] Asad 1993.

individual senators, investment into the particular forms of imperial religion (understood as the practices of mainstream imperial religion).[46] Ultimately, innovative religious practices initiated by senators both counteract and uphold the socio-religious norms implying that imperial religion engaged not only the larger *symbolic* areas of senatorial life but also the *imaginary* of individual senators. It confirms that in terms of their religion, senators were most probably guided by some genuine investment and not just forced by the realities of the new imperial order.

Given the dynamic understanding of imperial society and culture adopted by this study, it is, as a matter of fact, almost impossible to compose a singular narrative about *the* senatorial order. Normative practices of senatorial religion have to be part of any story about the imperial power of Rome in this era – just as conformism to such social rules is generally characteristic of elites, as we saw with Stark – but to claim that all senators always acted in certain ways would be wrong. My goal is to identify normative trends *and* variations within them: the senatorial religion described in this book participates in promoting normative social order but can also change and challenge it. Senators could reference religious tradition in confronting the statements and actions of the emperor and could also, on other occasions, appropriate certain religious innovations of the imperial court in ways that offered a creative outlet in response to other social pressures. I find that this is the best framework to make sense of the dedications offered at healing sanctuaries by senatorial families *pro salute* of their children, thus invoking the language of the annual oaths sworn for the highly symbolic well-being of the emperor. This and similar examples suggest that even religious practices and notions closely associated with the imperial cult could be put to new uses by individual senators. These new uses confirm that even the most highly politicized forms of the imperial cult could be understood as meaningful rituals by senators. The fact that a senator would apply these religious practices in a strikingly different context suggests that they engaged aspirations that were active (and at times potentially subversive), capable of operating through the dominant forms, but also of subverting them outside their proper contexts. If I am correct in finding that freedmen participated in the cult of the *genius* of their former senatorial *familiae* before the imperial *genius* worship developed among senators, the innovations could run both ways: a senatorial religious practice, such as the *genius* cult, could generate innovations that went

[46] I find the insights of Amy Hollywood (Hollywood 2003) especially helpful for a progressive understanding of religious ritual and belief.

on to shape new forms of worship within the imperial cult. Ultimately, the success of such an innovation in entering mainstream imperial religion confirms that senatorial religious practices were a dynamic force in shaping imperial power and religion in the Roman empire.

THE RELIGION OF SENATORS IN THE EMPIRE

An inquiry into the dynamic of senatorial religion must first take into consideration to what extent the senate of imperial Rome formed a distinguishable, unique social group – a problem of significant consequence as to whether their religion can be discussed in distinct terms. Towards this end, I open Chapter 1 with a reconsideration of current debates about the strength of *ordo* identity in the imperial senate. I propose that, based on recent sociological insights, we might be better off looking less at rates of social mobility, and focusing rather on two other aspects of institutional power: first, the cultural element of identity and, second, various human networks in which such cultural elements can be upheld and performed. The first chapter looks at the first of these, as I seek out religious components that foster or deconstruct the cultural identity of the imperial senate as a whole. The pervasive presence of religious features at senate meetings, from the choice of place through the performance of ritual acts and, further, the corporate role of the senate in offering sacrifices, vows, and temple buildings to emperors, as well as debating religious matters, suggest a strong religious sense, with heavy communal identity, to what it meant to be a senator in Rome. As it appears that political power is primarily associated with the institution of the senate, rather than its individual members, the representation of senatorial religion as primarily communal in these settings attests to the ongoing role of religion in shaping senatorial identity. Further, I engage the most important counterargument to the claim of strong *ordo* identity, namely the possibly high rate of social mobility in the imperial senate: new senators have often been seen as potential candidates in importing elements that would challenge traditional religious features. To counter this view, I offer a detailed study of the religious interests of new senators, who entered the *ordo* from the provinces in ever-increasing numbers throughout this period. I will prove that these senators were hardly religious innovators and will go on to suggest that religious attributes contributed positively to the cultural element of senatorial identity, ultimately, in fact, becoming one of its cornerstones – a fact I highlight through numerous phenomena that contribute to the maintenance of a strong religious identity by the senate as a body throughout the period of my study.

In Chapter 2 I consider the role of smaller subgroups of the senate, those networks that helped senators maintain a particular religious identity. Here, the traditional counterargument against any positive role for religion is that there was also a parallel process of politicization, often understood as a "secularization," for example in priesthoods – the most obvious networks in which such religious features could have been performed. Senatorial priesthoods have been seen almost as secular magistracies in which appointments were made by the emperor, with few significant religious associations. While my findings confirm the increasing bureaucratization and professionalization of senatorial priesthoods in the empire, I maintain that we also need to consider the social experience of being a senatorial priest within, for example, one of the major priesthoods. Here, the maintenance by senatorial priestly colleges of regular dinner parties at which special sacrifices were performed suggests that these seemingly formal gatherings were invested with religious meaning, as well as being occasions of social networking and community formation. We know that most priesthoods, though the emperor might belong to them, rarely saw him in attendance, thus showing that the social benefits came more from fellow senators' participation than from that of the emperor. This communal sense of priesthoods can even be observed in the new senatorial *sodalitates* set up to honor divinized emperors – which developed after and in contrast with the *flaminate*, first planned for Julius Caesar by Mark Antony, and which were held by individuals. Despite all the historical developments to the contrary, there was clearly an ongoing interest in maintaining the communal features, such as meetings and dinners in association with priesthoods. Further, alongside such highly formalized groups, I propose that we trace a similar desire in the shared religious construal of other social experiences, most remarkably in the experience of illness among senators. I connect the custom of frequent bedside visits and technically competitive discussions with physicians, not uncommon among the well educated, with the practice of offering mutual prayers for health among friends, whether in person or in correspondence. In the larger historical and religious context of the early empire, in which the experience of illness and healing was one of the major nodes through which religious groups crystallized their identities, it is key that we recognize the religious implications of this practice among non-Christians as well.

The next two chapters comprise Part II, focusing on the intersections of religion and power in Rome and Italy (Chapter 3), and the provinces (Chapter 4). Starting with Rome, where the stakes of power were the highest, I argue that in contrast to the republican model in which religious

roles were sought out so as to enhance and further facilitate political progress, magistracies during the empire often carried their own religious authority – not unlike the most important new political role, namely that of the emperor. Thus even in the capital, where the traditional model would only register the senatorial loss of power in the face of imperial religious authority (for example, to dedicate temples), I will foreground and analyze the emergence of new opportunities, most notably for consuls and praetors, to pursue religious authority through their magistracies. The most visible example is the clearly personal yet powerful religious stake in the cult of Hercules among urban praetors: the continuity of this engagement between the annual holders of this magistracy and the god, which extended beyond their principal role in the cultic festivities to verse dedications, clearly furthered the transcendental associations of this office. The connection between religion and authority in the capital is paralleled by the prevalent association of benefaction and religion among senators in Italy outside Rome. The relative freedom outside the *urbs* allowed senators to display both piety and authority through the donation of funds for religious buildings and festivities, reinforcing, once again, the association of religion with power and authority.

Religious power and benefaction were connected in similar ways in the provinces where senators functioned in "civic" and "military" areas of government, which I discuss in Chapter 4. Senatorial officeholders in civic settings engaged with numerous local elements of religious culture, including arbitration in religious matters, as much as seeking out local religious wonders, yet they were most visible in their primary role in imperial celebrations including sacrifices and dinners. Concordant with the inseparable connection of power and religion in this period, senators as local representatives of imperial religious authority could even enjoy unique religious honors, including honorary titles of at least semi-religious kinds and, in one case, even a festival instituted in a senator's name. In military posts, the primacy of senatorial commanders in religious matters was even more visible: as prime sacrificers and benefactors they as much participated in military religion as validated it. In both arenas, senatorial officeholders, through the period of their appointments, were invested with power, which not only entitled them to adjudicate religious business, but itself had a religious component.

In the final part of the volume, I turn to the elusive subject of a conceptual background to these religious phenomena. In Chapter 5 I pinpoint the increasing role of philosophical discourses in locating and propagating a "theology," one that challenged some earlier religious narratives and replaced

them with a more analogical language of virtue. This was not a process of secularization: the virtue ethics of imperial Stoicism represents a desire, probably not far from the elite in its origins, to align one's life with the divine intellect. The transcendental referent emerged most readily in funerary commemoration: both that of senators and in the judgment of whether a deceased emperor was worthy of divinization. Although much of what can be considered the theological conceptualization of senatorial life and death was rather vague, divine benevolence as a notion shaped the idea of "good" religion. In its most sophisticated form, it was this benign divine that elite men could internalize in order to best pursue the project of a virtuous life.

Finally, in Chapter 6, I turn to less mainstream religious phenomena, which can nevertheless provide insight into senatorial religious investments into mainstream imperial religion. Quite remarkably, these phenomena show that there was less senatorial interest in subverting the excessive display of imperial religious ceremony or challenging the divinity of dead emperors; rather, senators engaged the forms of this imperial religion to further their own. Thus, by borrowing the *sella curulis* from the representation of divinized former emperors and the extension of the *pro salute* prayers to include senatorial recipients, in some late cases listing the names of senators next to those of the emperors, senators inscribe their own well-being into the cosmological order of the Roman world that was furthered by imperial religion. That they expressed their individual desires through this representational system is highly significant and confirms that imperial religion itself was not a meaningless display of this-worldly power. Lastly, if my analysis of the cult of the *genius* of a senatorial family is correct, senators not only picked up forms of imperial religion but also contributed to them, by applying forms of their own cult practices to the cult of the imperial family. These mutual links suggest that, at least in the first two and a half centuries of the empire, "imperial" and "senatorial" power and religion were not opposites but existed in a dynamic connection, and that religion itself played an active role in shaping the workings of power in imperial society.

PART I

CHAPTER 1

The new senate of the empire and religion

It is undeniable that the senate lost much of its earlier political power with the coming of the new order introduced by the first emperor, Augustus. As Tacitus, one of the transformation's most acute observers, put it, the ruler "drew to himself the functions of the senate, the magistrates and the laws."[1] In two reviews of the senatorial roll, in 29 and 18 BCE, even the senators' numbers were reduced, and the membership of many was challenged. It is, therefore, not surprising that modern scholarship on the imperial senate depicts an outdated, dying institution. In fact, from a social-historical perspective, there is good reason to doubt the usefulness of the senate as a distinct category for analysis, given that the sociological boundaries of the *ordo* diverged from those of the functional governing elite in imperial society:[2] in addition to the ruler himself, others – such as members of the imperial family, influential freedmen, and rising knights – could affect Roman policy in a way once reserved exclusively for senators. Further, many aspects of what still distinguished senators from people of lower social status were now under the direct influence of the emperor. The newly established requirements for wealth, at a million sesterces for senators, could be satisfied by the emperors' financial grants to those without sufficient funds, unless, of course, the ruler preferred expelling a senator from the order or not letting him in. Rather strikingly, even the moral rules expected to be followed by senators tend to appear in our historical record in the form of imperial input through moral or moralizing legislation aimed at members of the order – as much distinguishing them as offering the ruler another way of controlling them.

It is just as clear, nevertheless, that Augustus did not aim at the abolition of the senate, and a number of actions, such as the increase in financial requirements to qualify for membership, were meant to function not only as a means of imperial control, but also as a way to maintain the distinct socioeconomic

[1] Tac. *Ann.* 1.2: *munia senatus magistratuum legum in se trahere.* [2] Alföldy 1993: 61–70.

position of the order. Thus neither the potentially heavy impact of the emperor nor the potential role of non-senators on imperial policy and government challenged the continuity of a distinct idea of the senate and senators in this period among the Romans themselves: there remained, in the vision of Augustus and of his followers, as well as among almost all other social strata, a unique notional place for the senate in Roman society. Representational markers prevailed, such as widespread verbal references to *senatus* and *senator*,[3] as well as the physical markers of senators – clothing, in particular, but also their accompaniment (the "entourage"), which identified their senate membership. While earlier scholarship has stressed the limited capacity of the senate and the senators to form a group with power in the imperial period, more recent readings have argued for a more dynamic relation between emperor and senators.

In this chapter I take such a dynamic view further by applying sociological insights into the imperial senate as a social institution with its own claim to power and agency in many fields of social life, not least in religion. In questioning current scholarly methods that rely upon estimates of rates of social mobility to make arguments about the strength of *ordo* identity, I call upon recent sociological insights that rely on different, new factors to establish the strength of any given social group. In this new model, on which much of my work relies, the maintenance of distinct cultural identity and the availability of social networks in which such a cultural identity can be maintained appear more significant than actual (or in fact estimated) rates of social mobility. The first part of this chapter sets out the debate about the strength of senatorial identity in the Roman empire in terms of a contrast between traditional models that rely upon rates of social mobility and a new model that works with cultural identity and social networks. In the second section of this chapter I examine the most problematic substratum of the senate from the perspective of any strong *ordo* identity model, namely that of the new, provincial senators, who are often seen as the primary carriers of innovation, leading, ultimately, to the transformation of the whole institution. Focusing on the dedications and priesthoods of these new senators, we can test the validity of models that suggest that the entrance of new senators into the senate in the empire contributed to the weakening of *ordo* identity by introducing numerous new elements into, among other areas, senatorial religion. In the final section of this chapter I turn to one area critical, according to the new sociological model, to strong group identity, namely, senatorial cultural identity and, especially, a

[3] For terminology related to the imperial senate and senators, see Talbert 1984: 493–495.

possible religious component to that identity. My focus here is primarily on religious features that are uniquely associated with the senate as a body, which can affirm a distinct religious component to being a member of that body. Intra-group issues, such as the dynamic of the individual and the group, I reserve for the following chapter.

A STRONG OR WEAK SENATE? SOME SOCIOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

To discuss the religious aspects of senatorial identity in the Roman empire means to engage with a question not only within religious studies, but also within social history. In this latter field, where senators primarily tend to be studied, the problem whether the imperial senate had a strong or even a distinct identity is hotly debated: it is part of the larger issue of understanding the senatorial order at a time when the traditional rights of a hereditary aristocracy were challenged by newly established avenues for the promotion of outsiders into the order. The extent and influence of these new members on the senate is a critical problem that has been scrutinized many times, most notably in a debate that was conducted chiefly on statistical grounds between Keith Hopkins, on the one hand, and a group of scholars including Géza Alföldy, Johannes Hahn, and Paul Leunissen, on the other.[4] Given the paucity of evidence, the statistical extent of social mobility ultimately has to be a problem of modeling; and it was the use of similar data in largely differing models that led the two sides to reach their differing conclusions about the level of social mobility in the senate, as high and low, respectively. While the debate significantly challenged many commonplace assumptions about the imperial senate, both sides have drawn at least some of their conclusions from an unfounded connection between the rates of social mobility, on the one hand, and the strength of *ordo* identity among senators, on the other. In other words, based on their respective assessments about levels of social mobility, each of these theses made claims about the potency of senatorial identity (including implicit assertions about the vitality of senatorial religion as well).

Thus, in Hopkins' formulation, high rates of social mobility correspond to weak *ordo* identity: "senators not only failed to secure individual hereditary succession to all senatorial privileges, they failed as a body to protect the senate's previously undisputed primacy as a source of lawmakers, judges, administrators and generals."[5] The correspondence is advanced by the mutual causal link Hopkins made between the senate's

[4] Hahn and Leunissen 1990. [5] Hopkins and Burton 1983: 196.

changing membership and the erosion of its political power: the order was now divided because of the higher levels of competition and, in turn, the emperors took advantage of the absence of senatorial cohesion. In fact, this is a key element in what Hopkins identified as the phenomenon of "political withdrawal"; weak senatorial identity together with the loss of political power provided little motivation for would-be senators to bear the expense (and potential risk) of becoming members of the senate. Thus weak senatorial identity ultimately even took on a causal role in shaping those high rates of social mobility. In a similar formulation (although of opposite consequence), Géza Alföldy saw the focal point that provided a strong identity to the order in the continuing power of a core group, the ordinary consuls, whose position was inherited by their sons at a higher rate than those of lesser senatorial rank: "The aristocratic structure of the leading classes was not changed by that [influx of new men], even less so as the *homines novi* [the new men] – as in all other phases of Roman history – not only accepted the conservative ideals and the behaviour and attitudes of the old nobility, but were their eager and fervent exponents."[6] Thus, besides arguing that those rates of social mobility should be seen as relatively low in the context of what was possible given the demography of the empire, Alföldy also suggested that this relatively low rate of mobility had a causal link to strong senatorial identity. The argument is best expressed in the conclusions that his supporters, Hahn and Leunissen, emphasized in their response to Hopkins: "The chief argument against the hypothesis of 'political withdrawal' as a widespread social phenomenon amongst the senatorial class is surely to be deduced from the importance of collective social norms of the Romans."[7] The ongoing emphasis on such collective social norms among the senatorial elite undoubtedly corresponds to an interpretation that the identity of the order remained strong through this politically challenging period.

Recent comparative historical research and sociological studies suggest that we need to reconsider the strong connection both sides in this debate have made between demographic hypotheses about social mobility and assumptions about the strength or weakness of senatorial *ordo* identity. It appears that levels of social mobility, whether as high as Hopkins saw them or as low as Alföldy suggested, may be less important than some other sociological factors in contributing to the power and stability that institutions and their members maintain while they reproduce themselves and,

[6] Alföldy 1977b: 128. [7] Hahn and Leunissen 1990: 79.

inevitably, change.[8] To some extent, Hopkins already anticipated the possibility of such an argument in proposing that there may have been some continuity of elite culture, a feature he attributed to the persistent role of patronage in the recruitment and promotion of new senators.[9] As patronage is today seen as one of many possible social networks available in Roman society, I pick up this thesis in my work.[10] In the new sociological models that I propose we should rely on, the emphasis is not on the social mobility of individual actors, but on two separate yet connected elements of institutional power that can positively contribute to its maintenance: an often complicated *cultural* factor (consisting in various cultural standards that guide individual actors), on the one hand, and various human resources and *networks* (in which those models are embedded, sustained, and enacted), on the other hand.[11] The potential of this new model to challenge the current understanding of the senate in imperial Rome is great: it suggests that we may have been looking for factors shaping the institutional power and stability of the order in all the wrong places. Instead of social mobility, we need to look at various cultural components as well as networking among senators in order to get a sense of the distinction and strength of senatorial *ordo* identity in this period. And in this new model, senatorial religion is a key marker.

It will be one of my main contentions throughout this volume that religion was an active element within the cultural model that shaped senatorial self-understanding and behavior in this period, and that religious events offered a context for social networking in a way that significantly contributed to what it meant to be a senator in imperial Rome. But before I can develop the argument for the role these elements could play in shaping a strong *ordo* identity, the issue of social mobility is worth further consideration. Not to be dismissed off-hand, the significant influx of new members into the order from the provinces of the empire is the most obvious social development with a potentially decentering effect. In fact, social mobility has been associated with "anxieties" about securing one's position in the midst of constant social change among all strata of Roman imperial society. It is well known that awareness of such mobility among imperial Romans shaped, for example, uses of ancient literacy; amongst freedmen, the widespread use of large-scale funerary commemoration was a way to inscribe their new, free position into Roman society, even beyond their own

[8] See the review article of Clemens and Cook 1999; Paul 2000.
[9] Hopkins and Burton 1983, cf. already Saller 1982: 141–143. [10] White 1991: 34–36.
[11] Clemens and Cook 1999: 447 with earlier literature.

lifetime.[12] These funerary monuments are often seen as precisely expressive of a freedman's conjoint anxiety about and pride in his new position.

But what were the effects of social mobility – and of the experience of such social fluidity – on Roman religion in general and, especially, on the religion of those making their way upwards into the senate? Probably the most authoritative arguments in this regard were first made by John North and then reiterated by Beard, North, and Price, who proposed a view of Roman imperial religion as essentially a "marketplace," from which individuals chose with relative freedom and without marked reference to their social position.[13] The emphasis in this model is on choice, highlighting their thesis of a larger historical transformation: the change in the early imperial period from a religion embedded in civic and family identity to a "marketplace" offering religious choices to the individual.

While the heuristic potential of this model with regard to larger segments of Roman society is tremendous, the question remains as to how such choices may have been made, especially if we are willing to look beyond the *polis*-model Beard, North, and Price advocate.[14] Within the empire, with a "complex yet structured system of beliefs and practices," the problem of what role social rank had in shaping the various kinds of religious notions and forms that senators embraced is even more acute.[15] To pose the question, then, primarily about the senatorial elite: were the choices available for social climbers aiming at the top order indeed completely open? And, to address another element implicit in this model: was religious choice a matter purely of individualized, personal attachments? This notion of a personal attachment tended to be taken for granted in the scholarship of a few generations earlier, which saw the new entrants into the senate, particularly those senators whose families originated from outside Italy, as bringing a new religious outlook into the senate based on their connections to their original religious contexts. By extension these new senators would have, then, spread such "provincial" (and non-Roman) religious phenomena across the capital city and, eventually, the rest of the empire.[16] Thus, by making these new, provincial senators not respondents to, but agents of religious change, Jean Beaujeu sought to explain the popularity of some quite non-traditional cults, such as those of Mithras and Jupiter Dolichenus, in second-century Italy.[17] Yet it might not necessarily have been the case that the experience of social fluidity marked out the early

[12] Woolf 1996. [13] North 1992; Beard, North, and Price 1998. [14] Woolf 1997: 76–83.
[15] Quote from Woolf 1997: 77.
[16] This is the position Jean Beaujeu takes, especially with regard to Syrian cults, in what is the only exclusive study of Roman senatorial religion: Beaujeu 1964. For a different view, see Eck 1989: 50–51.
[17] Beaujeu 1964: 54–75, now to be read with Eck 1989.

empire as a completely open religious field, into which new senators were free to insert any religious phenomenon of their choice. Although no ancient text survives that describes the understanding of a future or would-be senator about any religious expectations he might encounter while climbing the social ladder, senators whom we can identify with relative certainty as "new" left a rich record of inscribed offerings and of other religious activities. In the next section I turn to this evidence for a detailed, primarily prosopographical analysis of the religious roles and interests of new senators from the provinces.

NEW SENATORS AND RELIGION: CHOICES AND MODELS

Given the scholarly boom in past decades in the publication and discussion of data relevant to incoming senators from all parts of the Roman empire, we are now in an unusually good position to investigate choices and models available to new entrants to the order. In many ways these new members represent the changing face of the Roman imperial senate: far from a hereditary aristocracy, the growing presence of non-Italian senators was, without doubt, the most important sociological transformation influencing the order in the first two and a half centuries of the empire. What was new was not the fact that provincials could enter the senate – new men from Spain and Gallia Narbonensis are securely attested already prior to the Augustan period.[18] Although there is some evidence to suggest that Augustus may have curbed that influx,[19] the reigns of Vespasian, the first emperor from outside Rome, and of Trajan, the first from outside Italy, clearly marked turning points. The novel element was the proportion of provincials entering the senate: the number of non-Italian senators could have surpassed the number of those originating in Italy as early as Hadrian's reign and they would have reached a certain majority by the Severan period.[20]

The exact nature of the cultural impact, and of the religious effects, in particular, caused by this ever-increasing influx of provincials, is a subject of some dispute. There was a tradition of maintaining an ongoing connection to one's *germana patria* at least from the time of Cicero,[21] yet some changes to that connection were inevitable.[22] On the one hand, the fact and

[18] Wiseman 1971: 20–24. [19] Syme 1999: 24–25.

[20] Similar results were already shown by Hammond 1957, who gave the last full analysis of the subject; Hopkins and Burton 1983: 184–193 and their table 3.15 on p. 200 used Hammond's figures.

[21] See the locus classicus: Cicero *De legibus* 2.3–4; for the continuity of this connection to the homeland see Gasser 1999: 217–228.

[22] On the problem of this "double bind" of senators, see the insightful comments of Eck 1997b.

experience of social advancement undoubtedly corresponded to a sense of change in the lives of these new senators. While familial and property connections may have kept them in touch with their *patria*, membership in the senate brought with it new time and property commitments in Italy.[23] To the new senators, now beyond their original civic contexts, such dual commitments could well have suggested a model for maintaining alternative religious identities as well, although we may wonder to what extent the "alternatives" were indeed novel in comparison with the religious preferences of Roman senators. On the other hand, the generally conformist nature of such gradually emerging aristocracies seems to be a historical constant.[24] First, these were the same elites who were playing such a prominent role in the romanization of the empire, an elite role by and large conformist in general cultural terms.[25] And in terms of the potential for entering the senate, conformism might well have been a much appreciated asset: when it comes to literary stereotypes, imperial literature depicts new senators from the provincial elite not in a prejudicial light, but as exemplary role models of virtue and skill.[26] It is, in turn, unlikely that any new or unusual interests among these new senators would have found available means to shape a generally less conservative attitude among the rest of the senate.[27]

In studies such as Beaujeu's, where the innovative role of new provincial senators is emphasized, it is generally presumed that we can establish a connection between any unusual religious interests among these new senators and the alternative religious traditions of their cities of origin. Yet, to establish such links is neither easy nor methodologically certain: the divinities worshiped in the provinces of the empire were ultimately not much different from those worshiped in Rome, and many worshiped by provincial senators also belonged to the mainstream pantheon. To exemplify this problem, we can cite two provincial senators who made formal dedications to Hercules. One is L. Fabius Cilo Septiminus Catinius Acilianus Lepidus Fulcinianus (cos.suff. 193, cos. II 204) of Baetica, who, in a rare senatorial dedication from the city of Rome, offered a verse inscription (probably of his own composition) to Hercules – which nevertheless seems more likely to be connected to a uniquely Roman tradition, in which the worship of this god was tied to the tenure of the urban

[23] Millar 1964: 184. [24] Kautsky 1982. [25] Woolf 1998.
[26] Hopkins and Burton 1983: 185; D'Arms 1984: 466; Syme 1999: 39–44.
[27] Even Eck, who denies such associations, tends to suggest that, for example, Christian senators would have come from areas outside Rome where the mission had already been more successful: Eck 1971: 396–397.

praetorship, which Cilo held at that time.[28] Secondly, we have another dedication to Hercules from a Spanish descendant, P. Acilius Attianus (cos. under Hadrian) from the island of Elba, where he owned property, and where we cannot ascertain if there was an existing Hercules cult prior to the senator's dedication. Hercules was worshiped in numerous locations in Hispania, and it is tempting to see a connection here between the new senator and a cult imported from his original province, even if such an act of importation cannot be confirmed. The two dedications, one in Rome and one on Elba, could not be more different from each other; should we see one or both as an effect of the senators' Spanish origins?

Further, another eight inscriptions confirm the involvement of new senators from Hispania in the Hercules cult in Tibur.[29] They attest that in Tibur, where a large community of senators originating from Hispania owned land, these senators participated in the local cult of Hercules Victor as curators or *salii*. Even though it would be tempting to see this as a case of cult import by the new senators from their original province, in fact the Hercules cult in Tibur predates the arrival of these senators, and the foundation legend of the Hercules temple does not suggest a direct cult transfer from Hispania.[30] There is little that distinguishes the interest and participation of these senators in the local cult of Hercules, a major divinity in the city, from Italian senators' regular interests in their local divinities.[31] Finally, we have only one inscription as evidence for the participation of a Spanish senator in the worship of Hercules back home. That inscription refers to the membership of Q. Cornelius Senecio Annianus (cos.suff. under Antoninus Pius), in the priesthood of Hercules at the large cult center of the god on the island of Gades.[32] What can the Tibur inscriptions prove, then? They can neither securely confirm nor deny that the Spanish origin of these senators might have contributed to their affinity for the Hercules cult; but it is also clear that the senators from Hispania most likely joined an already existing cult in Italy. And Hercules was not the only god in whom senators from Hispania might have expressed an interest: P. Alfius Maximus Numerius Avitus, an Antonine senator from Tarraco, took up the position

[28] *CIL* VI 312 = *CLE* II 868.

[29] *CIL* XIV 3554 = *ILS* 3415; *CIL* XIV 3599; *CIL* XIV 3600; *CIL* XIV 3601 = *ILS* 1101; *CIL* XIV 3609 = *ILS* 1104; *CIL* XIV 3612 = *ILS* 1025; *CIL* XIV 4242 = *ILS* 1044; *CIL* XIV 4244; Cf. Macrob. *Sat*. 3.12.7, with references to Tibur. Island of Gades: Hubner ad *CIL* II 1929.

[30] Macrob. *Sat*. 3.6.11.

[31] E.g. senators originating from Ostia were often *pontifices Volkani* there. See D'Arms 1976: 403–405.

[32] This, attested as a religious function, rather than a dedication, is not listed above.

of the priest of the goddess Iuno in a local *collegium* in an unknown *municipium* close to Rome.[33]

Simply counting senatorial dedications does little justice to the evidence attesting to the variety of religious involvements by provincial senators in their *origines*. In the East, senators frequently participated in the priesthoods of their hometowns, in traditional roles of high local influence. Senators from Cyrene were often themselves priests of the local Apollo cult center, or closely related to such priests (e.g. the son of Antonius Flamma, the savage governor of Cyrene under Vespasian; or P. Sestius Pollio, a praetorian under Trajan); those of Pergamon were active in the cult of Asclepius; the Nyssan Sex. Iulius Maior Antoninus Pythodorus (praetorian under Antoninus Pius) was a priest of the local Kore cult; and the philosopher L. Flavius Arrianus (cos.suff. 129) from Nikomedeia was a priest of the cult of Demeter and Kore in his *origo*. C. Antius Aulus Iulius Quadratus (cos.suff 94, cos. II ord. 105) was a priest of the mystery cult of Dionysos Kathegemon in the city of his origin, Pergamon. The significant range of possible religious or at least semi-religious involvements in the city of a senator's origin is almost fully incorporated in a benefaction of L. Aemilius Frontinus (cos. 160s–180s), possibly the son of Aemilia Pudentilla, wife of Apuleius, who donated, in addition to his dedication to the *genius coloni*, money, *sportula*, and *ludi* in his home city, Oea. The inscription – found on the architrave of a local temple – commemorating his euergetistic acts provides as much evidence of his ongoing religious role as it does of his general benefaction. The totality of this evidence confirms the continued participation of provincial senators in the religion of their *origines* only in the same location, but not one of the senators mentioned above provides any evidence of a desire to promulgate those cults away from home. To the extent that their practices attest to interest in the religion of their *origines*, there does not also appear to be an interest in proselytizing new cults in new places, but rather a relatively normative interest, a claim for power, through the maintenance of local traditions and the correlative opportunities for self-display as a religious benefactor.

One possible limitation to senators wanting to spread the cult of a deity from their *origines* may have been that of place: religious innovation needs the social and physical space in which it can be materialized. In this context it is remarkable that the most unusual senatorial dedications made by new provincial senators come from a military context, where senators on duty often dedicated to gods associated with the camp or with their personal

[33] *CIL* VI 1474.

well-being (on which see more in Chapters 4 and 6, respectively). For example, the Pannonian M. Valerius Maximianus was an eager but rather atypical follower of Mithras, whose religious involvement is attested only in the setting of military camps. It was also on a military tour that two sets of dedications were made to some rather obscure German *matronae* by the Severan senators L. Calpurnius Proculus from Galatia and Claudius Stratonicus (cos.suff. 190) from Phrygia together with their wives. A dedication to Silvanus, a god also less frequently honored by senators, accompanied the restoration of an altar by the Cappadocian Ti. Claudius Gordianus (cos. *c.* 192) in Calcus Herculis, Numidia, also in a military context.

Almost all of our evidence for actual cult *transfers* by new senators belongs to such military contexts. In Lambaesis, (1) M. Lucceius Torquatus Bassianus/Cassianus (cos.suff. 169) honored the Dalmatian Medaurus in what appears to be a personal commitment to the god from his homeland. It is also in Lambaesis that we find (2) the only senatorial dedication of an Eastern senator to Jupiter Dolichenus, made by the Nysan Sex. Iulius Maior (cos.suff. 126). Beaujeu suggested that the dedication was made on the particular occasion of the meeting of Iulius Maior with veterans from his home, Syria, in the camp.[34] Yet a larger, imperial context is clear from the fact that the temple dedicated by Iulius Maior is itself offered *pro salute et incolumitate Hadriani*.[35] Another inscription attests to (3) the dedication of an altar by C. Iulius Avitus Alexianus (cos.suff. *c.* 200, grandfather of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander) to his *deo p[atrio] Soli Ela[gabalo]* in the provincial capital of Raetia, Augusta Vindelicorum, where he was serving in a military capacity.[36] Two dedications commemorate gods who can be considered "of an African character" by senators originating from Africa: (4) P. Stertinius Quartus (cos.suff. 112) may have dedicated an inscription in the city of Rome *Iovi Hammoni et Silvano*,[37] and (5) Ti. Haterius Saturninus could have been, if the identification is correct, the sponsor of the only senatorial dedication to Saturn, a god frequented in his home for his associations with Baal Hammon.[38] In the Severan period two other African senators offered dedications to deities associated with their homeland: in two rather insecure and probably connected examples (6) the Numidian P. Fl(avius) Pudens Pomponianus *signo* Vocontius (sen. *c.* 200)

[34] Beaujeu 1964: 71–72. [35] *CIL* VIII 2681; *CIL* VIII 18221 = 2680 = *ILS* 4311a. [36] *AE* 1962, 229.
[37] *CIL* VI 278 = *ILS* 4426. Cf. *RE* 3.2455.14 on Groag's discussion of the problems with this dedication and the attribution of Stertinius' *origo* to Africa.
[38] *CIL* VIII 15098 = *ILS* 4443e.

honored *patria sua* (Africa),[39] and (7) a probable fellow Numidian and, indeed, a relative, P. Flavius Pudens Pomponianus (sen. *c.* 215) honored *dea patria*.[40] Africa, however, was the homeland of the Severan dynasty, so such dedications also carried a heavy pro-imperial slant, and therefore the motivations could owe something to the contemporaneous fashion of such offerings by the imperial family. The small number of these examples – seven in total – that might, though uncertainly, represent active interest in transferring or disseminating the cult of a divinity associated with an individual senator's *origo*, in contrast to the large number – approximately one thousand – of known and relatively securely identifiable non-Italian senators during the same period, confirms in statistical terms the earlier doubts I expressed about any proselytizing interests among the new senators.

One of our most valuable examples, which offers a special insight into the complex motivations that shaped such dedications, is the first item on the list above. Dated to 168, from Lambaesis, the military capital of the province of Africa, this inscription identifies the Dalmatian-born *legatus* and consul designate for the year 169, M. Lucceius Torquatus Bassianus (or Cassianus) as its dedicator, who also offered an image of his Dalmatian home god Medaurus in the temple of Asclepius in Lambaesis.[41] The statue was accompanied by an extended verse inscription in which Bassianus expressed a rather personal devotion to Medaurus, unique in our evidence.[42] This inscription, not yet translated into English, is worthy of discussion from the perspective of senatorial religion:

Moenia qui Risinni Aeacia, qui colis arcem
  Delmatiae, nostri publice lar populi,
sancte Medaure domi e(t) sancte hic, nam templa quoq(ue). ista
  vise, precor, parva magnus in effigia,
succussus laeva sonipes cui surgit in auras,
  altera dum letum librat ab aure manus.
Talem te consul iam designatus in ista
  sede locat venerans ille tuus [nomen erasum]
notus Gradivo belli vetus ac tibi, Caesar
  Marce, in primore clarus ubique acie.

[39] *AE* 1895, 111 = *ILS* 8981. [40] *AE* 1987, 1078.

[41] Identification of the erased name by Alföldy 1965: 141. Bassianus was killed by Commodus in *c.* 192–3 (*SHA* 7.6). Further literature on M. Lucceius Torquatus Bassianus: *PIR*^{2} L363, *RE* 13.1561–2. Thomasson 1996: 156–158.

[42] *CIL* VIII 2581 = *ILS* 4881 = *CLE* 1527.

Adepto consulatu [nomen erasum]
tibi respirantem faciem patrii numinis,
hastam eminus quae iaculat refreno ex equo,
tuus, Medaure, dedicat Medaurius.[43]

You who live in the city of Aeacia of Risinnus, in the
citadel of Dalmatia, you, common god of our people,
Medaurus, sacred at home and sacred here, visit also
these temples, I pray to you, great in a small image,
with your left hand urging on the horse, which rises into the air,
while your other hand hurls death from beside the ear.
You – so great – the already designated consul, your [erased name]
put, worshipping, in this location,
long known to the Mars of war and even to you Caesar
Marcus, famous everywhere in the first line of battle.
Having obtained the consulship [erased name]
to you, the breathing appearance of home divinity,
who from a distance throws a spear from the held-back horse,
to you Medaurus, your Medaurian dedicates this spear.

The first striking aspect of this inscription is that this apparently Dalmatian god, Medaurus, is almost unknown to us from any other source. As a matter of fact, the only other dedication to Medaurus can be found in the very same Asclepius temple in Lambaesis, with the inscription *Medauro Aug(usto) sacrum* (*CIL* VIII 2642), most probably closely related to the first inscription, possibly offered by the very same senator.

From the larger perspective of my argument here, the most remarkable aspect of the poem is that it provides evidence for the *active* role Bassianus saw himself taking in installing this divinity in the Asclepius temple at Lambaesis. Lines 3 and 4 literally call upon Medaurus to take care of this Asclepius temple beyond his duties in the god's own home in Dalmatia. There is notably little evidence for this divinity either from that home, Risinium or, in fact, from anywhere else in the empire[44] – an absence that itself raises doubts both about any supposition that Bassianus' commitment originates in some deeply ingrained Dalmatian cult and about any wish for proselytization, if indeed that was his main agenda. Even with the additional dedication from the same temple, the inscription suggests little about any missionary intentions on the part of the senator. The tone of the inscription is, in fact, quite personal, and the line *sancte Medaure domi et sancte hic* (v. 3) gives a sense of religious

[43] Line 5: on the basis of the situation I suggest reading *qui* for *cui,* and *succursus* for *succussus*. Reining the horse, instead of "shaking" it, is much more meaningful in this context. The image is not much clearer in line 6 either, where there is a possibility that it is a golden spear that balances death.

[44] *RE* 15.1.26 s.v. Medaurus: the cult offers more problems than answers.

commitment that is rather intimate and appears to travel with Bassianus, wherever his duties might take him. The cult image depicted in the verse is a figure on horseback, throwing a deadly spear, which seems somewhat out of place in the Asclepius temple; although one possibility is that Medaurus may have had a healing association, in which case the choice of the healing god's temple would be quite appropriate. Yet another important facet of this dedication is its military emphasis, as much in the cult figure as in the depiction of the senator's fighting expertise, offering another way in which Medaurus and Bassianus may have been connected.

To understand what was special about this dedication, we need to contrast the limited evidence for Medaurus from the Roman empire with the much larger number of dedications to gods that were evidently *not* from a provincial senator's *origo*, but to whom new senators offered dedications in places apart from their hometowns. The range of these dedications is amazingly wide. Some are quite commonplace, such as the verse dedication to Diana that the current legate of the legion Q. Tullius Maximus (cos.design. 168), who identified himself as originating from Libya, offered close to the military camp of the *legio VII Geminae* in Hispania.[45] Some are quite unusual, like the two sets of offerings to the rather obscure mother goddesses, the "Matronae Aufaniae," from the same location near the Bonn military camp by two Eastern senators. L. Calpurnius Proculus from Ancyra, Galatia, who, as a legate of *legio I* in Bonn in 180–5, set up an altar to these local Matronae, along with a dedication to Hercules. Neither the Matronae nor Hercules had much of a following in Galatia.[46] His wife, Domitia Regina, dedicated two further altars to the same Matronae in the same location.[47] The wife of another Eastern senator, Claudius Stratonicus (cos.suff. 190) from Aizanoi, Phrygia, dedicated to these mother goddesses at the same sanctuary during approximately the same period, and this second set of inscriptions gives a possible clue to the motivation for these offerings, since the final line, *pro salute sua*, suggests a personal interest in the healing capacity of these goddesses.[48] Similar medical concerns might have motivated M. Statius Priscus Licinius Italicus (cos.ord. 159), who originated either from Britain or from Dalmatia, when he dedicated an inscription – in addition to numerous divinities whose presence in a military context is less surprising, such as Jupiter, Diana, and Victoria – to the local Nymphs.[49] There

[45] *CIL* II 2660 = *ILS* 3259–3260 = *CLE* II 1526 in hexameter, iambic trimeter, iambic dimeter, and trochaic tetrameter.
[46] Hercules: *CIL* XIII 8009 = *ILS* 2458; Matronae Aufaniae: Nesselhauf 1937: no. 146.
[47] Nesselhauf 1937: nos. 147–148; Spickermann 1994: 331–332.
[48] Nesselhauf 1937: no. 149, Spickermann 1994: 332, *c.* 160–99.
[49] Jupiter: *CIL* III 1299, Diana: *CIL* III 940, and Victoria: *CIL* III 146. Nymphs: *CIL* III 7882.

is further, unpublished evidence from around the hot springs of Aptucca, where visiting senatorial women offered statues to Asclepius and Hygeia.[50] We can gain a wider perspective on these health concerns in one of the dedications of the avid Mithras follower, the Pannonian M. Valerius Maximianus, who offered a dedication in Lambaesis, together with his wife *Iovi Depulsori*, to Jupiter in his function as the averter of evil (a function he was also known for in Rome).[51] Seeking out local sanctuaries and divinities who specialized in well-being seems a shared element across these offerings – but installing another divinity in that sanctuary, as Bassianus did, is clearly unusual.

Casting an even wider net in the investigation of local religious involvement among new, provincial senators, we find further emphasis on honoring gods that were based in the location that the senator was visiting. The just-mentioned Pannonian consular, M. Valerius Maximianus, also included in his dedication the *genius loci* (the genius of the location) of Lambaesis, Africa, and – in a different geographical zone – a Numidian senator, Sex. Calpurnius Iulianus (sen. 160s–170s) dedicated to the *genius loci* in the Dacian Mehadia (also a cure location).[52] There was an even wider range of activities open to visiting senators in the East: note the extensive building activity in Ephesus by P. Calvisius Ruso, (cos.suff. 79), probably of Gallic background, or L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus, (cos.suff. *c.* 133–9), of Barcino, Hispania, who in 129 not only won a race at the Olympics but also dedicated at Olympia an inscription that commemorated his victory.[53] These inscriptions provide evidence of a general interest on the part of these new senators for involvement – in the form of dedications and benefactions – in the cults not primarily of their hometowns, but of areas where they spent time on official duty. Their motivation, then, is not to be found in an interest in proselytizing some unusual religious phenomenon associated with their origins but can rather be attributed to an interest in honoring the divine as it was worshiped in the new place in which they found themselves. The main categories of their activities in these new locations, dedications and benefactions, offer little to suggest a wish to disseminate the cult of a particular divinity from their *origines*. New senators from the provinces appear to join rather seamlessly into the forms that we shall see in Chapter 4 to be regular, Romanized elite

[50] Reference by Corbier 1982: 709.

[51] *CIL* VIII 2621. As discussed in the previous chapter, I disagree with Beaujeu who believes that this is a dedication related to Maximianus' *origo*.

[52] *CIL* III 1566 = *ILS* 3891. [53] *Insch. Ol.* 236 = *Syll.* 840.

ways of expressing cultural and religious interests wherever duties might lead any particular individual senator.

All the religious offerings and priestly roles discussed so far belong to senators who had already succeeded in achieving what many more young elite men in the empire probably aspired to, namely reaching the highest order. But could religious interests *prior* to becoming a senator promote or hinder the success of a potential candidate for the senate? A positive answer to that question is suggested by one of the few surviving recommendation letters in which a senator advocates that a young man of equestrian family receive a junior military position, a stepping stone towards later entrance to the senate. Of Pliny's two letters recommending the Spaniard equestrian C. Licinius Marinus Voconius Romanus, one appears to be less important yet more candid, since the addressee is not the emperor (as in *Ep*. 10.4), but Neratius or Iavolenus Priscus, a fellow senator and friend. In listing the many good qualities promoting the young man, Pliny commends Voconius Romanus firstly for his family's elite standing, secondly for his recent attainment of the priesthood of the *flamen* of the imperial cult for Hispania Citerior, and lastly for what he shares with Pliny as a friend in terms of common elite education.[54] It is impossible to tell whether the *absence* of any prior *political* position is a factor that may have led Pliny to include the priesthood on this list; yet, there can be little doubt that the priesthood is an important element in depicting Voconius Romanus as a person who could be "one of us." Remarkably, no positions, whether of *flamen*, or of whatever junior military post this letter might have achieved for him, are mentioned in the letter Pliny later wrote to Trajan petitioning for senatorial rank for Voconius; in that letter, only education, familial connections, and wealth are emphasized (*Ep*. 10.4.4). Whether this is based on the fact that religious loyalty (as much as administrative experience) could be taken for granted among potential senators or on Pliny 's concern that emphasizing the flaminate might seem too ingratiating to the emperor cannot be clearly identified. We only know that Voconius was a second-generation priest in the cult and that his father already held the same leading priesthood in the provincial cult of the emperors. This familial heritage clearly positioned him well, at least in terms of becoming a priest of the imperial cult himself, a position we know he reached, unlike that of senator, for which no evidence survives.[55]

[54] *Ep*. 2.13.4: *Ipse citerioris Hispaniae (scis quod iudicium provinciae illius, quanta sit gravitas) flamen proxime fuit*.

[55] See Alföldy 1973: 76–77.

But could the father's position in the local imperial cult indeed play a positive role in helping a new provincial senator-to-be reach the order? There are various types of evidence that all seem to point to such a conclusion. To start with, in the 48 CE speech of the emperor Claudius, in which he advocated opening the senate to Gallic notables, he mentioned the role of priesthoods as a first step towards reaching higher rank: "I ask you that the sons [of the equestrian L. Vestinus] may flourish in the first grade of priesthoods, moving forward, as the years pass afterwards, in the growth of their dignity."[56] This statement is missing from the rendition of the speech in Tacitus (*Ann.* 11.24), but it confirms the awareness, at least on the emperor's part, of the potential role of priesthoods in the future advancement of new senators-to-be. While politics and connections were, without doubt, of primary importance in all appointments, especially those made under the first emperors, as early as the reign of Claudius we have a *homo novus*, M. Calpurnius Rufus, possibly only the second Roman senator from the Greek East, whose mother, Caecilia Tertulla, was priestess of Iulia Drusilla and Divine Rome.[57] The father of another mid-first-century new senator from the East, whose name is unknown, was *archiereus* of the imperial cult in Didyma.[58] This trend is much more pronounced with the advancement of the provincial cult at the start of the Flavian period. In a systematic survey of the epigraphic evidence for the families of new provincial senators, I found in total about fifty more cases of priestly forebears involved in the provincial imperial cult from all areas of the empire through the middle of the third century (Appendix A). This evidence positively correlates provincial priesthoods in the imperial cult of the previous generation with the subsequent entry of new senators into the order; further, it shows that priestly positions of new senators' parents in the provincial cult were, in fact, the most common religious denominator among these senators, significantly more frequent than any other religious characteristic, whether dedications to any individual god or the larger category of dedications associated with local origins.

A more detailed look at this epigraphic evidence shows that participation in the imperial cult is best attested in the areas and periods in which we see the highest levels of established competition for promotion to senatorial posts. We know of five future senatorial families who were involved in the

[56] *ILS* 212: (*ex qua colo|nia inter paucos equestris ordinis ornamentum L(ucium) Vestinum fa|miliarissime diligo et hodieque in rebus meis detineo cuius libe|ri fruantur) quaeso primo sacerdotiorum gradu postmodo cum | annis promoturi dignitatis sui incrementa.* On the realities of promotion for Gallic senators, see now Devreker 1998.

[57] See Appendix A, no. 1. [58] See Appendix A, no. 2.

imperial cult in Hispania, most of them in the early second century,[59] and one each from Gallia[60] and Pannonia in the same period.[61] In the East such participation in the imperial cult spread throughout the period, and the total of thirty-four such senatorial families represent two-thirds of all attested new senatorial families from the period.[62] Further, eleven senatorial families with such priestly background are attested from Africa, which became a source of senators somewhat later in the period.[63] Thus it was when competition for senatorial posts may have had more established avenues in these provinces that we find a great number of provincial priests among the new members and their immediate families.

Five of the new senators whose families were involved with the provincial imperial cult are attested to have continued to hold provincial imperial priesthoods that were held earlier by their parents. I think that these are not simply instances of a promotion to the senatorial order *following* membership in a provincial priesthood, which would then have been maintained as essentially no more than an honorary post.[64] In fact, there are nine further senators who are attested in the provincial imperial cult and who could have also held the priesthood as a family legacy.[65] Especially remarkable in this regard are the cases of Ti. Claudius Saethida Caelianus and L. Flavius Hermocrates, both from the East in the late second century, who are second-generation senators in provincial priesthoods, which suggests that far from being shameful for those who succeeded in reaching the *ordo*, such priestly positions may have had positive associations for their holders even after they reached the senate.

The service of these priesthoods to the imperial cult may appear to suggest that they only *seemed* to be religious positions but were in reality stepping stones of an essentially political nature for those with an ambition to enter the senate. Yet there can be little doubt that not all, in fact not even the majority of provincial priests of the imperial cult ever made it into the senatorial order. Whatever account we may propose for the popularity of these priesthoods, we have numerous benefits to consider, ranging from immunity from taxes to building social connections. But the preferred explanation should also provide elucidation of why new senators may have continued in these priesthoods in their hometowns after entering the

[59] See Appendix A, nos. 3–7. [60] See Appendix A, no. 8. [61] See Appendix A, no. 9.
[62] See Appendix A, nos. 10–41. [63] See Appendix A, nos. 42–52.
[64] This must be the case nevertheless for [---]us Fronto, probably to be identified as Ti. Iulius Fronto (*RE* Suppl. 15 [1978] 105 s.v. Fronto 4d) a *pontifex* of Leptis Magna, who later advanced to senatorial rank (*AE* 1957, 238).
[65] See Appendix B, nos. 1–9.

order: after all, few would wish to hold a lesser political position after they had reached the next step up. That membership in priesthoods was seen as a lifetime appointment, at least by some, may be part of the explanation, even though our evidence does not suffice to prove or disprove that case for priesthoods of the imperial cult on the part of senators. In fact, the apparent import of a parent's participation in the cult may suggest a larger framework of explanation, which to my mind can be best structured by the symbolic ways in which the imperial cult communicated imperial power for people living beyond the experience of the emperor's actual presence, in various parts of the empire.[66] Although the full implications for all kinds of priesthoods need to be reserved for the next chapter, I want to propose here that for most new provincial senators, a relatively significant part of their experience of practicing power was tightly connected to their participation in priesthoods of the provincial imperial cult. Such a strong association between the practices of power and the priesthoods of the imperial cult may have also contributed to the elite interest in participation in the cult, even after a new senator had joined the senate.

An interest in maintaining a primary role in various forms of expressing such power is the most likely explanation also for the fact that, no matter whether in the *patria* or in some other provincial location, a significant portion of the religious activity undertaken by non-Italian senators took place outside Rome.[67] The benefaction of Pliny the Younger in enlarging the temple of Ceres on his Tuscan estate is well known (*Ep*. 9.39), inscribing a rather obvious dynamic between capital and *origo*: the former serving primarily imperial forms of display and the latter allowing for primary roles among their own elites. But we also encounter places of a third type, namely neither *origo* nor capital, which are more difficult to explain at first sight. The interest of new senators with provincial backgrounds in dedications and benefactions in these types of places, such as that of Spanish senators in the Hercules cult of Tibur, confirms the existence of an elite attitude towards religious participation and display that was less connected to one's *patria* and more to notions of appropriate behavior and potential expressions of power. In fact, Pliny's other temple dedication, close to his estates in Tifernum Tiberinum, suggests a greater concern with his generic responsibilities as a patron, and, possibly even more, with the positive light shed on elite benefactors within elite circles.[68] New senators from the provinces were

[66] Price 1984: 239–248.

[67] Note here also the insights of John Scheid on the import of senatorial religious benefactions in the provinces, Scheid 2005b: 272.

[68] Pliny, *Ep*. 4.1; cf. Eilers 2002: 102–105 with earlier bibliography.

much less likely to promulgate a cult from their homeland than simply to latch on to available opportunities of already existing cults wherever their new career might take them.

In a further example that emphasizes the role of local variety in offering opportunities to senators for religious display, we can observe some discrepancy between senators from the West and the East concerning their ongoing participation in local cult activities, which goes beyond the trivial issues of epigraphic preservation and the more limited customs in Latin epigraphy in representing local cult practices. Although there was a revival of local cult practices by provincial aristocracies everywhere in the empire in the second century, Eastern senators seemed to maintain involvement in this trend much more than Western ones. Instead, senators from the Western provinces tended to be active in cults in Italy (even if mostly outside Rome). In contrast, in the East there was a more traditional and also a more regionally oriented culture of religious and euergetistic activity for senate members and their families that involved them in religious activities of their *origines* and in other important religious centers nearby.

I discuss the complex associations of burial practices later, but it is necessary to point out here that such evidence for non-Italian senators further corroborates my thesis by suggesting that the wish for religious (or semi-religious) display (for which more opportunity might arise outside Rome) was more powerful than the interest in proselytization based on religious involvements in the *origo*. Owing to the legal and practical requirements of their presence in the city of Rome during many of the crucial years of their careers, most non-Italian senators set up residences in the city even if they still had significant possessions and connections in one of the provinces.[69] In fact, many originally provincial senators were buried in the capital, with monuments that followed the customs of the city. To the extent that there was a trend to the contrary – that is, that a significant number of senatorial families chose to bury their dead in their *origines* – this might simply indicate, as Werner Eck has argued, that these senators died after they had retired from Rome, whether through old age or because of particular political circumstances.[70] But a conscious decision for commemoration in the *origo* can be seen in the case of the famous sophist Herodes Atticus, who built both a *heroon*-like tomb on the Roman Via Appia and the

[69] Eck 1997b: 75–79, who also refers to important parallels with regard to complex identities in terms of representation.

[70] Eck 1997b: 88 talks about "at least 200 inscriptions" identifying senatorial burials in Rome's immediate vicinity, and lists 41 examples from the provinces for the whole period of the empire.

Odeon of Athens to commemorate his wife, Annia Regilla.[71] An interest in setting up one's funerary monument at one's *origo* is attested for both the Western[72] and Eastern[73] provinces of the empire. It is only a matter of local differences that burials, beside euergetism, ended up as statistically the most important way for senators originating from the Western provinces to express their involvement with their *patria*, because in these provinces there was less continuity in local cult participation, including even the local cult of the emperors. In fact, most of these provincial burials, while giving due representation to the particular rank achieved by the member of the *ordo senatorius*, seem either to have followed local religious habits or, more often, to have pushed potential grand-scale self-representation to the limit. Thus the funerary monuments suggest not only that new senators did keep up strong ties with their original provinces and the religion practiced there (contrary to the constraints on their residence and landownership in Italy), but also that senators may have sought out those connections because the potential for display was greater there. Rather remarkably, some of the commemorations also share important characteristics with euergetism. The best example is the particular combination of the commemorative and the euergetistic aspects in the Celsus library in Ephesus: the sarcophagus of T. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus (cos.suff. 92) of Sardis stood in the middle, flanked by two equestrian statues, one with a Greek commemorative inscription, the other with a Latin one, while his four main philosophical virtues, as statues, decorated the façade of the library.[74]

On the basis of these funerary monuments as well as the dedications and benefactions, I want to propose a different view for the role of non-Italian senators in the changing religious landscape of this period. There is little to suggest any aspirations for proselytization or the availability of any framework through which the provincial senators might have introduced new, and especially new *kinds*, of religions to Rome: we do not find new senators undertaking strange rituals to honor non-Romanized or non-Hellenized divinities, even far away from the emperor's eyes and Rome. As far as our evidence can attest, senatorial religious engagements, even when they concerned such potentially different divinities as the Dalmatian Medaurus, followed Greco-Roman terms: setting up an inscription in Greek or Latin or

[71] The Via Appia monument (*IGRom* 1, 193–196 of 196) boasts poetry from Marcellus of Side (see the critical commentary by Peek 1979). The verse also contains a reference to the other monument in Greece: the Odeon of Athens (Philostr. *VS* 2.1; 5.8; Paus. 7.20.6.).

[72] See Appendix C. [73] See Appendix D.

[74] Greek inscription: *I.Eph.* 5102; Latin inscription: *I.Eph.* 5103; four main virtues: *sophia* (*I.Eph.* 5108), *aretē* (*I.Eph.* 5109), *ennoia* (*I.Eph.* 5110), and *epistemē* (*I.Eph.* 5111).

a cult statue in an already existing temple of a mainstream divinity in Roman religion. As far as senatorial innovation is concerned, this was no more than asserting a very Roman concept of religion that favored Roman, Romanized, and Hellenized cults worshiped in a set of traditional ways. When we turn to the provincial religious practices of *all* senators (not only new ones) in Chapter 4, we shall find further confirmation that such an imperial Helleno-Romanization offered a context in which the senatorial wish for religious display could be expressed in local religious terms: both in the senatorial *patriae* and in other areas where senators owned land or served a term in office. These local expressions of religious interests were, almost inevitably, a necessary side of the process of empire-wide (religious) integration.[75] In other words, the same historical development that allowed these non-Italian senators to become members of the imperial elite supported an empire-wide fashion of local religious practices. An important aspect of such localism was both regional competition among elites and a self-policing that, at least theoretically, limited excessive display even in this local context. Philostratus gives us a glimpse into how this may have functioned when he describes the fight Herodes Atticus had with the Quintilii brothers from Alexandria Troas.[76] The brothers attacked the senator for what they considered to be an extravagant display of large statues in a religious context for his foster-sons, Achilles, Polydeuces, and Memnon. While the conflict largely played out on a regional scene, the notional grounds for the criticism by the Quintilii stemmed from a larger empire-wide culture of senatorial self-understanding at this time.

Such criticism and self-policing developed from elite notions of cautioning against excess, which the senatorial elite generally accepted and maintained. Contemporary elite discourse mostly expressed such boundaries through the language of acceptability and unacceptability or sameness and otherness, also applied to religious practices. It is difficult to gain a good insight into how the negotiation of these limits may have occurred. While the criticism that the sophist Lucian laid upon the senator the polyonymous M. Sedatius Severianus … Rutilianus (cos.suff. 153) may be at least in part a literary stereotype,[77] it is remarkable that Lucian called the Gallic senator "that silly Celt" for attacking the Parthians in 161 on the basis of an oracle received from the "prophet" Alexander of Abonouteichos.[78] The criticism

[75] There is extensive modern literature on the comparable process of globalization and the trend for localism.

[76] *VS* 2.1.559. [77] See Pozzi 2003: 133–134, Bendlin 2006: 196–203.

[78] *Alex.* 27. The senator's full name is M. Sedatius Severianus Iulius Acer Metilius Nepos Rufinus Rutilianus Censor (*PIR*[1] S231). Note also how the credulous P. Mummius Sisenna Rutilianus (cos.suff. 146) is not named "silly Spaniard" for his interest in Alexander (*Alex.* 30).

only works if the audience accepts that association with an ethnic background other than that of a mainstream Hellenic and Roman one, in this case Celtic, can function as a marker of unacceptable religion. We also need to note what was not criticized about Rutilianus: prior to his episode with Alexander, Rutilianus, as a praetorian, had already visited the Asclepieion of Pergamon, where he consulted the god.[79] Of course, Asclepius was widely honored, and divination for health purposes was generally accepted among senators. Yet even if it might have been in that well-respected sanctuary that he developed a taste for divination (which he then would have engaged in again at the time of his second visit to the East), Rutilianus, by expanding divination to military affairs and doing so through an independent diviner (although we know Alexander actively sought to associate himself with Asclepius and Apollo), pushed the consultation over into the category of unacceptable religion.

Ultimately the Rutilianus affair raises the larger problem of contemporary cultural idioms about non-Italian senators as religious innovators, especially in terms of cult practices and beliefs that did not fit with the imperial program of Romanization or Hellenization. While we cannot be certain that these senators were not intellectually more open to innovation, there is absolutely no surviving image of senatorial self-representation among new or old senators as religious innovators of any kind. In contrast, we have Lucian's disapproving comments, which confirm that even a senator could be ridiculed if it was thought that he engaged in an unusual cultural experience because of his provincial background – and, moreover, that such criticism could be applied to religious matters. In a slightly earlier and primarily literary fantasy, a speech of Dio Chrysostom, it is Persian, Egyptian, Indian, and Celtic elites who appear as advisors to the king in matters both human and divine.[80] This representation of cultural geography marks the boundaries of sameness and otherness in the imperial context: in a remarkable contrast it is the Persian and Egyptian (although not so much the Indian and the Celtic) gods that emerge in the religious landscape of Rome – but there are no Persian, Egyptian, or Indian members in the senate at the time of Dio's writing. What makes those elites exemplary to the Romans, according Dio, is not the import of any actual "other" religious cult, but that they are "philosophers"; they share an elite *cultural* association above the "ethnic" differences. As we shall see in Chapter 5, such

[79] Aristides 48.48; 50.16. Cf. Chapter 2 on a detailed discussion of the Pergamon experience.
[80] Dio Chrys. 49.7–8.

cultural notions of "philosophers" and "literati" went a long way towards providing a unifying ground for the senatorial elite in religious matters.

How can we sum up such a model for the concept of (elite) religion under the empire?[81] It seems that the dynamics of religious change need to be looked at from a different perspective: the provincial senators were not initiators in the evident process of the imperial Romanization or Hellenization of culture and religion. Rather, in their social advancement as well as in their religious practices, non-Italian senators were agents, albeit elite agents, in the complex processes of imperial integration. To my mind, the religious association of power was one of the most critical elements in this development. Even outside Rome the emperor could safely rely on his non-Italian senators to represent this mainstream religion to his subjects, because their identity as members of the Romanized elite meant that they were invested in the success of this imperial program and because their elite identity accustomed them to the traditional religious associations of their power. The *ordo*-identity of these new senators did not encourage religious proselytization but effectively incorporated the new senators' local religious interests. If the new senators had any larger religious impact, it was that their support for local cults in their Hellenized and Romanized forms, which was shared by new senators even beyond their own *patriae*. If the new senators from outside Italy were a threat to the religious system of the empire, it was not in their possible dissemination of the cults from their *origines*. The imperial cultural policy of integrating the empire along Romanized and Hellenized lines marked clear boundaries around acceptable and unacceptable practices, and especially in Rome the representational primacy of the ruler ensured that there was little chance that such imports would have become manifest in the capital. Instead, most of the senators essentially became carriers of the torch of imperial policy, whether religious or not.

The influx of non-Italian members into the Roman senate was a major factor of social change that altered both the character and the perceptions of the order under the empire. But what was in many ways a social revolution of integrating these provincial elites did not lead to a truly open marketplace, a field prone to religious innovation, in which different (types of) cults matched up against each other in competitive terms. The occasional expression of personal divinities from outside the mainstream Roman cult followed the same Hellenized or Romanized forms of dedication with *votum* and sacrifice. And this was not a chance development. In contemporary social discourse we can trace a difference between acceptable religious activities that involve embracing certain local traditions throughout the

[81] On this subject see now the collection of papers in Cancik and Rüpke 1997.

empire and unacceptable religion that consisted of stereotypically different religious customs usually attributed to other peoples such as the Celts. Sociologically, what most new senators shared in religious terms was an experience of the association, in the imperial cult, of religion and the display of power (understood here as the authority to establish order), which taught them the main forms of religious expression as prayer and sacrifice, dedication and benefaction. Insofar as these religious forms were associated with power, we find senatorial religious investment to be focused on sharing in that display, rather than on expressing one's own, "original" religious attachments.

THE ROMAN SENATE AS A BODY WITH RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY

In this final section I turn to what I referred to above as the "cultural element" of senatorial identity and, in particular, the religious components that contributed to it. One does not have to look very hard: it is a remarkable aspect of senatorial life in imperial Rome that all gatherings of the senate had a significant religious element to them. This is especially true of senate meetings, largely unchanged since the republic. Although their actual location may have varied, as Varro attests, the senate met only at places established as *templa* by the augurs, and the meeting had to open with sacrifice and the taking of auspices.[82] Whatever the actual practice may have been, the religious sense was reinforced in 12 BCE by Augustus, who ordered, as a new element, that all members present should burn an offering of incense and should make a libation of wine at the altar prior to taking their seats.[83] Suetonius suggests that the purpose of the Augustan legislation was that senators should be able to perform their duties with more reverence and with less inconvenience (*religiosius et minore molestia*), a double phrase whose second component can probably best be explained by the parallel passage of Dio, namely that in this way the senators did not need to pay a visit to the emperor himself, whether as part of the morning *salutatio* or in the senate itself.[84] Despite the fact that it was, again, imperial legislation that founded this ritual, it is noteworthy that the emperor actually dissociated this religious proceeding of the senate from his own, all too powerful

[82] Varro as quoted in Gell. *NA* 14.7.7: *nisi in loco per augurem constituto quod templum apellaretur*; and 14.7.9: *immolareque hostiam prius auspicarique debere*. Cf. Talbert 1984: 224–225.

[83] Suet. *Aug.* 35: *Sanxit ut prius quam consideret quisque ture ac mero supplicaret apud aram eius dei, in cuius templo coiretur*.

[84] Suet. *Aug.* 35: *religiosius et minore molestia*; Dio 54.30.1. Cf. Talbert 1984: 68.

presence. At any rate, the supplication with incense and wine by senators at the beginning of sessions survived until the end of our period, as Herodian attests, and definitely lent an air of reverence to the opening of senate meetings.[85]

This opening ritual belonged to the first, generally more communal portion of senate meetings. Unlike most of the debates later in the session, the ceremony emphasized the common position shared by individual senators and the religious functions of the whole assembly. In republican practice, the first order of business would also have been of a religious nature, or at least religious issues would have preceded other questions,[86] a custom that may have then become irrelevant with imperial communications taking first place and the presiding magistrate setting the order of matters to be discussed. Nevertheless, there is overwhelming evidence to show that religious matters remained frequent business at the meetings, including various religious honors, supplications, temple buildings, and games offered to emperors and their family members – authorized by the whole senate.[87] The majority of these were religious honors to members of the imperial family and supplications to gods related to various successes or crises in the lives of members of the imperial family; such undertakings might well be suspected to be purely formal and, in fact, they are often depicted as sycophantic by Tacitus.[88] Nevertheless, we should note that when the province of Asia decreed a temple for Tiberius, Livia, and the senate in 23 CE, as a result of judicial decisions on the part of the senate favorable towards the province, the senate appointed a legate to oversee the establishment of the cult site there – even if some senators may have had second thoughts about the provincial cult.[89] Further, there is evidence to substantiate Quintilian's statement that auguries, oracular responses, and religious questions of all kinds were still subject to debate in the senate at least through the end of the first century.[90] We can gain a sense of this negotiation between imperial and senatorial power in a case dated to 32 CE, when L. Caninius Gallus, a priest of the *quindecemviri sacris faciundis*, requested a *senatus consultum* on the admission of a new volume to the Sibylline Books.[91] After the senate moved to vote without objection, Tiberius intervened, by means of a letter, and referred the question

[85] 5.5.7. [86] Gell. *NA* 14.7.9: *de rebusque divinis prius quam humanis ad senatum referendum esse*.
[87] See those collected by Talbert 1984: extended note K.
[88] To mention only one example, see the vote of effigies and calendar modifications under Nero, Tac. *Ann*. 13.10.
[89] Talbert 1984: 400; Friesen 1993: 16–17.
[90] Quint. *Inst*. 12.2.21: *iam de auguriis, responsis, religione denique omni, de quibus maxima saepe in senatu consilia versata sunt*.
[91] Tac. *Ann*. 6.12.

back to the *magistri* of the priestly body, whose religious opinion was a prerequisite of such decisions. Although the exact details of the matter are quite unclear, we can be certain that Tiberius did not formally question the authority of the senate in terms of the vote, only its thin attendance. This attention given to procedural grounds in the emperor's letter and the fact that he referred the matter back to the select leaders of the priesthood – consisting exclusively of senators – suggest that the emperor, at least in this particular case, did not make his own exclusive claim to religious authority in his interaction with the senate.

While there cannot be any doubt about the realities of imperial power and influence in all matters, my point is that religion was one of the few areas where the senate managed to maintain involvement and authority.[92] Already Tacitus noted this fact, if with some skepticism, with regard to the asylum rights of provincial temples: "But Tiberius, while strengthening the power of the principate for himself, offered the senate its image of ancient respect, by sending the petitions of provinces to the inquiry of the fathers."[93] The sense of tradition, the *imago antiquitatis*, is brought back when, after a long investigation in which the responsibility of hearing all details was transferred to the consuls, it was the senate that passed resolutions to be displayed on bronze tablets in the respective temples. Asylum in general seems to have fallen under the senate's areas of authority, as a problem of religious law, even if it is reasonable to expect that their command on asylum matters included only senatorial provinces and not imperial ones.

The senate soon became involved in another issue of asylum, still under Tiberius, in the much more competitive physical space of the city of Rome and in the much more contested case of the asylum rights of imperial statues. Whether depictions of the emperor could provide right of asylum was a matter of religious law, and also an issue of personal concern for senators, which is how, based on a personal incident of an escaped slave, Gaius Cestius raised the problem in the senate.[94] In the depiction of Tacitus, Cestius' speech emphasized the *social* distinction between the *boni*, on the one hand, and slaves or freedmen, on the other hand, who would have tried to take advantage of the asylum that the emperor's image might provide, even if, as Cestius claimed, they were actually guilty of a crime. That social distinction aside, the issue ultimately concerned the limits of imperial religious authority and, especially, whether senatorial

[92] See already Talbert 1984: 391. [93] *Ann.* 3.60.1; for the whole affair 3.60–3.63.
[94] *Ann.* 3.36. It appears that ultimately the asylum right of imperial statues was retained, cf. Suet. *Tib.* 58; Dio 57.12.

authority on religious law could contain the ever-exceeding spread of what the senate judged as excessive uses of imperial worship. It is all the more interesting that in his Tacitean speech Cestius did not question the assimilation of the emperor to gods, as it was granted that his statue could serve as a site of asylum. Rather, it is the unjust supplications by which people of lesser social rank abuse such a right of asylum that Cestius protests against. In his conceptual framework the emperor's choice is between the *boni*, the senators, and the lowly, who are doubly guilty in Roman law, first through their original crime and, second, in terms of divine justice, insofar as they rely on asylum despite their guilt. As fellow senators clamorously shouted in support of Cestius' complaint (*circumstrepebant*), which ultimately led to the condemnation of only one woman, we see a senate unified in a matter of legal and religious import through a vocabulary of transcendental righteousness.

It appears that on almost all occasions when religious issues came up in the assembly there was little real debate involving different senatorial groups, but rather the senate came across or, at least, was represented as unified in its institutional claim to religious authority. There are few parallels to the debates between distinct senatorial groups conducted on religious grounds that are so familiar to us from the late republic as, for example, in the case of Cicero's house. One instance of this kind of debate seems to have occurred concerning the rights of the *flamen Dialis* in the early imperial period.[95] The holder of that priesthood, Ser. Cornelius Lentulus Maluginensis (cos. 10), advocated that he be allowed to take a year-long absence, in the prestigious post as proconsul of Asia, on the grounds that this was not explicitly forbidden by either law or in the *libri caerimoniarum*. The augur, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, and some other senators were in opposition, and after the business was referred to the opinion of the *princeps*, the *flamen* was eventually denied the right of leaving. But this was an unusual matter, as were all alterations to traditional rules concerning senatorial priesthoods. When the selection of the next *flamen* came up in 23 CE (for which, ironically, the son of Lentulus, the previous *flamen*, was chosen), the traditional regulations concerning both the *flamen* and his wife came up for discussion.[96] In this case, the matter was concluded by modifications concerning the wife of the *flamen*. The outcome was achieved through the enactment of a *lex rogata*, an unusual legal measure, probably intended, as Tiberius put it, to adhere to the way

[95] *Ann.* 3.58–59; 3.71. [96] *Ann.* 4.16.

Augustus modified outmoded customs for present use, but which left notably little role for the senate.[97]

It is especially important to emphasize that in the complex relationship of the emperor and the senate the assembly was far from a simple voting machine of endless and excessive imperial honors. When religious honors were proposed for members of the imperial family, the proposals of senators could be accepted or refused by the emperor. Debate continued to be a matter of some importance at senate meetings in imperial times, despite the often heavy-handed and unpredictably *deus ex machina* input of emperors.[98] The imperial decision was not always predictable, not even in terms of its trends. For example, when Octavius Fronto in a senate meeting of 16 CE suggested sumptuary restrictions on the senatorial use of silver dishes, expensive furniture, and excessive numbers of slaves, the senator, C. Asinius Gallus, who refuted those measures (that is, took up the less moralistic position) was the one backed by the emperor.[99] My point here is not to question the truism that the emperor could do whatever he wanted but rather to identify, in the body of the senate, an alternative authority, which could allow a senator to initiate negotiations, if there were to be any, with imperial power.

This corporate authority of the senate had a clear religious component to it, which ultimately lay with the whole senate rather than with its various religious subgroups, the senatorial priesthoods. Events of 24 CE provide a good example of this religious authority: the *pontifices*, arguably the most important group of senatorial priests, included – unusually – Nero and Drusus in their year-opening vows undertaken for the emperor's *incolumitas*.[100] Tiberius found the honors to his potential heirs out of place and, rather reasonably, summoned the *pontifices* to himself. Yet, after this first meeting, the emperor took up the issue again, now with the whole senate, even though it was only the priests who had made the improper vows. To Tacitus this seemed an odd combination of stern warning to the senate and absent punishment to the priests, and he wryly explained it by noting that most *pontifices* were either imperial relatives or high-ranking senators.[101] But even if there was an economy of punishment in early imperial Rome in which the less powerful were more prone to be reprimanded, the emperor did not need to make a speech to the whole senate after meeting

[97] Talbert 1984: 435.
[98] Burgers 1999: 572 for the rule of Tiberius, with detailed discussion of the evidence.
[99] *Ann.* 2.31.
[100] *Ann.* 4.17: *adulatione, quae moribus corruptis perinde anceps, si nulla et ubi nimia est.*
[101] *Ann.* 4.17: *etenim pars magna e propinquis ipsius aut primores civitatis errant: ceterum in senatu oratione monuit in posterum …*

separately with the priests. The goal of the emperor's speech was not to punish, but to enact an issue of symbolic value: it remanded the issue of the worship of his potential heirs to the only religious authority in Rome alternative to himself, one associated with the whole body of the senate. It was to this corporate type of religious authority of the whole senate that the emperor addressed his comment. And it was this same corporate authority on which the various priesthoods and even individual senators would rely. In this context it is relevant that the election of priests into the different priesthoods, although from a select list put forward by fellow priests and with the heavy influence, actual and symbolic, of the emperor, took place in the senate.[102] In other words, priestly authority, which we are probably more willing to see in religious terms, was part of this larger corporate identity of the senate, which, I argue, had a significant religious element to it.

In another Tacitean account the religious authority of the senate was also marked as superior to the increasingly technical religious responsibilities associated with the individual priestly colleges. Here L. Caninius Gallus, a senior senator and member of the *quindecemviri sacris faciundis*, the priestly college *par excellence* responsible for the Sibylline Books, intended to introduce a new oracular book into the collection, and a proposal to this effect was put forward in the senate by the tribune of the people, Sex. Nonius Quinctilianus.[103] The senate had already agreed when a letter arrived from the emperor, heavily criticizing Caninius for the fact that, despite his long-standing expertise on religious knowledge and ceremony, he had pushed the issue in a sparsely attended senate instead of following the regular procedure of having the book read and judged by the *magistri* of his priestly college. There are a number of potential authorities in play here: (1) the tribune's right to propose a law, which is superseded by the *antiquus mos*, a card of the emperor, on how to go about introducing new Sibylline Books; (2) the expertise of Caninius, a priest, in religious knowledge and ceremony, which should have made him follow the path later suggested by the emperor; and, finally, (3) the emperor's view, namely the custom of having the *magistri* of the *quindecemviri* prejudge the new book before putting the business in front of the senate. Tacitus confirms that such prejudgment was indeed the custom already in the late republic, when the priests had to re-collect and choose the genuine oracles after the burning of the Capitol in 83 BCE. While there can be no doubt that the priesthood had a prior, if somewhat technical, religious claim here, at least when the Sibylline

[102] Schumacher 1978: 664. Tac. *Ann.* 3.19.1; cf. Plin. *Ep.* 2.1.8; 4.8.3. [103] Tac. *Ann.* 6.12.

Books were at issue, we find the emperor and the senate at the two poles of religious negotiation. If there had been no potential for acceptance, Caninius is unlikely to have attempted to get the new book into the Sibylline collection by a *senatus consultum*; and if it were not for this distinct religious authority of the senate, the emperor could have saved himself the effort of having to explain how exactly Quinctilianus and Caninius were wrong.

I suggest that it is ultimately in this corporate capacity of religious resistance that we can identify (at least one of) the mainstays of a strong senatorial *ordo* identity throughout this period. This is not to dismiss the important administrative duties that the senate continued to perform and that certainly added to its power in both practical and symbolic terms. But while senatorial power was very real, it worked, on balance, in cooperation with imperial power, as challenging that power would have meant deposing the current ruler. But when it came to religious matters, the senate had a few cards of its own to play, most importantly the ongoing practice of posthumous religious judgment of emperors. Jacques Le Goff interpreted the procedure of *damnatio memoriae* as the senate's weapon against the tyranny of the imperial confiscation of collective memory.[104] I think political realities made the custom more complex and imposed some important limitations on the capacity of senatorial control over collective memory. Yet, it is remarkable that the reciprocal measure, the condemnation of the memory of senators, was used by emperors only to put down individual senators, primarily for political offenses, turning the imperial action into just one more example of political control. On the other hand, the logic of the senatorial decision about making a dead emperor either *divus* or *hostis* suggests the senate taking the position of the gods in judging the emperor.[105] This is a corporate position; its equivalent in the *Apocolocyntosis* of Seneca is the divine assembly of the gods, which chooses not to divinize the recently deceased emperor Claudius. We probably cannot trust the wording of such negative declarations as given by the *Historia Augusta* upon the death of Commodus, where the emperor is pronounced *hostis deorum, hostis senatus*,[106] but by virtue of its position to declare emperors divine or not, the senate was, indeed, the measure of divine judgment.

The corporate religious authority of the senate is depicted in highly visual terms on the occasions of imperial divinization and funerals, as in the detailed description by the contemporary Dio Cassius of the "funeral" of

[104] Le Goff 1992: 67–68, 98–99, with reference to Veyne 1976: 68–8l. Note now also Hedrick 2000: ch. 4 for an analysis of a *damnatio memoriae* in late antiquity.
[105] Vittinghoff 1936: 84. [106] SHA *Comm.* 18.4, the phrase is not attested outside the *Historia Augusta*.

the emperor Pertinax in 193 CE (in fact, ceremonies dedicated to his wax effigy by the new emperor, Septimius Severus).[107] The senators as a group, with their wives, approached the bier first, along with the new emperor, and they seated themselves in the special wooden stands built for them from which to view the ritual. Of course, senators had special seating in both distinctly religious as well as general events, but unlike at circus games, at this imperial funeral they are also distinguished, at least on Dio's depiction, from all other "spectators" present, by actually participating, dressed in the distinguished garb of mourners, in the ritual proceedings. Although all members might not have been in actual attendance at any given event, at practically all state rituals corporate appearances of the whole senate must have been the rule. The special dress worn by all senators present for this event marks not only the religious character of the proceedings but also the corporate role of the senate in them, adding up to a visual representation of the religious authority of the group, some two centuries into the period of the empire.

To summarize, although the religious activities of the imperial senate – decrees on sacrifices, vows, and temple buildings – may seem sheer formalities to us, they never stopped throughout our period. Such senatorial decrees not only continued but also kept changing, and their language, as attested in epigraphic evidence, continued to vary even under the same emperor, suggesting that this religious element was very much a working component of the senate's "cultural" identity throughout this period. In other words, it was the ongoing strong identity of the senate that provided the key reason why the actual deeds for individual dedications and honors offered in Rome to members of the imperial family were carefully explained on inscriptions and did not simply repeat the same language, such as would suggest the direct copying of eternally perpetuated imperial propaganda.[108] Such variety proves that however formal the process may have been, the offerings by the senate went through institutional pathways that necessitated explanations. Along with the potentially more contested decisions on the divinization of individual emperors or the condemnation of their memory, all senatorial decrees attest to an enduring corporate sense of religious authority associated

[107] Dio 75.4.3–5.4.

[108] Compare in the case of Hadrian, *CIL* VI 40515 offered to him as: *maxim[o et] | [sa]nctissimo p[rincipi]*; *CIL* VI 40524 offered: *[quod summo pugnandi a]rdore misso | [exercitu suo superatis imperat]oribus max[imis] | [Syriam Palaestinam ab ho]ste liberaverit*; and *CIL* VI 967, offered to the *princeps: qui primus omnium principum et | solus remittendo sestertium novies | milies centena milia n(ummum) debitum fiscis | non praesentes tantum cives suos sed | et posteros eorum praestitit hac | liberalitate securos*.

with the senate, which allowed the assembly to maintain its cultural identity through a religious stance in the face of imperial rule.

In historical terms, this corporate religious authority can be seen to have replaced the individualized religious competition among senators that is so evident in the late republic. Although it was individuals from within the senate who proposed the various religious honors to the ruler, the emperor's response of acceptance or refusal appears to have depended on what he saw as the whole senate's general perception, whether positive or negative. This was the case even with "bad" emperors such as Nero, who refused a temple offered to him after the Pisonian conspiracy because of the potential for negative associations.[109] In turn, the institutional aspect of this power could also function as a shield that helped to maintain the religious authority of the senate at a time when individual members were restricted in their exercise of power, religious or otherwise. The senate was a community that offered a sense of corporate religious authority to its members, which allowed them to participate, as part of their communal role, in the traditions of commonly accepted religious rituals.[110] How the smaller religious groups of senators, such as priestly colleges or even more *ad hoc* gatherings, may have contributed to the religious identity gained in the corporate context is the problem to which I shall now turn.

[109] Tac. *Ann.* 15.74.

[110] On the particularly communal aspects of Roman religion, see Scheid 1998b: 20–21; on the Stoic attitude, Logeay 2003: 42–45, with Seneca, *Ep.* 117.6.

CHAPTER 2

Religious groups among senators

In Chapter 1 I discussed the religious authority that the whole Roman imperial senate, as a body, claimed for itself in the face of the almost unlimited political and military control of the emperor, and how this religious authority contributed to the cultural identity of the imperial senate. We saw this religious claim expressed primarily at senate meetings, in what appear to be highly charged and potentially precarious situations, in which the senate benefited from appearing as a unified group: it was only their corporate power that could stand up to that of the emperor. As I showed, this communal religious power was a key element in the power of the imperial senate as a body. Yet it is also true that the situations in which we can observe how power – and establishing what was to be seen as normal – was negotiated within the whole senate can offer us only limited insights into what motivated senatorial decisions about any debatable matter. Did senators discuss religious matters in smaller senatorial circles, *amongst themselves*? Did senators form any distinct subgroups, in which they laid claim to their unique authority with regard to the divine? Can we find any level, other than the whole senate, in which they understood themselves to have special access to the divine? In studies of Judaism and early Christianity for the same period, such issues of "group formation" or "community formation" have been the subject of intense study.[1] Even *collegia*, voluntary associations usually encompassing Romans of lower status, have been analyzed from the perspective of how these smaller social bodies articulated the religious claims – and even, possibly, religious desires – of their members. Elite groups of senators are rarely analyzed in these terms, a situation that this chapter seeks to remedy.

Exclusively senatorial priesthoods, which remained a visible presence in Rome continuously throughout this period, offer one setting for the analysis

[1] For an introduction to Jewish and Christian "community formation," see the articles in Longenecker 2002.

of such senatorial groups with potential religious claims. In this chapter I first examine in what respects senatorial priesthoods can indeed be (as they often are) compared to non-priestly magistracies, considering the extent to which both priesthoods and such magistracies were, *de facto*, much sought-after imperial appointments granted to individuals from an exclusive group. I ask what difference, if any, the religious distinction of the priesthoods made in contrast to the more practical import of other offices. To better understand these priesthoods, I turn, in the second section of this chapter, to a discussion of the individualistic and the communal emphases within various priesthoods, noting the way that these features shaped the capacity of senatorial priesthoods to claim social and religious power. I move on, in the final section, to the consideration of less formal, yet also communal events, which can offer further insight into the religious content of discussions among senators outside the formal setting of the meetings of the whole senate. The *ad hoc* gatherings of friends around the sickbed of fellow members of the elite will grant a uniquely rich opportunity to study such discussions among senators, particularly because the potentially transcendental needs were highlighted by the urgency of the situation. Such *ad hoc* gatherings, by definition, carried less charge than senate meetings and less formal content than priestly gatherings, and thus offered an opportunity for senators to connect with each other in a setting that was laden with religious meaning. Moving beyond the high-power political framework of senate meetings, the richness of senatorial religion as an expression of elite claims to a unique religious identity emerges more fully here.

SENATORIAL PRIESTHOODS

In an often quoted (although probably fictional) example of senatorial eagerness to attain membership in priesthoods, Seneca the Younger mocked the ever-growing expectations of senators: "He gave me twelve fasces [i.e. made me consul], but did not make me *ordinary* consul; he wanted me to be ordinary consul, but failed me with regard to a *priesthood*; I have been co-opted into a priestly college, but why *only into one*?"[2] It may seem a valid interpretation to present imperial priesthoods in a derisive light, as especially infamous instances of highly ambitious competition among senators for appointments, a competition that runs parallel to the pursuit

[2] *De ira* 3.31.2: *Dedit duodecim fasces, sed non fecit ordinarium consulem; a me numerari voluit annum, sed deest mihi ad sacerdotium; cooptatus in collegium sum, sed cur in unum?* Cf. *Tranq*. 10.3; *Ben*. 1.5.1; fr. 96 (Voterro).

of secular magistracies. According to such an account, the effort to become a priest is primarily a careerist, individualistic move, in which the priesthood itself has little distinctly religious meaning. A comment by Pliny seems to confirm this view: seeking a public priestly post, either among the augurs or among the *septemviri epulones*, he appears to suggest to Trajan that it matters less to him which major priesthood he receives than that he receive one at all.[3] Though it is true that senators like Pliny were famously eager to join priestly colleges and could pursue these appointments with seemingly little regard for their religious content, it does not necessarily follow that priesthoods were devoid of religious significance or meaning. But whether there were any tangible political rewards that priesthoods conferred upon a senator's career and whether there was any religious significance to the priesthoods in terms of transcendental reference are more complicated questions.

The context of Seneca's jibe is a discussion about anger arising from discontent, in which he criticizes the attitude of a fictional senator who is always dissatisfied because he keeps wishing for the next higher spot on the hierarchical ladder of a senatorial career. This senator is "guilty" of endless greed and associated anger; thus we have the consecutive listing, without distinction, of secular and priestly positions in an excessive competition for honor. Of course, what ultimately makes priesthoods comparable to secular offices is the unnamed subject of Seneca's statement, the emperor, whose favor governed entrance into magistracies as well as to priestly colleges. A comment from Pliny the Younger, written a few decades later, confirms the problem: he expresses gratitude to the ruler for his admission to the college of augurs, "first of all because it is a fine thing to follow the view of the venerable *princeps* even in smaller matters."[4] It is *iudicium principis*, – ultimately, the emperor's judgment – whether a senator is admitted into a priesthood.[5] Throughout the nomination process, the influence of the emperor, both symbolic and actual, was of prime importance: no one could be selected against the emperor's wishes.

Nevertheless, the process involved numerous steps and different arenas that offered some potential for senatorial input. First, it was the members of the individual priestly colleges that nominated possible candidates annually for their own college – although, of course, the emperor and members of his

[3] Plin. *Ep*. 10.14 with Rüpke 2005b: 283–284.

[4] Plin. *Ep*. 4.8.1: *quod gravissimi principis iudicium in minoribus etiam rebus consequi pulchrum est*.

[5] The phrase occurs both in Plin. *Ep*. 4.8.1: *gravissimi principis iudicium*, and Plin. *Ep*. 10.14.1: *tam boni principis iudicio exornari*.

family were members of most priesthoods.[6] An election then followed from amongst the nominated candidates. Quite remarkably, this election was assigned to the senate from at least 20 CE – even if the emperor's potential for input in any such election was known.[7] The process concluded with the ritual induction of the new member into the priesthood, an event of symbolic import. Although impossible to gauge precisely, these various steps – first within the priestly college, then in the larger setting of the senate – might have offered room for the kind of negotiation with the emperor that I have discussed above.

Insofar as the priesthoods were actively sought by senators, we may wonder if they served explicitly political goals and thus functioned as a complementary track to a political career. The particular sequence of offices and priesthoods named by Seneca suggests an expectation in which entry into one (or two) priestly colleges is the crowning jewel of a full senatorial *cursus*, following *after* the position of suffect consul or maybe even that of ordinary consul. If so, these appointments could not have been very useful in the promotion of senatorial careers, given that such a senator was already of relatively high status. In factual terms, however, Seneca's arrangement is mistaken. Our evidence shows that entrance even into the most desirable major priestly colleges, such as the *pontifices* or the augurs, more probably preceded the consulship. As far as it can be assessed, individuals were on average appointed to priesthoods after already attaining praetorian rank.[8]

The most difficult part of any argument that seeks to establish a causal relationship between attaining membership in a senatorial priesthood and success in a non-priestly career is the fact that the nature of senatorial careers changed over time and the most prestigious priesthoods were often gained relatively late in a career. Longitudinal studies of these careers are challenged by both the vagaries of chance and the fact that the successful careers of many later *pontifices* may not have been so different from those of other successful senators who never reached the priesthood. These problems have recently been demonstrated by John Scheid, who showed that membership among the *arvales* – once deemed as indicating a stalled senatorial career – could be an early element in a career with further, more prestigious (if

[6] Schumacher 1978: 664. Plin. *Ep*. 2.1.8; 4.8.3. [7] Tac. *Ann*. 3.19.1; Schumacher 1978: 664.

[8] As Scheid calculated (1990a: 281–282, Table 2), about 80 percent of known *pontifices* were appointed at this rank (where we can estimate the time of appointment in 56 percent of the cases), while among the *augures* praetorian appointments constituted 75 percent of the whole (knowing the time of 62.5 percent of the appointments), among the *quindecemviri* 72 percent (based on the 62 percent of appointments that we can estimate), and finally among the *septemviri* 82 percent (based on 48 percent of all known priests in this college).

non-priestly), magistracies.[9] Yet, in some cases, an early appointment to this priestly college could in fact be the mark of a stalled career, suggesting that trying to establish causal relationships between priesthoods and magistracies in senatorial careers may not be the most fruitful goal of study.

There are a few rare instances where we can observe what might be evidence for senators reacting to this kind of uncertainty, namely by seeking lesser priesthoods first, but moving onto more prestigious ones later in a successful career course. Such a pattern of progressive promotion from a lesser to a major priesthood appears amongst the members of a "minor" priestly college, the *fetiales*. For example, there was a L. Catilius Severus Iulianus Claudius Reginus (cos. I suff. 110, cos. II ord. 120), who after having been a *fetialis* reached the priesthood of the *septemviri epulonum*.[10] Only two of the known *fetiales* seem not to have attained consular rank, which confirms Scheid's view that appointment even to minor priesthoods is not necessarily a marker of a stalled career.

Unique evidence preserved in the *fasti* of the *salii Palatini* in the late second century suggests that in a number of instances members of the college left for other magistracies and priesthoods. In an inscription surviving from the late Antonine period we find a *salius Palatinus* leaving the college to become consul. The same inscription lists a total of six cases when a *salius Palatinus* left to become *flamen*; that is, to enter the non-collegial priesthoods of divinized emperors.[11] Some *salii* left to enter one of the major priestly colleges. From the first group, L. Cossonius Eggius Marullus (cos. ord. 184) later became *pontifex*, and two other former *salii* probably went directly on to the college of the augurs: L. Annius Ravus (cos.suff. 186) is listed "*exauguratus*" in 170; and M. Nummius Umbrius Primus Senecio Albinus (cos.ord. 206) left the *salii* for the same reason, that is, most likely to become an augur.[12] Although similar direct transfers to priestly colleges are not attested, we can stipulate a similar situation in the cases of nineteen senators who left the *salii Collini* and advanced, immediately or after some delay, to another, usually major priesthood.[13] Yet what is most striking about listings that do survive for the *salii Palatini* is that their *fasti* record *in*

[9] Schumacher 1973: 111; Eck 1970: 32–37; Scheid 1990a.

[10] For further *fetiales* who could have, possibly, reached other priesthoods later in their career see Appendix E, nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 12, 13, 14, 24 below. Note that there is only one example for this after the Antonine period.

[11] For *salii* who are replaced, because they become *flamines*, see Appendix F1.

[12] L. Annius Ravus, *CIL* VI 1978: *loco | L(uci) Anni Ravi exaugurati*; he is known to have been pontifex; M. Nummius Umbrius Primus Senecio Albinus, *CIL* VI 1982 = 1983: *in locum M(arci) Nu]mmi Senecionis pon[tificis]*.

[13] For *salii Collini* who became members in another priestly college or consulate, see Appendix F2.

exactly the same way the exit of a priest from the college to take up another priesthood as they do his exit to become an ordinary consul. Thus, there is no difference, at least in terms of how the change is recorded, between a senator's leaving of the priesthood for another priesthood and for, say, the consulship – a situation that is attested for L. Hedius Rufus Lollianus Avitus (cos. after 177), T. Hoenius Severus (cos.ord. 170), and possibly also for M. Petronius Sura Septimianus (cos.ord. 190). And even though the priestly record distinguishes little between the two different destinations after leaving a priesthood – the religious and the political – the recording itself emphasizes the *religious* interest in the fact that the obligations to be fulfilled, in the priesthood and the magistracy, were incompatible.

When *cursus* inscriptions from the senators who changed priestly colleges survive, usually all priesthoods are listed at once without any indication of their temporal relation. For example, in the case of M. Metilius Aquillius Regulus Nepos Volusius Torquatus Fronto (cos.ord. 157), his memberships among the augurs and the *salii Collini* (as well as among the *sodales Flaviales*) are listed side by side, on the top of the inscription immediately following his consulate and before his praetorship, which is an impossibility in terms of the *cursus*,[14] and which implies that these memberships were treated as distinct from the regular, non-religious offices. Such an inclusive practice could even incorporate a former, equestrian priesthood for the newly adlected: the Bithynian Ti. Claudius Claudianus listed his membership among the *septemviri epulones* and the *laurentes lavinates*, an equestrian priesthood he must have held before his *adlectio*, together at the end of both of his surviving *cursus* inscriptions from Numidia.[15] Although a number of *cursus* inscriptions list priesthoods in chronological order within the list of secular magistracies, that practice never became exclusive, suggesting at least some basis for the notion that priesthoods were not simply part of one's secular career.

Given the difficulty of proving any direct causal relationship between attaining priesthoods and appointment to magistracies, the question of why membership in major or minor priesthoods was pursued so constantly throughout our period remains open. Part of the answer must be that priesthoods remained one of the exclusive privileges of senatorial status. Following Caesar's legislation in the *lex Iulia de sacerdotiis*, each of the

[14] *CIL* XIV 2501 = *ILS* 1075: *co(n)s(uli) ex Ka[l(endis)] Ian(uariis) augur[i salio] | collino so[da]li Flaviali [praet(ori)] | quaestori [tri]umviro m[onetali] | a(ere) a(rgento) a(uro) f(lando) f(eriundo) p[raef(ecto) feriar]um La[tinarum.*

[15] *CIL* VIII 5349 (p. 1658) and *CIL* VIII 7978 = *ILS* 1147: *sacerdoti septemviro epulonum sacerdoti Laurent-(ium) Lavinat(ium).*

major colleges – the *collegium pontificum*, the augurs, the *quindecemviri sacris faciundis*, and the *septemviri epulonum* – had a fixed number of exclusively senatorial members, the first three with sixteen members each, while the number of the *septemviri epulonum*, despite the name, was ten.[16] In Augustus' reconfiguration of traditional Roman religion, certain other priesthoods were also restricted to senatorial members, including the colleges of the *arvales*, the *salii*, and the *fetiales*. From this perspective, the participation of the emperors (automatic in each of the major colleges) as well as his family members, who could be added *supra numerum*, emphasized the privilege of membership. The only exception to the sense of exclusive privilege accorded by membership in a priestly college comes from the relatively little known *ordo sacerdotum domus Augustae Palatinae*, a priesthood apparently associated with the imperial cult in Rome, that is mentioned only in a single inscription listing its members. Based on this list, it appears that this order of priests included both senators and those of lower status: senators served as *patroni* along with equestrians and even freedmen.[17] But this priesthood was certainly the exception to the rule.

Little historical change appears in the practices and distribution of the traditional priesthoods after Augustus, which remained an exclusive senatorial privilege. The only known change in the social distinction between equestrian and senatorial priesthoods came about in the early Severan period, when the college of the *luperci*, traditionally equestrian since Augustus, and indeed somewhat ridiculed owing to the particularities of its ritual, started to admit senatorial members.[18] The three known senators who became *luperci* all appear to have been of consular rank and were of the higher echelons of the *ordo*, including a patrician and two members of other major priesthoods.[19] In the only case where a chronological sequence to the priesthoods can be established, M. Fabius Magnus Valerianus appears to have first entered the college of the *quindecemviri sacris faciundis* immediately following his tribunate, and the college of the *luperci* only later, close to the height of his career, as a praetorian.[20] The "upgrade" of the *luperci*, though relatively late in our period, is likely to reflect the importance associated with continued participation in traditional priesthoods.

[16] Dio 42.51.4; 43.51.9. [17] *CIL* VI 2010.

[18] Latte 1960: 85 n. 1; Schumacher 1973: 249, listing two senatorian *luperci* from our period.

[19] For a list of the *luperci* see Appendix G.

[20] *CIL* XI 2106 = *ILS* 1138: *M(arco) Fabio M(arci) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Magno | Valeriano Xvir(o) stlitib(us) | iud(icandis) trib(uno) laticl(avius) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) | P(iae) F(idelis) XVvir(o) s(acris) f(aciundis) q(uaestori) cand(idato) VIvir(o) | turma V tr(ibuno) pl(ebis) pr(aetori) Luperco | cur(atori) r(ei) p(ublicae) Velitrensium | cur(atori) viae Latinae iur(idico) | reg(ionis) Tusciae et Piceni leg(ato) | Augg(ustorum) leg(ionis) I Italicae …*

Rereading Seneca's comment about overly eager senators, especially his placement of priesthoods at the top of their list of expectations, above secular magistracies, we may now wonder if his words reflect a further appeal of priesthoods, extending beyond the limited career benefits accrued by the actual practice of reaching major priesthoods relatively late in one's career. A further indication of the significance of appointment to a priesthood comes from a comment of Pliny the Younger. He observes that the other impressive element about becoming an augur – besides the imperial honor – is that a "priesthood is old and holy and has, as well, a sacredness that is clearly visible, as it is not taken away except by death."[21] Practically speaking, Pliny's claim that appointments to priesthoods cannot be taken away is not completely true – in another of his letters he describes the legal case of a senator who had lost his membership in a priestly college as a result of his condemnation by the emperor.[22] However, the claim to a *lifelong* appointment once again strengthens the sense of a dignity associated with priesthoods among the senatorial elite, which was distinct from the *term* appointments of non-priestly offices, however prestigious.

If a causal connection between priesthoods and non-priestly offices is difficult to establish, it may be that we need to turn the question around to ask what factors, besides imperial favor, influenced a senator's potential for promotion to one of the priesthoods. Was there some different, additional feature that might suggest the existence of an alternative achievement track, which distinguished priesthoods from magistracies? In previous scholarly studies of the priestly colleges, patrician status has emerged as a potentially unique factor in priestly success: the percentage of patricians in individual priestly colleges corresponds to the relative status of these colleges in imperial Rome.[23] Unfortunately most of the data can only be analyzed cumulatively, which excludes the possibility of a chronologically sensitive, historical interpretation – a state of evidence that is especially disappointing with regard to the patrician appointments. From the time of Vespasian,

[21] *Ep*. 4.8.1: *quod sacerdotium ipsum cum priscum et religiosum tum hoc quoque sacrum plane et insigne est, quod non adimitur viventi*.

[22] Plin. *Ep*. 2.11.12.

[23] As John Scheid has shown for the period of 69–235, it was only among the *pontifices* of the major colleges that patrician co-optations slightly outnumbered non-patrician ones by 37 to 36 (or 51 percent), while among the augurs the same ratio was 13 to 17 (my own numbers for the same period are different here 15 to 17, or 47 percent), among the *quindecemviri* 13 (or 12 in my count) to 50, or 19 percent, and among the *septemviri* 6 (or 8 in my list) to 36, or 18 percent: Scheid 1990a: 277, Table 1. Cf. the essentially similar numbers available in Schumacher 1978: 784, Table 4. Scheid also compared the college of the *fratres arvales*, which had, clearly on the lower end of the social scale, only a maximum number of 3 patricians to show for about 72 plebeian members, or 4 percent.

emperors could confer patrician status as hereditary, and yet it seems that there was ongoing, large-scale change among the patrician families throughout this period.[24] In trying to calculate the percentage of patrician *pontifices* in the years of 101–2, for which the list of the priestly assistants, the *calatores*, gives us a relatively complete picture of the pontifical college, the relative presence of the patricians appears to approach 50 percent, on the high end of all major priestly colleges.[25] Yet, it is difficult to trust the ultimately rather speculative reconstruction of the *pontifices* from the names of their *calatores*. In the only other possibly synchronic crosscut, using the *acta* of the secular games of 204, the ratio of patrician *quindecemviri* to non-patricians is two to seven (with thirteen unknowns).[26] Whether this difference can be taken as indicative of the decline of patrician status among priests by the early third century is highly questionable, and ultimately our data cannot be pushed to offer a definitive answer to this question.

The ratio of consulars, a less frequently discussed factor, does suggest stronger correspondence between the social markers of rank among priesthoods and magistracies respectively. Although the question of priority is vexed, as some senators may have become consuls after they became a member in one of the major priesthoods, it nonetheless remains striking that there is an extremely high ratio of consulars in all the major priesthoods throughout the period.[27] Of course, we do know the large majority of the consuls in this period from documentary evidence, and it is hypothetically possible that all unknown priests in the major priestly colleges were below consular rank.[28] If so, the number of consulars would be below 50 percent in the major priesthoods;[29] but realistically, we cannot get much closer than

[24] Saller 2000: 836–7. [25] Pistor 1965: 144; Rüpke 2005a: 1517–1528.

[26] P. Cornelius Salvius Tuscus and L. Pullaienus Gargilius Antiquus are patricians. Schumacher estimates that Ti. Manilius Fuscus, M. Nonius Arrius Mucianus, Ofilius Valerius Macedo, Ti. Pollenius Auspex, and Q. Venidius Rufus Marius Maximus L. Calvinianus were plebeians.

[27] In the period of 69–234, among the *pontifices*, whose *cursus* we have information about, the ratio of praetorians or even lower ranks to consulars is 7 to 80 (or 88, see no. 25, *c.* 8 percent, excluding 10 or 11 *pontifices* of unknown status), among the augurs 4 to 31 (*c.* 10 percent, excluding 1 augur of unknown status), among the *XViri s.f.* 11 to 60 (*c.* 15 percent, excluding 6 *XViri* of unknown status), and finally among the septemviri 6 to 37 (*c.* 13 percent, excluding 7 *VIIviri* of unknown status). Summarily, in all four major colleges, we have 207 consulars out of 235 priests of known status, which means that 88 percent of priests in the major colleges were consulars. If we include all unknowns, and presume that none of them were consular, with 260 total, the same ratio would be 80 percent.

[28] It is impossible to estimate the total number of consuls in this period. Marcus Aurelius raised the number of consuls from 8 to 10 per year, which, if strictly followed, and without iterations, would allow for *c.* 1400 consuls. However, if as in 190, some years could see up to 25 consuls, these calculations cannot be considered safe.

[29] Scheid 1990a: 291. Table 9 suggests 35 percent (my own calculations for the same period suggest a slightly higher 41 percent).

estimating that the figures must have fallen somewhere in between this hypothetical 41 percent and the 88 percent of consulars attested in our sources. It seems more reasonable to assume, however, that the numbers we do have do not completely misrepresent the situation, even if the high percentage of consulars represented in our surviving evidence may not match the actual percentage of consulars in the major colleges. Finally, another strong argument for a possibly high number of consulars among the priests comes *ex silentio*: we have very little information about the careers of many known consulars, suggesting that even some consulars known by name only might have also participated in a priestly college, this information having been lost to us.[30]

The most notable feature related to the possibly high percentage of consulars among priests is that, in addition to patrician status, we are looking at exactly the same factors that positively correlate with the retention of senatorial status across generations.[31] In other words, from a purely sociological perspective, senators of the *same* social background would have reached the highest posts, whether sacred or secular, and would have succeeded in transferring that rank to their descendants. While this suggests that the same social capital was essential to achieving both types of post, we should acknowledge the potentially circular nature of these achievements. Clearly, patrician and consular status helped senators to become priests, but conversely, attaining a priesthood is a significant marker of one's potential for success in his career. More widespread than reaching the patriciate and more lasting than a consular appointment, membership in a major priestly college marked high status and can be associated with good retention rates for a family within the senate. My point is not that membership in the priesthoods was a *better* marker of status retention than patrician and consular rank; rather, membership in a priestly college might have provided a senator with additional resources in preserving power across generations, in ways that we still need to understand.

The efforts among priests to secure similar appointments for their children, especially in the four major colleges, suggest an interest in the maintenance of power.[32] It is unclear to what extent senators could aim at familial continuity in the very same priesthood. The *arvales* appear to have

[30] We have no details for the careers of at least about a thousand known consulars and about two hundred proconsuls in the larger period of this study, who could have quite realistically expected to attain one of the major priesthoods during their career.

[31] Alföldy 1989.

[32] Compare Scheid 1978: 636 on Julio-Claudians with Scheid 1990a: 303–304, with Table 17, on the period from 70–235.

claimed greater continuity than other, traditional priesthoods: they had higher rates of priestly sons reaching their fathers' priesthood and their *acta* also preserve extensive evidence of the involvement of children in the May rituals of the Brethren. All of these *pueri* were selected from senatorial families and, as *patrimi et matrimi*, were ritually pure. The inclusion of children appears regularly in the *acta* from 87 onwards[33] and is attested as late as 241.[34] The only other surviving evidence for comparable involvement of children comes from the secular games, where children of the *quindecemviri sacris faciundis*, as well as the wives of senators, participated. While it is difficult to gauge the frequency of the participation of senatorial children in religious rituals, to the extent that participation did occur, it provided an important way of claiming continuity in senatorial religion. The exact motivation for the practice remains unexplained, but it probably connected the continuity of the priestly practices in a college to continuity within senatorial families.

We gain some insight into the distinction between priestly and magisterial appointments by looking at examples of senators who became members of more than one major priestly college (as distinct from reaching a minor and a major priesthood consecutively). We have only two possible examples of this phenomenon prior to Caracalla. Cn. Pinarius Cornelius Severus (cos.suff. 112) was both *augur* and *rex sacrorum*, although the appointment of *rex sacrorum* was probably a late development and might not have been seen in practice as conferring membership in a priestly *college*.[35] The other case, that of the *plebeian* P. Cluvius Maximus Paullinus (cos.suff. *c.* 143), is based on his funerary inscription, which depicts him as both *quindecemvir sacris faciundis* and *septemvir epulonum*.[36] There is a good likelihood that Paullinus held these priesthoods consecutively, possibly as a result of his rather meandering career, which included, after being a legate for Hadrian in 128, a dry spell until Antoninus Pius became emperor. Unfortunately, the chronology of the priesthoods is difficult to discern from the *cursus* inscription, which presents the

[33] For a list of senatorial children involved in ritual assistance of *arvales*, see Appendix H.

[34] See L. Alfenus Avitianus, cos.suff. 213, *arvalis*, whose sons are attested assisting the Brethren in 241.

[35] See *CIL* XIV 3604 (= *Inscr. It al.* 4.1.120) *Cn(aeo) Pinario Cn(aei) f(ilio)* | *Severo consuli auguri regi sa[cror(um) praet(ori) quaest(ori) cand(idato)]* | *Imp(eratoris) Caesaris Nervae Traiani Aug(usti) salio col[lino]* | *Cornelia Manli[ana* (Tibur); for the suggested chronology of these appointments see *RE* 1a.725 s.v. *rex sacrorum*.

[36] *AE* 1940, 99 = *AE* 1946, 168 (Labicum): *P(ublio) Cluvio Maximo* | *Paullino co(n)s(uli)* | *VIIvir(o) epulonum* ‖ *Pr[oc]onsuli sortito pro[v]in[c(iae) Asiae]* | *XV[v]ir(o) sacris faciundis leg(ato) Aug(usti) [p]r(o) [pr(aetore) provinc(iae)]* | *Mo[e]siae superioris* …; Cf. Schumacher 1973: 78, Alföldy *ad CIL* VI 41101.

consulship and the priesthood of *septemvir epulonum* on top, followed by the proconsular post, then the priesthood of the *quindecemvir sacris faciundis*.[37] Paullinus' double priesthood, and the format in which they were recorded, must remain puzzling. His case is remarkably different from the situation of the early third century, when a more direct link between multiple priestly appointments and imperial favor can be established.

Under Caracalla, the emperor's father-in-law, C. Fulvius Plautianus (cos. *bis* 203) was possibly both *pontifex* and *quindecemvir sacris faciundis*; further, C. Octavius Appius Suetrius Sabinus (cos.ord. 214, cos. II ord. 240), a friend of the emperor, was also certainly both *pontifex* and *augur*. While the pride taken by the holders of these priesthoods should be questioned – for example, in a dedication to the emperor, Octavius summarized his *cursus* simply as "consul, pontifex, augur," marking both priesthoods along with the consulate as his highest achievements – we may also note that the immediately preceding lines identify him as "most devoted to the emperor's majesty."[38] In both of these cases from Caracalla's reign the primary source of the senators' success appears to be their imperial connections, which led to their relatively unusual double priesthoods. With only two earlier examples and only two under Caracalla, it is likely that a special economy of appointments remained at work, distinguishing singular senatorial appointments in major priesthoods from the accumulation of appointments among members of the imperial household. Thus, while the emperor's power in terms of *magisterial* appointments was almost unlimited, there was an apparent check on priestly promotions, which in turn suggests a subtle limitation on the transference of imperial power into the priestly realm of religion.

[37] Chart of Paullinus' posts under Antoninus Pius:

Posts in order of *cursus* inscription	Dates most probably held
Consul	143
VIIvir epulonum	unknown
Proconsul Asiae	158–159
XVvir sacris faciundis	unknown
Leg. Aug. pro praet. Moes. Sup.	149–152
Curator viae Flaminiae	141–142
Leg. Leg. XIV Gem.	138–141

[38] *CIL* III 10490 (Aquincum): *devot[issimus]* | *maiesta[t]i eius*.

An incident under Tiberius strengthens the notion that there was, early on, a subtle distinction between magisterial and priestly appointments. Lucius Apronius (cos.suff. 8) was a highly accomplished general who was awarded the *ornamenta triumphalia* twice. Because of his military successes against the Berber chief Tacfarinas in 20 and 21, Apronius secured for his son, the young L. Apronius Caesianus (the later cos.ord. 39), membership in the priestly college of the *septemviri epulonum* at the early age of about 22.[39] As a verse inscription dedicated to Venus Erycina on Mount Eryx in Sicily attests with the phrase "*septemvir puer*," the young man's age was unusual, and, according to some modern commentators, the priesthood was probably awarded because he was too young to be given a magistracy.[40] The success of the younger Apronius provides a good example of the emperor's extensive power to award priestly appointments. However, there were some limits to how far the emperor would go. Shortly thereafter Apronius senior set his hopes on another religious matter: at the end of the senate's approval of the great games to be given as *vota* for Julia's health in 22, Apronius suggested that, besides the *sodales Augustales* and the four "major" priestly colleges already assigned, the *fetiales* should also be allowed to participate in the games in their priestly function.[41] Although we do not have a full *cursus* inscription for Apronius senior, it is quite possible that he may have been a fetial priest (we know only two *fetiales* of the year, out of possibly as many as twenty), advocating his priestly college on the basis of his personal power and proximity to the emperor. But if he was not a fetial priest, his appeal offers an example of a senator who viewed himself as both qualified and entitled to make suggestions about the role of priests in a proposed religious celebration. In either case, Tiberius rejected Apronius' proposal, showing that whatever sense of personal influence the older Apronius may have had, there were limitations to his agency.

The case of the Apronii is especially remarkable for demonstrating that the emperor Tiberius was less hesitant to grant a priesthood to an

[39] *CIL* X 7257 = *CLE* 1525; according to some scholars, the son later may have been made patrician by Claudius (*Inscr. It al.* 4.1.52), cf. Eck, *NP* s.v. Apronius II.2.

[40] So Mommsen ad *CIL* X 7257 and von Rohden in *RE* s.v. Apronius 6. Cf. the same for the possibility that the *toga praetexta* dedicated on Mount Eryx was the one worn by the younger Apronius to the first meeting of the priestly college he attended; but, of course, the toga could also have been an additional award, as, for example, Val. Max. 3.1.1. attests for military successes achieved by young men.

[41] *Ann.* 3.64: *Sed tum supplicia dis ludique magni ab senatu decernuntur, quos pontifices et augures et quindecimviri septemviris simul et sodalibus Augustalibus ederent. Censuerat L. Apronius ut fetiales quoque iis ludis praesiderent. Contra dixit Caesar, distincto sacerdotiorum iure et repetitis exemplis: neque enim umquam fetialibus hoc maiestatis fuisse. ideo Augustalis adiectos quia proprium eius domus sacerdotium esset pro qua vota persolverentur.*

individual young senator of slightly inappropriate age than to extend the privileges of the fetial priesthood, even if only on the singular occasion of one religious festivity. Tiberius' actions suggest a subtle distinction in which singular appointments to priestly positions were perceived as a matter of politics but the sphere of the priesthoods was viewed as "traditional," and therefore resistant to modification on account of political circumstances. This difference can be best explained by a distinction between the *individual* character of priestly appointments and the *communal* character of the priesthoods themselves. In fact, if Apronius senior was a *fetial* priest, his recommendation offers a rare instance of an *individual* priest advocating that the status of his own priestly college be raised. As we shall see in the next section, religious claims were more often made communally, by groups of senators rather than by an individual senator like Apronius.

INDIVIDUAL AND COMMUNITY IN SENATORIAL PRIESTHOODS

The claim that there is a *communal* aspect to senatorial membership in priestly colleges goes against the grain of individualistic readings of Roman priesthoods. Although it is evident that the regular meetings of the priests had the potential to create opportunities for interaction and to enhance the social networks of their participants, attendance at such meetings can be easily seen as a way in which individual senators gained access to the emperor, rather than to fellow priests. But when evidence for the presence of emperors in the company of priests is examined, the assumption that priestly festivities offered access to the ruler appears dubious. While emperors undoubtedly participated in major festival celebrations when present in Rome, their role there was distinct from their membership in the individual priestly colleges. Further, the evidence suggests that the emperor – by definition a member in all four major priesthoods – often did not attend their non-public festivities, particularly after the Julio-Claudian period.[42] Of course, the absence of the emperor did not preclude the attendance of members of the imperial family; and in fact the emperor could be present indirectly through various means of communication. For example, when deciding upon new members, the *arvales* directly communicated with the emperor and made decisions with the help of the *tabella* or *litterae* of

[42] A factor of their increasingly frequent trips around the empire, Stepper 2003: 249–250.

the ruler, as their detailed epigraphic record shows.[43] An example of this communication, preserved in the *acta* of the arvals for 37 CE, states the name of the candidate and the priest to be replaced, and the first-person singular of Caligula, "I co-opt him to be our colleague."[44] Thus the emperor was involved in the decision; however, he was neither present at the ceremony nor, in all likelihood, did he participate in the ensuing ceremonial celebrations. While the emperor's symbolic primacy was not in doubt, access to the ruler was not a particular benefit to be gained from membership, even in one of those priesthoods that had the distinction of shared membership with the ruler.

Beyond the arvals, imperial influence on co-optations is attested in an inscription of the *sodales Antoniniani*, a priesthood of the imperial cult. It claims that the co-optation of L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus took place on the basis of a letter (*ex litteris*) from the emperor, Antoninus Pius, and with the agreement of all (*omnium consensu*).[45] First, this inscription shows the influence of the emperor in priesthoods other than the arvals through letters, rather than direct presence. The second portion of this statement, however vague, implies a communal sentiment behind the appointment, suggesting a consensus of sorts, at least in the co-optation of new members.

The trend of emperors' absence from exclusively priestly celebrations increased by the second century, which itself suggests that emperors grew less interested in attending to priestly matters in general, though their presence in public festivities maintained their ceremonial primacy. The practice of assigning administrative duties to select members of the priestly colleges, the *magistri*, at least from the middle of the second century, confirms a parallel development *within* the priesthoods. The practical business of the college was assigned to these individual members, while the collective presence of the college at events of symbolic importance was preserved. Quite strikingly, we also find a reference, in the 180s, to a

[43] *Tabella/e*: *CIL* VI 2023a = 32339a = *CFA* 2; *CIL* VI 2028 = 32344 = *CFA* 12; *CIL* VI 2031 = *CFA* 11; *CIL* VI 2056 = 32362 = CFA 44; "*ex litteris*": *CFA* 65, *CIL* VI 2078 = 32374 = *CFA* 68; *CIL* VI 2080 = 32375 = *CFA* 69; *CIL* VI 2100 = *CFA* 95a–b; *CIL* VI 2106 = *CFA* 103c–d = *CFA* 104; *CFA* 114;

[44] *CIL* VI 2031 = *CFA* 11: *Eodem die eodemque loc]o | [tabulae apertae sunt quibus scriptum fuit] | [C(aius) Caesar August]us Germanic[us fratribus arvalibus collegis] | suis [salutem] | [in locum M(arci) Fur]i Camilli M(arcum) Fu[rium(?) ---] | [nobis mea sententia fratrem Arv]alem collegam [coopto]*. Dating by Scheid 1990b: 479.

[45] *CIL* VI 2001: *[Imp(eratore) Antonino Pio] Felic[e] Aug(usto) [IIII] D(ecimo) Caelio [Balbino II co(n)s-(ulibus)] | [a(nno) p(ost) R(omam) c(onditam) DCCCCLXV] IIII Non(as) Mai(as) in aede divi [Pii et divae] | [Faustinae ex lit]teris Imp(eratoris) Antonini Pii Feli[cis Aug(usti) et] | [omnium consen]su f(actus) L(ucius) Egnatius Victor Loll[ianus]* (Rome).

promagister of the college of the *pontifices* indicating a *de facto* replacement of the authoritative role of the emperor in *the* most powerful priesthood.[46] Although the historical origins of reliance upon such a *promagister* are rather uncertain, with suggested dates ranging from the pontificate of the exiled Lepidus to Antoninus Pius, a reference in the *Historia Augusta* may strengthen the case for a Hadrianic date.[47] Whenever this innovation first occured, a provision for the emperor's absence demonstrates the diminished interest that emperors had in their own priestly roles.

Paradoxically, the need to rely on a *promagister* also confirms the continuity of the practical functions that the priestly colleges fulfilled, even as the emperor took an ever-diminishing role in those functions. The increasingly infrequent participation of the emperor indicates that he had more to gain, symbolically speaking, from attending events as ruler, a singular position of power, than by being the first in a group of priests. This shift between the collegial position of priests and the individual role of magistrates will be explored in more detail in the next chapter; for now, the focus is on the distinction between individual competition for priestly positions as a means of enhancing personal power, associated with the late republican period, and the increasing sense, from the early imperial period onwards, that priestly roles were more communal in their symbolism.

The increasing significance of communal symbolism for the priesthoods is further evidenced by the decreasing importance of some individual priesthoods, such as the flaminates, whose members were priests of a particular divinity, even though technically they had belonged to the larger college of the *pontifices*. During the empire the original three major *flamines* (the Dialis, the Martialis, and the Quirinalis) remained senatorial, but the ten minor flaminates came to be filled by equestrians. From the Julio-Claudian period onwards, there was a trend towards familial continuity in the individual flaminates. We have already encountered the Cornelii Lentuli Maluginenses, who filled the position of the *flamen Dialis* and tried to challenge its traditional limitations on office-holding during Tiberius' reign; one later Cornelius held the same priesthood in the early second century, Sex. Subrius Dexter L. Cornelius Priscus (cos.suff. 104).[48] In the case of the *flamines Martiales*, the Julio-Claudian trend was also towards familial

[46] From Rome: *CIL* VI 2120 = 32398a: *<d=F>ecretum fieri placet Iubentius Celsus promagister*. See Stepper 2003: 238–242.

[47] Scheid 1999: 6 n. 26 would have the early date, while Stepper 2003: 238–240 the later. Cf. SHA *Hadrian* 22.10: *pontificis maximi officium peregit*.

[48] Rüpke 2005a: 919 n. 5 suggests the possibility that the Priscus name may have referred to the familial tradition of holding the flaminate.

heredity: L. Cornelius Lentulus (cos.ord. 3 BCE) had a familial predecessor in the priesthood, and we have already seen how in the case of the two Iunii Silanii there was such continuity, even after the exile of Silanus *senior*. A similar familial claim may have led to the choice of A. Cornelius Palma Frontonianus (cos.ord. 99, 109) for *flamen* prior to his reaching praetorship. Among *flamines Quirinales* there is also a case of familial inheritance in the late first century: both Ser. Cornelius Dolabella Petronianus (cos.ord. 86), a pontifex, and his son, Ser. Cornelius Dolabella Metilianus Pompeius Marcellus (cos.suff. 113), filled the priesthood. But Marcellus marks a historical turn, even in this inherited position, for he reached the flaminate after his consulate, as his chronological *cursus* inscription, a public honor from Corfinium, attests.[49] Both Marcellus and the only other later *flamen Quirinalis* we know by name, L. Cossonius Eggius Marullus (cos.ord. 184), arrived at the flaminate after a prior position in the college of the *salii*. The same historical development stands for the *flamen Martialis* as well: in the late second century Iulius Asper probably became *flamen Martialis* after a first post as *salius Palatinus*. A similar trend cannot be shown for the *flamen Dialis*, as the chronology of the career of the only attested later *flamen* of Jupiter, (Hedius Lollianus) Terentius Gentianus (cos.ord. 211), remains unknown; but we do know that his sister, Terentia Flavula, was a *virgo Vestalis maxima*, which suggests a generally high-ranking family, and the possibility of a late appointment cannot be excluded.[50] All in all, we can distinguish a first-century trend towards familial continuity in the flaminates and a second-century development, in which the flaminate becomes a special appointment later in life, often after prior membership in a more communal priestly college.

These trends need to be seen against the historically parallel development of a whole new group of senatorial *flamines* dedicated to the worship of emperors in the city of Rome. We can trace these *flamines divorum* to Mark Antony as *flamen Iulialis*, a position that was already planned in Caesar's lifetime in 44 BCE.[51] After Mark Antony's death Sex. Appuleius, the nephew of Octavian, filled the position, as did, at a later time, another descendant of Augustus, D. Iunius Silanus Torquatus (cos.ord. 53), who was a *salius Palatinus* prior to his flaminate. Lastly, another possible *flamen Iulialis* is known from the late second century, who reached the flaminate, in a similar

[49] *CIL* IX 3154 = *ILS* 1049: Ser(vio) Cornelio / Ser(vi) f(ilio) […] Dolabellae Meti/liano Pompeio Mar/cello […] / salio Palat(ino) quaestori / divi Traiani Parthici / sevir(o) equit(um) Rom(anorum) turm(ae) / III pr(aetori) co(n)s(uli) flam(ini) Quir(inali) / Corfinienses publice / patrono.

[50] *CIL* VI 2144 = *ILS* 4927. [51] Cicero, *Phil.* 2.110.

fashion to other late *flamines*, after a prior turn amongst the *salii*. Further *flamines* were instituted in the first and second centuries, mostly to already divinized emperors, with the one exception of Commodus, for whom the *Historia Augusta* (possibly mistakenly) attests a *flamen* in his lifetime.[52] Although we know very little about the organization of the *flamines* of divinized emperors, one thing seems relatively certain: following the example of the traditional *flamines* and that of Mark Antony, these appear to be singular appointments, rather than colleges with a set number of positions. It is, then, all the more significant that when Tiberius arranged for the worship of the divinized Augustus in 15 CE, he chose to set up a college, a "brotherhood" (*sodalitas*), rather than relying on the already existing option of an individual flaminate. In his description of Tiberius' actions, Tacitus refers to the example of Titus Tatius creating the Titian brotherhood, the *sodales Titii*, in order to retain the rites of the Sabines – a possibly ironic reference to establishing a priesthood to honor one's own family.[53] At first, the rank of the new *sodales Augustales* was quite high; besides twenty-one senators, almost all living men of the imperial family – Tiberius, Drusus, Claudius, and Germanicus – were added through co-optation. The same *sodalitas* was later expanded to honor the Claudian branch of the imperial family as well, under the name of the *sodales Augustales Claudiales*, and further *sodalitates* of the imperial cult were to follow, organized by the imperial *gentes*: the *sodales Flaviales*, the *sodales Hadrianales*, the *sodales Antoniniani Veriani* or *Aureliani Antoniniani*, as well as, in an obscure reference, the *sodales Marciani Aureliani Commodiani Helviani Severiani*. According to the *Historia Augusta*, Severus Alexander was also granted a *sodalitas* upon his death, although no members are attested in the epigraphical or literary record.[54]

No direct ancient evidence explains why Tiberius – or possibly Augustus, if these were, indeed, his posthumous plans – chose to have a *double* system of imperial worship among senators. We can, however, tally some marked differences between the *flamines divorum* and the imperial *sodalitates*, despite their similar scope. We know that emperors preferred to select the *flamines* from the relatives of the imperial household, which is clearly the

[52] SHA *Commodus* 17.

[53] Tac. *Ann*. 1.54.1: *Idem annus novas caerimonias accepit addito sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio, ut quondam Titus Tatius retinendis Sabinorum sacris sodalis Titios instituerat*. Note that in the more popular version, it was Romulus who established the priesthood to honor Titus Tatius. Cf. even Tac. *Hist*. 2.95.3. On the other hand, the *sodales Titii* were popular again under Augustus, himself a member (Muth 1988: 303), and thus the idea of a *sodalitas* may have been already Augustus' plan for his own posthumous commemoration.

[54] SHA *Alex*. 63.4

case for the son of the emperor Pertinax, who became the *flamen* of his divinized father.[55] All *flamines* were of consular rank, and as with the three major flaminates, all *flamines* of the various *divi* were of patrician background, at least up to the Severan period.[56] The patrician status shared by members of the college could be the reason why the flaminates of *divi* served as a step up for former *salii*: and the unadorned word "*flamen*," which occurs five times in one year for *salii Palatini* (VI 1978, *fasti saliorum Palatinorum*, in 170) can most probably be identified with the *flamines* of the *divi* rather than with the three major flaminates of the city.[57] Thus, these flaminates of the divinized emperors were priesthoods into which a senator might well have aspired to ascend: if they are measured by the same standard as the major priestly colleges – namely by the percentage of patricians involved – they were clearly one of the highest-ranking priesthoods of the era. Although the *sodalitates* also had patrician members, this criterion was not exclusive.

An essential difference between the *flamines* of divinized emperors and the *sodalitates* associated with their worship is that the former (in addition to their higher rank) were individual positions in contrast to the latter's communal character. This categorical distinction is confirmed by the fact that only the two *flamines* attested from the Severan period were members of any priesthood in addition to the *salii*, which is rather different from members of the *sodalitates* of the imperial cult, who were often also priests of other colleges. The *sodalitates*, like most communal priesthoods, provided occasions for potential social networking in their meetings – an opportunity that tenure within one of the individual flaminates could not offer.

Although we know little about the particular duties of either the *flamines* or the *sodales* of the imperial cult, *fasti* of the *sodalitates* do survive and suggest a range of communal activities – meetings and dinners on the many occasions of imperial birthdays and other festivities – similar to those evident among the arvals. Most *sodalitates* probably met in the city of Rome: the *fasti* of the *sodales Antoniniani* implies that they met in the temple of the divine Pius and Faustina in the city.[58] The *sodales Augustales* also had some ritual duties in Bovillae, the site of the *sacra* of the *gens Iulia*,

[55] SHA *Marcus* 7: *ex affinibus*, cf. Jullian 1896: 1180 on how the obligations of the *flamen* were comparable to those of the *paterfamilias* to the Lares of the family.

[56] First shown by Dessau 1877: 223. This is the reason why Pliny's priesthood in the cult of Titus can be securely allocated to the provinces; and that of M. Postumius Festus (cos.suff. 160s), a *VIIvir epulonum*, as well.

[57] For all six *salii Palatini* who leave that college as *flamines*, see above. [58] *CIL* VI 2001.

where *fasti* of the college survive and supplement those found in Rome.[59] This latter college also had among its members *magistri*, three each year, with the possibility of iteration attested almost throughout our period, though their duties are not known. Both the *fasti* themselves and the regular appointment of *magistri* suggest a busy social schedule, though a calendar or the exact details for their sacrifice-cum-dinners do not survive.

The busy schedule of collective participation in religious and semi-religious events must have contributed to the popularity of imperial priestly colleges in an age when they provided, at best, only limited access to the emperor.[60] The full import of the priesthood came alive in the experience of collective attendance. If the comparandum of the arvals is to be trusted, a number of the priests were always present at shared celebrations, gathered together to follow the rituals that recalled the importance of the priesthood.[61] We can best understand the religious significance of the priestly group by returning, once more, to the occasion of the co-optation of new priests, which was celebrated with a large festivity put on by the new priests. Unlike the benefaction of magistrates, which aimed at the public in general (even if in a hierarchically organized fashion), the first benefaction of a new priest focused *exclusively* on the limited company of his co-priests.[62] The dinner offered by new priests to fellow members of their college, the *cena aditalis*, was famously luxurious and maintained its excessively luxurious character throughout our period, an indication that joining the community of fellow priests (even without the emperor) retained significance.[63]

These entrance dinners were just the first in a long series of exclusive communal occasions reserved for members of priestly groups, which almost always included eating together.[64] While it is difficult to generalize from the arvals for all priesthoods in Rome, the detailed documentation for the college – one of its innovative elements – may well cast light upon the meetings of other senatorial priesthoods, which were probably not so different from the arvals. For example, in the well-documented year of 38, the arvals met on over twenty occasions,[65] and some of the dinners took place in the private homes of individual members. Much has been made of the fact that sacrifice and eating together were closely associated in this context.[66] Clearly, sacrifices were just as much part of the dinners of priests when

[59] *Fasti* in Bovillae: *CIL* XIV 2388–2404; in Rome: *CIL* VI 1984–1988. *Fasti* of the *sodales Flaviales Titiales*: *CIL* VI 1989; what appears to be the joint *fasti* of the *sodales Hadrianales and Antoniniani*: *CIL* VI 1990; of uncertain *sodalitates*: *CIL* VI 1991–1994.

[60] See already Rüpke 2005b: 291–292 on the communal aspects of priesthoods.

[61] Scheid 1990b. [62] Rüpke 2005a: 1424. [63] Sen. *Ep*. 95.41; cf. Macrobius 3.13.

[64] Rüpke 2005a: 1426–1427. [65] Scheid 1990b: 435. [66] Scheid 1985: 1988.

they met in private houses as they were on public occasions for religious festivities. Thus, on the third day of the festivities for Dea Dia:[67] "in the house of P. Sallustius Blaesus, the arval brothers dined to consummate the sacrifice of Dea Dia, and during the dinner P. Sallustius Blaesus, L. Maecius Postumus, L. Pompeius Vopiscus C. Arruntius Catellius Celer, and L. Veratius Quadratus burnt an offering of incense and made a libation of wine with the help of boys of living parents …"[68] In the case of the arvals, these dinners are clearly at least semi-formal, all taking place on a regular schedule in the house of the *magister* of the college. Even if it was rare for all arvals to be in attendance, as John Scheid has shown, probably all the priests were invited, with their presence simply dependent on whether or not they were able to attend.[69]

The importance of formal and semi-formal social occasions at which priests gathered cannot be doubted, even if determining their frequency is a problem. A relatively high frequency of gatherings can be demonstrated only for the arvals, but other priesthoods may have met just as often. Still, John North has suggested that the ceremonies of the *arvales* may have been as unique as their unusually rich method of record-keeping, which developed gradually from simple to elaborate public descriptions of their rituals, in which case the arvals' evidence could not be used for generalizations.[70] Mary Beard takes this argument one step further, pointing out that there may be an imperial initiative behind the existing records. Since our extant evidence suggests that it is the priesthoods "closer" to the emperor, such as the *arvales* or the *sodalitates* of various *divi*, that seemed to partake primarily in the epigraphic display of their membership and rituals, imperial involvement may account for some unique characteristics.[71] Yet, the frequent mention of dinners in these written records does not necessarily suggest their *absence* from other priestly colleges, where similar records do not exist. In fact, our evidence most likely conforms to textual and iconographic conventions: while writing appears to emphasize dining, the visual arts tend

[67] We have fourteen examples in the *arval Acta: CFA* 48, 49, 53, 55, 58, 59, 64, 66, 67, 68, 79, 80 (= 99a), 107, 117.

[68] *CIL* VI 02067a = 32389a = *CFA* 58 (in 90): *domo apud mag(istrum) P(ublium) Sallustium Blaesum fratres arvales] ad consummandum sacrificium deae Diae cenarunt et inter cenam P(ublius) | [Sallustius Blaesus ---] L(ucius) Maecius Postumus L(ucius) Arruntius Catellius Celer L(ucius) Veratius Quadratus ture et vino fecerunt | [ministrantibus pueris patrimis et matrimis …*

[69] Scheid 2005b: 281–282 with a chart of attendance for the annual *vota* on January 3 and the May festivities of Dea Dia.

[70] North 1998: 55 with n. 43, and Scheid 1990b: 67–69.

[71] Beard 1998a: 98; These hypotheses are affirmed, to some extent, by her identification of the matching features between the arval rituals and the *saecular* games on the one hand, and the fragmentary attestations of the text of the *vota pro salute imperatoris* from Cyrenaica and Dacia, on the other.

to focus on the sacrificial aspect of college meetings, and thus in priestly colleges without detailed written records banquets need not be absent.[72] At a basic level, dining together must have been a regular feature of all priesthoods, since sacrifices were regularly followed by the consumption of the meat.

In an unusual exception to the main representational *topoi* of the age, a surviving visual depiction of the Vestals challenges some of the paradigmatic images associated with the priesthoods. The iconographically unparalleled relief depicts the women reclining on *triclinia* in a dining setting, emphasizing the communal aspect of the gathering, an emphasis that is otherwise missed when the visual emphasis is on the person of the sacrificer, as in the majority of contemporary artistic representations. In most large-scale depictions of religious scenes the focus is on the sacrifice and on the emperor, the new "prime sacrificer," as Gordon put it, while the priests, a series of togate men attending the event, are relegated to the background.[73] In these paradigmatic depictions, at least since the Ara Pacis, the emperor sacrifices as an individual, front and centre, while the priests, appearing as a corporate body, present a symbolic collectivity. These representations track the transformation we have already noted, in which the emperor increasingly took on his sacred role as an aspect of his political powers, while the religious authority of priesthoods was marked as communal rather than individual.

The visual emphasis on the community of priests might seem, at first, to be just another way of dispersing senatorial religious authority in Rome: the religious power that senators could no longer have as individuals, they might still claim as a *collectivity*. It might also suggest that the idea of *community* was itself part of an imperial agenda, a way for emperors to appease senators who wanted more religious authority. Although the emphasis on the emperor's sacred power did, in practical terms, correspond to the reduction of individual religious power among senatorial priests, I want to suggest that it allowed for a positive development as well: in various communal settings, senatorial priests could assert a sense of what it meant to be a senator through a religious claim. Potentially adversarial to excessive imperial powers, priestly get-togethers allowed for the construction of a communal front at a time when individual conflict with the emperor could only be disastrous for a senator. Envisioning priestly dinners, almost absent from the iconographic record, allows us to see the senators in this communal context, which itself shaped the religious meanings they associated with their own role.

[72] Fless 1995, Siebert 1999, Rüpke 2005a: 1429. [73] Gordon 1990c: 209–219.

AN EXAMPLE OF INFORMAL RELIGIOUS GROUP FORMATION: COMING TOGETHER IN ILLNESS

To elaborate fully this sense of community within a developing conceptualization of senatorial identity, especially in religious matters, I now turn to a very different, more informal and *ad hoc* setting, in which fellow senators collectively discussed and acted upon religious considerations. Although the visits of one senator to the sickbed of another might appear too informal to be a meaningful expression of senatorial religion, the voluntary nature of such visitations renders this context all the more significant. When the emperor is not present – as he was in the senate or as, at least in theory, at the meetings of all major priesthoods – his influence might also be less overpowering. How senators might appeal to the religious realm within the community of the peer group yet outside direct imperial influence is highly suggestive of what they considered proper religion and proper religious values for their own social order. As I argue, the custom of common prayers among the friends of the sick, whether by the bedside or in letters, marked out self-selected subgroups of the elite, who chose to express their shared concerns about health in religious terms.

A distinctive concern with health and illness is often postulated as a general characteristic of Classical culture, and of this period in particular.[74] On most current readings, first- and second-century concerns with health and illness mark a pivotal turning point in the development of the "self" and, thus, a landmark of individualization in Western culture.[75] According to many scholars (and following Foucault, in particular), the internalization of otherworldly authority is linked to the development of "selfhood," towards which first-century Romans aimed through the control of bodily concerns in a Stoic manner.[76] Recently Judith Perkins has extended this line of interpretation to the second century, suggesting that the rise of religious references in the rhetoric of illness marks a new historical understanding, in which the socially constructed, suffering body turned over to a divine power offers a new essence of selfhood across the pagan–Christian boundary.[77] On most of these interpretations, this "self," however, is theorized as highly individualistic; and the core of the healing experience at this time is seen as *individual* submission to the gods. As I propose, for the non-Christian elite, the experience of the suffering body reaches beyond the individual in pain;

[74] Bowersock 1969: 59–75; Flemming 2000: 63. [75] Perkins 1995.
[76] Perkins 1995: 6–7, referring to Foucault 1990: 56–57. [77] Perkins 1995.

rather, the elite peer group significantly shaped the religious understanding of illness and healing.[78]

First, let us consider the experience of being ill. All evidence points rather clearly to the custom, at least since the Augustan period, that friends would visit and spend a significant amount of time with the sick, suggesting a shared experience of illness in elite circles.[79] When Aulus Gellius fell sick, his friends, mostly of the same social class, appeared at his bedside and followed his treatment.[80] The trend is crystallized in philosophical texts, which praise attendance at a sick friend's bedside as a mark of true friendship (in contrast to mistakenly coveted gifts). Thus, in Seneca's *On Benefactions* it is the friends who stay around the sick man's bed and call in the physicians in due time: "What about having sat by the sick, when his health and healing came together for a critical time, of having seized the appropriate moments for food and of having restored the falling pulse with wine and having called in the physician for the dying?"[81] The expectation that true friends attend to one another when sick was part of a larger philosophical expectation about how to respond to illness. Almost a century later, Aulus Gellius mentions also visiting the sick, some of whom he had not even known, when he took on the duties of philosophical friendship already adopted by those philosophers whom he was accompanying.[82]

In philosophical and moralistic literature the friends present at the bedside were an integral part of the healing experience: their potential contribution was seen as superior to the professional services provided by the physician. Here, the counterpart of "the good friend," who visits the sick, is "the good patient," who is sick in the right way. For example, the man suffering from stomachache and fever groans not so much because of the pain but because of his efforts to battle it.[83] Restricting complaints about pain and suffering was characteristic of "the good patient" and also provided a way to take some control in the doctor–patient relationship, which had a unique potential to challenge the standard chain of social command.

[78] My interest here is primarily in the forms and subjects of such exchanges and gatherings, while a detailed discussion of any theological implications I reserve to a later chapter.

[79] Flemming 2000: 69 with Sen. *Ben*. 3.9.2 on the *solliciti* who crowd the sickroom.

[80] Gell. *NA* 12.5.; 16.3.

[81] Sen. *Ben*. 3.9.2: *Quid adsedisse aegro et, cum valetudo eius ac salus momentis constaret, excepisse idonea cibo tempora et cadentes venas vino refecisse et medicum adduxisse morienti?* On a father's legal claim based on having sat by his sick son: Sen. *Controv*. 9.3.7.9.

[82] *NA* 12.5; 16.3.

[83] *NA* 12.5: *gemitusque ex eo conpressos erumpere spiritusque et anhelitus e pectore eius evadere non dolorem magis indicantes quam pugnam adversum dolorem*.

By submitting themselves to medical treatment, members of the senatorial elite likewise submitted to the authority of lower-class *medici* and *iatroi*, a difficulty that required a discursive solution. Thus, compliance with medical directives from physicians was defined as part of proper self-control, and Pliny the Younger, Marcus Aurelius, and Aulus Gellius all agree that following orders from the doctors is the correct behavior for any educated man.[84] Yet it went against the grain of the strict Roman sense of hierarchy for upper-class patients to be ruled by physicians (of a lower class), and it is not surprising that elite men made an effort to reclaim their own superior status in the doctor–patient relationship. Seneca called the patient *imperator* in relation to the physician, and Marcus Aurelius quoted Epicurus, who did not permit his doctors to think too highly of themselves while they were treating him.[85] Part of reclaiming status and power in the doctor–patient relationship came about through the patient's acquisition of more knowledge about his disease. Aulus Gellius, upon having fallen ill, ran for books to learn about his disease.[86] Galen, the most famous physician of the period, lectured on medicine and demonstrated medical techniques to an interested and often rather inquisitive audience of aristocratic men while in Rome; as they became patients, these men expected physicians to fully explain their medical advice.[87] Such expectations are also expressed in the idealizations of philosophers, for example that of Favorinus in Aulus Gellius, who engaged the physicians at a patient's bedside in an expert, technical consultation in Greek about the patient's disease.[88] As the capacity to participate in medical discussions became an area of general philosophical erudition, elite men were consequently expected to engage their physicians in conversations about their disease and, thus, participate in their own healing. As Rebecca Flemming points out, this is a case of competing claims for knowledge: elite interest in medical matters was more competitive than complementary in relation to the physician.[89] We can, then, presume not only that discussion about medical treatments often took place among patients, their friends, and the physicians by the bedsides, but also that a sense of competition prevailed among the physicians and non-physicians present.

[84] Plin. *Ep*. 1.22; 7.1; cf. also *Ep*. 1.12 with Hoffer 1999: 152–157 with some further implications on friendship and dying. Gell. *NA* 16.3.; Fronto, *Ep*. 4.8. (van den Hout). Cf. also Arr. *Epict. diss*. 3.10.

[85] Sen. *Ben*. 6.16.2; Marc. Aur. *Medit*. 9.41.1.

[86] Gell. *NA* 18.10.8.

[87] Schlange-Schöningen 2003: 167–172.

[88] *NA* 16.3: *Tum ad quondam aegrum cum isset visere nosque cum eo una introissemus multaque ad medicos, qui tum forte istic errant, valitudinis eius gratia oratione Graeca dixisset …*

[89] Flemming 2000: 70.

Depictions of the peer group of friends present at the bedside and bedside discussion suggest that they were seen as the foci both of ethical care and of elite erudition: this is how the circle of intimate friends contrasted with the less personal relationship with the physician. Thus Seneca imagines what would turn a physician into a friend:

> That he had given me more than medically necessary; that he had feared for me, not for the fame of his skill; that he was not satisfied with prescribing medications, but also applied them; he had sat among my caring friends and showed up at critical moments; no duty was a burden or a distaste for him; he had not listened carelessly to my moaning; that of the crowd of many calling him I was his greatest concern; he had made himself available to others only as much as my health allowed him: to this man I am obligated not as to a doctor, but as much as to a friend.[90]

What separates friends and doctors is personal care for the sick, which reaches beyond professional obligation. The word that describes the friends sitting in the sickroom, the *solliciti*, is primarily used for social equals, with the particular meaning of anxious friends. It is only in one case that *sollicitus* is used to describe a social inferior, a slave, at whose bedside are sitting members of an elite family in a letter of Pliny the Younger's, yet this slave is the personal reader of Pliny the Younger and his editor on staff, a person whose erudition makes him fall, at least rhetorically, into the category of social equals for the purposes of philosophical discussion.[91] Pliny's example provides a perfect summary of the roles to be undertaken by the three constituent groups present: the patient, his friends and family members, and the doctor. The patient is expected to be *continens*, self-contained as a good patient, the friends and family members to be *solliciti*, actively caring, the doctors to be *diligentes*, attentive.

The peer group of friends was crucial, the efforts of "the good patient" were praised, and the attention of the doctors was expected, but, as was regularly acknowledged, the gods also had a key place in the busy sickroom. First, physicians claimed a special connection to Asclepius, and the divine association of physicians significantly complicated the relationship of elite patients to their social inferiors, the physicians: in terms of healing expertise, the physicians claimed the principal access to their patron god.[92] Second,

[90] Sen. *Ben*. 6.16.4–5: *Ille magis pependit, quam medico necesse est; pro me, non pro fama artis extimuit; non fuit contentus remedia monstrare: et admovit; inter sollicitos adsedit, ad suspecta tempora occurrit; nullum ministerium illi oneri, nullum fastidio fuit; gemitus meos non securus audivit; in turba multorum invocantium ego illi potissima curatio fui; tantum aliis vacavit, quantum mea valetudo permiserat: huic ego non tamquam medico sed tamquam amico obligatus sum*.

[91] Plin. *Ep*. 8.1.3: *Praeterea continens ipse,* ***nos*** *solliciti, medici diligentes*.

[92] On the divine associations of physicians in general see Temkin 1991: 71–75.

the patient, together with his family and friends, also had a religious role to play, insofar as they could pray to the gods. Thus Pliny introduces the catalogue of the roles to be played in healing with a reference to the gods: in their unspecific, yet quintessential role, "the gods promise a happier outcome."[93] The connection between the doctors' Asclepian techniques and the friends' prayers remains largely unspecified, though there is a competitive aspect to their appeals to the divine. We can find plenty of such competitive claims in the literary output of Galen, the period's most famous physician, who regularly attended to the elite sick. Like other physicians, Galen claimed special access to Asclepius, and the divinity of the god translated into his practice: he asserted that medicine was divine because of the divine intellect that employed its practitioners.[94] Physicians competed for divine legitimization of their expertise and treatments not only with the healing gods but also with various other kinds of healers.[95] But when it came to religious sources of healing, the competition was intense over who should be qualified as their best interpreter.

The competitive relationship among doctors, patients, and friends is also evident through their claims to interpret prognostic dreams. Leaving aside the more complicated problem of different medical schools' views on the prognostic value of dreams, we glimpse this bedside competition when the eclectic Galen declares that the value of divine healing dreams belongs to the one who dreams them – and only a trained professional, like himself, could have the right kind of "clear dreams" that pointed toward a certain treatment.[96] This claim of exclusive knowledge of, and access to, divinity must have been challenged when Galen, like other physicians, offered lectures on medical subjects to their elite audience. In the triangle formed between the healing gods, the physicians, and the patient and his friends, much might connect the gods with the patient and his friends, and we can have little doubt that the patient's and his friends' dreams were given careful attention in the sickroom.

We can best observe the role of the elite peer group at the Asclepion of Pergamon, the most highly reputed sanctuary of Asclepius, where the prominence of the *therapeutae*, a tightly organized, exclusively upper-class organization of supporters attests to the importance of a shared, elite

[93] Plin. *Ep*. 8.1.3: *sed di laetiora promittunt*. [94] Kudlien 1981: 120.

[95] As far as medications were concerned, already under Tiberius the empiricist Scribonius Largus suggested that only those with experience should administer drugs to the sick, *Compositiones* proem. 213. See also Amundsen 1995: 383 referring to an earlier distinction in Plato between the inferior physicians who use dietetics and regimen and the better ones who can apply drugs properly.

[96] *De comp. med. per. gen*. 6.8; Amundsen 1995: 389.

community of visitors in the sanctuary.[97] This elite group of visitors served both as a psychotherapeutic network and, even more importantly, as a circle of experts who themselves claimed to be interpreters of the divine will. In the very first dream that Aelius Aristides, the most verbose *therapeuta*, describes in his *Sacred Tales*, the orator's stepfather saw the consular Salvius, who himself applied to the Pergamon sanctuary at that time.[98] Unfortunately, we cannot definitely ascertain if this Salvius was the famous jurist, L. Octavius Cornelius Salvius Iulianus Aemilianus (cos.ord. 148) or his son, P. Salvius Iulianus (cos. II 175).[99] Some proconsuls of Asia might have also visited the sanctuary, although the only attested example is a Iulianus, whom Behr identified as M. Fabius Iulianus Heracleo Optatianus (cos. 128?).[100] But the presence of Salvius in the first dream in Aristides is significant not simply because it shows the high rank of clients visiting the sanctuary, but because it shows the complex associations that connected these individuals and their peers: they dreamt and discussed their dreams within a tight network. It is little surprise, then, that elite co-visitors appeared in each other's dreams on further occasions, as, for example, when L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus (cos.ord. 142) appeared to Aristides.[101] But what is most important for my argument is that fellow *therapeutae* were not only part of the same dream world, but also often sharers in their prescribed ritual treatments. Aelius Aristides describes sitting with a fellow *therapeuta*, M. Sedatius Severianus, in the sanctuary of Hygieia and discussing the dreams they each have received from Asclepius.[102] Somewhat later in that conversation Q. Tullius Maximus, a fellow incubant and a man who would later reach the consulship, joined the group and made a suggestion with regard to the correct understanding of Aristides' dream.[103] The peer group thus provided much more than just a social network: it was an interpretative circle in which elite consultants could interpret various rituals and treatments prescribed in the sanctuary.

The claims to knowledge that could be made by such a group were quite significant, and potentially contrary to popular wisdom. In a dream of M. Sedatius Severianus, the consul-suffect-to-be of 153, Asclepius prescribed phlebotomy, indicating that this was the same treatment as Aristides had earlier been ordered to follow. It is a striking moment: in an age when the replication of prescriptions in a contemporary oracular setting might have disqualified such advice, the recurrence of the same advice appears to

[97] Remus 1996: 156. [98] Aelius Aristides, *Orationes* 48.9 (Behr).
[99] For the problems of dating see Behr (1981–6) ad loc. [100] Ael. Arist. *Or.* 50.107, with Behr ad loc.
[101] Ael. Arist. *Or.* 50.28 (Behr). [102] Ael. Arist. *Or.* 50.16–17. [103] Ael. Arist. *Or.* 50.

confirm its quality for these elite interpreters. Of course, we cannot know how Sedatius dreamt and reported his dream, yet the positive reference to the repetitive prescription suggests a highly intellectualized experience of these dreams among the peers present. Far from allowing for the widest range of possible interpretations of such dreams, these discussions had the potential to control the understanding of the dreams – rather unlike the personal obsession that emerges from reading about Aristides' self-inflicted treatments. Illness and healing in Pergamon were shared amongst peers, and the group was the ultimate circle in which divinely inspired treatments were conceptualized.

Of course, not all senators visited Pergamon and, in fact, there is no evidence for pilgrimages to Pergamon or to other major healing sanctuaries. A catalogue of senators who worshipped Asclepius in Pergamon shows that most of them originated either from the city (or at least from the Greek East) or spent time in Asia on official duty. Even though the problematic dating of Aristides' *Sacred Tales* makes secure identifications difficult, probably all the consultants he mentions were present either as locals or on official business. Maximus and Severianus were, at certain points of their career, in office in Thracia and head of the Parthian military campaign, respectively. L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus (cos.ord. in 142), who originated from the city, is usually identified as the builder of the round temple in the sanctuary of Zeus Asclepius Soter under Hadrian.[104] Three members of a senatorial family from Pergamon, Iulius Apellas in the early second century, his son, Iulius Fronto, who must have become consul in the second quarter of the second century, and finally the grandson, Iulius Apellas, in the later second century, held hereditary positions in the local priesthood of Asclepius.[105] A. Claudius Charax (cos.suff. 147), also a local, dedicated a *propylon* to the Asclepieion, and was, according to his *Suidas* entry, a priest in the city, probably of Asclepius.[106] The last senator of this period whom we can identify as a recipient of an oracle from Asclepius is L. Flavius Hermocrates of Phokaia, who, although not a local by birth, was also a priest of the imperial cult in Pergamon and can, therefore, be seen as one of the last senatorial benefactors of the city, probably under Caracalla. To sum up, few senators came to Pergamon simply for treatment; and for those whose circumstances brought them to the sanctuary, their shared social background clearly played a large role in connecting them in the healing experience.

[104] *CIL* II 2660 (for Maximus); Lucian, *Alex.* 27. (for Severianus); Ael. Arist. *Or.* 50.28 (Behr) and Galen, *Anat. admin.* 1.2 (2.224–225 Kühn) (for Rufinus).
[105] Ael. Arist. *Or.* 30. praef.-15 (Behr). [106] *Alt.v.Perg.* 8.3.141.

I would argue that the same elite peer group, even if selected through the more discriminating screen of friendship, appeared on a myriad other occasions in this period, whenever senatorial friends visited each other's sickbeds. Nevertheless, it is difficult for us to gauge the religious aspects of these occasions, including what I consider to be its major form of religious expression, bedside prayers. Even the Pergamon Asclepeion, which in general provides plentiful evidence for various issues related to the religious sense of healing, is disappointingly silent on the issue of prayer, and we cannot tell whether the interpretative discussions we saw inside the sanctuary in Pergamon included a prayer, as one would presume likely. Some of this silence on prayer is genre bound, as pagan literature in general offers limited opportunities to depict prayers of any sort. Even when gods are acknowledged in a non-fictional context, as for example in the Pliny letter we looked at earlier, their worship or any actual ritual practice is rarely discussed. In another letter Pliny, having described his own intimate visits to the bedside of the sick Q. Corellius Rufus, a friend and former consul, simply adds "yet the divine responded to the prayer."[107]

However, I think there is sufficient evidence to show that patients and their visitors prayed by the sickbed. Formally, these were *vota*, that is, vows undertaken to a divinity with the hope of securing the patient's recovery. A relatively early example for this custom comes from a rather unusual source: Augustan love elegy of the 20s BCE. Both Tibullus and Propertius make reference to lovers visiting their sick girlfriends and praying for their recovery. In Tibullus 1.5, the poet rescues his lover, "Delia," from disease by undertaking *vota* and applying cleansing sulphur in the sickroom. In Propertius 2.9a, the poet questions his earlier *vota* after his lover's infidelity: "Was it not that I undertook these vows for your health, when the waters of Styx had already almost took hold of you, and we, your friends, stood weeping around your bed?" What is remarkable is that in both cases there is a clear reference to the practice of undertaking the *vota* in the sickroom. And although each poet works with highly rhetorical forms (there is even an imagined prayer in Propertius 2.28, which I do not consider historical), I maintain that these poetic *vota* would be an unlikely image if there were no custom of friends visiting the sickbed and offering vows on behalf of the sick friend.

In a very different context this custom may have contributed to the specifically religious associations of the emperor's well-being in the annual *vota* undertaken for his health. The Augustan *Res Gestae* still refers to these

[107] Plin. *Ep*. 1.12.8: *adfuit tamen deus voto*.

as made *pro valetudine* of the emperor, and on a regular schedule of every four years, rather than reflecting a rhythm that would have matched up with the highly publicized illnesses of Augustus.[108] Although vows for the *salus* of statesmen had been undertaken regularly in this period, ever since the one famously offered by the Western empire to Octavian in 32 BCE, the "health" invoked did not necessarily correspond to the actual health of the ruler.[109] On Cicero's reading, the concept of *salus* was closer to public welfare than to the health of an individual and, as such, it was associated with the achievements of the statesman who could secure it.[110] And although the origins of the Roman *pro salute* formula are debated, the context of oath-taking was a critical element in the rise of its popularity, whether it originated in the civic context of the Hellenistic East or in the military context of the Roman republican West.[111] This political aspect, as well as the similarity of loyalty oaths from both the Eastern and Western parts of the empire starting in the Augustan period, suggest a central, political initiative, even if actual inscriptions dedicated *pro salute* of the imperial family quickly became popular and apparently originated with local military and civic organizations in the provinces of the Julio-Claudian period.[112] It is only under the rule of Tiberius that we can be certain about the religious reference to health beyond the political associations of the vows for the *salus imperatoris*.[113] Such religious reference is not necessarily part of all dedications offered *pro salute* of emperors, and I agree with Thomas Pekáry's primarily political reading of a group of such inscriptions offered by the closest friends of Sejanus, including two high-ranking senators, L. Fulcinius Trio and C. Fulvius, just before Sejanus' downfall in 31 – dedications offered in Tiberius' favorite Concordia temple, also a highly symbolic choice.[114] More suggestive of the religious association of such *vota* is evidence, dating to at least as early as 27, for Roman senators as arvals undertaking the annual *vota pro salute* of the emperor in their sacred groves just outside Rome.[115]

[108] *RG* 9. The Greek is *soteria*.
[109] Cf. González 1988, Winkler 1995: 30–45. For some earlier possible precedents see Daly 1950.
[110] *Leg.* 3.8.
[111] For the history of the debate about the origins of the *pro salute* formula and a new theory, González 1988, esp. 117–127.
[112] González 1988: 119–121; Reynolds 1950: 33–36 (Cyrenaica). For the military associations of *salus*, see Marwood 1988. Cf. also the recent reconsideration of *pro salute et victoria et reditu* inscriptions upon Claudius' return after his British campaign in Bérard, Cogitore, and Tarpin 1998.
[113] Winkler 1995, 61.
[114] L. Fulcinius Trio (*PIR*² F517): *CIL* VI 93 = *AE* 1953, 89; C. Fulvius (*PIR*² F524): *CIL* VI 30856 = *ILS* 3783. For the political reading see Pekáry 1966/7; and now also Castillo, and Sánchez-Ostiz 2000: 733.
[115] Henzen 1874, XXXIII.4 (the *acta* of 27 CE); see also Scheid 1990a: 364–366.

While not denying the potential for political charade in vows undertaken *pro salute* of emperors, I propose that their development coincided with an additional trend in early imperial culture that placed growing emphasis on the obligation of friends to care for and to pray for their sick peers. Ultimately, the most intriguing aspect of this development is that from a strictly philosophical perspective, health in itself had a mixed position as a *desideratum* in the imperial schools of philosophy. In Epicurus' *Letter to Menoikeus*, good bodily health and the *ataraxia* of the soul are the main goals of a happy life. However, for Stoicism, interpreting health was more difficult: not quite fitting under the ultimate goal of *summum bonum* (because of its easy transformation into its opposite, illness), it was not exactly an *adiaphoron* either.[116] The ethical characteristics of the truly good did not allow the inclusion of health – a problem already recognized by Chrysippus. One way to resolve the Stoic problem about good health as an ideal goal is to distinguish the health of the body from that of the soul. Seneca tried to define *beata vita* as one of *sana mens*,[117] but the distinction functions more to assure the priority of healthy mind over healthy body than to exclude the latter wholly. The philosophical problem concerning the value of health was related to the separation of a life of philosophy from one of politics in Stoic philosophy and was highly relevant for the elite: somewhat simplified, a certain level of good health was necessary to be able to fulfill official positions. The health of the emperor and that of members of the elite mattered for practical reasons because it could contribute to – or, in the case of disease, detract from – their capacity to fulfill their public duties.[118]

Given the philosophical ambiguity surrounding health, it is all the more remarkable that already in Seneca we find explicit encouragement for prayers for health, in contrast to prayers for other matters: "You may excuse the gods from your old vows, undertake other vows anew: ask for a good mind and for the good health of your soul and then of your body. And why not make those vows frequently? Ask the divine boldly: you will not be asking for anything unsuitable."[119] In another epistle, the health of soul and body is identified as the ultimate reason for prayer.[120] Neither of these examples comes from a context where concern for health is thematic, yet friends pray for each other in Seneca's works.[121] The prayers of friends thus provide an important historical precedent for what is often seen as the

[116] Kudlien 1974. [117] *Dial.* 7.3.3. with Kudlien 1974: 451–452. [118] Flemming 2000: 71–72.

[119] Sen. *Apocol.* 10.4: *Votorum tuorum veterum licet deis gratiam facias, alia de integro suscipe: roga bonam mentem, bonam valetudinem animi, deinde tunc corporis. Quidni tu ista vota saepe facias? Audacter deum roga: nihil illum de alieno rogaturus es.*

[120] *Ep.* 66.46.1. [121] E.g. *Ep.* 96.4; 117.20.

sudden emergence, in the second century, of religious anxiety concerning health. On the theory primarily associated with E. R. Dodds' 1965 study, entitled *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety*, there was a general anxiety pervading Roman society that eventually led to the growth of irrational religious interests, which Dodds associated with the success of early Christianity. Few today would follow Dodds in extrapolating an age of anxiety from a sample of individual experiences, yet a major element in my own evidence, the correspondence of the emperor Marcus Aurelius and the leading senator Fronto, is striking for its frequent and highly detailed references to both men's current medical conditions.

Instead of emphasizing the relatively high level of attention devoted to health concerns among the Roman elite in the mid second century, I would like to focus on its origins and precedents, especially those in the prior century.[122] Seneca's writings are crucial in identifying the mid first century as a period in which awareness of the body had already increased.[123] Also notable is the remarkable level of elite concern with health that is expressed in the exchange of letters between Marcus and Fronto, in which the future emperor expresses concern for Fronto's health and does so in terms that strikingly correspond with those of the supportive friends we saw earlier. Thus Marcus wants to visit the sick Fronto immediately:

> What should I say that would match my ill fortune, or how shall I have complained deservingly about my hardest necessity, which keeps me here, restrained, with a soul so anxious and fettered with such apprehension, and which does not allow me to run immediately to my Fronto, to my most beautiful soul, most of all to see him in this bad health of his, to hold his hands and finally to massage that very foot, as much as can be done without discomfort, to warm him in a bath, and to hold his hand as he enters it? And you call me a friend, I who do not fly to you with a hurried pace, interrupting everything?[124]

Both the presence of the friend at the sickbed and his participation in care for the patient are referred to here. Finally, the letter closes with a prayer: "O good gods, who are everywhere, I pray that my most delightful and

[122] Of course, health concerns were writ large already in times prior to the period of my study, as attested, among other evidence, in Cicero's letters, cf. Hoffer 2007.

[123] Foucault 1978; cf. Flemming 2000: 65.

[124] Fronto, *Ep*. 1.2; 1 Hout; 1.80 Haines: *Quid ego ista mea fortuna satis dixerim vel quomodo istam necessitatem meam durissimam condigne incusavero, quae me istic ita animo anxio tantaque sollicitudine praepedito alligatum attinet neque me sinit ad meum Frontonem, ad meam pulcherrimam animam confestim percurrere, praesertim in huiusmodi eius valetudine propius videre, manus tenere, ipsum denique illum pedem, quantum sine incommodo fieri possit, adtrectare sensim, in balneo fovere, ingredienti manum subicere? Et tu me amicum vocas, qui non abruptis omnibus cursu concitato pervolo?*

dearest Fronto be well; let him be well always in a sound, unimpaired and healthy body; let him be well and let him be able to be with me."[125]

It would be a mistake to see this concluding prayer as a simple, if elegant, rhetorical tool: some other letters are quite specific about both the prayers and their presumed effects. Thus another short note from Marcus to Fronto contains almost exclusively the kind of detailed descriptions of symptoms that strike modern readers as possibly excessive, but it does so in association with the resolution of some other symptoms through the benevolent response of the gods to prayer: "Greetings, my teacher. That even then your neck hurt when you were writing to me, I cannot bear with a calm heart, and, to be sure, I neither want nor should bear it. As for me, *with the gods assisting your prayer*, I bathed today and took sufficient food, even enjoyed some wine with pleasure. Good-bye my most delightful teacher. My mother greets you."[126] The well-meaning gods and Fronto's prayer are credited for Marcus' improvements. And, with so much emphasis on the effects of earlier prayers, we may wonder if the detailed descriptions of physical symptoms, so strange to the modern reader, also served to provide ample material for the mutually supportive relationship between the sick man and his praying friends. And thus it provokes little surprise that in another note, Marcus wants to know if his prayers have led to the improvement of Fronto's health: "Let me know, my teacher, whether your health has improved in accordance with my prayer."[127]

The detailed descriptions of illness in these letters may express less the depth of irrational apprehension than a popular form of social exchange among members of the elite. We can, in fact, contrast the frequent descriptions of symptoms and prayers in these and in other letters of Marcus to the almost complete absence not only of descriptions of symptoms but also of prayers for health in Marcus' *Meditations*.[128] Of course some of this difference has to do with genre distinctions between philosophical essay and epistolography. But there is also a social difference: while the *Meditations* can be categorized as an individual journal addressed to one's better self, the letters are characteristic of close friendly relationships among elite men.

[125] *O qui ubique estis di boni, valeat, oro, meus Fronto iucundissimus atque carissimus mihi, valeat semper integro, inlibato, incolumi corpore, valeat et mecum esse possit.*

[126] Fronto, *Ep.* 5.31; 74 Hout; 1.200 Haines: *Magistro meo salutem. Quom tibi etiam tum cervices doluerint, quom mihi scriberes, non possum aequo animo ferre neque sane volo aut debeo. Ego autem iuvantibus votum tuum deis lavi hodie et cibi quantum sat erat cepi; vino etiam libenter usus sum. Vale mi iucundissime magister. Mater mea te salutat.*

[127] Fronto, *Ep.* 4.11; 65 Hout; 1.202 Haines: *Tibi valetudo an pro meo voto se adcommodet, fac sciam, mi magister.*

[128] Flemming 2000: 71.

In other words, prayers for health belonged at least as much to the world of social interaction as to the private interaction between the individual and the divine.

However scattered, the evidence presented here for sharing health concerns in religious terms through mutual prayers is clear in its emphasis on the peer group and on the role of this group in shaping the self-understanding and behavior of individuals. The cultural roles played in these encounters were not restricted to senators but were nevertheless associated with being part of the elite and were therefore claimed by senators as their own. Coming together for priestly dinners or for prayers for health suggests the availability, in imperial times, of lively religious contexts in which senators could unite in more or less formal but always markedly exclusive settings on religious occasions. As these events defined certain religious behaviors as associated with the elite and with senators, religion in turn became one of the defining characteristics of the elite.

PART II

CHAPTER 3

The dynamics of senatorial religion in Rome and Italy

As the symbolic capital of the empire, the city of Rome has always been the center of attention. It was from here that power emanated, here where the stakes were the highest and representations the most charged. Under the empire this role of Rome as traditional center, of both religion and political representation, continued with diffuse lines of more or less intense influence. There was, on the one hand, attention focused on the capital, which, however, did not exert a concentrically weakening affect around itself but rather compiled a complex hierarchy in which certain provincial capitals could fare better than many Italian municipalities. On the other hand, we can also observe the growth of another, converse dynamic in which the person of the emperor himself came to represent the symbolic center of the empire, which was, however, now movable: as the emperor traveled around his realm, he moved the center of power with him and drew the focus of attention to the various places he visited. The purpose of this second part of the monograph is to analyze the "geography" of senatorial religion in light of these two distinct dynamics: the enduring importance of the city of Rome and the new symbolic weight of the emperor.

In a detailed survey of evidence for senatorial religion from Rome, Italy, and the provinces, these chapters study primarily epigraphic evidence and archaeological remains. Always "positioned" in geographical terms, epigraphy and archaeology offer an especially important lens for studying the dynamics of power between center and periphery. I first analyze the continuing role of Rome as the most influential space in the empire, and that of Italy in relation to it. In Chapter 4 I employ similar evidence from the provinces to explore the ways in which the more novel dynamic, the itinerant power of the emperor, transformed the simple spatial order of center versus periphery and shaped the religion of senatorial officeholders in the provinces. Analyzing these different settings I ask: how did geographic location shape modes of senatorial religion? How did the new focus on imperial power, with its significant religious component,

challenge traditional senatorial religious roles, focused heavily on the capital? I will seek an answer to these questions in this chapter first by addressing evidence from Rome, then by turning to Italy.

SENATORIAL RELIGION IN ROME

The image of senatorial priests as usually represented in Rome, as a group of togate figures forming an assembled background to the singular role of emperor, emphasizes the trend discussed in Part I: the communal character of religious roles undertaken by senators in the empire. Certainly, senators as priests enjoyed little individual visibility: most public appearances involved one or more priestly groups and a cluster of senators appearing together. It is against the typicality of such a communal façade that we should view those few instances in which single priests appeared in an individual role of religious authority in the capital. Thus it probably took the absence of the emperor Vespasian from Rome for the the patrician Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus (cos.suff. 45; cos. II suff. 74) to be called upon to carry out the *lustratio* of the city in 70 CE as *pontifex*.[1] But the scant evidence for religious occasions in which an individual senator took the lead suggests that the trend was for a whole college to be called upon to act even in exceptional times. In 178, in a repetition of a "republican" ceremony invented by Augustus, for example, Marcus Aurelius employed the college of the *fetiales* for the hurling of their symbolic spear in his declaration of war against the Scythians, relying on the communal religious authority of this priesthood.[2]

Against this image of collegial appearances by priests we can set what I consider a remarkable body of evidence from Rome attesting to religious activities of varied kinds by senators in non-priestly, but magisterial functions. Unlike the essentially *corporate* visibility and the limited individual religious authority attained through membership in priesthoods, in their (non-priestly) magistracies, senators had numerous opportunities to emphasize their individual visibility in religious roles and thereby to claim religious authority. Thus praetors were traditionally responsible for celebrating *ludi* in the city, a feature that Augustus officially reconfirmed in 22 BCE.[3] In 14 CE the newly introduced *Augustalia*, designed to celebrate Augustus upon his death, were planned to be run by the tribunes of the plebs, but were transferred instead under the authority of the *praetor*

[1] Tac. *Hist.* 4.53.2ff. The reason for his primary role may have been the absence of Vespasian from the city, see Halkin 1934: 155–156.
[2] Dio 72.33.3; Rüpke 1990: 106. [3] Dio 54.2.3–4.

peregrinus.[4] While the new *Augustalia* were paid for by the state, praetors continued to be obligated to celebrate other *ludi*, a costly duty. This arrangement of expensive festivities entrusted upon individual senatorial magistrates was popular enough that in the empire it was extended to include even some new games: when Hadrian introduced *ludi Parthici* in memory of Trajan's Parthian victory, he also installed a *praetor Parthicarius* to be responsible for the celebration.[5]

In 14, after the introduction of the *Augustalia*, Tiberius made a unique decision to allow the praetors in charge of the games to enter the Circus in triumphal robe, although not on a triumphal chariot. While the celebration of triumphs in Rome was no longer granted to anyone outside the imperial family, in this ceremonial form praetors had access to a triumphal procession of sorts, a privilege that is confirmed for the opening of circus games by them.[6] The triumphal robe remained a significant symbol; not so long before, Julius Caesar had been specially allowed to sacrifice in triumphal dress at all times.[7] The symbolic weight of celebrating these games was also quite significant; thus, in the late second century Dio Cassius still called the *cura ludorum* the most spectacular part of the praetor's job.[8] The potential for euergetism was an added bonus: the gifts distributed at the games would have certainly enhanced the popularity of the praetor.[9] Needless to say, if the emperor was present, his presence and beneficence would have outshone that of the praetor, focusing the latter's presence on the practical aspects of opening the games. But if we consider the growing bureaucratic duties and frequent absences of emperors from Rome, praetors appear to have gained important individual visibility in their role at the *ludi*. In his ceremonial role, wearing a robe referring as much to Jupiter as to the emperor, a praetor's appearance at the opening of the games, which included a sacrifice, must have had an inescapable air of religious significance mixed in with the official aspects of the magistracy.

There were further senatorial magistracies which gained a primarily religious connotation. Among them, even Augustus himself once held what was known as the office of *praefectus urbi feriarum Latinarum causa*, or in short *praefectus feriarum Latinarum*, an office that came with the responsibility of organizing the Latin festivals.[10] In the empire it was usually

[4] Tac. *Ann*. 1.15. Cf. Dio 56.46–47.

[5] Dio 69.2.3 with reference to the *ludi* and *CIL* II 4110 = *RIT* 127 (Tarraco) referring to a *praetor Parthicarius*. Cf. Mommsen 1887–8: II.227.

[6] *Ludi Romani*: Dion. Hal. 5.57.5; Suet. *Aug*. 43; *Apollinares*: Juven. 10.36, 11.195; Plin. *HN* 34.20; Megalenses: Ov. *Fasti* 4.391. Cf. also Mart. 8.33.1.

[7] App. *BCiv* 2.106. [8] Dio 54.2.3. [9] Dio 79.22.1. [10] Nic. Dam. *Vit. Aug*. 5.

held early in the career of patrician senators, including a number of future emperors (Nero, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius), as well as the young Nerva, who was not a likely imperial candidate at the time. Their responsibilities were for the festivities associated with the *feriae*, and thus a carriage race and maybe also *ludi*.[11]

The office of the *aediles cereales* now also primarily functioned with few practical responsibilities, as the emperor took over the oversight of grain distribution in the city and transferred most other responsibilities to other, usually equestrian officials. According to Dio, Augustus took on the duty of organizing aedilian games as well,[12] but there continues to be evidence for the *aediles cereales*, with some twenty-three senatorial inscriptions identifying this particular aedileship within their cursus.[13] Tertullian also reports that *flaminicae* and *aediles* sacrificed to Ceres.[14] Dio mentions special games given by *aediles*, on private initiative, on Augustus' birthday, a custom that could survive into the third century if we are to trust a reference in the *Historia Augusta*.[15]

Other new games were introduced by emperors, including the *ludi sevirales* set up by Augustus, first occurring in 2 BCE at the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor.[16] The organizers of these games, the newly established *seviri equitum Romanorum* (sometimes also referred to as *seviri turmarum*, after the six ancient military subdivisions), were of mixed social background, and participation was an important element in the early career of future senators as well as equestrians, and even of members of the imperial family.[17] We can gain a sense of young senators' interest in organizing such games from an inscription attesting that L. Arruntius Stella arranged the games to celebrate the victories of Domitian in 89 and 93, probably in his late 20s or early 30s.[18]

Most of the new games established by emperors were to be headed by high-level senatorial officials, primarily consuls. Thus the games to celebrate the Actium victory or the Pannonian "success" were organized by them;[19] and consuls also celebrated the birthday of the ruling emperor with games,

[11] Mommsen 1887–8: I.642–643; Wissowa 1912: 124–125. On the carriage race see Plin. *HN* 27.45; on the *ludi* Werner 1888. For fragments of the fasti of the *feriae*, see *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1.143–158, which, however, probably significantly, only includes the names of the consuls, not those of the *praefecti feriarum Latinarum*, possibly suggesting the primary importance of the former magistrates at the *feriae*.

[12] Dio 54.2; Tac. Ann. 1.15 does not prove this.

[13] We know of 23 *aediles cereales* under the empire, most of them of quaestorian rank, see Appendix I.

[14] Tert. *De idolatria*. 10: *flaminicae et aediles sacrificant Cereri*.

[15] Dio 54.8.5; SHA *Gord.* 3.

[16] For 2 BCE, see Dio 55.10.4; for the organization SHA *Marcus* 6.3.

[17] Mommsen 1887–8: III.523–524. Over thirty attested senatorial members.

[18] Cf. Mart. 8.78. He was suffect consul in 101/2.

[19] Dio 59.20 and 56.1.

from the rule of Augustus onwards.[20] Although such games would primarily celebrate the ruler, a popular association with the consul offering is also likely. One reason is that it was the consuls' responsibility to pay for these games – a cost that made the games a sufficient excuse for senators to resign from the consulate.[21] Further, ordinary consuls also gave games upon taking up their office, which already identified them as significant benefactors. From detailed descriptions of these consular games we can gain a sense of just how elaborate they could be. First, gladiatorial games entertained the crowds.[22] Then a ceremonial procession took place, in which, probably from the second century onwards, the new consul, in triumphal dress, rode on a chariot from his house to the Capitoline, a practice that was not restricted to imperial holders of the office.[23] Lastly, the new consul undertook the annual vows for the *salus* of the emperor and empire in triumphal dress, an event that was accompanied by sacrifice.[24] The prime visibility of these magistrates and the religious contexts of their activity mark a new connection between individual power and religious authority in imperial Rome.

The connection between secular and sacred power is also evidenced by the special connection between the office of the *praetor urbanus* and the god Hercules. Dated to the late second and third centuries, some nine dedications from praetors to the god survive, mostly in the area around the *Ara Maxima* of Hercules – notably where praetors celebrated the annual ritual to the god on August 12.[25] Under Commodus, in the years of their praetorships two senators, T. Annaeus Placidus and M. Cassius Hortensius Paulinus, dedicated inscriptions to Hercules;[26] another dedication, of C. Iul(ius) Pomponius Pudens Severianus, cannot be securely dated, but probably belongs to the third century.[27] Other dedications were written in verse,[28] two of which are especially elaborate, suggesting that these praetors saw a special connection of their magistracy with the annual ritual of Hercules. In the year of his magistracy as *praetor urbanus*, L. Fabius Cilo Septiminus Catinius Acilianus Lepidus Fulcinianus (cos.suff.193, cos. II 204) dedicated the following verse inscription, probably his own literary creation:[29]

[20] Dio 56.46; cf. 59.20. [21] Dio 60.27.2. [22] Arr. *Epict. diss*. 4.10.21; Fronto, *ad Marcum* 2.1.
[23] For the senatorial practice see Fronto, *ad Marcum* 1.7; cf. already Mart. 10.10; and later Herodian 1.16.
[24] Dio 79.8. [25] *CIL* VI 271; *CIL* VI 312–319; *CIL* VI 332.
[26] *CIL* VI 271 = *ILS* 3406 and VI 318 = *ILS* 3407. [27] *CIL* VI 317 = *ILS* 3408.
[28] *CIL* VI 271 = *CLE* 21: *Annaeus* | *Placidus* | *Herculi* | *donum* | *dedi(t)* could also be considered poetic, according to Groag, ad *PIR*² A614, because of the absence of a praenomen, the sequence of dedicator's/god's name, and the form of verb used.
[29] *CIL* VI 312 = *CLE* II 868. Cf. Groag's judgment: "unpoetisch genug, um von Cilo selbst herruhren zu können", Groag, *RE* s.v. Fabius 65, pp. 1763–1764.

Te precor, Alcide, sacris, invicte, peractis
rite tuis laetus dona ferens meritis
Haec tibi nostra potest tenuis perferre camena,
nam grates dignas tu potes efficere.
Sume libens simulacra, tuis quae munera Cilo
aris urbanus dedicat ipse sacris.

I pray to you, invincible descendant of Alcaeus, with completed sacrifices
joyfully bringing offerings due to your merits.
Our slender Muse can deliver these to you
for you can bring about worthy gratitude.
Take up willingly the images, which gifts Cilo
the urban praetor himself dedicates at your sacred altars.

A few years later, P. Catius Sabinus (cos. I suff. *c.* 210s, cos. II 216) dedicated the following inscription in the same vein:[30]

Hercules invicte, Catius hoc tuo donu[m libens]
numini sancto dicavit praetor urbis [annuus]
cum pia sollemne mente rite fecisset [sacrum]
tradidisti quod Potitis Euandreo [saeculo]
administrandum quodannis hic ad a[ram maxim]am.

Invincible Hercules, Catius has willingly dedicated,
as the urban praetor of the year, this to your sacred presence,
when he duly with a pious and solemn disposition fulfilled the rite,
that you taught to the Potitii *gens* in the time of Euander
to administer annually here at the *ara maxima*.

While these verse inscriptions may not represent the best Latin poetry has to offer, they emphasize the special nature of the dedication: the choice of poetic language, the identification of the praetors by name in these verses, and the display of these inscriptions in a central location in Rome, adjacent to the *Ara Maxima*, demonstrate the significance of the inscriptions to their patrons.[31] Further, the emphasis on the personal identity of the sponsors and their role in public rites marks that there was individual religious authority to be gained by senatorial magistrates in these roles. The urban praetors were definitely central in administering the annual festivities to Hercules at the *Ara Maxima*. This connection did not impinge upon a similar claim by an emperor, insofar as praetors participated in rituals for other gods as well, and the emperor continued to associate his powers with

[30] *CIL* VI 313 = *ILS* 3402 = *CLE* 228.
[31] Cf. Baldarotta 2000: 292–293 on the second poem as religious poetry.

those of Hercules.[32] However, the religious representation of senators in these individual, magisterial roles gained new emphasis in the empire, appropriating the imperial model in which emperors connected their own political might, as singular political leaders, with the religious associations of their power.

In visual terms, senatorial names were conspicuous on many religious monuments throughout the sacred landscape of the city. Again, this practice of inscribing names is associated with a primarily non-religious type of appointment, that of the *curator operum publicorum*, which Augustus established after Agrippa's death as a consular office. Probably soon after a Claudian reform, the office was divided between two consular senators, in a rather remarkable separation along sacred and secular lines. One magistrate was made responsible for the *opera publica* and the other for the *aedes sacrae*.[33] In this context *aedes sacrae* referred exclusively to religious buildings identified as *publica*, associated with the state and not with an individual family, although sanctuaries dedicated to the imperial family, in their semi-public role, became a clear exception.[34] The separation of sacred from public building projects may have taken time to develop, and in some later inscriptions we still find double assignations by both the current *curator operum publicorum* and the *curator aedium sacrarum*.[35] The latter office probably also involved oversight of the property of the temples: the later emperor Vitellius, when still a senator under Nero, purportedly stole or replaced offerings and decorations from temples while *curator operum publicorum*, on the avaricious emperor's orders.[36] In a symbolic act aimed at the restoration of order, the next emperor, Galba, assigned a senator to review losses to Rome's sacred heritage: he had Cn. Iulius Agricola, Tacitus' father-in-law, catalogue Nero's plundering of Rome's sacred assets.[37]

Even if the curatorial job was primarily administrative in nature, it allowed curators to display their names on religious monuments in the context of inscriptions assigning locations for the monuments. Their names could also be listed when they granted permissions to consecrate dedications. Unfortunately, most of the surviving inscriptions are on marble tablets that were once attached to a now unknown monument; at best,

[32] Some other possible praetorian celebrations, which may or may not have continued into the empire, include: the Compitalia (Gell. *NA* 10.24.3); the festival of Castor on July 15 (Dion. Hal. 6.13; App. *BCiv* 1.45; 2.106); and the festival of the Argei (Dion. Hal. 1.38.3).

[33] Kolb 1993: 21–32 on the most likely development of the offices.

[34] Cf. Kolb 1993: 35 n. 10, Festus p. 284 Lindsay, 18–21 Lindsay: *publica sacra, quae publico sumptu pro populo fiunt … at privata, quae pro singulis hominibus, familiis, gentibus fiunt.*

[35] *CIL* VI 31338a (214); 36874 (183). Cf. Kolb 1993: 91 n. 29. [36] Suet. *Vit.* 5. [37] Tac. *Agr.* 6.5.

the inscriptions survive on rectangular blocks of stone suggesting a statue base. Thus, the form of the evidence offers little insight into the range and kinds of projects that were most frequently undertaken by the curators. Still, the formula "*locus adsignatus*" suggests that curators undertook an active role in managing space for religious monuments, as in an inscription from the Field of Mars, assigned by both curators in 127/8.[38] The less frequent "*permissu*" phrase, followed by the senator's name, focuses on the permission for the consecration, as, for example, on an altar dedicated to Iuno Lucina, *pro salute* of the imperial house in 166.[39]

It is a remarkable facet of the ongoing imperial control over the potential for religious representation in the city of Rome that curators not only received their appointments from the emperor, but – as far as we can tell from the prosopographical evidence – these appointments were usually given only to those most intensively promoted and trusted by the ruler.[40] In a few cases another official may have also granted permission for dedications: M. Arrecinus Clemens, most probably in his capacity as urban praetor or during his unusual tenure as praetorian prefect in 70, gave permission for a dedication for Augustan peace by the *curatores iuniorum* of the Sucusana tribe.[41] Arrecinus was not a building curator in the city, and it seems likely that this exceptional and highly programmatic dedication under Titus' former brother-in-law was part of the extensive building boom associated with the new imperial house (the Forum of Peace was soon to be opened, in 75). More generally, various building activities related to maintaining the cult of the *Lares Augustales* in the Augustan wards of the city were under the authority of other annual senatorial magistrates: three inscriptions identify the contemporary tribune of the plebs, while two others name praetors as the officials giving permission for or ordering the work.[42] Such variety, even

[38] *CIL* VI 41259 = *AE* 1973, 36 (Rome): *Locus [adsig(natus)] | Ti(berio) Iulio Iuliano M(arco) Ma[---] Iulio | cur(atoribus) aedium sacr[arum et operum] | publicorum …*

[39] *CIL* VI 360 (Rome): *Iunoni Lucinae | pro salute domus Augustorum | Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aureli Antonini Aug(usti) Armeniaci Parthici maximi Medici et Faustinae Aug(ustae) eius et | Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) L(uci) Aureli Veri Aug(usti) Armeniaci Parthici maximi Medici et Lucillae Augustae eius | liberorumque eorum | Fortunatus decurialium gerulorum dispensator aram cum base consecr(avit) || permissu | Maeci Rufi curat(oris) aedium || consecravit X K(alendas) Sept(embres) …*

[40] Kolb 1993: 81.

[41] *CIL* VI 199 = 30712d = 36747d (Rome): *Paci August(ae) | sacrum | […] | curatores trib(us) Suc(usanae) iunior(um) s(ua) p(ecunia) d(onum) d(ederunt) | permissu M(arci) Arricini Clementis || …* For his cursus: *AE* 1947, 40 = *AE* 1981, 336 = *SuppIt* 1 (P) 4 (Pisaurum): *[M(arcus) A]rrecinus M(arci) f(ilius) Cam(ilia) | [Clemen]s co(n)s(ul) II praet(or) urb(anus) | [leg(atus) Aug(usti) p]ro praet(ore) provinc(iae) | [Hispani]ae ci[te]rioris p(ecunia) s(ua) f(ecit)*. On Arrecinus, see Townend 1961: 56–57.

[42] Tribunes: *CIL* VI 449: *permissu A(uli) Anni Camartis tr[ib(uni) pleb(is) aediculam reg(ionis) I vici honoris] | et virtutis magistri anni LXXXXII a s[olo impensa sua restituerunt]*; *CIL* VI 450: *permissu Ti(beri) Allieni Sicini Quintiani tr(ibuni) pl(ebis) | idem probavit aediculam regionis VI vico portae Collinae*

in the context of *the* cult most explicitly related to imperial rule in Rome, reinforces the view that most religious building projects in the city marked the religious authority of the emperor and not the senators, regardless of the part they may have played in issuing permits. The once supposed exception, the temple of Diana Planciana on the Quirinal once associated with M. Plancius (Rutilius?) Varus, a senator under Vespasian, has been convincingly challenged, and thus the imperial monopoly on city building projects now firmly stands.[43] The senators' roles were always second to the emperor's and couched in terms of their current offices, rather than stemming from a unique, personal religious authority.

The paucity and obscurity of *private* senatorial dedications in Rome furthers the impression that senatorial religion in the city was primarily presented as an aspect of a public, magisterial role. Take Jupiter Serenus, to whom an Albinus, probably M. Nummius Umbrius Primus Senecio Albinus (cos.ord. 206), dedicated an altar *ex voto* – possibly a philosophical version of the divinity, which occurs only one other time in our epigraphical evidence.[44] In another case a dedication appears to have a flavor of a senator's *origo*: Sex. Iulius Maior Antoninus Pythodorus (senator under Marcus) dedicated two inscriptions, one to *hestia patrooa* and another to *nomioi theoi* – the former of which could have had to do with either Vesta or the goddess Kore, of whom he was a priest in his hometown of Nysa in Lydia, while the latter must relate to Apollo, Pan, or some other pastoral divinity; both, together, suggest an individualized religious interest rather than any sort of intention to spread the worship of these divinities in Rome.[45] Similarly, we can trace a personal motivation and interest in a dedication of L. Minicius Natalis (cos.suff. 106) or his son, L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus (cos.suff. 139), from a family originating in Spain; although the portion of the inscription identifying the god is lost, we can suspect from the family's extensive dedications to various Greek gods elsewhere (including Asclepius Soter, Apollo, Sarapis, and Isis) that one of these gods may have been the recipient of this dedication as well.[46] L. Cornelius Scipio Orfitus, probably in the late second century, dedicated

vetustate | conlapsam a solo sua impensa restituerunt magistri anni CI[---]; *CIL* VI 452: *[permissu ---] Pollionis trib(uni) pleb(is) aed(iculam) reg(ionis) III vetusta[te] | [dilapsam a solo ma]gistri anni CXXI sua inpensa restitu[er(unt)]*. Praetors: *CIL* VI 451: *permissu C(ai) Cassi Interamnani Pisibani Prisci praetoris aediculam reg(ionis) XIIII vici censori magistri anni CVI[I] | vetustate dilapsam inpensa sua restituerunt*; *CIL* VI 453: *iussu | C(ai) Ponti Faustini | Graniani pr(aetoris?) | mag(istri) fecerunt.*

[43] Jones 1976: 235–236 convincingly refuted by *LTUR* 1995: 15.

[44] *CIL* VI 433 (Rome): *Iovi | Sereno | Nummius | Albinus | ex voto*. The other attestation: *CIL* VI 431, a dedication *Iovi sancto, Iovi Sereno*, which suggests that "Serenus" might refer to the purity of the god. Further, the identification of Albinus is also not absolutely certain.

[45] *IG* XIV 980, 1013 = *IGRom* 1, 57, 95 [46] *CIL* VI 31112.

a *taurobolium* to Magna Mater and Attis (possibly for the welfare of the emperor and the empire), thereby providing an unusual example of senatorial participation in one of the "oriental" cults that were flourishing in the city at the time.[47] Yet personal motivation expressed on a *taurobolium* does not necessarily suggest that he would have played an important role in the spread the cult in Rome.

The divinities addressed in these private offerings tend to be less central to the Roman pantheon than one might expect of senators. But their obscurity also makes it difficult to identify these senatorial dedications with security. Sometimes we cannot ascertain that it was a senator who made a certain dedication at all, as, for example, in the case of P. Stertinius Quartus (cos.suff. 112), who may be identified with the person of the same name who dedicated an altar *Iovi Hammoni et Silvano*.[48] Similarly, the social status of Sex. Cornelius Repentinus *signo* Contuccius, who offered a dedication to Silvanus in the city, is debated: he could have been a consular under Antoninus Pius or an equestrian.[49] It is also difficult to establish a chronology for these religious developments. How should we date, for example the dedication of an *aedicula* "*Deo Sancto Mercurio Aug(usto) conservatori suo*" by a P. Attius Ulpius Apuleius Clementinus Rufus, his wife and children? Can we be certain of a connection to the senator in the third century, under Gordian, or should the phrase "*ex oraculo*" suggest a fourth-century date?[50]

Nevertheless, it is remarkable that there are not many dedications directly to emperors, living or dead, by senators as individuals. Following a few examples under Tiberius, there is a long hiatus of almost a century.[51] It was

[47] *PIR* C1443; *CIL* VI 506 = 30782: *M(atri) d(eum) M(agnae) et Attidi* | *L(ucius) Cornelius Scipio* | *Orfitus v(ir) c(larissimus)* | *augur ex voto* | *taurobolio sive* | *criobolio facto*.

[48] *CIL* VI 378: *Iovi* | *Hammoni* | *et Silvano* | *P(ublius) Stertinius* | *Quartus d(onum) d(edit)*. Groag, *RE* s.v. *Stertinius* 3a.2455–6. on the African origin of such a dedication.

[49] *CIL* VI 654: *Silvano* | *Sanctissimo* | *Cornelius Re*|*pentinus* | *v(ir) c(larissimus) fecit*. In *PIR* Cornelius Repentinus is listed as equestrian by Stein, but he also suggests that the part of the inscription with the dedication might have been a later addition to the senatorial name.

[50] *AE* 1977, 22 (Rome): *Deo Sancto Mercurio Aug(usto)* | *Conservatori suo* | *P(ublius) Attius Ulpius Apuleius* | *Clementinus Rufinus v(ir) c(larissimus) et* | *Fl(avia) Veratia Peticianilla c(larissima) f(emina) eius et* | *P(ublius) Attius Flavius Augur Rufinus* | *Clementinus v(ir) c(larissimus) et* | *Attia Flavia Veratia Augurina* | *Novatilla c(larissima) p(uella) filii [eorum]* | *ex oraculo aediculam* | *dedicaverunt*. The editors of *L'Année épigraphique* suggest the fourth century on the basis of the *ex oraculo* phrase.

[51] For the Tiberian examples, offered either *pro salute, reditu, victoria*, or *pro incolumitate* of the emperor: *CIL* VI 91: *Q(uintus) Coelius L(uci) f(ilius) Pr(imus)* | *aed(ilis) pl(ebis) cer(eris)* | *propr(ium) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) q(ui)* | *ex voto suscepto* | *pro incolumitate* | *Ti(beri) Caesaris divi Aug(usti) f(ilii)* | *Augusti* | *pontific(is) maxim(i)* | *Concordiae d(onum) d(edit)* | *[a]uri p(ondo) XXV*; *CIL* VI 3675 = 30856: *Pro salute* | *Ti(beri) Caesar[is Au]g[u]st(i)* | *pontifi[cis maxi]mi* | *princi[p]is [optimi] et* | *ius[tissimi]* | *[ex] v[oto suscep]to* | *C(aius) Fulviu[s ---]us* | *proco(n)s(ul) [pr(aetor) prae]f(ectus)* | *frum(ento) da[nd(o)] ex s(enatus) [c(onsulto) le]g(atus)* | *pro pr(aetore) II[---]PIS[---] q(uaestor)* | *pro pr(aetore) tr(ibunus) mil(itum) l(egionis) IX Hisp(aniae)* | *Concordiae* | *auri p(ondo) V arg(enti) p(ondo) XXIII*; *CIL* VI

Hadrian who first received a direct dedication from a senator in Rome, from M. Petronius Mamertinus, a *novus homo* (cos.suff. 150), who honored, with his children, the emperor as *pater patriae* in Rome.[52] Q. Tineius Rufus (cos. ord. 182) offered a Greek dedication to the Egyptian *theoi synnaoi kai symbomoi* not directly to Commodus, but for his safety and victory.[53] Finally, M. Asinius Triarius Rufinus A. Sabinianus (cos.suff. *c.* 225) dedicated to Caracalla *ob insignem indulgentiam beneficiaque eius erga se* in 214.[54] The context of funerary commemoration may have been an area of exception, and Herodes Atticus commemorated his wife in Rome with a temple dedicated to Faustina on the Via Appia.[55]

The apparent trend towards restricted individual religious display on the one hand, and accepted but limited display in magisterial functions on the other, raises the question of whether the priestly colleges of senators may have had more visibility than their individual members. These priesthoods were, after all, primarily associated with the city. Our primary evidence comes in the form of *fasti* that survive for a number of colleges, which were apparently placed in the vicinity of the sanctuary where their main religious duties were fulfilled. Thus, for example, although some fragments of the best-attested priesthood, the arvals, were found scattered in Rome, most of their surviving *acta* came from Bovillae, where the priests met. The detailed documentation at a site of such limited visibility serves as a counterpoint to the monumentality of epigraphic representation in the empire, suggesting that the careful registration of ritual activities and members present was not aimed at a large audience.

An interesting exception to this trend is a singular, mid-second-century inscription, which also attests to the continuing role of the pontifical college in matters relating to burials. This dedication preserves a somewhat oddly worded Latin letter written by D. Velius Fidus, a member of the pontifical college, to P. Iuventius Celsus, the *promagister*, and the latter's procedural response concerning a case related to the relocation of corpses:[56]

3751 = 31282 = 36894: *[Pro] salute et reditu et Victoria | Ti(beri) C[laudi Caesar]is Aug(usti) Germ[anic]i pontific(is) | m[ax(imi) trib(unicia) pot(estate)] V imp(eratoris) XI [co(n)s(ulis) des(ignati)] IIII et | pro [salute Messallinae Ti(beri) Claudi] Caesaris | Augu[sti Germanici vot]o sus[cepto] | [---] Sulpiciu[s ---] q(uaestor) aedi[l(is) leg(atus) Ti(beri) C]laudi | Caesaris Aug(usti) [Germa]nici ex v[isu posuit(?)]*; *CIL* VI 917 = 40413: *[Pro s]alute re[ditu] | [vi]ctoria | [Ti(beri) Cl]audi Caesari[s] | [Aug(usti)] Germanici | [pont-(ificis)] max(imi) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) VI | [co(n)s(ulis) III] co(n)s(ulis) desig(nati) IIII | [p(atris) p(atriae) e]x voto susc(epto) | [---]turia Q(uinti) f(ilia) | [ex a]uri p(ondo) [---].*

[52] *CIL* VI 977 = 31219: *Imp(eratori) Hadriano | Aug(usto) n(ostro) p(atri) p(atriae) | M(arcus) Petronius Sura proc(onsul) | cum Mamertino et Antonino | liberis | ex arg(enti) p(ondo) V s(emuncia).*

[53] *IGRom* I, 87 = *IG* XIV 1007. [54] *CIL* VI 1067.

[55] *IGRom* I, 193–196. [56] *CIL* VI 2120 = *ILS* 8380.

Velius Fidus Iubentio Celso col|legae suo salutem. Desideri fra|ter, Arrii Alphii Arriae Fadillae, domini n(ostri) imp(eratoris) Antonini Aug(usti) matris liberti || libellum tibi misi cogniti mihi ex longo tempore primae iubentutis. | Etiam miratus cum ab aedibus essem | quot eo lo(co) se contulisset a quo | didici causa se requi(e)-tionis[57] set et religionis || magnope(re) a domino n(ostro) imp(eratore) | impetrasse. Ita, ne qua mora videa|tur ei per nos fieri, libellum subscrip|tum per eu(n)dem publicum sine mora | mihi remittas. Opto te salvo[m] et fel[i]cem es(se). |

Exe(m)plu(m) libelli dati: || Cum ante hos dies co(n)iugem et filium ami|serim et pressus necessitate corpora eorum | fictili sarcofago commendaverim, doni|que is locus, quem emeram, aedificaretur vi|a Flaminia inter miliar(ia) II et III euntibus a||b urbe parte laeva, custodia monumenti | Fla(viae) Thumeles, maesolaeo[!] M. S [i]li (?) Orcili: | rogo, domin(e), permittas mihi in eodem lo|co in marmoreo sarcofago, quem mihi mo|do comparavi, ea corpora colligere, ut [q]uan||done[58] ego esse desire(o), pariter cum eis ponar. | [D]ecretum: fieri placet. Iubentius Celsus | promagister subscripsi III nonas no(v)emb(res) | Antio Pol(l)ione et Opimiano co(n)s(ulibus) ordina[ri]is, [S]evero et Sabiniano co(n)s(ulibus).

Velius Fidus to Iuventius Celsus, my colleague in the pontifical college, greetings. Brother Desiderius, I send you a petition on behalf of the freedman of Arria Fadilla, the mother of our ruler the emperor Antoninus, Arrius Alphius, whom I have known since his first youth, a long time ago. And I am even surprised that, as I was away from my home, he had turned up here at this place; from him I have learnt the issue concerning the deposition of a corpse, also a religious duty, that he wants greatly to achieve from our ruler, the emperor. Thus, that no delay should seem to happen to him on our behalf, please send back the attached petition without delay by the same attendant. I hope you are well and happy.

A copy of the petition given by Arrius Alphius: When before these days I have parted with my wife and son and was pressed by necessity, I had deposited their bodies in an earthly grave; while the place that I had purchased was being built on the Via Flaminia between the second and third miles on the left approaching from the city, under the guard of Flavia Thumeles, in the mausoleum of M. Silius Orcilius: I ask you, lord, allow me to gather their bodies in that same place in a marble sarcophagus, that I have just acquired, so that when I will have passed, I shall be placed equal to them. Decree: approved to take place. I, Iuventius Celsus promagister, signed on the 6th of November, in the ordinary consulship of Antius Pollio and Opimianus, and in the consulship of Severus and Sabinianus.

Among other responsibilities, the pontifical college had the authority in burial matters, and this inscription confirms that their role as arbiters of religious law continued into the mid second century.[59] The inscription also

[57] *OLD* s.v. *requietio* cites the parallel in *CIL* V 1014: *locum requietionis corporis sui*.
[58] *Quandone* in a sense similar to *quandocumque* is mainly used on inscriptions (so *OLD* s.v.).
[59] For a possibly late imperial permission, see *CIL* VI 8878; and for a permission by a tribune of the plebs, cf. *CIL* VI 20863.

attests to an important development in the duties of the promagister who now (apparently for all practical purposes), headed the college in lieu of the emperor Antoninus Pius, the *pontifex maximus*. Thanks to this development, an *imperial* freedman apparently needed to turn to the *senatorial promagister* rather than to the emperor with his request.[60]

This same *promagister* of the pontifical college, P. Iuventius Celsus, (cos. ord. 164), is also important because he belongs to a new set of lawyers attested in the college. Remarkably, the Flavians reversed the Julio-Claudian policy of avoiding the appointment of lawyer-priests in the major priestly colleges.[61] Starting with C. Octavius Tidius Tossianus L. Iavolenus Priscus (cos.suff. 86) as *pontifex*, we find numerous pontifical lawyers, including L. Fulvius Aburnius Valens (quaestorian under Hadrian) and L. Octavius Cornelius Salvius Iulianus Aemilianus (cos.ord. 148), the grandfather of the later emperor Didius Iulianus. The significance of the fact that most of these early *pontifices* belonged to the Sabinian school of law is difficult to discern, especially given the growing modern scholarly skepticism about the delineation of the school in contrast to the Proculians.[62] If, as Falchi argued, the distinction between the schools lies in their approach to the preservation of the old *ius civile*, the Flavian preference for Sabinians in the pontifical college may have had to do with their more flexible attitude to updating Roman law. Whatever the reason for their prevalence, these appointments must have shaped the college as a source of decisions in matters of religious law. In P. Iuventius Celsus, we have the first attested Proculian in the pontifical college, suggesting a more conservative trend. One of his forefathers (probably a great-uncle, rather than an uncle), P. Iuventius Celsus T. Aufidius Hoenius Severianus (cos. II ord. 129), a famous lawyer and head of the Proculian school, had already served as a member of Hadrian's imperial *consilium*. The circumstances of the younger Celsus' appointment, under Antoninus Pius, are remarkable for a number of reasons nonetheless. His early appointment as a *promagister*, at least some ten years before his consulate, suggests that he himself was quite probably a legal expert.[63] Further, his role, heading the pontifical college as a *promagister*, may have been related to his legal expertise. Even if we have no evidence that the older Iuventius was himself a *promagister* of the pontifical college, as

[60] There is also an undated funerary inscription from Rome in which an imperial freedman claims to have received the site reserved for his burial with his family "*ex decreto pontificum*" (*AE* 1926, 48).

[61] Bauman 1989: 314.

[62] Falchi 1981: 262, note especially the table of p. 252 with the various earlier scholarly distinctions between the two schools.

[63] Schumacher 1973: 284 n. 268.

Bauman tentatively suggests,[64] there is a good case to be made for the importance of religious law in this context.

Further, the inscription emphasizes the legal process, pointing towards the role of priestly colleges, and most notably of the *pontifices*, in the creation of religious rulings, suggesting that these decisions were increasingly regarded as a legal, and not a religious, matter. The practice of appointing *magistri* to attend to these primarily administrative duties confirms a sense of the increasing legal bureaucratization of the priestly colleges. We know of only two *promagistri* of the pontifical college attested by name: besides P. Iuventius Celsus, the somewhat earlier L. Fulvius Gavius Numisius Petronius Aemilianus (sen. under Marcus). Their roles must have increased in response both to the increasingly long imperial absences from Rome and to the growth of business addressed to the pontifical college.[65] The only other *promagister* of the four major priestly colleges is attested in a similarly technical duty: Ser. Calpurnius Domitius Dexter, of the *quindecemviri sacris faciundis*, who restored an altar of Circe, a "Greek" goddess, so to say, *ex auctoritate* of the emperor and decreed by the whole priestly college in Circeii in 213.[66] In this latter inscription not much individual credit goes to the *promagister*, whose name is preceded by that of the emperor, accompanied also by a reference to his priestly college. In fact, epigraphic references to the general role of a priestly college outnumber individual namings, and it is possible that, even without the formal appointment of special *magistri*, individual members may have been responsible for taking care of business that was then identified in the inscriptions as having been completed by the whole college. In Rome, numerous inscriptions survive in which the pontifical college is identified as having given permission to special requests relating to burials, such as setting up tombs to someone deceased elsewhere or restoring old and decaying tombs.[67] As such, the college was responsible for quite a workload, and they appear to have delegated at least some of their duties to their lower-class *calatores*.[68] The growing reliance on administrative personnel, possibly also true for the arvals, suggests that the priesthoods gathered senators together for the

[64] Bauman 1989: 314. [65] Bauman 1989: 314, with Hammond 1959: 69, 101 n. 65.

[66] *CIL* X 6422: *Ex auctoritate Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris)* | *M(arci) Aurelii Antonini Pii Felic(is)* | *Aug(usti) Parthic(i) max(imi) Britt(annici) max(imi)* | *pont(ificis) max(imi) et decreto coll(egii)* | *XV(virum) sac(ris) fac(iundis) Servius Calpurnius* | *Domitius Dexter promagist(er) aram* | *Circes sanctissimae restituit* | …

[67] *CIL* VI 1884: *ex permissu* | *collegii pontific(um)*; *CIL* VI 8875: *ex* | *permissu pontific<or>um*; *CIL* VI 22120: *permissu pontificum* | *c(larissimorum) v(irorum); CIL* VI 35068: *permissu pontific(is)*.

[68] *CIL* VI 712: *permissu calator pon[tif(icis)]* | *et flaminum*; *CIL* VI 2185: *[perm]issu ca[l]atorum pontificum et* | *[fl]aminum*; *CIL* VI 2186: *per]**[missu] calatorum [pontifi]**[cum et] flaminum*; *CIL* VI 40684: *permissu calatorum pontificum* | …

purpose of accomplishing necessary official business more than they enhanced the religious authority of any individual senator.

There is a marked contrast between the non-priestly magistrates, whose ceremonial roles highlighted important religious and civic celebrations, and the members of priestly colleges, whose appearances were primarily communal and whose public roles in Rome became ever more legal in nature. The contrast shows that priests continued to fulfill important functions associated with the traditional duties of the colleges, but it also calls into question the religious significance of the priesthoods. In my view, this change was paradigmatic: the emperor's primacy as a benefactor and main sacrificer was a given,[69] and there can be no doubt that his was *the* most charismatic religious presence in Rome.[70] The increasing formality with which emperors viewed their membership in the major priestly colleges suggests that the association of authoritative religious representation with non-priestly power was a growing trend, providing individual religious authority for senators in their institutional roles as consuls and praetors in the city. The emphasis on the magisterial power depicted in religious terms was not completely new (late republican senators already engaged in such representation); nevertheless, it is remarkable that, despite the emperor's obvious primacy, this arena of senatorial representation expanded in the much higher-stake representational world of imperial Rome. The evidence therefore implies that the example of the emperor as the highest non-priestly magistrate, who could nevertheless benefit from religious representation, found an enthusiastic following among senators. The reason, at least in part, was that this model corresponded to how imperial power now became itinerant. To better understand this new dynamic, I now turn to senatorial religion outside Rome, but still within Italy.

SENATORIAL RELIGION IN ITALY – OUTSIDE ROME

Between Rome and the provinces, the rest of Italy held a curious position in the lives of senators: although once the notional opposite of the capital, by the time of the empire these areas were fully Romanized in language and culture. The unique status of Italy is best exemplified by a rule, probably in place from the time of Trajan onwards, requiring all senators to own at least

[69] Gordon 1990c.

[70] Note the insights of Eck on how Augustus already reserved for himself the public space of the city: Eck 1984: 138–145.

a third of their land in Italy.[71] This guideline emphasizes Italy as the symbolic center of the empire, but, in reality, much of Italy could also function as a safe backwater, where the religious control and primacy of emperors might have less influence than in the capital. In fact, landowning in Italy also allowed senators to travel without seeking prior permission from the emperor, required for provincial journeys.[72] Both the relative importance of Italy and its safe distance from Rome may have contributed to the rich and varied evidence for senatorial participation in local religious life in Italy, including dedications to gods.

Dedications and other forms of religious participation by senators in Italy can be difficult to interpret: in general, the contexts of the dedications remain opaque and the motivation of those who erected them unclear. Thus dedications to a local divinity may reflect the realities of senatorial landownership instead of the religious proclivities of a particular senator, including the possibility that the sanctuary may have been located on private land belonging to a senator. One of Pliny's epistles (9.39) describes just such a case, related to a temple of Ceres on the senator's property, probably close to Tifernum. On the advice of *haruspices*, Pliny decided to enlarge this "rather old and small" temple and to add porticoes in order to accommodate the apparently welcome public who came to celebrate the goddess's local festival on September 13, the date of the *Ludi Romani* in the capital. Pliny's motivation was twofold: as he explains, "*munifice simul religioseque facturus*" ("I will act both generously and piously") – he addresses his generosity and the munificence of the porticoes to the people, and his piety, expressed by his expansion of the temple, to the goddess.[73] It is often impossible for modern scholars to tell whether a dedication was made in relation to a sacred site on the private property of a senatorial landowner. The obvious exceptions are the famous Italian sanctuaries where senatorial dedications continued throughout the imperial period, although we cannot exclude the possibility that a senator may have owned land nearby, giving him a reason to visit the sanctuary.[74]

Connection to the land, in particular holding an estate, is often presumed when "rustic" gods are involved. The numerous dedications offered to Silvanus by C. Laecanius Bassus Caecina Paetus (cos.suff. *c.* 70) and those close to him in Minturnae are often seen as evidence of his landownership

[71] Plin. *Ep.* 6.19. [72] For a discussion of this requirement see Eck 1996: 213–219.

[73] *Ep.* 6.19.3: *Videor ergo munifice simul religioseque facturus, si aedem quam pulcherrimam exstruero, addidero porticus aedi, illam ad usum deae has ad hominum.*

[74] For the whole problem see Andermahr 1998: 26 with the critical comments of Bruun 2000: 501–504.

nearby, though at least one other, and apparently completely unrelated, dedication to the god also survives from there.[75] Similarly, the dedication offered to the Dioscuri in Tusculum, by the Severan consular Q. Flavius Balbus, could imply his holdings there or, alternatively, it may be associated with the *aedes* of Castor and Pollux in the municipium.[76] A more private motif, and possibly ongoing landownership, can be presumed from a piece of poetry inscribed in Lavinium to Silvanus, which identifies its offerer, Antonius Balbus, as "born in this hut, of equestrian family, now proconsul of Africa," in the third century.[77] One possible clue of the motivation for dedication, although not for landownership, is provided in inscriptional evidence displaying the senator's detailed cursus. This type of dedication can probably be associated with the similar practice in public benefaction. For example, P. Tebanus Gavidius Latiaris has his detailed cursus displayed prior to identifying his dedication as addressed to the rural goddess Feronia. The public display of a detailed cursus suggests that the senator made his offering in a sanctuary or in some other space where the widespread publicity offered an incentive for a more formal type of self-presentation. Still, the cult of Feronia is not otherwise attested in Aveia Festina.[78]

In contrast, more personal (and for the modern observer more immediately religious) motivations are sometimes discerned from the absence of public displays of the cursus, especially when the omission is combined with a unique choice of deities. Take the example of a plainly worded dedication to Bona Dea from the outskirts of ancient Volaterrae, by two senators, father and son, and their wives in the late first century, where the name of the goddess, in the dative, is followed by the four names in the nominative.[79] The simplicity of the inscription and the familial nature of the involvement suggest the primacy of "private" motivations over an interest in display. We can come to a similar conclusion in the case of two

[75] *AE* 1908, 84: *Silvano* | *sacrum* | *C(aius) Caecina Paetus*; *AE* 1908, 85: *Silvano sacr(um)* | *pro salute* | *C(ai) Caecinae Paeti* | *C(aius) Caecina Talaticus* | *ara(m) fecit*; *AE* 1908, 86: *Silvano sacrum* | *pro salute C(ai) Laecani* | *Bassi Caecinae Paeti* | *liberorumque eius* | *Theseus ser(vus) v(otum) s(olvit)*. Cf. *CIL* X 5999: *Silvano* | *sacr(um)* | *C(aius) Valerius C(ai) f(ilius)* | *Martialis* (also from Minturnae).

[76] *CIL* XIV 2576: *Casto*|*ribus* | *Q(uintus) [Fl(avius)]* | *Balbus* | *co(n)s(ul)*; which Andermahr ad no. 205 is unwilling to classify as either private or public, but cf. the numerous inscriptions attesting *aeditui aedis Castoris Pollucis* in Tusculum since the republic: *ILLRP* 59; *CIL* XIV 2620, 2629, 2637, 2639, *AE* 1901, 188.

[77] *AE* 1998, 279: *Silvane ruris incola* | *et Nemus silens* | *Hechoque loquax* | *Dryades et Silvae meae* | *Antonius me Balbus* | *hac natus casa* | *equestri genere* | *nunc proco(n)s(ul) Afric(ae)* | *posuit pr[---]ais* | *hoc via p[---]es.*

[78] *CIL* IX 3602: *P(ublius) Tebanus P(ubli) f(ilius) Quir(ina)* | *Gavidius Latiaris* | *quaestor* | *divi Claudii tr(ibunus) pl(ebis) pr(aetor)* | *per omnes honores* | *candidatus Augustor(um)* | *Feroniae.*

[79] Andermahr 1998 no. 561: *CIL* XI 1735: *Bonae Deae* | *L(ucius) Venuleius [L(uci) f(ilius)] Gal(eria) Mon-[tanus]* | *et L(ucius) Venuleius [L(uci) f(ilius)] L(uci) n(epos) Mon[tanus]* | *Apron[ia]nus* | *Laetilla et Celerina uxo[res].*

dedications by a L. Annius Largus to *F(ortuna) D(omestica)* and the *di penates*, where the absence of the cursus, the address to the familial gods, and in the latter inscription, the commemoration of a vow undertaken prior to a military assignment come together to contribute to the "private" feel of the inscription.[80] *Fortuna* and the *di penates* are especially frequent addresses on inscriptions implying the predominance of private motifs over public display. Another consular, M. Fulvius Gillo (cos.suff. 76) made a dedication to *di penates familiares* in Forum Novum, probably on the family's property.[81] C. Ulpius Prastina Pacatus Messalinus (cos.ord. 147) may have dedicated to Fortuna in her specific "Tusculan" form there, emphasizing the local connection.[82]

Women may have especially favored Fortuna: for example, an otherwise unknown senatorial woman dedicated an inscription to the goddess in Lorium.[83] But Fortuna's role was certainly not restricted to women: in Volsinii a *servus actor* of the Rufii made a dedication to the goddess, "*pro salute*" of the male senators in the household (for more on this important formula see Chapter 6).[84] But the gender matches of the dedicator and his or her divine addressee do not seem a great concern; one of the senatorial Rufii also dedicated to Ceres in Volsinii.[85]

More intense personal connections between human dedicator and divine addressee are occasionally indicated by the employment of unique phrases in the dedicatory inscription. Thus, C. Rufius Festus Laelius Firmus dedicated *ex imperiu*, a *hapax*, of Ceres. A more frequently employed phrase was "*ex visu*"; it was with such a reference that L. Plotius Sabinus and his wife, Florentia Domitilla made a dedication to the obscure god Epaphus Aurelianus, probably a version of Serapis, in Tibur, most probably under Antoninus Pius.[86] Most inscriptions suggesting such intense and apparently personal connections between a senator and a god relate to health concerns.

[80] Andermahr 1998 no. 35: L. Annius Largus (A665), probably of the consular Annii, although unclear which. *CIL* XI 3730 (Lorium): *L(ucius) Annius | Largus | F(ortunae) D(omesticae) | d(onum) d(edit)*; *CIL* XI 1920 (Perugia): *T(itus) Annius L(uci) f(ilius) Larg<u=I>s | Dibus penatibus | ob rem militarem | votum solvit l(ibens) m(erito)*.

[81] *CIL* IX 4776: *Deis penatibus familiaribus | M(arcus) Fulvius M(arci) f(ilius) Gillo co(n)s(ul) fecit*.

[82] Andermahr 1998 no. 434: *CIL* XIV 2588: *Fort]una[e --] | [--]issima [---] | T[u]sculanae | C(aius) Prastina | Pacatus co(n)s(ul)*. Cf. Andermahr ad loc. on why this is probably *not* a funerary inscription.

[83] Andermahr 1998 no. 318: *CIL* XI 3731 = VI 173a: *Fortunae sacrum | Lusia Galeria* Gai*[!] | filia Rufina c(larissima) f(emina)*.

[84] Andermahr 1998 no. 455: *CIL* XI 2997 = XV 7525: *Fortun(a)e | sanct(a)e | pro salute{m} | [R]ufiorum | Festi | et Marcellini | et Proculi | ccc(larissimorum) vvv(irorum) | Antigonus | ser(vus) a[c]t(or) cum s(uis)*.

[85] *CIL* XI 7272: *Deae C[er]|eri ex imp[er]\[i]u[!] posuit | [C(aius)] Rufius C(ai) | [f(ilius) Fe]stus*.

[86] Andermahr 1998 no. 409: *AE* 1983, 142: *ex visu deo | Epapho | Aureliano | L(ucius) Plotius Sabi|nus pr(aetor) desig(natus) | sodalis Titia|lis et Floren|tia Domitilla*. Cf. *CIL* VI 41111 = 31746 = *CLE* 207 for the senator's funerary inscription from Rome.

Another consular of around the same time, M. Nonius Macrinus (cos.suff. 154), offered a dedication to the *di conservatores*, *pro salute* of his daughter by Lake Garda.[87] In this case, it is likely that this inscription was erected close to the hometown of the Nonii family, Brixia. In the early third century a later descendant, M. Nonius Arrius Paulinus Aper, made a number of dedications there to Mercury, clearly with his health in mind.[88] A less frequent variety of inscription calls the god *iuvans*, as L. Volumnius Horatianus did, when, in the mid second century, he dedicated an offering to *Sol*.[89]

Personal concerns, expectations of divine help, and a wish for public display cannot easily be divided into neat interpretative categories: for example, the 100-pound silver statue of Asclepius that the second-generation consular, the polyonymous C. Bruttius Praesens (cos.ord. 153; cos. II. ord. 180) had to set up in Amiternum, as directed by the will of his mother, cannot have been either "privately" or "publicly" motivated in an obvious way.[90] Our conventional separation of public and private dedications is also challenged by the frequency with which dedications of a "private" nature address Jupiter, a god closely affiliated with the state cult. Dedications to more exotic versions of Jupiter would also carry this connotation, including an offering by L. Mummius Niger Q. Valerius Vegetus Severinus Caucidius Tertullus (cos.suff. under Marcus) to Jupiter Dolichenus, to whom, in fulfillment of a vow, he put up the address, "*Iovi [D]o[l]ic[heno] | exuperantiss[imo]*."[91] The superlative that appears with reference to Jupiter Dolichenus is not very different from the one that occurs with reference to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, namely "*summus excellentissimus*," which is the form encountered in the detailed explanation offered for his Capuan dedication to the god by M. Maecius Probus. This consul of the late second or early third century, in fulfillment of a vow, made a dedication after "he suffered twofold danger in this place and has

[87] Andermahr 1998 no. 359: *CIL* V 4864: *Dis | conservatorib(us) | pro salute | Arriae suae | M(arcus) Nonius | Macrin(us) consecr(avit)*. Cf. also another dedication in Brixia: *CIL* V 4300: *M(arcus) Nonius | Macrinus | ex voto*.

[88] *CIL* V 4262: *Deo Merc(urio) | M(arcus) Non(ius) Arr(ius) | Paulinus | Aper c(larissimus) i(uvenis) | pro salute sua | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*; *CIL* V 4263: *Deo Merc(urio) | M(arcus) Nonius | Arr(ius) Paulinus | Aper c(larissimus) i(uvenis) | vot(um) quod vov(erat) | s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) c(um) s(uis)*.

[89] *CIL* XI 3711 (Pyrgi): *Soli Iuvanti | L(ucius) Volumnius | Horatianus | sodal(is) Aug(usti) praet(or) urb(anus)*.

[90] Andermahr 1998 no. 290: *CIL* IX 4512: *] | C(ai) Brutti Praesentis I[I co(n)s(ulis) uxor C(ai) Brutti Praesentis co(n)s(ulis)] | mater Aesculapio ex argenti p(ondo) C testamento fieri | iussit C(aius) Bruttius Praesens co(n)s(ul) C(ai) Brutti Praesentis II co(n)s(ulis) f(ilius) et her(es) posuit*.

[91] *CIL* IX 948 (Aceae): *Iovi [D]o[l]ic[heno] | exuperantiss[imo] | L(ucius) Mummius Nig[er] | Quintus Valeriu[s] | V[e]g[et]us Severin[us] | C(aius) Aucidius Tertul[lus] | co(n)s(ul) v(otum) s(olvit)*.

recovered his good health."[92] Such dedicatory language is sometimes attributed to a unique emergence of late-second-century anxiety, but a more organic outgrowth from the kind of vows undertaken to Jupiter Optimus Maximus already earlier in the century can also explain the phenomenon. Earlier examples include that of T. Caesernius Statius Quinctius Macedo Quinctianus (cos.suff. 138) in Albanum; and the altar built to the god by the second-century consular P. Cornelius Priscus Valerinus in Volsinii.[93] Vows remained a feature of Jupiter worship. One, probably undertaken in a thunderstorm, led to a not easily datable (and possibly late) dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Co(nservator?) by Flavius Valens, outside Milan.[94] Jupiter Optimus Maximus Conservator was also the addressee of a dedication of the early third century by the consular P. Pomponius Cornelianus in Verona, where another fragmentary inscription was offered to the same god, *pro salute* of the senator, his wife, and other family members, most likely by a lower-status associate of the family.[95] The main god of the Roman pantheon, through his varied eponyms, appears in these inscriptions as a divine power that can also be addressed with a complex set of motivations, including those of a private nature.

The interest in Jupiter in these semi-private settings is especially important when compared with the fact that, relatively speaking, dedications to emperors and members of the imperial family – still living or dead, divinized or not – were not as common as one might expect. We have one dedication to the *salus* of Augustus in Ostia,[96] two in Amiternum to Julia and Tiberius,[97] and possibly another just to Tiberius himself in Alba.[98] There

[92] Andermahr 1998 no. 321: *CIL* X 3805: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *summo excellen*|*tissimo* | *Maecius Probus v(ir) c(larissimus) praef(ectus)* | *alim(entorum) quod hoc in loco* | *anceps periculum* | *sustinuerit* | *et bonam valetudi*|*nem reciperaverit* | *v(otum) s(olvit)*. Cf. Eck 1979: 181 n. 145.

[93] Andermahr 1998 no. 105: *CIL* XIV 2253: *Iovi O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *T(itus) Caesernius* | *Statius* | *Quinctius* | *Macedo* | *Quinctianus* | *co(n)s(ul) v(otum) s(olvit)*; and Andermahr no. 172: *AE* 1981, 349: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *P(ublius) Corneli*|*us Priscus* | *Valerinus* | *co(n)s(ul)* | *fecit*.

[94] Andermahr 1998 no. 213: *CIL* V 5670: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Co(nservatori?)* | *ex premissa* | *fulguris* | *potestate* | *Flavius Valens* | *v(ir) c(larissimus) ex d(evotione?) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* | *d(onum) p(osuit)*.

[95] Andermahr 1998 no. 418: *CIL* V 3254: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *Conservatori* | *P(ublius) Pomponius* | *Cornelianus* | *consularis* | *curator* | *rerum* | *publicarum*; cf. *CIL* V 3243: *Iovi* | *Conservat(ori) pro salute* | *P(ubli) Pompon[i]* | *Corneliani et Iuliae* | *Magia[e] e[i]us et Iu[l]ian[i] et [*.

[96] By Acilius Glabrio, *CIL* XIV 4324 = *AE* 1910, 189 (Ostia): *Saluti Caesaris* | *August(i)* | *Glabrio patronus coloniae d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*.

[97] By C. Norbanus Flaccus: *CIL* IX 4334: *[Iuliae Augustae]* | *[divi Augusti]* | *[T]i(berio) Caesari divi* | *[Au]gusti f(ilio) August[o]* | *[C(aius) Norban]us Flaccus* | *[dono dedicavit(?) e]x voto suscep[to]*; and *SuppIt* 9a, 24: *[Iuliae Augustae]* | *[Drusi f(iliae)]* | *[divi Augusti]* | *Ti(berio) Caesa[ri]* | *divi August[i f(ilio)]* | *Augusto* | *[C(aius) Norbanus] Flaccus [c(o)n(sul?)]*.

[98] By a P. Varius Ligus, who may not be a senator: *CIL* V 7598: *Ti(berio) Caesari* | *Drusi f(ilio)* | *Ti(beri) Augusti [n(epoti)]* | *divi Augusti pron(epoti)* | *P(ublius) Varius P(ubli) f(ilius) Aem(ilia)* | *Ligus filius*.

are only two inscriptions to *divinized* members of the Julio-Claudian family, one to *divus Augustus* in Lanuvium, and another to *diva Drusilla* in Tibur.[99] Trajan received a dedication in Ostia, as did Hadrian by the same senator;[100] and it is under Hadrian that we first move beyond Regio I of Italy with senatorial dedications to living emperors, with an offering in Saepinum in 130.[101] Both Marcus Aurelius and his wife, Faustina the Younger, received dedications in Regio I, in Tusculum and Ferentinum respectively.[102] Finally, Commodus may have received two dedications in Brixia.[103] We have no living Severan emperors honored by a senator in Italy. Needless to say, there must have been more – most likely many more dedications made in the two and a half centuries covered here – but the available evidence points to a relatively limited interest in honoring divinized members of the imperial family. It appears that senators did not in particular seek to "represent" the imperial cult in Italy. As to dedications offered to living emperors, the question of the balance between secular and religious motivations may be more relevant. It is worth noticing that these dedications are relatively more prevalent closer to the center, in Regio I of Italy, suggesting

[99] To *divus Augustus* by Sex. Teidius Valerius Catullus: *CIL* XIV 2095: *[Di]vo Aug(usto)* | *[---] L(uci) f(ilius) Valerius Catull(us) co(n)s(ul) [---]* | *Catullus pontif(ex) [*; to *diva Drusilla* by C. Rubellius Blandus: *CIL* XIV 3576: *[Di]vae Drusillae* | *sacrum* | *[C(aius) R]ubellius C(ai) f(ilius) Blandus* | *[q(uaestor)] divi Aug(usti) tr(ibunus) pl(ebis) pr(aetor) co(n)s(ul)* | *[pr]oc(on)s(ul) pontif(ex)*.

[100] Both by M. Acilius Priscus Egrilius Plarianus: *AE* 1955, 171: *[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari)]* | *[divi Nervae f(ilio) Traiano Aug(usto) Germ(anico) Dac(ico)]* | *[pontif(ici) max(imo) tri]b(unicia) pot(estate) X [imp-(eratori) V co(n)s(uli) V p(atri) p(atriae)]* | *[M(arcus) Acilius Pr]iscus E[grilius Plarianus]* | *[praef(ectus) aer]ar(i) Satu[rni*; and *AE* 1955, 172: *[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) divi Traiani]* | *[Parthici f(ilio) divi Nervae nep(oti)]* | *[Traiano Hadriano Aug(usto)]* | *[pon]tif(ici) max(imo) trib(unicia) [pot(estate) I]I* | *co(n)s-(uli) II* | *[M(arcus) A]cilius Priscus* | *[Egri]lius Plarianus cum* | *[Q(uinto) Egri]lio Plariano f(ecit)*.

[101] By L. Neratius Marcellus; a very fragmentary dedication but certainly to Hadrian: *EE* VIII 108: *[Imp-(eratori) Caes(ari) divi Traiani]* | *[Parthici f(ilio) d]ivi Nerva[e nep(oti)]* | *[Traiano Hadrian]o Aug(usto) ponti[f(ici) max(imo)]* | *[trib(unicia) po]t(estate) XIV co(n)s(uli) [---]* | *L(ucius) Neratius Ma]rcellus co(n)s(ul)*. (My interpretation.)

[102] To Marcus, by M. Aemilius Macer Faustinianus: *CIL* XIV 2596: *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aurelio An*|*tonino Pio Felici Aug(usto)* | *principi iuventutis nu*|*mini praesenti restitu*|*tori et conservatori* | *semper vitae adque* | *dignitatis suae de*|*votissimus numi*|*ni eius* | *M(arcus) Aemilius Macer Faustinia[nus]* | *v(ir) c(larissimus)* …; to Faustina, by C. Laberius Quartinus (cos.suff. before 173): *CIL* X 5824: *Faustin[a]e Aug(ustae)* | *Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aureli* | *Antonin[i] Aug(usti) Germa*|*nici tr(ibunicia) [po]t(estate) XXVII* | *co(n)s(ulis) I[II] p(atris) p(atriae)* | *C(aius) Laberiu[s Q]uartinus* | *co(n)s(ul) VII[vi]r epul(onum)*.

[103] By M. Nonius Arrius Mucianus, who made numerous dedications in Brixia: *CIL* V 4318 = *Inscr. Ital.* 10.5. 101 (Regio X | Brixia): *Imp(eratori) Caesari* | *divi M(arci) Antonini Pii* | *German(ici) Sarmat(ici) f(ilio)* | *divi Pii nepot(i) divi Hadriani* | *pronep(oti) divi Traiani Parthic(i)* | *abnepoti divi Nervae adnepoti* | *M(arco) Aurelio Commodo Antonin(o)* | *Pio Felici Aug(usto) Sarmat(ico) Germ(anico) maximo* | *Brittann(ico) pontif(ici) max(imo) trib(unicia) potest(ate) XIIII* | *imp(eratori) VIII co(n)s-(uli) V p(atri) p(atriae)* | *fortissimo principi* | *M(arcus) Nonius Arrius Mucianus*; and the very fragmentary, but probably very similar: *Inscr. Ital.* 10.5.133: *O[---]* | *[--- pri]ncipi* | *[---Nonius Arr]-ius(?) Muc[ianus]* | *[---]atus [--*.

that the potential for display may have been a significant consideration for the location chosen for the offerings.

This is not to say that senatorial families, as such, did not participate in the local cults of divinized imperial family members in Italy. In an idiosyncratic representation of the complex realities of imperial worship among senators, there is rather extensive evidence for senatorial women participating in the local cult of divinized imperial women in Italy. Claudia Fadilla was honored as priestess of *divae Augustae* in Allifae.[104] Antonia Picentina, wife of a praetor, was priestess of *diva Faustina* in Falerio, where she honored the emperor Antoninus Pius by setting up statues, most probably of the emperor and his deceased wife.[105] But the most surprising example is Cassia Cornelia Prisca, wife of M. Aufidius Fronto (cos.ord. 199), who was *sacerdos Augustae et patriae Formiani*, that is, priestess of the empress and of *her* hometown, Formiae (which was not, by the way, the hometown of her spouse).[106] As were all of the previous women, Cassia was honored for her benefaction, probably in connection with the imperial cult in the *municipium*, but she is the only one identified as priestess of a *living* empress, rather than a divinized one. It appears to have been common practice among members of the imperial Italian elite to hold the priesthood of a living emperor, which was, in due time, "updated" to the priesthood of the divinized emperor,[107] yet Cassia's example is the only one we have for someone of senatorial rank participating in the process.

Local priesthoods demonstrate that piety and benefaction, the two elements identified by Pliny above, were tightly interconnected in senatorial religion. P. Alfius Maximus Numerius Avitus, a senator originating from Hispania Citerior who lived in the late Antonine or the Severan period, was a *sacerdos Iunonis* in a *municipium* close to Rome and was honored for his building activities there as well.[108] To a limited extent, there is also evidence

[104] *CIL* IX 2347: *[Cl]audiae | Ti(beri) f(iliae) | [Fa]dillae | c(larissimae) f(eminae) | [sa]cerd[oti] di|[v]arum Aug|[ust]ar(um) ob amor(em) | [e]rga patriam | [exi]mium eius | [Au]gust(ales) p(ecunia) p(ublica).*

[105] *CIL* IX 5428: *Imp(eratori) Antonino Aug(usto) P[io] | Antonia Cn(aei) fil(ia) Picentina C(ai) [---] | Secundi praetori(i) patron[i colo]|niae sacerdos divae Fau[sti]|nae* ***statuas*** *quas ad exo[rnan]|dum theatrum promi[serat Fa]|leriensibus posuit et [ob ded(icationem)] | decurionibus plebi urbanae div[isionem] | dedit.*

[106] *AE* 1971, 79: *Cassiae | Corneliae | C(ai) f(iliae) Priscae c(larissimae) f(eminae) Aufidi Frontonis co(n)s(ulis) | pontificis proco(n)s(ulis) | Asiae | patroni col(oniae) uxori | sacerdoti Augustae | et patriae Formiani | publice pro splendore | munificentiae eius || Aginatii iun(ioris).*

[107] Gradel 2002: 87–88.

[108] *CIL* VI 41176 is a difficult, fragmentary inscription, for which see Alföldy's detailed commentary ad loc.: *[P(ublio) Alfio P(ubli) f(ilio) Gal(eria) Max]imo Numerio Av[ito v(iro) c(larissimo)] | [--- quaest(ori) sevi]r(o) eq(uitum) R(omanorum) allecto in[ter tri]|[bunicios praetori] cand(idato) leg(ato) prov(inciae) Ba[eticae] | [praef(ecto) frumenti] dandi sacerd(oti) Iun[onis] | [--- Lu]perc(o) cur(atori) civitat(is)*

for local priestly positions among senators, linking priesthood and patronage in a manner parallel to that of piety and benefaction in general. Thus, P. Aelius Coeranus Iun(ior) (cos.suff. *c.* 225) was patron and *flamen Dialis* in Tibur.[109] Around the same time, as a senatorial child, *clarissimus puer*, M. Umbilius Maximinus Praetextatus was both *sacerdos geni coloniae* and patron of Ostia.[110] Such patronage does not always come with a priestly title, even if religious benefaction is involved: of the three inscriptions in Ostia that include senatorial *patroni*, one, with ten senators among its patrons over time, supported an *ordo corporatorum*, which collected money to enlarge a temple.[111] When we find an inscription without full context, with the senator's name in the nominative, sometimes followed by a "*dedit*," we often cannot tell whether or not this is evidence of a donation of a religious monument.[112] In this context, the specifics of a relatively late, third-century dedication by L. P(ublilius) D […] Patruinus describing his offering of a temple with altar to Diana Eutherus are remarkable.[113] The

e[orum] | [quod ex indulgentia] in eor(um) min(isterium) usui id[oneo] | [civium omnium non m]odo calchidicum[!] [et por]|[ticum vetustate c]ollapsam renova[verit] | [sed etiam basilic]am hypocaustam n[ovam] | [cum tribunali ipso i]nstante extrui c[urave]|[rit et insuper curiam] vetustate conla[psam] | [sumptibus suis re]formari et excoli [iusse]|[rit et divisionem] oleariam pecun[ia sua] | [civibus sublevandis] instituere enisus s[it … The second part, discussing *immunitas*, is probably related to grain being sent to Rome: the view of Wiegels ad *CIL* VI 1474 (that Alfius possibly earned *immunitas* for an association of Iuno) cannot be maintained.

[109] *CIL* XIV 3586: *P(ublio) Aelio Coerano | co(n)s(ulis) proco(n)s(uli) prov(inciae) Mac(edoniae) | leg(ato) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) iuridico | per Flaminiam et Umbri|am praet(ori) urb(ano) trib(uno) pl(ebei) | cand(idato) quaest(ori) IIIIvir(o) iur(e) dic(undo) | frat(ri) Arvali curat(ori) civit(atum) | Antiatium et Aquinatium | patrono et flamini Diali Tib(urti) | decuriones Tiburtes*.

[110] *AE* 1988, 214: *M(arco) Umbilio M(arci) f(ilio) Arn(ensi) | Maximino | praetextato c(larissimo) p(uero) patrono c(oloniae) | sacerdoti Geni col(oniae)* … Cf. already *AE* 1977, 151. He also participated in the saecular games of 204 as a *puer senatorius*, *CIL* VI 32331. Cf. *AE* 1968, 122 for another senatorial child, a *clarissima puella*, who was *sacerdos publica* in Beneventum.

[111] Alföldy 1977b: 354–361. *CIL* XIV 246 with p. 482: *Imp(eratore) Caesare T(ito) Aelio Hadriano Antonino Aug(usto) | Pio p(atri) p(atriae) III M(arco) Aelio Aurelio Caesare co(n)s(ulibus) | ordo corporator(um) qui pecuniam ad ampliand(um) templum contuler(unt) || patroni |*

(1) T. Prifernius Paetus Rosianus Geminus (cos.suff. 125/154?);
(2) M. Stlaccius Albinus Trebellius Sallustius Rufus (otherwise unknown);
(3) M. Sedatius Severianus (cos.suff. 153);
(4) T. Prifernius Paetus Rosianus Nonius [Agric?]ola C. Labeo [T]et[tius? Geminus?] (cos.suff. 146);
(5) M. Sedatius Severus Iulius Reginus (son of cos.suff. 153);
(6) C. Allius Fuscianus (cos.suff. 162);
(7) T. Statilius Taurus;
(8) Ti. [H]aterius Saturninus (cos.suff. 164);
(9) C. Pantuleius Graptiacus (cos.suff. *c.* 175/176);
(10) C Allius Fuscus (cos.suff. before 192).

[112] Cf. Andermahr 1998, who lists under no. 319 *CIL* XIV 2929 from a base found outside Praeneste, with C. Lutatius Cerco 's name in the nominative, as a possible statue base for Nymphs, of which, even with the archaeological remains of a *balineum* close by, we cannot be certain; or her no. 63, from Patavium.

[113] *CIL* IX 686 (Herdonia): *Dianae | Euthero | templum | cum ara | L(ucius) P(ublilius) D() Patruinus | v(ir) c(larissimus)*.

identification of such details within the text of the dedication may have been a comparatively late development; a comparable detailed example dates to the third century. In this case, P. Plotius Romanus (cos.suff. *c.* 223) had it inscribed that he established a temple of Hercules Victor from Tibur just outside the Porta Portuensis in Rome "*cum omni cultu*."[114] We can also note the use of the verb "*consecravit*," which, along with "*donum dedit*," was slightly more religious in reference than a simple "*dedicavit*," or the more legally and financially focused "*curavit*."

The cult of Hercules Victor in Tibur was in fact one of the most frequented traditional cults by senators in Italy and, as such, it provides a rare insight into the varieties of patronage in local Italian contexts. The sanctuary was quite popular among senators, even prior to the late-second-century fame of the god in his association with Commodus. Thus, the polyonymous P. Manilius Vopiscus Vicinillianus L. Elufrius Severus Iulius Quadratus Bassus (cos.ord. 114) was curator of the sanctuary (and *salius Collinus*). He was not a new arrival: his father, as we learn from Statius, already had a villa in the municipium, as did many other senators.[115] Other curators of the sanctuary included L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus (cos.suff. 139, also a patron of Tibur),[116] P. Mummius Sisenna Rutilianus (cos.suff. 146, as well as patron and *salius*),[117] the polyonymous Q. Pompeius

[114] *CIL* VI 332: *[Her]cul[i] | Victori | P(ublius) Plotius Romanus co(n)s(ul) sod(alis) Aug(ustalis) Cl(audialis) | leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Arab(iae) item Gal(atiae) | praef(ectus) aer(arii) Sat(urni) leg(atus) Aug(usti) cens(ibus) acc(ipiendis) Hisp(aniae) cit(erioris) | iur(idico) per Aem(iliam) Lig(uriam) cur(ator) viae Labic(anae) cur(ator) Verc(ellensium) | pr(aetor) urb(anus) trib(unus) pl(ebei) q(uaestor) cand(idatus) VIvir eq(uitum) R(omanorum) tur(mae) II | trib(unus) mil(itum) legg(ionum) I Min(erviae) et II Adiut(ricis) IIIIv(ir) v(iarum) cur(andarum) | aedem cum omni cultu consecravit.*

[115] *CIL* XIV 4242: *P(ublio) Manilio P(ubli) f(ilio) | Gal(eria) V[opis]co | Vicinilliano | L(ucio) Elufrio Severo Iulio | Quadrato Basso co(n)s(uli) | pontif(ici) flamin(i) praet(ori) | quaestori divi Traiani | Parthici trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) | IIII Scythic(ae) IIIvir(o) a(uro) a(rgento) a(ere) | f(lando) f(eriundo) salio Collino curat(ori) | fani Herc(ulis) Vict(oris) | N(umerius) Prosius Platanu[s] | cum Manilia Eutychi[a] | uxore et Vibia Vicinill[a] | et Manilis | Vopiscano et Attico libe[ris] | suis.*

[116] *CIL* XIV 3599: *L(ucio) Minicio L(uci) f(ilio) Gal(eria) Natali | Quadronio Vero co(n)s(uli) proco(n)s(uli) | prov(inciae) Africae auguri leg(ato) Aug(usti) | pr(o) pr(aetore) provinciae Moesiae infer(ioris) | curatori operum publicorum | et aedium sacrar(um) cu[r]at(ori) viae | Flamin(iae) praef(ecto) alimentor(um) leg(ato) | Aug(usti) leg(ionis) VI Victr(icis) in Britannia | praetori trib(uno) pleb(is) candidato | quaestori candidato divi | Hadriani et eodem tempore legato | prov(inciae) Afric(ae) dioeceseos Carthaginien(sis) | proconsulis patris sui trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) I | Adiut(ricis) P(iae) F(idelis) item leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) P(iae) F(idelis) item leg(ionis) | XIIII Gemin(ae) Martiae Victric(is) IIIviro | monetali a(uro) a(rgento) a(ere) f(lando) f(eriundo) patrono municipii | curat(ori) fani Herc(ulis) V(ictoris) decuriones Tiburt(es) | ex aere collato q(uin)q(uennali) maximi exempli.*

[117] *CIL* XIV 3601: *P(ublio) Mummio P(ubli) f(ilio) Gal(eria) Si|sennae Rutiliano | co(n)s(uli) auguri proco(n)s(uli) | provinc(iae) Asiae legato Aug(usti) | pr(o) pr(aetore) Moesiae superioris | praef(ecto) aliment(orum) per Aemiliam | praef(ecto) aer(arii) Saturni leg(ato) leg(ionis) VI | Victric(is) praetori tr(ibuno) pl(ebis) quaest(ori) | trib(uno) leg(ionis) V Maced(onicae) Xviro stli|trib(us) iudic(andis) patrono munici|pii cur(atori) fani H(erculis) V(ictoris) salio Her|culanii Augustales | l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).* Cf. the more fragmentary *CIL* XIV 4244.

Senecio (cos.ord. 169, as well as patron, *salius*, and *salius Collinus*),[118] and finally, in the early third century, C. Porcius Priscus Longinus (cos.suff. *c.* 212–223).[119] Another possible *salius* associated with the cult was L. Roscius Aelianus Maecius Celer (cos.suff. 100).[120] Other senators made contributions to the sanctuary without necessarily becoming curators. The earliest may have been L. Calpurnius Piso Pontifex (cos.ord. 15 BCE) or L. Apronius Caesianus (cos. 39).[121] A century later, C. Popilius Carus Pedo (cos.suff. 147) could have been a curator of the sanctuary as well.[122] We may also note a monument made for the Augustan legate C. Nunnuleius Nudus, probably as a funerary dedication by his wife. Formally, her offering was to Hercules Victor in Tibur.[123] Senatorial religious involvement in Tibur was not restricted to the Hercules cult only. C. Rubellius Blandus (cos.suff. 18),

[118] *CIL* XIV 3609: *Q(uinto) Pompeio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Senecioni | Roscio Murenae Coelio Sex(to) | Iulio Frontino Silio Deciano | C(aio) Iulio Eurycli Herculaneo L(ucio) | Vibullio Pio Augustano Alpino | Bellicio Sollerti Iulio Apro | Ducenio Proculo Rutiliano | Rufino Silio Valenti Valerio | Nigro Cl(audio) Fusco Saxae Amyntiano | Sosio Prisco pontifici sodali | Hadrianali sodali Antoninian<o=I> | Verian<o=I> salio collino quaestori | candidato Augg(ustorum) legato pr(o) pr(aetore) Asiae | praetori consuli proconsuli Asi|ae sortito praefecto alimentor(um) | XXviro monetali seviro praef(ecto) | feriarum Latinarum q(uin)q(uennali) patrono | municipii salio curatori fani H(erculis) V(ictoris) | s(enatus) p(opulus)q(ue) T(iburs).*

[119] *CIL* XIV 3611: *C(aio) Porcio C(ai) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Prisco | Longino c(larissimo) v(iro) Xvir(o) stlitib(us) | iud(icandis) allecto inter quaes|torios ab actis sen(atus) aedili | curuli allecto inter | praetorios proconsuli | Lyciae Pamphyliae co(n)s(uli) | fratri Arvali curatori f(ani) H(erculis) V(ictoris) | patrono municipi(i) | senatus Tiburs || Curantibus | Aurelio Zotico patron(o) munic(ipii) | [et] T(ito) Sallio Romano dec(urione!) r(ei) p(ublicae).*

[120] *CIL* XIV 3612: *L(ucio) Roscio M(arci) f(ilio) Qui(rina) | Aeliano Maecio | Celeri | co(n)s(uli) proco(n)s(uli) provinc(iae) | Africae pr(aetori) tr(ibuno) pl(ebis) quaest(ori) | Aug(usti) Xvir(o) stlitib(us) iudic(andis) | vexillarior(um) eiusdem | in expeditione Germanica | donato ab Imp(eratore) Aug(usto) | militarib(us) donis corona | vallari et murali vexillis | argenteis II hastis puris II | salio | C(aius) Vecilius C(ai) f(ilius) Pal(atina) Probus | amico optimo | l(ocus) d(atus) s(enatus) c(onsulto).*

[121] Both cases are problematic. Calpurnius' statue base was most likely for Hercules: *CIL* XIV 3591 = 3592: *L(ucius) Calpurnius L(uci) f(ilius) P[iso].* As for Apronius, the inscription *AE* 1916, 110 certainly comes from the Hercules temple: *Apronius] L(uci) f(ilius) Cam(ilia) | [Caesi]anus | [tr(ibunus) mil(itum) le]g(ionis) III Aug(ustae) | [q(uaestor) prae(tor) co(n)]s(ul) proco(n)s(ul) | [provinc(iae)] Africae | [flamen Q]uirinalis | [adlectus i]n patricios | [a Tib(erio) Cla]udio p(ontifice) m(aximo) p(atre) p(atriae) | [---] d(onum) d(edit).* For the identification with Apronius see *PIR*^{2} A972, and Licordari 1982: 45.

[122] *CIL* XIV 3610: *C(aio) Popilio C(ai) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Caro | Pedoni co(n)s(uli) VIIviro epulon(um) | sodali Hadrianali legato | Imp(eratoris) Caesaris Antonini Aug(usti) | Pii pro pr(aetore) Germaniae super(ioris) et ex|ercitus in ea tendentis curatori | oper(um) publicor(um) praef(ecto) aerari Satur(ni) | curatori viar(um) Aureliae veteris et | novae Corneliae et Triumphalis | legato legionis X Fretensis | a cuius cura se excusavit praetori | tribuno plebis q(uaestori) divi Hadriani Aug(usti) | in omnibus honoribus candidato | Imperator(is) trib(uno) laticlavio leg(ionis) III | Cyreneicae donato donis mili|taribus a divo Hadriano ob | Iudaicam expeditionem Xviro | stlitibus iudicandis patrono | municipi(i) curatori maximi exempli | senatus p(opulus)q(ue) Tiburs | optime de re publica merito.*

[123] We have no later parallels for such funerary use of sanctuary spaces in Italy. *CIL* XIV 3546: *Pomponia L(uci) f(ilia) Nunnulei Herc(uli) Vict(ori) C(aio) Nunnulei C(ai) f(ilio) Nudo leg(ato) pro praet(ore) | Pomponia L(uci) f(ilia) uxor posuit.*

who married into the Julio-Claudian family, made two dedications there: one to Jupiter Praestitus, with an added reference to Hercules Victor, in association with the restoration of a presumably religious structure, and another, later offering to Iuno Argeia.[124] Both deities were unique choices, especially in terms of their closer identification.

Senatorial patronage and dedications were frequent too at other Italian sanctuaries of old fame. The phrase "*ex voto suscepto*" on the dedication made by L. Antistius Vetus (cos.ord. 55) in Praeneste at the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia is suggestive of a sequence of a vow undertaken and fulfilled, which in the oracular sanctuary most likely meant participation in a consultation.[125] Antistius Vetus was not unique in attending an oracular sanctuary: other senators also appear to have offered vows at this Fortuna sanctuary.[126] In another oracular sanctuary, of Apollo in Cumae, Q. Tineius Rufus (most probably the cos.suff. 127 rather than the cos.ord. 182) may have been responsible for a large-scale expansion.[127] Around the same time, in 127, some other building activity also took place there, funded by another consular, T. Statilius Maximus Severus Hadrianus (cos.suff. 115).[128] Giuseppe Camodeca rather interestingly connected this building activity to the well-known interest of the emperor Hadrian in the oracular cults of Apollo in the Greek East, including those located in Claros, Didyma, Megara, and Abae (in Phocis).[129] Nevertheless, unlike Hadrian, who visited these sanctuaries and honored Apollo in the god's own Greek context, these senators made their benefactions at time-honored Italian sanctuaries. Their offerings should not be seen as evidence for "proselytizing" goals among senators in Italy; even if they had been influenced by some imperial agenda, senators tended to honor and worship divinities whose cults were already established within local traditions. The only exception comes from Milan, where there is an inscription by the Julio-Claudian [Teren?]tius Hisp[o ---],

[124] *CIL* XIV 3555: *Iovi Praestiti | Hercules Victor dicavit | Blandus pr(aetor) restituit. CIL* XIV 3556: *Iunoni Argeiae C(aius) Blandus proco(n)s(ul)*. There are two more inscriptions worth considering in this regard in Tibur: *CIL* XIV 3557–3558, offered by a M. Aemilius Flaccus, quaestor, who, however, is not very likely to have been of senatorial rank. Cf. *PIR*^{2} A343 and Andermahr 1998 no. 16.

[125] *CIL* XIV 2849: *L(ucius) Antistius | C(ai) f(ilius) Aem(ilia) Vetus | augur | Fortunae Primig(eniae) | ex voto suscepto*.

[126] Another, undated dedication: *CIL* XIV 2866: *Fortunae | Primigeniae | L(ucius) Rufinus | aedil(is) curul-(is) | v(otum) s(olvit)*; cf. *AE* 1904, 110; *CIL* XIV 2929; *CIL* XIV 2930; *CIL* XIV 2936.

[127] Camodeca 2001: 155–161; *AE* 2001, 847: *[Apo]llini [Cumano] | [Q(uintus) T]ineiu[s Rufus]*. See also the possible connection with a later, third-century descendant, who offered an altar as part of some restoration work: *CIL* X 3683 = *AE* 2001, 848: *[Q. Tineius ---? v(ir) c(larissimus) p]atricius | [consularis restituit dedicavit?]q(ue) || Apollini Cumano | Q(uintus) Tineius Rufus*.

[128] *AE* 1912, 242: *[Squil]la [et] Titiano co(n)s(ulibus) | [ex fu]nd(o) Bruti(a)no Statil(i) | [Max(imi)] Sever(i) Hadrian(i)*.

[129] Camodeca 2001: 159 n. 37.

who appears to have financed a portico dedicated to Diana Nemorensis, a goddess whose home in Nemi was over 350 miles away from the place where the inscription was found.[130] But this dedication to a divinity from another location is the exception rather than the rule, and in Nemi one can also find an inscription offered to Diana by the Ostian senator, M. Acilius Priscus Egrilius Plarianus, suggesting that senators were more likely to go to a sanctuary than to transfer a cult closer to their own area.[131]

If there was one generic aspect of senatorial attitudes to the varied religious landscape of Italy, it was certainly the interest in honoring the divine in whatever name or form it had been worshiped at that particular place. In fact, such an intention may be discerned in the case of L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus (cos.suff. 139), a senator usually seen as excessive in religious terms, given the five quite varied dedications he made in different parts of Italy. In Tibur, where, as we saw, he was curator of the Hercules sanctuary, Minicius dedicated a Latin inscription to Hercules *Tiburtinus* Victor and "the other praetorian gods of Tibur," fulfilling a vow,[132] and also a Greek inscription, commemorating his offering of a temple and an altar to Asclepius Soter.[133] Minicius made yet another dedication in Minturnae: the opening Greek portion of the text identifies the inscription as dedicated to Zeus Helios Serapis, to Isis Myrionymos, and to the *theoi synnaoi*, and the second half, in Latin, gives the full cursus of the senator.[134] The choice of divinities – Zeus, associated with Helios and with Serapis, Isis "of ten thousand names" as well as that of "the gods sharing temple with them" – is unmistakably syncretistic, and suggestive of a desire to ensure that all possible associations of the divine presence were included there. The reference in *synnaoi* to a shared temple has led to speculations about a possible second-century rebuilding of the sanctuary associated with the old, pre-Roman divinity Marica, along with the "Oriental" divinities appropriate for a port city; of this, we cannot be certain.[135] What we can

[130] *AE* 1982, 403 ?= *AE* 1986, 259: *[---]tius P(ubli) f(ilius) Hisp[---] | [--- C]aesaris Aug(usti) | [---]us Xvir st(litibus) iud(icandis) [---] | [---] provinc(iae) SiCIL[iae ---] | [--- Dianam N]emorensem | [--- portic]-us(?) faciendas [curavit?]*. Cf. Andermahr 1998 no. 254, who considers this an example of a private dedication.

[131] *CIL* XIV 2212: *D<i=E>anae | Nemorensi | sacrum | M(arcus) ACILius Priscus | Egrilius | Plarianus.*

[132] *CIL* XIV 3554: *Hercul[i] | Tiburt(ino) Vict(ori) | et ceteris dis | praet(oriis) Tiburt(ibus) | L(ucius) Minicius | Natalis | co(n)s(ul) augur | leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) | provinciae | Moesiae infer-(ioris) | voto suscepto f(ecit).*

[133] *IG* XIV 1125.

[134] *IGRom* 1391 = *SIRIS* 505 = *AE* 1904, 183: Διὶ Ἡλίωι Σαράπιδι καὶ Εἴσιδι | Μυριωνύμῳ καὶ τοῖς συννάοις | θεοῖς. *L(ucius) Minicius Natalis co(n)s(ul) | proco(n)s(ul) provinciae | Africae augur leg(atus) | Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) Moesiae | inferioris | curator operum publicorum | et aedium sacrarum.*

[135] Trotta 1989: 21.

recognize more certainly is the wish on the part of the senator to be inclusive in terms of all the gods to be honored at any given location. Further, Minicius also made a similar dedication in Viterbo (on the Via Cassia), which appears to follow the same model of a Greek, syncretistic address to divinities and a Latin *cursus*.[136] The Hadrianic model seems especially appropriate to consider in the case of this senator, who earlier, in his youth, won the races at Olympia, Greece, and dedicated a chariot there.[137] And the model suggests that the rich panorama of varied religious dedications is not the work of a religious zealot, especially not one dedicated to spreading one particular cause, but rather of a traveler respectful of local lore wherever he goes, and appreciative of a syncretistic philosophy that may support such an attitude.[138]

Last but not least, let me now turn to another versified dedication, from Ostia, from the same P. Catius Sabinus, whose verse inscription from Rome, offered to Hercules as urban praetor, we already saw above:[139]

> Litoribus vestris quoniam certamin[a] laetum
> ex[h]ibuisse iuvat Castor venerandeque Pollux
> munere pro tanto faciem certaminis ipsam
> magna Iovis proles vestra pro sede locavi
> urbanis Catius gaudens me fascibus auctum
> Neptunoque patri ludos fecisse Sabinus
>
> Since it pleases me, Castor and venerable Pollux
> to have battles exhibited on your shores,
> for so great a gift I had that image of [sea-?]battle displayed
> in front of your home, great offspring of Jupiter,
> Catius Sabinus, happy consul of Rome,
> offered me and organized games to father Neptune.

The verse tells us that Sabinus, probably in the year of his consulship, 216, had the temple of Castor and Pollux in Ostia redecorated with an image of a sea battle; he also offered games to Neptune, as we know from other sources, on July 23 of that year.[140] It is quite likely that organizing the *Neptunalia* in Ostia became the job of a magistrate from Rome by this time, and Sabinus only took advantage of this added opportunity to advertise his role. There is some further evidence for the connection of the Catii to the Ostian worship of Castor and Pollux; and another dedication survives, on a statue base from

[136] *CIL* XI 3002 = *IG* XIV 2260 [137] *Insch. Ol.* 236 = *Syll.* 840.
[138] Note also some further dedications: *CIL* XI 2925 (Volci): *Apollini sancto* | *L(ucius) Minicius Natalis* | *co(n)s(ul) proco(n)s(ul)* | *Africae* | *augur leg(atus)* | *Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore)* | *Moesiae inferioris*; *IG* XIV 1125 = *IGRom* I, 376 (Tibur): Greek dedication to Asclepius *theos sotēr*.
[139] *CIL* XIV 1 = *CLE* 251. [140] For a detailed discussion see Baldarotta 2000: 295–296.

Ostia, offered to Neptune, Castor, and Pollux by L. Catius Celer (the later cos.suff. *c.* 241), from the same Catii family.[141] This latter inscription has been tentatively dated to the year of Sabinus' consulship, based on the possible connection between the two inscriptions; whether or not that is correct, the Catii, including the current consul and the young riser we saw above, were highly influential in the worship of these divinities in Ostia.

A comparison between Rome and Italy is now possible, given that P. Catius Sabinus made two inscribed offerings, one in Rome, as *praetor urbanus*, addressed to Hercules, and another in Ostia, which he offered while consul, in association with games and a building benefaction. The two inscriptions share their religious nature, the verse form and the emphasis on an individual senator, who is fulfilling a religious role as part of a non-priestly, public magistracy. Therefore they both exemplify the model I have outlined above with magisterial power as the main source of individual religious authority for senators of the Roman empire. Nevertheless, what distinguishes the two inscriptions is that there is more freedom for initiatives in Ostia to be the prime benefactor, to decorate temples, and to make religious connections of the kind that one's descendants may find worthy of commemorating as well. Being outside Rome offered an opening to take on the role of the prime sacrificer and benefactor, in a way quite similar to the emperor's position in Rome, whether it was a dedication, benefaction in an Italian sanctuary of great fame, or actually taking up a priestly or curatorial function. Italy outside Rome always remained the outskirts of Rome: favored for its proximity to the *urbs* and for its relative freedom, it also offered senators more copious opportunities for religious benefaction. They were unlikely not to take advantage of such an opportunity: euergetism and piety became inseparable in the display of power in both Rome and Italy in this period.

[141] *AE* 1955, 166: *Neptuno* | *Castori* | *Polluci* | *L(ucius) Catius* | *Celer* | *pr(aetor) urb(i).*

CHAPTER 4

Representing imperial religion: the provinces

As we have seen, when Roman senators resided in the city their religious practices and authority were circumscribed by the religious and secular authority of the emperor. Symbolically, it is the emperor who stands in front as the individualized representation of piety, with the senators as a group behind him, in their communal role as members of priesthoods. While senators gained new religious status in their magistracies in Rome, they also found a more open outlet for religious expressions in the context of Italy, a comparatively safe backwater where the emperor's presence was less heavily felt. The senators on duty in the provinces, at even further remove from the capital city, may have had yet greater opportunity for independent religious display. In this context the dynamics of center/periphery distinction and the influence of the emperor's increasingly itinerant power may be seen as part of a wider framework. Thinking in terms of these same trends, we may wonder whether the provinces were a more open setting, where senators had greater opportunity for religious display than in Rome, possibly allowing freedom to express potentially subversive religious interests and an independent agenda in religious matters within their area of control. As we will see, however, such a simplistic model cannot contain the multiple contributing factors that came into play with the larger transformation of provinces under imperial rule. Thus the provinces certainly did not offer some kind of carte blanche: local elites had religious traditions and new religious interests on their own; there were all the Roman imperial customs and institutions; and senatorial officeholders were only one, albeit powerful, agent in shaping the areas under their political and military control in negotiation with many of these other factors. Senatorial magistrates had numerous official duties, which included religious tasks as well. Thus the main issue driving the chapter that follows is to see how these varied roles and influences came together during the temporary assignments of senatorial officeholders in the provinces, whether those Italian models of power displayed through religious means appeared here and whether they used

these appointments to express any transgressive interests in a transcendental framework. These questions will be with us throughout, while the chapter itself will reflect the division between "civic" and "military" areas of government, which I will discuss separately: while the first involved much more interaction with a varied, highly localized religious culture, the latter, in the army, possibly comprised a completely separate sphere of Roman society.

SENATORIAL OFFICIALS AND RELIGION IN THE CIVIC LIFE OF THE PROVINCES

Letters exchanged between emperors and provincial governors offer a good entry into the topic of senatorial religion in the provinces. As this correspondence indicates, preserving religious order was perceived by both governor and emperor as within governmental purview. In the most famous of these exchanges, Pliny the Younger, as the senatorial governor of Bithynia, struck a generally subservient tone when consulting with Trajan about Christians, and he asked in detail for instructions on the proper treatment of those so accused.[1] Pliny's letter is a product of epistolographic conventions and diplomatic niceties that represent some very real power structures and provides a significant *comparandum* to a series of such letters between senatorial governors and emperors (Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius) preserved in Christian writings, no doubt with a blatant pro-Christian slant. The letters preserved in these sources further the image of imperial control that also emerges from Pliny's correspondence, especially since religious matters are resolved only with time and therefore appear to follow the office, rather than the individual officeholder. Thus, in a letter from Hadrian appearing at the end of Justin's *First Apology*, it was Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus (cos.suff. 106), proconsul of Asia, who made the original inquiry regarding the Christian accusations, but Hadrian responded to his successor in office, C. Minicius Fundanus.[2] Though the friendly attitude expressed towards Christians makes the emperor's letter suspect, Werner Eck and others have judged it genuine precisely because it respects the historical reality that two consecutive proconsuls might be involved in the same process.[3] The action authorized, following the imperial response, could also be delegated further down in the official hierarchy of the provincial government if such a need arose; for example, after the death

[1] Plin. *Ep*. 10.96–97.
[2] Justin, *Apol*. 1.68.6, cf. Euseb. *Hist. eccl*. 4.8.6; 4.9.1; Orosius 7.13.2; Zonar.11.24.
[3] *NP* 8.216–17, Minicius 4, Eck, cf. for its falsity Nesselhauf 1976.

of the proconsul of Africa, Minucius Opimianus (cos.suff. *c.* 186–8), two Christians, Perpetua and Felicitas, condemned by the senator, were executed by his procurator Hilarianus.[4]

But even if these exchanges suggest that most of the religious business in which provincial governors were involved was just that – official business – we should also note that Trajan's letter to Pliny was noticeably brief, and that it was primarily concerned with the precedent the senator's actions might create in this *cognitio extra ordinem*. Thus Pliny as governor had quite a lot of freedom in determining the extent of punishments and was the person on the spot with the authority to decide what really constituted a crime. This could explain the reason why Christian sources treated individual governors as persecutors in their own right. Examples include various proconsuls of Asia[5] and Africa[6] as well as two governors of Cappadocia.[7] In Jewish sources Lusius Quietus, who most likely served as a praetorian legate in Judea, appears as an annihilator of the Jews. Possibly he was the same man who is called Traianus Quintus by Hippolytus and the Syriac version of Dionysius bar Salibi and who, in these sources, was reported to have set up an idol in the Jerusalem temple.[8] Regardless of whether these individual incidents are in fact historical, the image of the proconsul as the arbiter of religious decisions pervades these sources. Indeed, they present senatorial

[4] Musurillo 1972: 113–114.

[5] Proconsuls of Asia, whom Christian sources consider as making their decisions about Christians on their own:
(1) Peregrinus (cos. Flavian);
(2) Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus (cos.suff. 106);
(3) C. Minicius Fundanus (cos.suff. 107);
(4) L. Statius Quadratus (cos.ord. 142);
(5) L. Sergius Paullus (cos. II ord. 168);
(6) C. Arrius Antoninus (cos.suff. *c.* 173);
(7) L. Aemilius Frontinus (cos. *c.* 164–6).

[6] Proconsuls of Africa, whom Christian sources treat in the same way:
(1) P. Vigellius Raius Plarius Saturninus Atilius Braduanus Caucidius Tertullus (cos.suff. late 160s);
(2) L. Vespronius Candidus Sallustius Sabinianus (cos.suff. *c.* 176);
(3) Minucius Opimianus (cos.suff. *c.* 186–8);
(4) Rufinus (cos.suff. *c.* 190);
(5) C. Valerius Pudens (cos.suff. *c.* 195);
(6) P. Iulius Scapula Tertullus Priscus (cos.ord. 195);
(7) C. Iulius Asper (cos. I suff. Comm, cos. II ord. 212).

[7] (1) Claudius Hieronymianus (praet. early third century);
(2) Licinnius Serenianus (praet. Severan).

[8] Cf. *ILS* 4393 = Smallwood, *Documents of Nerva* 154 (Jerusalem), which the *legio III Cyr.* dedicated *Iovi OM Sarapidi pro salute et Victoria Traiani*. Incidentally the mistake of the name is quite interesting, given that Quietus, adlected by Trajan, very much represented the emperor in the provinces but was executed shortly after Hadrian became emperor.

officials as religious decision-makers in their own right, even when non-Judeo-Christian religious matters are concerned: Tertullian suggested that it was C. Serius Augurinus (cos.ord. 156) who exposed and condemned the religious rituals practiced by the priests of Saturn.[9]

In fact, a distinction between the two roles, that of imperial representative on the one hand, and of individual agent on the other, seems mistaken. Senators could seek consultations with the emperor not only to maintain the social hierarchy, but also simply because they needed help with the decision-making process. Pliny sent a long letter to Trajan, describing the Christian issue in detail: he sought not only permission but also rather specific advice on how to manage a problem he had to face. Similarly, Tiberianus, a *praeses Palestinae* depicted in a number of late sources, appears to consult Trajan on the problem of Christians because he is really at a loss as to how to handle the situation.[10] After all, the potential stakes were high: as part of their duties in the jurisdiction of the provinces, governors had to define what was acceptable and unacceptable among various other kinds of suspect behavior, often identified as "magic." Claudius Maximus, the proconsul of Africa to whom Apuleius addressed his famous defense against the charge of magic, had the unique authority to decide whether the author's conduct indeed qualified as such.[11]

The range of cases over which senatorial officeholders exercised authority included not only acceptable and unacceptable religious practices, but a myriad local religious and semi-religious conflicts. Most of these we know from the Greek East, where, for example, a certain Longinus, probably as proconsul of Achaia, had to oversee a territorial debate between Delphi and Ambryssii involving conflicting religious claims based on the famous sanctuary's traditional entitlement.[12] We also know that L. Hedius Rufus Lollianus Avitus ordered the building of four seats in the Asclepius temple of Smyrna, probably an effort to resolve some sort of local conflict related to seating privileges in the temple.[13] If the Acts of the Apostles is to be believed, senators could even serve as arbiters between Jews and Christians, and Acts presents Seneca's brother, L. Iunius Gallio Annaeanus (cos.suff. 56), receiving complaints as proconsul of Achaia from the Jews of Corinth with regard to the local activities of Paul.[14]

[9] *Apol.* 9, mistakenly called Tiberius by the Church Father.
[10] Joh. Antiochenus fr. 111 (= *FGrH* IV 580) = Malalas XI.273 = Suidas s.v. "Traianos" 1040 Bekker.
[11] Apul. *Apol.* 1. [12] Probably C. Iulius Longinus (cos.suff. 107).
[13] *IGRom* 4, 1414. [14] Acts 18.12ff.

The varied references in Jewish and Christian sources depicting the interest of individual officeholders in their religion may provide further evidence for the ancient view that senators could influence local religious matters. Jewish and Christian authors assume that the senator, having learnt about the particular religion in question, may develop a positive attitude towards it, which could translate into beneficial treatment or even actual benefactions and privileges for the followers. Although the desired favorable treatment may have been rare, Josephus mentions a praetorian legate of Lycia, C. Licinius Mucianus, who sought to gain privileges for the Jews of Antioch-on-the-Meander on his own initiative.[15] While there is little evidence to suggest that senators on official duty would have made numerous benefactions to less mainstream civic cults, the idea of religious "lobbying" strengthens the view that there were inextricable ties between magisterial power and religious sanction.

The most highly visible occasion on which the religious aspect of senatorial power was displayed in a provincial context was the ritual celebrations of their province. We can be certain of the presence of officeholders, whether senatorial or equestrian, at many ritual occasions associated with the imperial cult and the imperial family, the religious festivals of the city of Rome, as well as the main local religious holidays accepted into the official calendar.[16] Pliny reported to Trajan the successful completion of the annual *vota sollemnia* for the New Year on January 3, as well as the celebration of the emperor's *dies imperii* later in the same month.[17] We also know that various cult functionaries such as *haruspices* and *victimarii* accompanied the governor to the provinces.[18] Despite this evidence for the undertaking of *vota* and for the personnel assisting the provincial officeholders in their ritual duties, we are still unable to reconstruct the religious schedule of governors in full.[19] It is also difficult to determine whether the schedule that senatorial officeholders followed in their provincial journeys was undertaken in accordance with the religious calendars of the cities they were to visit. The only reference for the presence of a senator at a local festival is a report in Aelius Aristides that C. Iulius Severus, the proconsul of Asia, was present at the *Dionysia* in Smyrna in 153.[20] Even though the expectation of having Roman magistrates present during major local festivals seems realistic, especially in imperial Asia Minor, where cities competed intensely for the

[15] Joseph. *AJ* 12.120; *BJ* 4.621. [16] Eck 1993: 151–156.
[17] *Ep.* 10.35; 10.52. [18] Eck 1984: 154. [19] Eck 1984: 155–156.
[20] *Or.* 50.85. Eck 1984: 156 n. 35 suggests that the proconsul traveled to the city for the festival, but the Greek simply has that he was present.

favor of the emperor and his representatives, it is striking that there is no evidence attesting either to formal invitations or to regular visits to these local celebrations. Nevertheless, Werner Eck has argued that dedications to the ruling emperor incorporating other, local divinities suggest senatorial participation in various local religious festivities, at least indirectly.[21] Such dedications also demonstrate a connection between the religious expressions of imperial power brought by senators and the validation of local religious cults.

It seems thus likely that senators attended religious festivals in the provinces they governed, and we have further evidence that they also traveled to regional sites of interesting religious phenomena – what we could consider religious tourism.[22] Visits to well-known religious sites were neither new nor restricted to the senatorial elite but rather followed both earlier republican and now also imperial example: already Augustus, who otherwise rarely expressed such interests, was initiated in Eleusis in 21 BCE, and with the possible exception of Nero, probably almost all of the many imperial visitors – Hadrian, Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, and possibly even Septimius Severus – were initiated into the mysteries.[23] As for senators, those with familial connections to Achaia were also often involved in various religious functions at the sanctuary in Eleusis: the family of Flavius Callaeschrus (sen. late second century) and his son, Flavius Dryantianus (sen. early third century), the possibly senatorial Agrius Saturninus (sen. second century), as well as Herodes Atticus fulfilled religious duties there. We know of only one senator who had no familial connection to Achaia but was initiated into the mysteries: a Scipio Orfitus, either Ser. Cornelius Scipio L. Salvidienus Orfitus (cos.suff. 149) or Ser. Calpurnius Scipio Orfitus (cos.ord. 172), was an initiate, together with his wife and two sons.[24] Their inscription is remarkable in being the first that identifies visitors under the special category of "initiates," a practice probably taken over from the mystery cult at Samothrace. The sanctuary at Samothrace was also already popular with Roman initiates of various classes in the late republic.[25] Under the empire these mysteries were more popular with Romans than with the local elites; a unique Greek and

[21] Eck 1984: 157.
[22] For religious tourism in the Roman world see Elsner and Rutherford 2005: 24–27; for religious tourism as precedent for later Christian pilgrimage see first Hunt 1984.
[23] Clinton 1989: 1516–1534. On Nero, see Suet. *Nero* 34.4.
[24] As to the two readings of *IG* II^2 4213, For the former interpretation see Oliver 1972: 103–107 and Clinton 1989: 1528; for the latter Clinton 1971: 133–134 and Raepsaet-Charlier 1981: 696.
[25] Clinton 1989: 1528 n. 149.

Latin bilingual *lex sacra* dating to the first or the early second century survives from this sanctuary, forbidding entry to anyone but initiates.[26] The initiates here are again senatorial officeholders on duty in the area: two proconsuls of Macedonia, Q. Planius Sardus L. Varius Ambibulus (cos.suff. 133) and P. Anteius Orestes (praet. 160s), were initiated in 124 and 165 respectively;[27] quaestors of the province were also initiated, as for example a [–]tinianus and maybe also L. Pomponius Maximus Flavius [Sil]vanus (cos.suff. 121) in 116.[28]

Although epigraphic evidence for senatorial participation in the Eleusinian mysteries thus may appear to suggest the primacy of local and familial connections over individual religious interest, the imperial era increasingly brought about a new facility of travel, which allowed senators and others from distant parts of the empire to participate in religious festivities at myriads of local cult sites. Religious tourism reached its heights in the second half of the first century and in the first half of the second, with Vespasian and Hadrian offering the prime imperial examples.[29] General interest in religious travel was expressed in the appearance of "guidebooks," such as the periegetic work of Pausanias, who paid special attention to religious sites.[30] It is remarkable that a relatively early example of the genre of travel descriptions is associated with a senator, the above already mentioned C. Licinius Mucianus (cos. III suff. 72), who, either during an earlier exile or later, while legate of Lycia, toured Asia, Lycia, and the Greek islands, writing books to commemorate the wonders and religious *mirabilia* that he saw.[31] The popular site of the colossus of Memnon in Egypt, an area to which no senatorial men were sent on duty, offers a record of several visits by senatorial women. Among them we find the most probably senatorial Funisulana Vettula, the daughter or sister of L. Funisulanus Vettonianus (cos.suff. 78), with her equestrian husband, C. Tettius Africanus Cassianus Priscus, *praefectus Aegypti*, in 82; just like, about fifty years later, Terentia, sister of D. Terentius Gentianus

[26] Fraser 1960: 14–17. *Lex sacra*: Samothrace 6.2.1 no. 63: *Deorum sacra qui non acceperunt. Non intrant.*

[27] Planius: Samothrace 6.2.1 no. 53 = *CIL* III 7371 = *AE* 1939, 4; Anteius: *AE* 1967, 444. Cf. Eck 1993: 157; Harris 1992.

[28] Samothrace 6.2.1 nos. 50, 51.

[29] Hunt 1984: 393–394 associates these interests with the Second Sophistic, for which now also see Galli 2005, who discusses the confluence of religious and other educated interests.

[30] Elsner 1992. Cf. Salway 2001, who compares the notion of such leisurely travel, where one might include stops at religious sites, to bathe or to shop, with the later, more "business" quality of itineraries such as the *Itinerarium Antonini* or the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

[31] Syme 1969: 203–204; for a detailed discussion now see Williamson 2005, with the thirty-two fragments of Mucianus from Pliny's *Natural History*.

(cos.suff. 116) in the company of Hadrian.[32] It might be significant that these were senatorial women, rather than men. It is likely that travel by senators had some restrictions and we have no evidence of casual *grand tours* of the sanctuaries of old fame around the Mediterranean. It is clear, nevertheless, that senators did take advantage of the opportunities for religious tourism available to them while serving in the provinces, and Roman jurisprudence preserves some evidence of concern that a visit to religious sites might conflict with a senator's regular obligations in the province. In an early fourth-century reference, the *Digest* preserves a law which required governors not to leave their province "unless to discharge a vow," and even then not overnight.[33] Behind this law lies the striking recognition of the fact that senators had their own, religiously motivated interests, which may have guided their travels while on duty. Further, by approving these travels, at least in a limited way, the law positively recognizes religious obligations as a qualified excuse to absent oneself for a day from one's "secular" duties. Finally, even within one's own province of duty, religious interests could conflict with imperial control: in 215 Sex. Caecilius (or Caelius) Aemilianus was killed on the orders of Caracalla for having consulted the oracle of Hercules Gaditanus while on duty as proconsul of Baetica.[34]

Apart from "daytrips" to religious sites, the majority of religious activities in which senators took part were dictated by the requirement that the most important available imperial representative should lead, administer, and manage the ritual celebrations of local religious life, particularly those activities centered around the emperor. The numerous dedications and building projects undertaken by governors and other senatorial officials demonstrate how deeply intertwined the majority of these projects were with the local representation of the imperial cult. The festivities on the regular calendar honoring the imperial family and the annual *vota* undertaken for the benefit of the ruler provided regular opportunities for dedications to be made by senators in the provinces. In fact, the undertaking of the *vota* must have been a major context for senatorial dedications, an impression confirmed by a number of inscriptions which show a special emphasis on the simultaneously ruling emperors. M. Pompeius Silvanus Staberius Flavinus (cos. III design. 83), the proconsul of Africa, dedicated in

[32] Funisulana: *CIL* III 35 = *ILS* 8759c; Terentia: *CLE* II 270 commemorating her recently dead brother.
[33] *Digest* 1.18.15, Marcian (*c.* 310): *Illud observandum est, ne qui provinciam regit, fines eius excedat nisi voti solvendi causa, dum tamen abnoctare ei non liceat.*
[34] *PIR*² C16; Dio 77.20.4.

honor of Nero in Lepcis in the mid-50s; his counterpart almost a hundred years later, T. Salvius Rufinus Minicius Opimianus (cos.suff. 123), dedicated to Antoninus Pius in Thagora, Numidia.[35] The connection between the language of these dedications and that of the annual *vota* for emperor and empire is manifested in the offering to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Iuno Regina, and Minerva, for example *pro salute* of Trajan by the proconsul of Africa, C. Pomponius Rufus Acilius [Tus?]cus Coelius Sparsus (cos. suff. 98) along with his sons, C. Pomponius P[…]tus and Q. Pomponius Rufus Marcellus (the later cos.suff. 121), as legates, *c.* 112–14.[36] Further, there is strikingly little difference in terms of the frequency of dedications by senators between emperors favored and those disliked in the senate: in what must have become an odd routine, the proconsul of Africa, Nonius Asprenas, dedicated an altar to Domitian in the theater of Lepcis around 92, only to have the emperor's name erased a few years later.[37] While these dedications confirm the highly regulated character of the *vota*, it would be a mistake to imagine that they had no religious significance; rather, participation in the festivals associated with the imperial cult *was* the religion of provincial life, in which representations of power and religion were inseparably linked.

In terms of historical change, senatorial dedications to living emperors and members of the imperial family in the provinces grew the most frequent under the Severans. Inscriptions to various members of the dynasty survive across the empire, although Africa, the province which was the proud homeland of Septimius, especially abounds in such dedications.[38] Q. Anicius Faustus (cos.suff. 198–9), who may have come from Uzappa himself, dedicated in his office as praetorian legate of Numidia in the late 190s a number of inscriptions to Septimius and his family.[39] Another head of the newly distinct province of Numidia, C. Iulius (Scapula) Lepidus Tertullus (cos. 195–6), played an important role in the dedications to the *genius* of the "emperor's homeland" (*patria Augusti*) in Verecunda as well

[35] *AE* 1968, 549 Lepcis; *CIL* VIII 4643, with comments on p. 1607 = *ILAlg.* 1, 1029 (Thagora).
[36] *ILAfr.* 13 (Chemmakh, Tripolitania).
[37] *IRT* 318a = *AE* 1949, 159: *[Domitiano] augusto sacrum.* This altar also has a Neo-punic inscription.
[38] To Septimius and Caracalla: *CIL* III 1377 by Mevius Surus (cos. 200s?) *dedicante*; to the *numines* of Septimius, Caracalla, and Geta: *CIL* III 1127 by C. Iulius Maximinus (praet. 198–203); to Caracalla: *AE* 1959, 327 by C. Iulius Septimius Castinus (cos.suff. *c.* 213); to Elagabalus: *AE* 1962, 229 by C. Iulius Avitus Alexianus (cos.suff. *c.* 200); to Iulia Domna as *mater castrorum: CIL* III 7485 by L. Iulius Faustinianus (cos.suff. *c.* 200s); to Mamaea: *IGBulg.* 3, 1561 by L. Prosius Rufinus (praet. 210s–220s, name erased); also to Mamaea: *AE* 1912, 5 and *CIL* III 798 = *ILS* 2494 by Iasdius Domitianus (cos. Elagab.-Sev. Alex.); to Severus Alexander: *CIL* III 797 by the same.
[39] *CIL* VIII 2437 (Thamugadi); *CIL* VIII 17871 (Lambaesis).

as, in Cuicul, to "mother earth" (*tellus genetrix*), with reference to the role of Africa in giving the empire its new leader.[40]

The view that senatorial officeholders played an important role in the public cults of provinces is confirmed by numerous dedications to the current emperor and his family which were made by provincials but in which senators appear as part of an offering or dating formula. The words "*dedicante*"/"*kathierosen*" and similar phrases implying senatorial awareness of these dedications call attention to the necessary stamp of approval senators granted to the religious activities in their province. Although the evidence is indirect, it is highly likely that senators were responsible for offering sacrifices to the ruling and divinized emperors many times a year, in addition to the annual *vota*.[41] Inscriptions offered with a senator's name as "*dedicante*" demonstrate his exemplary role and authoritative position in local religious life, with a special emphasis on the local imperial cult. By extension, one could argue that in the provinces time itself ran not only by the ruling years of the emperor, but also by the tenure of such local representatives of the emperor, since the names of these officeholders frequently appeared in the dating formula of inscriptions. The symbolic religious power of these senatorial officeholders was both wielded and confirmed at the celebrations associated with the religious holidays of the imperial family, which occurred so frequently in the calendar. Further, it was in fact the officials' role to set a model for the elites of their provinces, particularly in terms of expressing religious loyalty to the ruling emperor and the divinized emperors of the imperial cult. In a remarkable example of collaboration between senatorial officeholders and the local elite in worshiping imperial power, T. Flavius Novius Rufus, praetorian legate of Moesia inferior, is listed "dedicating" an offering to Elagabalus that was actually set up by M. Ulpius Antipatros, a non-senatorial priest of the local imperial cult.[42] The very meaning of "dedication" in this context merges the religious act of offering with the power stamp of approval, in a way that confirms the key role of senatorial officeholders in the conceptual world of provincial religion.

Senatorial involvement in the provincial imperial cult was also dependent on the availability of a functioning provincial system capable of maintaining the cult, which meant that religious roles of the provincial governors and

[40] *CIL* VIII 4192 = *ILS* 6851 (Verecunda) initiated by a local citizen and the *ordo Verecundarum*; *CIL* VIII 8309 = *ILS* 3957 (Cuicul) initiated by the *res publica Cuiculitanorum*. In both cases Tertullus appears *dedicante*.

[41] Herz 1975; Eck 1992. [42] *CIL* III 773 = 6170 = *ILS* 468 = *IScM* 5, 151.

other officeholders in the East were somewhat different from the rest of the empire. The Greek culture shared by the elites of the Eastern half of the empire offered a strong, collective background, ensuring not only a comparatively privileged position under Roman rule, but also long-term influence in shaping religious life there. This highly elaborate civic religious system, already in place prior to imperial rule, created a self-sought competition among the cities, which made the role of provincial officeholders in the maintenance of the imperial cult less critical. This is probably why most senatorial dedications to emperors in the East are either relatively late or come from outside the major cities, where most of the duties related to the imperial cult were undertaken by locals who demonstrated an intense zeal to secure the favor of emperors through the cult.[43] The examples we do have for senatorial dedications to emperors in the East often seem to relate to special occasions or appointments: L. Nonius Calpurnius (Torquatus) Asprenas (cos.suff. 71–2), the legate of Galatia, Paphlagonia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia, offered a dedication to Vespasian in Pisidian Antioch in 70, probably to acknowledge the political confirmation of the new imperial dynasty.[44] A dedication to Hadrian as *Olympius* in Athens by L. Aemilius Iuncus (cos.suff. 127), a *homo novus* and the legate of Achaia in about 129–35 probably relates to his own special appointment as an imperial legate in Achaia.[45] When a proconsul of Asia, such as Q. Tineius Sacerdos (cos. II ord. 219), and one of his legates, M. Ulpius Domitius Aristaeus Arabianus, honored Iulia Domna, the dedication took place outside the most important cities of the province in Prymnessi, Phrygia.[46] In contrast, in the East but at locations where civic traditions and civic competition were less lively, dedications to emperors by senatorial officeholders in major centers are more frequent. Thus, for example, there are dedications by the proconsuls of Crete and Cyrene, Minicius Rufus (cos.suff. Vesp.) to Vespasian and Q. Iulius Potitus (cos. Ant. Pius) to Antoninus Pius,[47] or by the proconsul of Cyprus, Sex. Clodius, to Julia Domna.[48]

Another permanent expression of the symbolic power associated with senatorial officials in both East and West was offered by the endless building projects undertaken under their aegis. It is highly remarkable for my discussion of the symbolic association between political and religious power that imperial religion provided a major interpretative

[43] Price 1984. [44] *AE* 1967, 492.
[45] *AE* 1974, 596, *c.* 129–35. [46] *MAMA* 4, 10 = *IGRom* 4, 674 = 698.
[47] *IGRom* 1, 1036; *Ann. d. scuola archeol. di Atene* 39/40 (1961/2 = 1963) 221ff. no. 56 and 56 bis (two frs. of same inscription).
[48] *IGRom* 3, 977.

framework for many of these building projects – independently of whether or not the actual buildings were of an overtly religious nature. Imperial references are quite frequent even without explicit imperial initiative, but emperors sometimes also appear as initiators or supporters of these projects. In the inscription commemorating the restoration of a temple in Cirta by C. Paccius Africanus (cos. suff. 67), the proconsul of Africa in 77–8, it was expressly stated that the restoration was requested by Vespasian.[49] In the East, Didyma enjoyed special favors from Trajan because the oracle foretold the emperor's future rule at the time of his father's proconsulate in 79–80. Thus, when the sacred road of Apollo from Miletus to Didyma was built, the dedicatory inscription referred directly to the emperor's orders in initiating the building project yet also mentioned the curatorship of L. Passerius Romulus, who served as legate of the proconsul of Asia, Q. Iulius Balbus.[50] There was some difference in the dynamic of offering building projects between Eastern and Western provinces. In the West there are more references to emperors in building projects, while in the East we find more frequent references to local benefactors, who tended to include the name of the ruling senatorial official on duty in their offering rather than that of the distant emperor. In a typical example, the offering to acknowledge a Nymphaeum and other buildings related to the regulation of a creek in Ephesus refers to P. Calvisius Ruso (cos.suff. 79), proconsul of Asia in 92–3, with the verb "*kathierosen*," "dedicating," as part of the regular civic system of dedication, while the emperor was not mentioned at all.[51]

The more pronounced role of senators in building projects in the East is part of a larger phenomenon, which saw senators actually "standing in" for the emperor in local religious life. In fact, senators in office in the Eastern part of the empire often enjoyed unique religious honors given by the local elite, far beyond those received by their Western counterparts. Honorary inscriptions to these senators could be displayed in religious settings, for example on the island of Cos the local council and the people honored P. Calvisius Ruso Iulius Frontinus (cos.suff. *c.* 84), probably another member of the same Calvisii family, as proconsul of Asia, with an inscription set up in the temple of Asclepius.[52] The city of Kurion on Cyprus honored L. Val(erius) Helvidius Priscus [P]oblicola (*sic*!) with a statue set up

[49] *[aedem cum s]tatua impet[rata ab imperatore restituit et dedicavit], AE* 1959, 69b, cf. Pflaum ad *ILAlg.* 2, 1, 551. See also further religious initiatives by Africanus in Sabratha: *IRT* 4, 9 (statues dedicated to Jupiter and Concordia) and *AE* 1971, 485 (inscription from the vicinity of the temple of Isis).

[50] *GRIAsia* 162 (bilingual) = *I.Milet* 1, 402 (Latin) and *I.Didyma* 2, 105 n. 56 (Greek).

[51] *I.Eph.* 415, 416, 419, 419a. [52] *AE* 1934, 94.

in the Apollo sanctuary, though we are not certain which office brought him to the island at the time.[53] It is possible that the Kurion dedication was put up to honor Poblicola on the occasion of his visit to the sanctuary, a scenario that may explain the Cos dedication as well (whether or not including a cure at this famous healing site). Further examples from the East attest the variety of religious or semi-religious honors that a senator on duty could receive. When another proconsul of Asia, Cn. Claudius Leonticus (cos.suff. late second or third century), restored the temple at Delphi, he was honored with statues inscribed as *soter* in return.[54]

Some of these honors clearly bordered on the religious honors offered to members of the imperial family. From the Augustan period we have two, if debated, examples of senators honored along with members of the imperial family: Sex. Appuleius is honored along with Augustus, Tiberius, Divus Iulius, Iulia Augusta, and C. and L. Caesar in Alexandria Troas on an altar base, and M. Vinicius along with Drusus Maior in Mylasa.[55] More relevant to my discussion is an inscription from Didyma, which attests to yet another form of religious honor: a new festival introduced at the oracle in 115–16 can be traced to the proconsul at the time, the polyonymous Q. Fulvius Gillo Bittius Proculus (cos.suff. 98–9?) on whose behalf the *Prokleia* were celebrated.[56] This was a highly unusual honor; in fact, it is the only attested festival from the period of this study that is named after a senator, and it is likely to have consisted only of games, with no special rituals *for* the proconsul. The festival nevertheless confirms the local view of senators as representatives of a semi-divine imperial government, whose power therefore could also be understood in religious terms. Honors given to Septimius Severus and the imperial house in Tomi around 202 by a Dionysiac priesthood offers a final example: in this dedication they chose to add the name of C. Ovinius Tertullus (cos.suff. *c.* 194), the praetorian legate of Moesia inferior and the *hiera synkletos*, to the list of those honored.[57] While the phrase *theia synkletos* could suggest a cult of the divine senate, *hiera synkletos* does not necessarily confirm such a cult, and a formal worship of the legate is less likely. Yet listing the emperor, the imperial house, the sacred senate, and the senatorial legate together in a religious context, this inscription manifests the symbiotic connection between religious and political power that now extended from emperor to his local officeholders as well.

[53] *Inscr. Kourion* 89. [54] *Syll.* 877A, 877C.
[55] *I.Alex. Troas* 13, with Halfmann 1987 and Syme 1989: 405 n. 13.
[56] *I.Didyma* 293, cf. Ehrhardt and Weiss 1995: 345–346 with further literature. They nevertheless exclude the possibility of a significant religious background to the celebration.
[57] Stoian 1960: 73–81.

These emphatic examples of senatorial religious honors in the East confirm the intimate connection of religion and power in provincial life. When senatorial officeholders took part in religious celebrations, when they arbitrated disputes in their provinces, when they headed the main calendar festivities of religious life (including both imperial and local cults), when they contributed religious edifices to the city, and when they pronounced judgment on charges of magic, Christianity, or any other form of unacceptable religion, governors functioned as the highest authority in religious matters, even if they fulfilled these duties in consultation with the emperor. Senators also participated in a variety of local religious rituals and visited sanctuaries, and their presence suggested the smooth continuity between local and imperial order. They could possibly even seek out local religious experiences such as religious wonders or mystery initiations, but there were more limitations enforced in these less easily controllable sources of religious authority: oracular consultations obviously fell into this category, or an excessive amount of time spent away from one's province in pursuing individual religious interests. These regulations were largely *ad hoc* and concerned with the potentiality that an individual senatorial officeholder might gather too much religious power in the provincial context, away from Rome. Yet it is clear that the majority of our evidence confirms that the new conjunction of political and religious power primarily associated with the imperial house was extended to the senatorial officials representing that power in the provinces. Embracing local religious traditions and the developing imperial cult, senators appeared to carry magisterial and religious power in an inextricably connected form that invested these officeholders with an authority that not only applied to religious matters but itself had a religious quality.

SENATORIAL OFFICEHOLDERS AND RELIGION IN THE MILITARY

Unlike local religious traditions rooted in civic systems, the religion of the Roman imperial army is often viewed as distinct from its locale and separate from the rest of society. Senatorial commanders, it is usually thought, participated in a uniquely military set of religious practices, a view that was promoted even before the publication of the *Feriale Duranum*, the third-century calendar from Dura-Europos containing three-quarters of a year's worth of festivities celebrated by the *cohors XX Palmyranorum*.[58]

[58] Domaszewski 1895: 1–124, now with Stoll 1998b: 99–108.

The limited number of celebrations connected to the Syrian context of this military unit in the festival calendar appears to confirm this view: Roman army religion seems to have been markedly independent of its environs despite recent arguments suggesting that the army was more fully integrated with neighboring civilian populations than customarily thought.[59] Depictions of military sacrifices in Dacia, on Trajan's column and, in Scotland, on the Antonine Wall, supplement the Syrian calendar by further signaling the importance of the official religion of Rome to the religious symbolism of the army. Quite similar in their iconography to the standard representations of Roman civic sacrifice, these reliefs suggest that the conceptual base of religion in the army was indeed religion associated with an imperial center.[60] The state cults and the imperial cult can be seen as complementary to the cultic interests of the soldiers themselves; influenced by their places of geographical origin and the locations of their service, distinctly regimental religious traditions also emerged.[61] In this context one may wonder what role was left to senatorial commanders, whose time-limited engagements with individual military units might have made their potential influence relatively minor, despite earlier claims that senatorial commanders brought "new cults" into the military camps. Rather, this section will discuss how senatorial commanders could negotiate less mainstream religious interests among their troops and military units.[62]

Many of the major religious duties undertaken by senatorial officeholders in military settings were not unlike those encountered in civic settings. Senatorial commanders undertook ceremonial dedications to the imperial cult when on duty, and in a manner similar to provincial governors; yet, as we shall see, there was also a heavier emphasis on honors given to the main divinities of the Roman pantheon. Senatorial dedications to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Iuno, and Minerva appear at every military outpost of the empire. Also, senatorial commanders took a leading role in dedications offered by lower-class military personnel to these same deities, a phenomenon expressed by the fact that they are often named in the ablative as "*dedicante*," or with the shorter and vaguer "*sub*" or "*per*" preceding their names.[63] This supplementary role was especially crucial in the

[59] Helgeland 1978: 1471, 1500–1504.

[60] Beard, North, and Price 1998: 1. 326–328 with further literature.

[61] Stoll 2001.

[62] This was Domaszewski's now discarded view of military commanders as carriers of "Oriental" cults to their military units, see Domaszewski 1895: 58.

[63] See Germania superior: by the polyonymous C. Aufidius Victorinus (cos. II ord. 183) *CIL* XIII 11808 (Moguntiacum); Germania inferior: L. Aemilius Carus (cos.suff. Ant. Pius) *CIL* XIII 8197 (Agrippina?); Pannonia inferior: Q. Caecilius Rufinus Crepereianus (cos.suff. 160s) *CIL* III 10415, III 10407 = *ILS* 3109 (Aquincum) and C. Valerius Sabinianus (cos.suff. 188–9) *Budapest Régiségei* 16,

provinces where the army dominated local government; for example, the earliest known dedication by a praetorian legate of Arabia, L. Aemilius Carus, was offered to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Conservator, a version of the chief god in the Roman pantheon.[64] The continuity of the dedications to these major divinities in the military is also remarkable: the legates of *legio III* in Lambaesis dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus under the Trajanic commander A. Larcius Priscus in a manner similar to dedications under Severus Alexander, as exemplified by that of P. Iulius Iunianus Martialianus.[65]

In an unusual example of theological consistency, the emperor's name often appeared following a *pro salute* whenever the main divinities of the pantheon were addressed; that is, the emperor was designated as separate from these "regular" divinities. Of course, direct honors for the emperors and the imperial family are plentiful everywhere in the empire: Sex. Caelius Tuscus was one of two legates of *legio VI* in Germania inferior who honored Vespasian and Titus in Ulpia Traiana,[66] and there are five inscriptions honoring Antoninus Pius under the *cura* of Q. Lollius Urbicus (cos.suff. 135–6) in Britannia (where the high frequency is probably a coincidence of chance survival).[67] Military inferiors also made dedications to members of the imperial family in combination with Jupiter, noting the formal approval of their senatorial superiors with the familiar formulaic language: both "*sub*" and "*dedicante*" occur in an inscription from Moesia inferior offered to Jupiter Optimus Maximus *pro salute* of Antoninus Pius and Verus, as does "*per*" in a Durostorum temple dedication made *pro salute* of the same rulers.[68] Similarly, in Pannonia superioris, a *praefectus cohortis* dedicated

1965, 425 (Aquincum); Dacia: the *milites* of C. Iulius Bassus (cos.suff. 139) *CIL* III 1078 = *ILS* 2301 (Apulum) and Caerellius Sabinus (praet. 180s) *CIL* III 1074 = *ILS* 3085, *CIL* III 1075 = *ILS* 3086, *CIL* III 1076 = *ILS* 3087 (Apulum). See Domaszewski 1895: 22–29.

[64] *CIL* III 14149(1) (Philadelphia, Arabia).

[65] *AE* 1908, 237 (from the vicinity of Lambaesis); *AE* 1920, 30.

[66] *AE* 1979, 413 (Vetera, Germ. Inf.): *]* | *T(ito) Imp(eratoris) Vespasian[i]* | *Aug(usti) f(ilio) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) imp(eratore)* | *IIII co(n)s(ule) II desig(nato)* | *III cens(ore) desig(nato)* | *A(ulo) Mario Celso* | *leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)* | *Sex(to) Caelio Tu[s]co* | *leg(ato) Aug(usti)* | *leg(io) VI victrix*.

[67] *RIB* 1147, 1148, 1276, 2191, 2192.

[68] *AE* 1960, 337 = *IscM* 2, 5, 158 (Troesmis): *[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) sacrum pro]* | *salute Imp(eratoris) T(iti) Ael(i) Ha|driani Antonini Au|g(usti) Pii et Aureli Veri Cae|s(aris) [s]ub Iul(io) Severo leg(ato) Au|g(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) dedicante Ael|{l}io Optato l[e]g(ato) Aug(usti) L(ucius) Licin(ius)* | *domo Ni [copoli] Cleme(n)[s]* | *vet(eranus) leg(ionis) V Ma[c(edonicae) q(uin)q(uennalis) c]anab(ensium)* | *et dec (urio) Troesm(ensium) c[u]m Licinia* | *Veneria coniuge Lucia Li|cinia fil(ia) et Iul(io) Clemente et Oc|tavio Clementian(o) et Licinia Cle|mentiena et O[c]t[av(io) C]le(mente) et Lic(inio) Cle(mente) et* | *Oct (avio) Lic(inio) nep(otibus) d(e) s(uo) p(osuit) et ded(it) cur(iae) |(denarios) CCL* | *ob honor(em) q(uin)-q(uennalitatis) ex quor(um) incre|[m]en[tis] omnib(us) [decurionibus sportulae dividerentur]*; *CIL* III 7474 (Durostorum): *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) T(iti) Aeli Ha|driani Antonini Aug(usti) Pii et Ve|ri Caes(aris) templum et statuam* | *c(ivibus) R(omanis) et consistentibus in* | *canabis Aelis leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae)* | *Cn(aeus) Oppius Soterichus et* | *Oppius Severus fil(ius)*

a temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, *pro salute* of Commodus and *sub cura* of Prastina Messalinus, the imperial legate.[69] The cases of Arabia and Syria-Palestine are especially interesting because the imperial cult there did not have a provincial organization but was based in individual city units that belonged to the *eparchy* of Coele Syria. In this area the praetorian legates appear to have played a special role in promoting the cult, with most of the ceremonial activities taking place in Gerasa, where the *legio III Cyrenaica* was stationed. It was here that P. Iulius Geminius Marcianus (cos.suff. *c*. 164–6) dedicated a temple for the safety and continuance of Marcus and Verus.[70] Similar dedications continue throughout our period: probably as late as the reign of Severus Alexander, a praetorian legate in Arabia, Egnatius Victor Marinianus, dedicated for the safety of the emperor there as well.[71]

These military dedications – offered directly or indirectly to living emperors – expressed loyalty to the imperial cult in a charged context, given how likely and potentially dangerous army revolts could be. It was in these, rather more dangerous contexts, that senators promoted the imperial cult so heavily. We have already seen how officeholders could legitimate religious offerings to emperors by participating in the dedications of their immediate social inferiors (expressed, for example, in a "*dedicante*" phrase); and we can further hypothesize that senatorial dedications offered a direct model for those dedications offered by their military inferiors. For example, after C. Maesius Picatianus (cos. *c*. 165–6) dedicated a pair of honorary inscriptions to Marcus and Verus in Diana Veteranorum, while he was serving as praetorian legate of Numidia, his inscription was imitated by dedications of his military inferiors. A pair of dedications to these emperors by the *cohors I*, identifying Picatianus as their commander, suggest that cohorts imitated the example set by their legate.[72] A correlation between the religious practices of the commander and his unit is further evidenced by the numerous altars left behind by the *beneficiarii*. These lower-rank officers, attached to individual senatorial and equestrian officials serving the military, were employed for more advanced assignments of a financial or legal nature. Even though an Antonine reform standardized their titulature (*beneficiarius consularis*), thereby replacing the earlier practice of using the

eius | de suo fecerunt dedica|tum est per Tib(erium) Cl(audium) Saturni|num leg(atum) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) Tib(erio) Cl(audio) Iuli|ano leg(ato) Aug(usti).

[69] *AE* 1982, 798 = *RIU* Suppl. 135 (Cirpi): *Iovi Optumo*[!] *Maximo p[ro] | salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) [[Marci A[ureli]]] | [[Commodi]] Antonini Aug(usti) [Pii] | Felicis Cl(audius) Claudianus pr[aef(ectus)] | coh(ortis) II Alpinorum templum | a fundamentis const[i]|tuit sub cura Prastin[ae] | Messal(l)ini leg(ati) Aug(usti) p[r(o) pr(aetore)].*

[70] *IGRom* 3, ad 1370: *soteria* and *daimone*.

[71] *IGRom* 3, 1359, the emperor's name is lost.

[72] *CIL* VIII 4591, 4592; *CIL* VIII 17587–8 = *ILAlg*. 1, 3841–2 (Bir-Oum-Ali, Numidia).

governors' or commanders' personal names, a number of *beneficiarii* continued to offer dedications to gods that made a personal reference to their individual commander.[73] These dedications offer a striking example of the double source of patronage: the emperor on the one hand and their immediate supervisor on the other. *Naming* the commander went above and beyond both formal requirements and formulaic language in these dedicatory inscriptions, suggesting that the senatorial commander was perceived as *the* representative authority, part of the larger social hierarchy which was religiously sanctioned.

Building benefactions of both religious and non-religious kinds are also attested in this context. In the army, however, most building activity was financed centrally, and accordingly a more direct connection was made to the emperor's benefaction. Thus, the praetorian legate of Numidia in 158, L. Matuccius Fuscinus (cos.suff. *c.* 159), dedicated a temple to Neptune that Antoninus Pius, "*a solo*," built in Lambaesis.[74] Lambaesis, the military capital of Africa, offers an outstanding example of the building activities associated with the emperor and taken on by the military. Whether identified as the actual offerer, as discussed above, or as the honoree, the emperor was regularly given credit for the success of the building project. Along these lines, in the mid-140s the legate of *legio III*, C. (Ulpius) Prastina Pacatus Messalinus (cos.ord. 147), dedicated a water-supply system in Lambaesis to Antoninus Pius.[75] M. Valerius Etruscus (praet. 152), head of the African troops in 152, dedicated to Pius not only a statue, but also a basilica.[76] When the *legio III* added the propyla with a vestibule to the Neptune temple of Lambaesis, M. Aemilius Macer Saturninus (cos.suff. 174), outgoing praetorian legate of Numidia and designated consul, offered it in the inscription to Marcus.[77] Further, the same praetorian legate of Numidia also dedicated a wide variety of his building projects to Marcus, including a triumphal arch in Verecunda, a street in Lambaesis, and probably also a fountain in Thamugadi.[78] Similarly, M. Valerius Maximianus (cos.suff. 184 or 185) dedicated to Commodus an arch in Lambaesis, thermal baths in Cuicul, and a water-supply system in Thamugadi.[79] Given the multitude of projects offered *to* the emperor, it is striking that few temples to the imperial cult are

[73] Dise 1997a; Dise 1997b. [74] *CIL* VIII 2653. [75] *AE* 1985, 875.
[76] *CIL* VIII 2453 (statue base in Lambaesis); *CIL* VIII 17854–17855 (building in Thamugadi).
[77] *CIL* VIII 2654.
[78] *AE* 1914, 39 (Lambaesis); *CIL* VIII 4209 = 18497 and *CIL* VIII 4210 (Verecunda); *CIL* VIII 17869 (Thamugadi): *aqua[m -]netensem*.
[79] *CIL* VIII 2698, VIII 18247 (Lambaesis); *AE* 1935, 45, *AE* 1920, 16 (Cuicul); *AE* 1934, 40 (Thamugadi): *opus aquae paludensis conquirendae concludendaeque*. Later he also honored *divus* Commodus in Verecunda, *CIL* VIII 212.

identified with a dedication by a senatorial officeholder; in fact, in the whole empire, the only secure example is from Britain, where a so-called "*aedes principiorum*" was built *sub*, most likely, A. Triarius Rufinus (cos.ord. 210).[80] One other possible temple dedication comes from Lambaesis itself, where M. Aurelius Cominius Cassianus (cos.suff. *c.* 200s), the praetorian legate of Numidia, probably dedicated a temple to the *Augusti* in the forum of Lambaesis, with the images of Jupiter, Iuno, Minerva, and of the *Genius Lambaesis* displayed as well.[81]

Vota undertaken at the beginning of a new project were the usual context of an imperial dedication. A unique, if late inscription depicts a building project in exactly those terms: L. Iulius Apronius Maenius Pius Salamallianus (cos. design. 226–7), praetorian legate of Numidia, claims to have fulfilled the vow which he promised at the start of work on an aqueduct at the completion of the project.[82] Large-scale building projects were not always completed under the magistracy of a single senator, a fact which suggests that even if provincial governors had some discretion in selecting their projects, their own preferences were negotiated against a mix of earlier unfinished business involving both imperial and local interests. Thus the praetorian legate of Numidia, L. Matuccius Fuscinus (cos.suff. *c.* 159), embellished the temple to Isis and Serapis with his wife and daughter in 158.[83] We can fully trace the project of building a temple, *ab antecessoribus institutam exaltatam*, to Dea Caelestis in Lambaesis from its initiative under C. Iulius (Scapula) Lepidus Tertullus in the mid-190s to its completion under Cl(audius) Gallus, who consecrated it with his wife and children in about 203.[84] This multi-faceted array of projects is shown to be systematic by the framework of imperial references: the inscription on this temple of Dea Caelestis recorded the offering by the legate *pro salute* of the emperors and Iulia Augusta.[85] It is difficult to resist an interpretation that the building projects were designed to make a complete cosmology: projects undertaken

[80] *AE* 1962, 258 (Regulbium): *Aedem p[rinci]piorum | cu[m b]asilica | su[b A(ulo) Triar]io Rufino | co(n)s(ule) | [--- Fo]rtunatus | [---]it.*

[81] *CIL* VIII 2611: *Imp[[p(eratoribus)]] [dd(ominis)] n[[n(ostris) Philippis]] Aug[[g(ustis)]] co(n)s[[s(ulibus)]] | [aedem(?) cum simu]lacris [Iovi]s Iunon[is] Minervae et Genii Lamba[esis ---] | [---] et a so[lo — dedicante] M(arco) Aurelio Cominio Cassian[o leg(ato) Augg(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore) c(larissimo) v(iro)] | [patrono mun]icipii.*

[82] Eck 1992: 155; *AE* 1942/3, 93 = *AE* 1973, 646 (Ain-Cherchar, Numidia): *L(ucius) Apronius | Pius leg(atus) Aug(usti) | pr(o) pr(aetore) co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) | v(otum) quo[d] | coepto op[ere] | aquae ductu[s] | [[[Alexandriani]]] | [promiserat] | [opere perfec]|[t]o sol|vit | Clodius Septi|minus discens | libratorum | fecit.*

[83] *CIL* VIII 2630 = 18100 = *SIRIS* 785 (Lambaesis).

[84] *AE* 1957, 123 (Lambaesis).

[85] *AE* 1957, 123: *[Pr]o salute Invictor(um) Imperr(atorum) Severi et Antonini Sanctissi|[mi A]ug(usti) et Iuliae Aug(ustae) Piae matri(s) Aug(usti).*

in the provinces by senatorial commanders refer to divinities not usually associated with the imperial cult and yet reference, as their larger context, the worship of the emperor. M. Iallius Bassus Fabius Valerianus (cos.suff. 158) started building a temple to Serapis, dedicated *pro salute* of Marcus, Verus, Faustina, and their children in Moesia inferior;[86] M. Helvius Clemens Dextrianus dedicated an altar to the Nymphs *pro salute et victoria* for Commodus, after a channel was completed in Germania inferior;[87] and finally a praetorian legate of Britannia superior, M. Martiannius Pulcher (probably under Septimius Severus), ordered the restitution of a temple of Isis to honor the "divine imperial house."[88]

Vota and dedications occurred in ceremonial settings, and military ceremony must have contributed to the experience of imperial religion in the camp. These ceremonies also provided senatorial officeholders with symbolic opportunities to represent their own roles in religious terms, and in familiar ways: first, the understanding of the camp as a sacred space in a way that paralleled the understanding of Rome as a sacred city; there were also external parade grounds associated with religious celebrations.[89] Inscribed altars found outside camps in Britain, presumably on parade grounds, attest to the practice of regular, perhaps annual, erection of altars, mostly to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and with a reference to military officials, either of senatorial or of equestrian rank.[90] The *cohors I Hispanorum* in Alauna and the *cohors I Aelia Dacorum* in Camboglanna most often dedicated with or through their tribunes.[91] In both Alauna and Camboglanna, a few altars were actually offered to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the *numen Augusti*, thereby reinforcing the inseparable link between state religion and imperial cult.[92] The very existence of these altars and parade grounds, where festivities were celebrated and donatives distributed, must have offered regular reinforcement to the symbolic roles of senators in maintaining the religiously sanctioned order in the camp.

The emergence of dedications to other, different divinities by senatorial commanders in military settings is thrown into sharp relief against this background of regular dedications to the major gods of the Roman pantheon and to ruling and divinized emperors. In addition to less surprising

[86] *CIL* III 12387 (Bela Slatina?).
[87] *CIL* XIII 11757 in Vicus Aurelianus, in the vicinity of Raetica but still in Germania inferior.
[88] *Britannia* 7, 1976: 378–379 = Birley 2005: 360–361 (London).
[89] Helgeland 1978: 1488–1494. [90] Helgeland 1978: 1495–1496; Webster 1988: 277.
[91] Alauna: *RIB* 817–820, 823–826; Camboglanna: *AE* 1962, 263; *RIB* 1872, 1874–1875, 1877–1879, 1881–1891, 1893, 1896, 1906.
[92] *RIB* 824–826; *RIB* 1882.

choices such as Fortuna,[93] Apollo, Victoria, or Mercury,[94] senatorial commanders sometimes dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus together with the *di penates* and to Jupiter Stator, emphasizing a connection to Rome as well as to the military context.[95] Conversely, a more local focus is suggested when Oppius Severus dedicated to Rhenus in Germania superior, or Vetulenus Apronianus to Danuvium in Pannonia inferior.[96] Under Marcus, C. Postu[miu]s Afr[icanus], a legate of the proconsul of Africa, dedicated an aqueduct in Ammaedara "*Ammaedarae Aug(ustae) sacrum.*"[97] These local-interest dedications, while comparatively unusual, should not be interpreted as counter to the more general trends of army religion. In fact, such dedications often tied into the larger religious framework outlined above by making a reference to the emperor, as in the dedication to a *deus Matunus* in Britannia, which the praetorian legate

[93] Dedications to Fortuna (see Domaszewski 1895: 40):
(1) P. Calpurnius Proculus Cornelianus (cos.suff. 160s): as *leg. pr. pr. Daciae* dedicates to *Fortuna Aug. sacrum*, *CIL* III 1007 Apulum;
(2) C. Valerius Pudens (cos.suff. ca. 195): as *leg.praet. Pann.inf. c.* 194 dedicates to *Fortuna huius loci*, *CIL* III 10399 Aquincum;
(3) Q. Caecilius Laetus (praet. late second/ early third century): as *leg.leg. XIII* dedicates to *Fortuna Redux*, *CIL* III 1011 in Apulum, Dacia;
(4) P. Cosinius Felix (sen. of uncertain date): as leg. *pr.praet. Pann. inf.* dedicates to *Fortuna Redux*, *CIL* III 3421 Aquincum.

[94] Victoria (see Domaszewski 1895: 37–40):
(1) L. Iulius Iulianus (cos.suff. Severan): as *leg.leg. II* dedication to Victoria Augusta VII 480 (close to Corstopitus, Hexham, Britannia);
(2) A. Didius Gallus Fabricius Veiento (cos. III ord. under Domitian): as *comes* of Domitian in German war dedicates to Nemetona (German quasi-Victoria) with his wife, Attica *CIL* XIII 7253 = *ILS* 1010 (Ager Mogontiacensis, Germania sup., a possible twin dedication to Mars Leucetius has also been postulated).

Apollo:
(1) L. Munatius Gallus (praet. Trajan): as *leg.leg. III* to Apollo *CIL* XIII 11500 (Vindonissa, Germania superioris);
(2) L. Aemilius Carus (cos.suff. Ant. Pius): as *leg. pr.pr. III Daciarum* dedicates to Apollo Augustus *CIL* III 1415 (Apulum);
(3) Q. Voconius Saxa Fidus (cos.suff. 146): as *procos. Africae* dedicated a temple to Apollo in 162, *CIL* VIII 11029 = 22691 (Gightis).

Mercury:
(1) App. Claudius Lateranus (cos.suff. Marcus or later): as *leg.leg. III* and cos. design. dedicates to Mercury *CIL* III 5793 = *ILS* 3203.

[95] *Di penates*: D. Terentius Scaurianus (cos.suff. *c.* 104) as *leg.pr.pr. Daciae*, *CIL* III 1081; *Jupiter Stator*: Q. Aburnius Caedicianus (cos.suff. *c.* 118–19) as *leg.leg. XIII*, *CIL* III 1089 = *ILS* 3010.

[96] Rhenus: *AE* 1969/70, 434 (Argentorate); Danuvium: *CIL* III 10395 (Contra Aquincum) by [V]etulenus [A]proni[anus], legate of *legio II*.

[97] *AE* 1988, 1119.

C. Iulius Marcus made *pro salute* of Caracalla in Habitancium.[98] Traces of similar, syncretistic trends can be discerned in a dedication from Aquincum by a praetorian legate of Pannonia inferior, offered *pro salute, victoria et perpetuitate* of either Commodus or Elagabalus; here, Neptune and Serapis appear alongside Jupiter Optimus Maximus.[99]

References to individual senators' origins or their *genius*, along with the *genius* of the service location, became popular under the Severans, reflecting an increased respect for a local sense of religious space. A Severan military tribune from Syrian Antioch, T. Fl(avius) Claudianus offered an altar to Epona in Mogontiacum with the self-identifying phrase "*ex Syria Antiochia*."[100] The popularity of this Gallic goddess with the military seems to have been the prime motivation for this dedication, rather than the advancement of the god in light of Claudianus' birthplace. A trend toward inclusiveness also probably led the African senator A. Terentius Pudens Uttedianus, when legate of *legio XIII* in Dacia at the turn of the second to third century, to dedicate *Caelesti Augustae et Aesculapio Augusto et genio Carthaginis et genio Daciarum*.[101]

In a further blurring of lines, personal and official motivations appear inextricably linked when senatorial officials visited religious healing sites, particularly waters known for their curing powers, and, while there, dedicated *pro salute* of the emperors. C. Iulius (Scapula) Lepidus Tertullus (cos. 195/6), as praetorian legate of the province, dedicated to Asclepius and Hygia *pro salute et victoria* for Pertinax and Clodius Albinus at the healing site of the Aquae Flavianae in Numidia in 194.[102] Members of the Severan family were mentioned, *pro salute*, in what were similar dedications to nymphs in the Dacian military centre, Apulum, and on the *limes*, in Porolissum.[103] Our most varied evidence comes from Mehadia, Dacia, famous for its healing baths, where Cl(audius?) Gallus (cos.suff. *c*. 205), praetorian legate of the *legio III Daciarum* dedicated to Hercules for the

[98] *CIL* VII 995.

[99] *CIL* III 3637 = *RIU* III 800 (close to Aquincum, Pann. Inf.): *Iovi Optimo M[ax(imo)] | Neptuno Serap-[idi] | pro salut[e et] victor[ia] | et perpetuitate | [I]mp(eratoris) Caesaris | [M(arci) A]urel(i) [[Antonini]] | [Pii] Felicis Aug(usti) | [L(ucius) Al]fenus Avitianus | [leg(atus)] eius pr(o) pr(aetore) | prov(inciae) Pann-(oniae) inf(erioris)*.

[100] *CIL* XIII 11801 (Mogontiacum, Germ. sup.).

[101] *CIL* III 993 = *ILS* 3923 (Apulum, Dacia); Caelestis and Aesculapius are gods also worshiped in Carthage.

[102] *CIL* VIII 17726.

[103] Apulum: *CIL* III 1129 by Rufrius Sulpicianus, *leg.leg. XIII*; Porolissum: *AE* 1978, 678 by a certain Postumus, *praeses III Daciarum*.

health of Septimius Severus and Caracalla.[104] Dedications offered by senators with their own health in mind have also been identified: for example, in the late 160s Calpurnius Iulianus (cos.suff. 170s) made such a thanksgiving offering when he was praetorian legate of Dacia.[105] Even more notable is a dedication from the early 150s; this, the first surviving dedication to mention a senator here, was made at this healing site and was offered *pro salute* of the Pergamon visitor, M. Sedatius Severianus (cos.suff. 153).[106] While this particular chronological sequence may not accurately reflect historical developments at Mehadia, the parallel existence of these options – dedications by a senator *pro salute* of an emperor or for his own health by himself or his social inferiors – seems representative of the ease with which religious ideas were transferred from emperor to senators in military settings.

Senatorial commanders also participated in localized practices associated exclusively with the army, for example honoring the *genius legionis* and the *genius praetorii*, who were worshiped in a few military camps of the empire (Apulum in Dacia and Legio in Hispania citerior).[107] The *di militares* were popular with commanders in Aquincum,[108] but also appear with less direct senatorial involvement, referencing the senator through the term "*per*," for example L. Annius Italicus Honoratus (cos.suff. *c.* 220) in Moesia

[104] *CIL* III 1564 = *IDR* 3, 1, 57: *Herculi* | *pro salute Impe*|*ratorum Severi* | *et Antonini f(ilii?) conser*|*vatori Augustorum* | *dominorum nos*|*trorum C(aius) I(ulius) Gallu*|*s c(larissimus) v(ir) legatus eorum* | *pr(o) pr(aetore) cum suis* | *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. Cf. *IDR* 3, 1, 76.

[105] *CIL* III 1566 = *IDR* 3, 1, 67: *Herculi Genio* | *loci fontibus* | *calidis Calpur*|*nius Iulianus* | *v(ir) c(larissimus) leg(atus) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)* | *leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)* | *[pro]v(inciae) [Da]ciae* | *[–]s(?)* | *v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit)*. Possibly offered *pro se et suis*.

[106] *CIL* III 1575 = *IDR* 3, 1, 70 = *AE* 1998, 1108: *SVC* | *pro salute* | *M(arci) Sedat(i)* | *Severiani* | *leg(ati) Aug(usti)*.

[107] *Genius legionis* and *praetorii* (see Domaszewski 1895: 96–102) in Apulum:
(1) M. Caelius Iulianus (probably in the late second century) offered, as *tribunus laticlavius*, *Daciis tribus et genio legionis*, *CIL* III 995;
(2) Q. Caecilius Laetus (late second or early third century) offered as legate of *legio XIII*, *genio* | *leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae)*, *CIL* III 1012;
(3) M. Valerius Longinus (under Severus Alexander) as legate of *legio XIII*, *genio prae*|*torii huius*, *CIL* III 1019.

Genius legionis in Legio:
(1) L. Attius Macro (cos.suff. 134) offered, as legate of *legio VII*, *genio* | *leg(ionis) VII [G(eminae)]*, *CIL* II 5083;
(2) Ti. Claudius Pompeianus (cos. II ord. 173) or Ti. Cl(audius) Pompeianus, a son of his, offered, still as a tribune, *genio* | *[leg(ionis)] VII G(eminae) F(elicis)*, *AE* 1971, 208 and *AE* 1974, 411; notably, *ex iu(ssu) g(enii)*. There is a possibility that this was not a senatorial dedication.

[108] *Di militares*:
(1) Ti. Haterius Saturninus (cos.suff. 164) offered, as praetorian legate of Pannonia Inferior an altar *[di]s militaribus* | *[s]alutaribus*, *CIL* III 3473 (Aquincum);
(2) M. Caecilius Rufinus Marianus (second half of second century) offered as tribune of *legio IV* a dedication "*Hammoni* | *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et lar(ibus)* | *mil(itaribus) ceterisq(ue)* | *dis*, *CIL* III 3463 (Aquincum);

inferior.[109] The earliest of these dedications in Aquincum was made by Ti. Haterius Saturninus (cos.suff. 164), the praetorian legate, and his son, Haterius Latronianus, as his military tribune, dating the *di militares* back to the Antonine period. The younger Haterius also dedicated another altar to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and *dis deabusque*, attesting to the same syncretistic desire to encompass, in one inscription, the whole pantheon – the very idea that probably led to the development of the somewhat summary phrase *di militares* in the first place. A similar summary phrase, the *di conservatores*, occurs at a variety of places[110] and seems to accompany dedications offered to specific divinities who in their "conservator" form preserve the emperor (such as Apollo Conservator for Caracalla).[111]

Senatorial participation in the Mithras cult is even more interesting since this cult continues to be seen as in opposition to the cults of traditional Roman deities and of emperors. In fact, the numerous dedications offered by senatorial commanders to Mithras indicate that they did not perceive the worship of Mithras to be distant from mainstream Roman religion. Senatorial Mithras worship in Aquincum further illuminates the workings of senatorial participation in local camps. It is from here that the large majority of senatorial dedications to the god survive;[112] and quite

(3) C. Iulius Pisibanus Maximus Aemilius Papus (second half of second century) offered as military tribune of *legio II* a dedication *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et l(aribus)* | *mil(itaribus) ceteris*|*que dis*, *CIL* III 3460 (Aquincum);

(4) Clod(ius) Marcellinus (under Elagabalus) offered also as tribune of *legio II* a dedication *dis militaribus* | *et genio loci pro* | *salute et reditu* of Elagabalus, *CIL* III 3472 (Aquincum).

[109] *CIL* III 6224 = 7591 = *ILBulg* 282 *(Moesia Inferior): dis militaribus* | *genio Virtuti a*|*quilae sanc(tae) signis*|*que leg(ionis) I Ital(icae) Seve*|*rianae M(arcus) Aurel(ius)* | *Iustus domo Ho[r]*|*rei Margensis mu-(nicipii)* | *Moesia superio*|*ris ex CCC(trecenario) p(rimus) p(ilus)* | *d(onum) d(edit)*.

[110] *Di conservatores*:

(1) L. Aemilius Carus (cos.suff. under Ant.Pius) as praetorian legate *III Daciarum*, offerered *Sarapidi* | *Iovi Soli* | *Isidi Lunae* | *Dianae* | *dis deabusq(ue)* | *conservatorib(us)*, *CIL* III 7771 (Apulum);

(2) C. Iulius Gemin(i)us Capellianus (cos.suff. 161–2) as praetorian legate offered *dis conserva*|*toribus*, *CIL* III 3419 (Aquincum);

(3) Q. Tarquitius Catu(l)us (of uncertain date) as praetorian legate offered *dis conser*|*vatorib-(us)*, in association with the restoration of a building, *CIL* XIII 8170 (Colonia Agrippinensium).

[111] *IDR* 3, 1, 128 (Tibiscum, Dacia): *Apollin[i]* | *Conserva[to]ri* | *[ma]x[i]mi [sa]nctis[si]miq(ue)* | *[I]mp-(eratoris) n(ostri) M(arci) A[u]r(eli) A[nt]on[i]n[i]* | *Pii Felic[i]s Augu[sti]* | *[L(ucius) M]arius Perpetuus leg(atus)* | *[dev]otus numin[i] eius* | *[pe]r P(ublium) Ael(ium) Cl(audia) Sent(ino)* | *Gemellum* | *tribunum*. See also *CIL* VIII 2620 from Lambaesis to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Conservator of Severus Alexander.

[112] *Mithras* in Aquincum with senators and senators-to-be:

(1) Cassius Clemens (sen. under Septimius Severus) offered, as tribune of *legio II*, most likely *[D(eo) S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae)], AE* 1990, 814;

(2) C. Iulius (Scapula) Lepidus Tertullus (cos.suff. 195/6) offered as tribune of *legio II, Soli Invicto* | *sac(rum), AE* 1990, 817;

remarkably this Mithras sanctuary is located, uniquely, inside the walls of the camp, in fact, next to the house where the military tribune lived.[113] Clearly, most senators "got the message" upon arrival about the importance of existing local practices, including those of previous commanders, and continued participation in the Mithras cult. On other sites, such direct clues as to how senators may have become involved in locally practiced cults are not available. Yet the openness of senatorial commanders both to local influences and to suggestions by military inferiors is likely: one of the earliest military dedications to Mithras with a senator's name on the same stone depicts the senator as a curator, while the dedication was made by a *vexillatio* of the *legio VI* in Britain.[114]

The example of M. Valerius Maximianus, an Antonine *homo novus*, offers further evidence of senatorial participation in the Mithras cult in military settings. After a long equestrian career, he was promoted to legionary legate of *legio XIII* in Apulum, where he offered a Mithras dedication; he went on to become praetorian legate of Numidia, where he made further Mithras offerings.[115] While a simplistic explanation suggesting that this senatorial commander "spread" the Mithras-cult along the stops of his career path, he may have been in part responsible for introducing Jupiter Depulsor to Africa; this military god, also originating from the

(3) Tib. Pontius Pontianus (cos. 210s) offered as tribune of *legio II*, *Invicto* | *M<i=Y>thrae* | *Nabarze*, *CIL* III 3481;
(4) C. Iulius Septimius Castinus (cos.suff. 213) offered, as praetorian legate of Pannonia Inferior, *Deo Invicto* | *Mit(h)rae*, *CIL* III 3480;
(5) L. Cassius Pius Marcellinus (early third century) offered, most likely as tribune of *legio II*, *D(eo) S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae)*, *AE* 1990, 815;
(6) C. Minucius Ticidianus Annius Faustus (undated) offered, as tribune of *legio II*, *Soli Invicto* | *Mithrae*, *AE* 1990, 818;
(7) Sex. Decimius Verus Barbarus (undated) offered, as tribune of *legio II*, *S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae)*, *AE* 1990, 819.

Cf. *Sol Invictus* (Mithras) in Apulum (besides M. Valerius Maximianus, below):
(1) C. Caerellius Sabinus (*c*. 180s) restored, as tribune of *legio XIII*, *Soli Invicto*, a temple (*CIL* III 1111 = *IDR* 3, 5, 1, 354);
(2) Q. Caecilius Laetus (late second or early third century) offered, as tribune of *legio XIII*, *Soli* | *Invicto*, *CIL* III 1013 = *IDR* 3, 5, 1, 353.

[113] Fitz 1989: 93–98.

[114] "*Sub cura*" of Sex. Calpurnius Agricola, praetorian legate: *RIB* 1137 (Corstopitum); later erased.

[115] Cf. *RE* s.v. Valerius 236 (Dorothea v. Lunzer); Kolendo 1989: 1071–1072 nn. 33–34; Stoll 1998b: 104–105. *CIL* III 1122 = *IDR* 3, 5, 1, 286 (Apulum): *[S(oli?)] Invicto* | *Mit(h)rae)* | *M(arcus) Val(erius) Maxi*|*mianus leg(atus) Aug(usti)* | *v(otum) s(olvit)*; *AE* 1915, 28 (Lambaesis): *Deo In*|*victo* | *Mithrae* | *sac(rum)* | *M(arcus) Val(erius) Ma*|*ximianus* | *leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)*; *AE* 1955, 79 (Lambaesis): *Soli* | *deo* | *Invicto* | *Mithrae* | *sacrum* | *M(arcus) Valerius* | *Maximianus* | *leg(atus) Aug(usti)* | *pr(o) pr(aetore)*.

Danube provinces, is first attested there in 154.[116] Still, there are plenty of reasons to doubt a proselytizing agenda on the part of Maximianus: to start, we may note the dedication to Jupiter Depulsor Maximianus was made with his wife, suggesting a more conventional representation of this offering. Further, in the dedication the "new" god appears together with the *genius loci* as another recipient of the same offering. Even allowing for the possibility of a somewhat pioneering role by this senator in spreading these new cults, there is little evidence of any innovation in his religious agenda. Jupiter Depulsor, the military god whose cult gained ground after the barbarian invasions under Marcus, shared a religious background and a military context with Mithras, who also achieved increased popularity among the soldiers of the Danube provinces in the mid second century. In other words, these cults were "at home" in the military, not in opposition to the cults in which senatorial commanders traditionally played a leading role. Given the general role of senatorial commanders in promoting religious cults, it would be mistaken to explain the promotion of these particular cults as an effect of some kind of unique, proselytizing mission.

Senatorial commanders from Syria have also been credited with transferring their own favorite cults to the provinces of their service,[117] yet this view is also misleading. The most prominent example is Sex. Iulius Maior (cos.suff. 126) of Nysa, Lydia, who, on military service as legate of *legio III*, dedicated a temple to Jupiter Dolichenus in Lambaesis.[118] Nevertheless, the cult of Dolichenus is not indigenous in Nysa, and the temple was dedicated *pro salute et incolumitate* of Hadrian, again suggesting that the dedication was traditional rather than innovative. A personal relationship with the god may be expressed in a dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus "*monitu*" (at the bidding of the god) made by a senator probably called Fronto Aemilianus Calpurnius Rufilianus (sen. 160s), legate of *legio II*, a man of African and not Syrian origin, but this case is also ambiguous.[119] The only example that clearly suggests personal devotion together with an actual temple foundation is the case of a legate of *legio VI*, Claudius

[116] On the social background of the cult of Jupiter Depulsor see Kolendo 1989: 1067–1069. *CIL* VIII 2621 (Lambaesis): *Iovi Depulso|ri genio loci | M(arcus) Valerius | Maximianus | leg(atus) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) | [[III]] Aug(ustae) pr(o) pr(aetore) | consul et | Ulpia Aristonice*.

[117] Stoll 1998b: 105.

[118] *CIL* VIII 2681, VIII 18221 = 2680 = *ILS* 4311a.

[119] *CIL* VII 98 = *RIB* 320 (Caerleon or Isca Silurum, Britannia).

Hieronymianus (praet. early third century), whose name betrays his Eastern origin, and who *templum a solo fecit* for *deus sanctus Serapis* in Eburacum, Britannia.[120] In this case, however, it is highly likely that Serapis had already been worshiped at the camp of this legion, and thus personal motivation must be placed in a communal context. There is little evidence therefore to suggest that religious change was brought about by enterprising senatorial military commanders. Their role in seizing upon, promoting, and thereby "accepting" cults that had potential to influence their military units seems to have been much more significant.

From the second half of our period there is also some visual evidence for how senatorial military officials took on the role of the main sacrificer in this context. A distance slab from the Antonine Wall in Bridgeness depicts a libation headed by a central togate figure, most likely A. Claudius Charax, legate of *legio II* in 143.[121] At the very end of our period, probably just before the Persian attack of 239, a fresco was made for the *pronaos* of the so-called "Temple of the Palmyrene Gods" in Dura-Europos, the room adjacent to the one in which the calendar known as *Feriale Duranum* was discovered.[122] The fresco depicts a standard-bearer holding the *vexillum* of the cohort next to a centrally and frontally placed altar at which the tribune Iulius Terentius is sacrificing, with his soldiers of the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* behind him on the right. On the bottom left, the Tyche of Dura and the Tyche of Palmyra are depicted, separated by a flower. Interpretation of the three images on the top left is much debated, though it seems likely that these are either Palmyrene gods or, following Thomas Pekáry's convincing reading, illustrations of the imperial family: Pupienus and Balbinus as *Augusti* and Gordian III as *Caesar*.[123] The numerous celebrations for current rulers in the *Feriale* further suggest that this is a depiction of a celebration associated with the imperial cult. If so, the image would depict what is called the honorary watch of soldiers by the imperial *signa* (either the military symbols or the actual statues of the rulers) in literary sources from Dura, together with the sacrifice, which is technically a supplication with wine and incense that we know from the provincial imperial cult (and is so identified in association with the annual

[120] *CIL* VII 240 = *ILS* 4384.

[121] Identification of the senator by Birley 1990: 18; on the slab see most recently Henig 2004: 228–229 with earlier literature.

[122] I follow the interpretation of Pekáry 1986: 91–103. The best discussion of the representation of rank is in Devijver 1989: 442–443.

[123] Pekáry 1986: 101–102. Cf. the different interpretation by Dirven 1999: 306–307; Stoll 2001, who thinks that these are Palmyrene gods, Iarhibol, Aglibol, and Arsu. As to Iulius Terentius, see also his small funerary inscription, in Greek, *AE* 1948, 124.

vota by Pliny).[124] The tribune, dressed all in white, a special privilege of his official position, is in the very center of the image, presenting an offering in front of imperial statues. If this is the correct reading of the image, it represents the only surviving depiction of its type from the period covered here. Above him in the fresco, a priest is depicted, identified as such in Greek and by his name Themes, son of Mokimos.[125] The person who is the center of the image, the main sacrificer on this fresco, is the tribune in his official position as the military leader of the troops at Dura – a fact highlighted by the presence of the standard-bearer opposite him in the painting.[126] The liturgical aspect of the scene is further emphasized by the scroll (the *volumen*) that the tribune is holding, and from which he is to recite the appropriate prayers for the sacrifice.

This image of a sacrificing tribune, standing at the center of the festival celebration, can be read as a symbolic representation of the role that elite officeholders undertook in the army and, ultimately, in their civic roles in the provinces as well. Such depictions are quite rare in iconographic terms, and this image in fact foreshadows later, Byzantine representations. While the depiction is unusual, the scene was probably rather typical for what transpired at an endless number of religious celebrations in the provinces of the Roman empire. Even though Iulius Terentius was an equestrian by rank, this rare visual representation of an event seems to correspond to many similar celebrations by officeholders in the provinces, whether senatorial or equestrian. Dressed in ceremonial white, whether with an *angus* or a *latus clavus*, these senatorial and equestrian officeholders not only provided a secular connection to Rome and to the empire for all provincials and soldiers, but were also associated with the religious power that emanated from the center, which they embodied in their official and religious roles. Their names were frequently inscribed on dedications of all sorts and in every locale, their images were depicted on frescos and monuments, and their presence was celebrated in multiple ways. Senatorial officeholders stood for Rome and could therefore offer the kind of validity to local religious practices, whether civic or military, that their subjects sought. Away from the capital, senators could pursue less mainstream preferences more freely, yet most often they put even innovative elements to rather customary uses: whether commemorating their visit to a sanctuary of a local

[124] Plin. *Ep*. 10.96.5.
[125] Themes, the priest, is also known from P. Dura 89 = Fink 1971: no. 50 (dated May 27/8, 239).
[126] Nock 1952: 199; Dirven 1999: 187–188, who calls it, with reference to the Palmyrene gods, a "semi-official" event.

deity or offering a dedication to a divinity associated with the military (but less frequently honored by senators in "peaceful" contexts), they focused their religious display on reverence for tradition and for the larger imperial context. In this way they connected their local subjects, whether provincial civilians or soldiers, into the larger imperial symbolic of religious representation. Of the two spatial models outlined at the beginning of Part II, senators thus seem to testify to a hybrid between locally focused worship and the religious power of the itinerant ruler; honoring local religious traditions in civic contexts and engaging the cults that cemented military cohesion in the camps, they provided a link that also connected these religious practices on the ground to the larger religious context of the empire. The ongoing, steady character of this role among senators in the period of my study raises the question whether there was a background in principle, a notional model that supported this conformity with theological meaning. This is the question to which I turn in the next section.

PART III

CHAPTER 5

Towards a "theology" of Roman religion

As in the republic, Roman religion in the empire was not grounded in a central and foundational theology, and therefore the common modern notion that religions are to be characterized by their central theological doctrines cannot adequately be applied in a discussion of Roman senatorial religion. The assertion that there was a "knowledge" component to the conceptualization of religion among senators requires further investigation, as does the place of imperial power, with its religious implication, within this conceptual framework. Chronology is key here: as Arnaldo Momigliano convincingly showed for the final years of the republic, the political upheavals of the times led Roman elites to a deeper engagement with religious questions.[1] Though the pressing theological questions discussed by Cicero or Varro have no parallel in our period, their language and concerns feed into senatorial discussions about religion in the empire. To borrow Momigliano's phrase, "the theological efforts" of the upper classes continued during the empire as well; and in this chapter I shall keep "theology" in inverted commas in order to emphasize the difference between the less foundational role of these considerations among the Roman imperial elite and our modern expectations of the central role of theology for any religion.

The chapter begins with a consideration of imperial approaches to talking about religion, noting how religious discourses contributed to the conceptualization of the divine. These knowledge frameworks provided a variety of concurrent foci for understanding the religious. Nevertheless, as I will show, a common and shared sense of religious knowledge came to be associated with sociopolitical power, though not all senators necessarily shared one systematic notion of the divine. How such a varied notional landscape translated into practice will be the topic of the second part of this chapter, where I discuss the religious components that shaped funerary practices among the senatorial elite. My point is not to identify *the* "theology" of

[1] Momigliano 1984.

senatorial religion, but rather to identify the conceptual frameworks that were most widely shared by and important for the elite. But there was always a variety, and the following chapter will focus on evidence for unusual examples confirming the role of both individual initiative and the variety of potential religious interests among senators, including those of a transgressive nature.

RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE AND "THEOLOGY"

As anthropological studies of religion convincingly demonstrated, the integrity of all practices and beliefs within a religion is seldom more than a conceptual ideal. Nevertheless, many religions insist on an underlying unanimity of beliefs and practices among adherents[2] – though religion in the Roman empire, in this respect, is often claimed to be different. In fact, Keith Hopkins emphasized the saturation of irreconcilable religious ideas as one of the most important characteristics of Roman religion, contrasting its widely accepted plurality to the at least fictional unity of Christianity.[3] Understanding the nature of this "religious pluralism" seems especially critical to the study of senatorial religion, given that their political, religious, and educational positions gave senators a primary role in establishing and interpreting the discourses associated with many important religious phenomena under the empire.[4] At least from Cicero onwards, when Roman state religion was first discussed as a philosophical subject in its own right, members of the elite claimed authority in arguments involving religious tradition and mythology. There was, however, not a single forum for such debates. They could take place in the senate, in rather charged terms, or, in a more theoretical form, in the context of philosophical writings, or even in literary works where reliance on divine agents had its own traditions. Thus, diverse religious ideas circulated in and through a number of rather different discourses, all relevant to my discussion.

From the beginnings of Roman theological discussion it is possible to detect an awareness of the conceptual division of religion first developed within Greek thought exactly in order to manage this diversity of possible approaches: thus, the republican *pontifex* Scaevola categorized the varied spheres and discourses about religion into a tripartite division of distinct

[2] Hefner 1993: 7–10.

[3] On "competing assumptions and disagreements" see Hopkins 1999: 2; he also talks about the "confusion of voices" in an interview in *Chronicle of Higher Education* July 28, 2000, 19.

[4] Beard 1986; Schofield 1986.

theories.[5] In this standard division, which also appears in Varro, and again in the late-first-century compilation of Aetius, approaches to religion were classified into three categories, those of the poets, the philosophers, and the lawmakers. It is unlikely that this division was ever meant to offer a coherent theology of ancient religion; rather, it had the academic agenda of categorization – offering, in essence, a philosophical attempt to understand the varied aspects of Roman religion within one theoretical framework. In fact, this framework fails to map imperial and senatorial interests onto particular aspects of religion, although it allows individuals a way to approach their varied activities and discourses related to religion, for example, in the rituals of a priesthood, in composing or enjoying a poem written for a ritual celebration and in philosophical discussions about the very same rituals.

From among the poetic, legal, and philosophical approaches to religion, poetry and the poetic use of myth came to play a prominent role in the imperial reshaping of Roman religious tradition under Augustus. There can be little doubt that the *Aeneid* supplied and spread a mythological understanding of imperial rule and also of Roman religion under Augustus' rule and beyond;[6] myth, presented in poetic form, underpinned the interlocking systems of power and knowledge that supported imperial rule. If we accept Zanker's thesis that myth in particular was developed in dialogue with its presumed public, reflecting, at least to some extent, their societal ideals in the Augustan age,[7] senators must also have played a role in shaping the myths of their time. Syme's alternative and more top-down account of the coming of the empire, in which senators appear as painfully struggling to keep up a system of values separate from the *princeps* during the early years of the principate, still begs the question of senatorial participation in religious self-legitimization. Did senators simply comply with Augustan religious propaganda, or did they seek alternative religious terms?[8]

Imperial interest in mythology as a vehicle of power relations served as a major context for senatorial engagement with myth in this period. Most of our evidence for the interaction between the emperor and senate with regard to mythology surfaces in historiographical sources concerned with "bad" emperors. If Cassius Dio's sources can be trusted, in 68 the senatorial rebel Iulius Vindex denounced Nero for appearing on stage in various guises

[5] Scaevola in August. *De civ. Dei* 4.27; Varro in August. *De civ. Dei* 6.5; Aetius, *Placita* I 6. The original source of this division is uncertain. See Lieberg 1973. The phrase "*theologia tripertita*" is only attested in Christian authors, but the components: *genus mythicon*, *physicon*, and *civile* appear in non-Christian writings as well.

[6] E.g. Tarrant 1997. [7] Zanker 1988: 100, 295, 338. [8] Syme 1939: 490–508.

of mythological villains, among other reasons – grouping this shocking dress-up act with his other improper acts.[9] The passage echoes Dio's own disapproving discussion of the emperor's fondness for particular mythological roles, suggesting that by Dio's time the concern was with seeing a ruler in the roles of beggar or madman.[10] In Vindex's speech, Dio marks the contrast as between these lowly roles and the "sacred names," of Caesar, *imperator* and Augustus, emphasizing that from Dio's own perspective mythological comparison between the emperor and gods was acceptable so long as the particular choice of mythological character was appropriate to imperial dignity. Needless to say, Dio's concerns may not have been shared by all of his contemporaries, for example the emperor Elagabalus. The rule of Nero is a likely period in which the potential of mythology for abuse became obvious to senators, especially if indeed, as Rilinger has convincingly argued, the emperor's interest in poetry and music served the purposes of legitimization and of increasing the *exclusivity* of imperial *power* through means beyond the traditional forms of political competition (including mythology).[11] Reading Lucan's *Pharsalia* against such a background confirms senatorial interest in judging the proper use of myth. Written by the young senator clearly in response to Nero's increasingly autocratic rule, the epic refrained from using the divine machinery so typical in the generic tradition of epic as a motivating force, suggesting a sense of doubt about the claim of autocratic rulers to mythological support.[12]

The view that the mythological claims of the emperor were subject to senatorial approval is complicated by examples of emperors censoring senatorial engagement with myths in the first century. For the period under Tiberius, Suetonius reports that Cremutius Cordus, possibly a senator and certainly the author of annals glorifying Brutus and Cassius, was condemned; another author of a tragedy met the same fate for attacking Agamemnon with disgraces.[13] Cassius Dio gives more details of the latter case, identifying the senator, Mamercus Aemilius Scaurus, by name, and specifying the tragedy as entitled "Atreus."[14] The nature of the offense is thereby made clear: Tiberius was not so much defending the Atreids as mythological figures as responding to a line in the tragedy that advises to bear the folly of the ruler. The emperor appears to have recognized a critique of his own rule in the bloodthirsty depiction of Atreus, and to have responded by making Mamercus, so to speak, "into Ajax"; that is, the senator was forced to commit suicide. Suetonius provides a further, analogous example from

[9] Dio 63.22.5. [10] Dio 62.9.4. [11] Rilinger 1996. [12] Feeney 1991: ch. 6.
[13] Suet. *Tib.* 61.3. [14] Dio 58.24.3–4.

the rule of Domitian: the younger Helvidius Priscus is put to death over the charge that his comic piece on Paris and Oenone alluded to the imperial house when it rebuked Jupiter for divorcing his wife.[15] Both episodes follow similar patterns, confirming that senators could, and sometimes did, adopt an oppositional stance to the emperor that was grounded in their competence and interest in myth and mythopoiesis.[16] Myth was therefore available as a souce of both legitimation and resistance, and the creative appeals to mythology among senators confirm its ongoing use in active and socially functional ways beyond antiquarian interest in obscure archaisms.[17]

Although mythology now reached a wide audience, attested in the intense use of mythological imagery by freedmen, on the elite level mythological expressions came under increasing imperial control; mythological references concerning the imperial house were subject to particularly close scrutiny, given that they could serve both to flatter and to undermine imperial authority. Thus, the execution of Helvidius Priscus for his mythological comedy by Domitian appears to have been rooted in a perceived threat to the emperor's rule – a fate paralleling that of another senator, Maternus, for a rhetorical speech that referenced tyrants.[18] That myth and rhetoric were both perceived as potentially threatening but also as strategic vehicles of praise is not a measure of the politicization of myth. Rather, mythological references now abounded in *panegyrical* discourse, which flourished in the imperial era and could reference both emperors and individual senators. In the best-preserved example of formal praise for a senator, the *Laus Pisonis* (*c.* 39–40 CE), mythological references are plentiful, though the senator, C. Calpurnius Piso, is never directly compared to divinities. More direct divine associations increasingly appear, but only in reference to the emperor, not to senators: in the *Panegyricus* of Pliny to Trajan, which established the genre of imperial panegyrics for its later, wider use, mythological references within a divine referential framework are key to Pliny's representation of Trajan as an ideal *princeps*.[19]

Mythological themes must have remained central to formal rhetorical training throughout the second century, yet the increasing popularization and theatricalization of mythological subjects in the low-level singing, dancing, and pantomime performances of *histriones* may have contributed

[15] Suet. *Dom.* 10.4. [16] Beard, North, and Price 1998: 1.171–174; Wiseman 1983; Beard 1993.

[17] *Pace* Horsfall's by now infamous statement on Roman myth having "little or no social function": Horsfall 1987: 1.

[18] Dio 67.12.5. Cf. the proposal of Mary Beard to extend the definition of Roman myth to include the practice of rhetorical exercises, which offered stories of ideal, if not divine, characters who could be used to discuss acute issues on a level beyond the actual political debate (Beard 1993).

[19] Dominik 1994.

to the critical stance towards myth adopted by some members of the elite.[20] It was the circus-like popularity of these mythological performances that may have led to educated reaction against the sense that the gods could be degraded in myth. In second-century paradoxography, rhetorical exercises often glorified unimportant subjects and mocked praises of mythological subjects, such as a surviving example from Fronto, who in a notable piece dated *circa* 139 scornfully praised the "gods who usually do not get praised," namely smoke and dust.[21] Criticizing myth for being false, built on the traditional Greek criticism of myth's immorality, had its own Roman tradition in Varro, Cicero, and Seneca by the empire.[22] The most popular method for interpreting myth in imperial-era intellectual circles came to be allegory, which was based on a traditional Stoic rationalization for the mythological associations of imperial rule. Allegorical interpretations of mythic details, embodied in religious and ritual practices such as divine titles, attributes, and iconography, were in vogue among the educated, including many senators.[23] In fact, one of the most important developments in the interpretation of myth from this era came from a senator: the historian Charax, relatively safely identified as a senator and consul of 147, A. Claudius Charax, offered a pragmatic, historical interpretation of myth that remained popular into the Byzantine period.[24]

While myth maintained its traditional role as fundamental to the basic knowledge of the educated, among senators its most positive and creative uses now centered on the more private areas of life. Thus, for example, in the poetry of Statius traditional mythic language is applied to a celebration of senatorial houses and marriages; his wedding poem, *Silvae* 1.2, is full of epic and elegiac references; it invokes Venus to marry Violentilla to Statius' close friend, the senator L. Arruntius Stella (cos.suff. 101 or 102), who was also a poet, and invokes the *penates* in the houses of the couple to focalize domestically oriented bliss.[25] Adopting the voice of a god was normal practice under the rhetorical category of *ethopoeia* in epideictic

[20] SHA, *Hadrian* 19.6 appears to refer to presentations of *fabulae* by *histriones*. On the dubious associations, see Fronto *Ep*. 128.8 and 154.15 with Van den Hout's commentary (1999) ad loc.; cf. also Apul. *Met*. 10.29–34.

[21] *Ep*. 217.4 Van den Hout.

[22] Varro: August. *De civ. Dei* 6.5, Cicero: *Nat. D*. 2.28.70 and Seneca: *Q Nat*. 2.44.1; *Constant*. 2.2; *Ep*. 58.15; Greek: Xenophanes DK B1, 19–23; Plato, *Resp*. 2.377d–378e, *Leg*. 12, 941b; Isocr. *Bus*. 38–40. See Mazzoli 1984.

[23] Plutarch, *Quaest. rom. et graec.*, esp. 264c, 267f, and *passim*; for a list of various aetiological traditions interpreted allegorically see P. R. Hardie 1991: 4757 n. 60.

[24] *NP* s.v. Charax (W. Eck); *FGrH* no. 103.

[25] See also the encomium by Heracles to the non-senatorial Pollius Felix, who renovated the god's temple close to his villa at Surrentum (*Silvae* 3.1).

training, and it was also recommended for encomiastic poetry.[26] Speaking as a god was very popular in late-first-century rhetoric, but less so in the second century; in this later period, mythological references continued to play an ongoing role for senatorial families, but primarily in the context of funerary poetry, to which I shall return later.

Unlike myth, which remained a visible component of senatorial life, particularly in private settings, other areas of religious knowledge faced more intense imperial control. A developing dichotomy between the tropes of "benign sacrificant emperor" and "malign night-witch" led to an increasing emphasis on ascertaining intentions when foretelling or manipulating the future.[27] Thus, senators and the senate undertook the expulsions of a series of magicians and astrologers from Rome on behalf of the imperial house, beginning with Agrippa's proposal to do so in 33 BCE (Dio 49.43.5). The *senatus consultum* expelling magicians and astrologers from Italy in 16 CE was clearly linked to a charge of partaking in magical rites and improper divination lodged against a senator, M. Scribonius Libo Drusus (Tac. *Ann.* 2.32). The accusations against this man, a relative of the imperial family and appointed praetor for 16, are depicted by Tacitus as primarily political, and in fact Drusus may have held unreasonable imperial ambitions. But Tacitus in fact depicts all further cases of magic charges as politically motivated, recounting a total of nine sets of complaints against senatorial men and women in the Julio-Claudian period.[28] This political overtone characterizes the rhetoric of magic in much of the Julio-Claudian period, both in terms of what our evidence attests about all forced expulsions of magicians and astrologers and practically all cases of such charges against individual senatorial men and women from this era.[29] Thus in 52 the senator, L. Arruntius Scribonianus was accused of consulting astrologers about the emperor's death, which then led to another *senatus consultum* banning astrologers from Italy, at least in Tacitus' depiction. Tacitus describes this decree as harsh yet ineffective, and clearly on the historian's view such *senatus consulta* had less to do with expelling astrologers and more with expressing how the senate was cornered on political matters.[30]

Tacitus clearly views the increasing reliance on charges of magic as a political strategy. Remarkably, despite the widespread reports of magic used

[26] Coleman 1999. [27] Gordon 1999: 265–266.

[28] Fögen 1993: 96–103; for the list of all ten cases see 96 n. 20. [29] Dickie 2003: 155–156.

[30] *Ann.* 12.52, cf. 12.52.3: *de mathematicis Italia pellendis factum senatus consultum atrox et inritum*. The non-Tacitean evidence is mixed: Dio suggests that in 16 it was Tiberius who acted against diviners (57.15.8), while Ulpian confirms a *senatus consultum* but dates it to 17 CE (*De officio proconsulis* 7, *Coll. Mos. et Rom. leg.* 15.2.1). Cf. Rives 2006.

by the governor of Syria, Cn. Calpurnius Piso, against Germanicus in 19 CE, Tacitus still understands the charge of poisoning as refutable by Piso, suggesting that it was the mutinous aspects of his governorship that supplied the most harmful charge against him in the senate.[31] But there was clearly a change occurring here, as the lex Cornelia of 81 BCE, originally a law against magic, was now expanded to include the possession of poison independently from murderous intent. In addition to the problem of charges of magic as a political matter, we shall see that the association of "bad religion" was also part of a developing philosophical criticism against negative views of the divine, especially the uses of *devotiones* (prayers assigning a person or thing to the gods of the underworld for destruction) and of *mala sacrificia* (the associated rituals). The latter were in fact condemned in a *senatus consultum* of uncertain date, possibly from under Claudius, but certainly from the first or second century of the empire.[32]

There is a larger process at work here, which I see, with Richard Gordon, as a realignment of legitimate religious knowledge to the new political order.[33] With the hindsight of almost two centuries, in the Severan era Cassius Dio makes Maecenas advise Augustus that since appropriate rites create order, strange or foreign rites may lead to revolutions, and alternative sources of religious knowledge can achieve the same result; thus, to maintain imperial order, magic needs to be banned and only those soothsayers and augurs appointed by the emperor should be viewed as legitimate.[34] It is important to note, however, that religious knowledge was not criminalized before the Christian period: all cases involving charges of magic and divination against senators were accompanied by legally more readily applicable charges of conspiracy.[35] The first law to equate "bad religion" with "*impietas in principem*" is not attested until 358 CE, and it was born out of a Christian context.[36] More significantly, *senatus consulta* confirm the ongoing participation of the senate in this process of legitimating religious knowledge. Further, as the case of Apuleius also shows, charges of magic (just like Christianity) were often brought to senators in their position as provincial governors, and this context was the one shaping the developing notion of religious deviance.[37]

[31] *Ann.* 3. 14.
[32] I follow the interpretation of Rives 2006: 54–59. For the SC, see the Severan Modestinus, *Pandectae* 12 (*Dig.* 48.8.13.): *Ex senatus consulto eius legis poena damnari iubetur, qui mala sacrificia fecerit habuerit*. For the Claudian date, see *Chronica minora* 1.145, cited by Rives 2006: 58 n. 43.
[33] Gordon 1999: 192. [34] Dio 52.36.2–4; For the Severan context, see Ogden 2007: 458–459.
[35] Liebs 1997: 149–151; Fögen 1993: 19.
[36] Bauman 1974: 67, with reference to *Cod. Theod.* 9.16.6 = *Cod. Iust.* 9.18.7.
[37] See Rives 2006: 65, and above, Ch. 4.

In the genre of "law-giving," therefore, we can observe a closer alliance between imperial and senatorial religious positions than we saw in the case of mythology. Still, senatorial legal intervention in religious matters was limited by the emperor's rather more significant power to declare religious practices inappropriate, including those of senators. Most significantly, any type of imperial ambition that might have been supported by divination of any kind was strictly forbidden. As late as in 215 Caracalla ordered the execution of the consular Sex. Cae(ci)lius Aemilianus for consulting the oracle of Hercules Gaditanus while proconsul of Baetica, possibly concerning the end of Caracalla and his own chances of succession, demonstrating that divination remained under strong imperial control throughout the period studied here.[38]

Further traces of a more general limitation on religious knowledge can also be detected in our evidence. When Augustus finally assumed the office of *pontifex maximus* upon the death of Lepidus in 12 BCE, he confiscated and burnt more than two thousand Greek and Latin prophetic books of uncertain authorship that were circulating at the time (Suet. *Aug.* 31.1). Suetonius mentions this systematic destruction together with Augustus' purge of the Sibylline books, which the emperor now moved to the temple of Apollo on the Palatine. This locale, adjacent to his own house, further exemplified the consolidation of religious powers in imperial hands. The Sibylline Books are mentioned again by Tacitus when he recounts an incident under Tiberius. The tribune Sex. Nonius Quinctilianus brought it to the attention of the senate that the aging *quindecemvir* L. Caninius Gallus (cos. 2 BCE) had tried to include a new book among the Sibylline oracles. In bringing the case in front of the senate, the tribune also alerted the emperor, who now referred the business to the priestly college of the *quindecemviri*, of which he himself was also a member. Thus, in the same incident, the emperor emphatically acknowledged the religious powers of the whole priestly college and challenged the access of any individual senator to the authority of divination. In this context the earlier observation about the increasingly collegial emphasis in priesthoods gains new significance, in that it moves away from the paradigm of religious knowledge associated with any individual priest. Such individual claims were still present under Augustus, as is attested in Tibullus' reference to a member of the *quindecemviri*, M. Valerius Messalla Messallinus (cos.ord. 3 BCE), as "*scit bene quid fati provida cantet avis*" ("he knows well what the prophetic bird of fate sings").[39] Recording the incident with Gallus, the aged

[38] Dio 77.20.4. [39] Tibullus 2.5.12. Line 11 actually calls the priest an *augur*.

quindecemvir, Tacitus refers back to an Augustan rule declaring that private ownership of such prophetic books was now forbidden.[40] In fact, there is no further, post-Tiberian evidence of direct confrontations between an emperor and a senator with regard to prophetic books, but our sources do report instances of emperors appropriating secret religious lore, most notably Septimius Severus, on a trip to Egypt in 199, demonstrating that prophetic knowledge belonged to the emperor throughout the period studied here.[41]

Despite the apparent control of religious knowledge held by the emperor, there was space for senators to imagine themselves within a religious sphere headed by the emperor. An interesting example concerns astrology: despite the occasional persecutions mentioned above, it is clear that astrologers were widely available in the empire. It is true that emperors had the most ready access to astrologers, and also that emperors-to-be could earn disgrace for astrological consultations, but senators clearly could locate an astrologer if they chose to do so. Further, senators had a place in the symbolic world of the astrological universe, as our most important Latin astrologer-writer, Manilius, described it under Tiberius:

> Utque per ingentis populus discribitur urbes,
> principiumque patres retinent et proximum equester
> ordo locum, populumque equiti populoque subire
> vulgus iners videas et iam sine nomine turbam,
> sic etiam magno quaedam res publica mundo est
> quam natura facit, quae caelo condidit urbem. (*Astronomica* 5.734–739)

> Just as the people are distributed through great cities,
> and the senate preserves the leadership, and the equestrian order
> the next place, and you see the people under the equestrians and
> the common folk under the people, and the finally the nameless crowd,
> thus even in the great universe there is a state
> which nature creates, which had founded a city in heavens.

The later empire only saw an increase in the popularity of astrology, especially under Hadrian.[42] Not only did almost all emperors have astrologers in their entourage, but senators also consulted them. In this context it is worth mentioning the two surviving senatorial horoscopes from this era that were known to Hephaestion of Thebes. They referred to Pedanius

[40] Tac. *Ann*. 6.12; MacMullen 1966: 131–133; Potter 1994: 150–151.
[41] Dio 75.13.2. Also, Caracalla's execution of the proconsul of Baetica, discussed above, shows the primacy of the emperor in divinatory claims.
[42] Cramer 1954: 170–178.

Fuscus Salinator, whose imperial ambitions may have played a part in the survival of his horoscope, and to Trajan's most important political advisor and military commander, L. Licinius Sura (cos. III 107).[43]

All the ways of talking and knowing about religion discussed thus far were very clearly subject to imperial limitations. I shall now turn to an approach that was potentially the most subversive, the most difficult to control, and the most ambitious in forming an exclusive claim to truth, namely philosophy. Philosophical writing was presented as a superior form of discourse, more advanced than poetry and the language of politics, and therefore capable of accessing more elevated truths. Thus, constructing a comparison with poetry, Plutarch wrote in his *De Pythiae oraculis* that a new age had come about that abandoned poetry for prose, leaving behind myths, proverbs, oracles, and hymns in order to achieve the higher philosophical truth concerning religion.[44] A contemporary, Dio Chrysostom, identified philosophy as the truest source of religion in his interpretation of the *theologia tripertita*.[45] The philosophical claim for truth in religious matters was at least as old as the earliest Greek philosophy, and now this claim was revived among the imperial elite.

Philosophy was not only a theoretical approach *per se*, but also a fashionable form of self-expression among the Roman elite at this time. That is, while the theoretical content of philosophical speculation did not undergo significant change and many ideas popular in the second century were available already in the first, philosophy did become more mainstream and its moralistic language foregrounded from the late first century onwards. During the Julio-Claudian period, philosophy often appeared in a countercultural form but, as the first century progressed, philosophy increasingly became allied with imperial power. The rule of the moral Italian emperor Vespasian marks this change, and the work of Seneca the Younger was foundational in shaping the philosophical conceptualization of imperial power. Although Seneca had refrained from teaching the young Nero philosophy, by the second century the Stoic senators Q. Iunius Rusticus (cos. II ord. 162) and Claudius Maximus (cos.suff. 140s) were selected to become Marcus' teachers, representative of the new sense that the emperor should be trained in philosophy in order to govern well. In this new context references both to philosophy and to its validity in matters religious and secular assumed a more generally respected association among the educated elite of the second century.[46] Senators did not so much

[43] Barnes 1976 with reference to Hephaestion's *Apotelesmatica* 2.18.22–66.
[44] 406D, cf. Plut. *Amat.* 763B–F; Dio Chrys. 12.39–47. [45] Dio 12.47. [46] Brunt 1975.

become avid followers of Stoicism, Epicureanism, or Platonism as newly versed in philosophical maxims and stock philosophical ideas, which were now widely invoked.

Philosophical discourse had the potential to provide a new cultural identity that allowed members of the elite with varied religious and geographical backgrounds to identify with one another.[47] Fully emerging during the Flavian period, flourishing in the following century under the consolidating cultural influence of the Second Sophistic, this particularly integrative discourse about religion was very much an elite project that had some key characteristic features.[48] Most important was a common argument concerning the benevolent nature of the divine, accepted by both the Stoic and the Middle Platonic schools of philosophy.[49] Thus, in Plutarch's early treatise *De superstitione*, the acceptance of divine benevolence was the dividing feature between *religio* and *superstitio* – and only the latter allowed for the existence of malevolent divine powers, whose evil effects needed to be contained by various forms of appeasement.[50] The details of philosophical teachings – such as whether *superstitio* was actually criticized as fear in Stoic theory, as Seneca would have had it[51] – are outside the focus of this project and worthy of a separate study. More relevant here is the philosophical articulation of acceptable and unacceptable religion, a dividing line that was measured according to the human concept of the divine they represented: "high" corresponded to the image of the divine as benevolent, while "low" corresponded to beliefs in divine malevolence and to the religious acts of propitiation offered to satisfy these malicious divine figures.

Religious practices and interests could be most readily subject to criticism from this philosophical perspective, whether attributed to superstitious emperors or fellow senators. Thus rank *and* superstition were at stake when Pliny the Younger criticized Octavius Avitus, a legate of the proconsul of Africa, for anointing a dolphin *religione prava* ("with false reverence," *Ep.* 9.33.9), an act which almost killed the animal instead of accomplishing a religious ritual. Senatorial religious concerns in various divinatory areas – whether involving dreams or ghosts, diviners or prophets – were not supposed to intervene in the running of business as usual. Thus Pliny is at his most ironic when responding to the biographer Suetonius' query

[47] John North sees this as a process of differentiation between civic and religious identity, but this "civic" identity could have important religious underpinnings. See North 1992.

[48] As identified by J. Hahn 1989: esp. 203–204. For the rich material evidence see Zanker 1995; also Ewald 1999, with a similar conclusion on p. 124; cf. now too the important comments by Borg 2004.

[49] Dragona-Monachou 1994. [50] *De superst.* 165B and *passim*.

[51] Seneca, frs. 65–75 Vottero; *SVF* III 394, 408, 409, 411.

whether he should request a delay in court owing to a bad dream. Remarkably, Pliny suggests that Suetonius offer a white lie rather than seek postponement on the basis of the bad dream, suggesting that a religious excuse of this sort would not be appropriate.[52] The quintessential portrait of the superstitious senator in Pliny's epistles is that of M. Aquilius Regulus: a lawyer, he consults the *haruspices* on every one of his cases (*a nimia superstitione*, *Ep*. 6.2.2). Further, when, as a family "friend," Regulus visits the sick Verania, widow of his archenemy L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus, he asks for her birthdate and, like an astrologer, tries to foretell her future; he not only offers to consult a soothsayer but also declares that his sacrifice on her behalf was auspicious, showing the entrails to agree with the signs of the stars (*Ep*. 2.20.2–6). Last but not least, when his own son dies, Regulus mourns "insanely" (*luget insane*, *Ep*. 4.2.3).

One aspect of such criticism clearly concerned the proper running of public senatorial business, with which no superstitious indulgence was supposed to interfere. Thus, in a very different part of the empire, and almost half a century later, Lucian of Samosata criticized M. Sedatius Severianus, the Pergamon visitor, for attacking the Parthians on the advice of the popular prophet, Alexander of Abonoteichus.[53] Further, practicing proper religion was also seen as an aspect of good morals. Pliny's exemplary portrayal of a bad senator well attests to this connection: M. Aquilius Regulus, immoral in a religious sense, is also a famous delator. Pliny's portait of Regulus is suggestive of a presumed connection between morality and proper religion, a connection that is also made in contemporary philosophical writings. As Seneca succinctly put it: "Therefore, just as religion worships the gods, superstition dishonors them, thus all good men display clemency and mercy, but avoid pity …"[54] The contrast between religion and superstition therefore parallels that between virtues and vices. At its furthest extent, the benevolent characteristics of the divine also parallel proper human behavior, leading to the idea of *deus intus* ("the divine within"), the concept that the wise man of Stoic philosophy ought to follow the guidance of the benign divine element within himself.[55] Our most important evidence for how the philosophical notion of divine benevolence came to be applied to the assessment of the proper conduct of emperors and senators is in Seneca.[56] His religious elaboration of imperial

[52] The response to Suetonius (*Ep*. 1.18) is discussed excellently in Hoffer 1999: 212–213, who also compares it to the Regulus incident in *Ep*. 6.2.

[53] *Alex*. 27. [54] *Clem*. 2.5.1. Cf. already in Cicero *Nat. D*. 2.28.72; *Div*. 2.149.

[55] Betz 1981: 284–286; Haussleiter 1957: 806–808.

[56] On some of these issues now see Russell 2004, comparing Platonic and Senecan perspectives.

rule in his philosophical works offered a comprehensive outline connecting the moral associations of the divine and human order.[57] Following this notional framework, the values of virtue ethics became the senate's preferred measuring rod in evaluating the qualifications of an emperor for posthumous consecration, helping them decide whether he was "good enough" to become a *divus*. In this way, the benevolent characteristics of humans and the divine came to be both formally and informally intertwined, in a religiously understood framework.

Ultimately, it is difficult to assess how far this connection between the human and the divine good influences religious views and practices, or for that matter, ethical behavior. The argument put forward by Shochat, namely that moral conduct increasingly replaced ritual acts as the main way of reaching *pax deorum*, is somewhat complicated by the fact that emperors and senators went on to play a principal role in religious rituals across the empire.[58] Nevertheless, it seems fair to say that the moral aspects of religion and life in general appear to shape elite self-understanding in this period. Through the analogy between human and divine good, the most varied aspects of life could be translated into philosophical values. Virtue ethics, the idea that morality should be grounded not on analyzing how a moral person should act, but rather on a set of virtues, emerged as a principal means through which one's life could be translated into positive terms. The effects of this mode of thinking spread through all areas of life, from panegyrics to funerary commemoration. Thus, T. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus, an important Eastern senator and consul of 92, selected four main virtues, *sophia* (*sapientia*, *I.Eph*. 5108), *aretē* (*virtus*, *I.Eph*. 5109), *ennoia* (*doctrina*, *I.Eph*. 5110), and *epistemē* (*ratio*, *I.Eph*. 5111), as statues decorating the façade of the Ephesian Celsus library. The library also functioned as the *heroon* dedicated in memory of the elder Polemaeanus by his son, Ti. Iulius Aquila Polemaeanus, himself also a consul, offering a prime example of the elite use of philosophical virtue language in a clearly religious context. Though piety, as a virtue, may not be listed first, or at all, the religious basis of virtue ethics cannot be doubted. From the perspective of imperial Stoicism, virtue meant "a conscious and deliberate harmonization of one's actions with the purposes of the divine architect."[59] Whether imperial virtue ethics represented a radical departure from the earlier Stoic emphasis on rational reflection as the source of conduct, as Annas

[57] Fears (1977) sees this as a major innovation; the caution of Polk 2008: 181–184 in suggesting that there were continuities from before and beyond seems appropriate.

[58] Shochat 1985: esp. 328–329. [59] Gass 2000: 20.

would have it, or a culmination of rational reflection as a means of self-understanding, as Gass prefers, the transcendental referent in Roman imperial philosophical speculation cannot be denied.[60] In other words, it is not through a direct emphasis on piety *per se*, but on virtue in general that this philosophizing attitude guides its followers towards a transcendentally justified behavior.

The popularity of philosophizing discourses of this type declined during the reign of Commodus, irrespective of the philosophical school's *aegis*. The ensuing political upheaval is telling, suggesting that elite concord with the emperors had played a large part in making the earlier stability possible.[61] Under Commodus the notional accord between the emperor and the senate was broken, but the ideal of a philosophizing discourse that could unite varied religious practices lingered, flourishing once again under the Severans.[62] Less than a century later Neoplatonism offered a renewed unifying philosophical discourse, though under markedly different social and economic conditions. The philosophical self-image of the elite inherited from earlier times, reinterpreted in Neoplatonic terms, continued to impact on Roman conceptions of the divine, surviving in third-century private art and even later, in fourth-century Christian rhetoric.[63]

"THEOLOGY" IN PRACTICE: FUNERARY COMMEMORATION

Funerary commemoration served as an important field of elite self-expression and competition in the republican era but, with the coming of Augustus, this dynamic underwent a significant transformation. In contrast to his general confidence in the enthusiastic reception of Augustan innovations, Zanker points out that the imperial family came to monopolize most of the religious themes available in the funerary context, rendering rivalry in this traditional area "pointless."[64] Inevitably, the emperor and his family appropriated both political and religious power, in the context of funerary commemorations and elsewhere, but the funerals of emperors were of special importance. They became a focal point, blending elements of traditional religion in the service of new political interests, and in a way that transformed traditional religious values. This realignment of traditional funerary ritual came with

[60] Annas 1993: 159–179; Gass 2000: 20–21.
[61] For an interesting historical comparison on the role of elite accord and discord see Lachmann 2000.
[62] For a summary of the status and the actual works published in philosophy and rhetorics in this era see Trapp 2007: 473–479.
[63] On the Christian aspects see Brown 1992.
[64] In its most forcible recent formulation: Zanker 1988: 291–292.

serious consequences for members of the senatorial elite, who during the republic benefited the most – both in political and religious terms – from what funerals had to offer. Prior to Augustus funerals provided an ideal forum for a competitive negotiation of past and future greatness, with at least some transcendental references assumed. In the following I focus on the numerous religious ideas and practices, including some new ones, that senators now came to associate with death, pursuing my argument that the loss of funerary piety as it had been known in the republic was met with creativity, not resignation. What followed was not a religious vacuum, but rather new emphases in elite funerary representation, conforming the capacity of imperial religion to express the genuine religious interests of the senatorial elite.

The imperial family's claim to fame through funerary commemoration involved neither a simple appropriation of an unproblematic elite tradition on the part of the imperial family nor a one-time turning point. Already by the first century BCE the major roads leaving the city had begun to be framed by funerary monuments; these extra-urban locations gave the tomb-builders special liberty in terms of the style and size of their monuments.[65] The highly eclectic variety of innovations in the style and setup of tomb monuments clearly suggests a special interest in individualized self-aggrandizement, but it can be relatively more difficult to identify the distribution of genuine sorrow or transcendental hopes.

The pyramid of C. Cestius Epulo (praet. under Augustus) on the outskirts of Rome and dated before 12 BCE offers a good example of a transitional monument, built early on in Augustus' rule.[66] Renowned, then and now, primarily for its shock value, the tomb's architectural reference to Egypt and Nubia and its impressive height of 36.4 m makes it visible from quite a distance. The thoroughly extravagant design of the pyramid, however, makes no explicit religious allusion, despite Cestius' cognomen, "*Epulo*," which he most probably took from his priestly office as *septemvir epulonum*. The lack of access from the outside to the funerary chamber itself is another curious element, even though the pyramid was richly decorated and possibly filled with objects of high value. Closed to visitors, the monument cannot have been intended for later religious commemoration inside.[67] The extravagance of the tomb was decried when the monument was built: legislation carried by

[65] Hesberg and Panciera 1994: 38–50, e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.13: *An tu egressus porta Capena cum Calatini, Scipionum, Serviliorum, Metellorum, sepulcra vides*.

[66] On the problematic dating of this monument see Ridley 1996: 14–16. We know of at least one other contemporary pyramid on the outskirts of Rome.

[67] Feraudi-Gruenais 2001: 135 n. 822. This is especially striking in light of the suggestion that the Third Style paintings inside might have included a portrait of Cestius himself.

a senatorial official, as it appears in a contemporary *aedile*'s edict, successfully forbade the deposition of tapestries in the pyramid of Cestius because they qualified as luxurious items.[68] We know of no law that could effectively forbid the building of the much more outrageous tomb itself. Moreover, no official ban is attested for the display of the famous ancestral funerary portraits, the *imagines*, in general, although those of the regicides, Brutus and Cassius, were restricted.[69] In one notable case, the *imago* of a contemporary, Cn. Calpurnius Piso, was banished from funeral display as part of his punishment for treason in relation to the death of Germanicus in 20 CE, a banishment which marks just how political funerary display could be.[70]

In contrast to these largely *ad hoc* legal measures, the competition by the imperial family in the funerary arena created a steady pressure of significant proportions. The imperial family simply outdid senators in the size and location of their funerary monuments: as one of his first building projects in 28 BCE, at the young age of 35, Octavian built his *Mausoleum Augusti* to a height of about 40–45 m and double that length in diameter, on the precious real estate of the Campus Martius – never to be exceeded by any other funerary monument in the city of Rome. After the use of *imagines* from many famous and unrelated noble families for the funeral of Augustus in 14 CE,[71] the last recorded *competitive* funerary event sponsored by a senatorial family was the burial of Iunia Tertia, the sister of Brutus and wife of Cassius, in 22 CE, with a display of *imagines* of twenty famous republican families in the funerary cortege (but not those of the banned Brutus and Cassius; Tac. *Ann*. 3.76). In the following year, Drusus, the son of the reigning Tiberius, was buried in a ceremony that outdid even this display: the ancestral images went all the way back to Rome's imaginary foundation, to Aeneas and to the Sabine nobility (Tac. *Ann*. 6.9).[72] Senatorial funerary laudations, possibly accompanied by processions with at least some ancestral *imagines*, may have survived to the second century CE, but both laudations and processions appear to have been within the exclusive purview of the imperial family by the Severan period, if not

[68] Although possibly in association with the *lex Iulia de sumptu* of 18 BCE (Suet. *Aug*. 34.1), the reference *quae eis per edictum | aedilis in sepulcrum | C(ai) Cesti ex testamento | eius inferre non licuit* in *CIL* VI 1375, ll. 11–14 is primarily to the curule aedile's authority in funerary matters, already in Cic. *Phil*. 9.17 (and a slightly later reference in Ovid, *Fasti* 6.663–664), cf. Mommsen 1887–8: 510.

[69] Tac. *Ann*. 3.76. Cf. Sherwin-White 1966: 126 ad Plin. *Ep*. 1.17.3. on the restriction of the display of these *imagines* in private houses.

[70] Flower 1998: 161; Bodel 1999: 45–51 ad SC de Cn. Pisone Patre 76–82.

[71] Flower 1996: ch. 8.

[72] On the problem of the imperial display of *imagines* see Flower 1996: 253, esp. n. 120, arguing that the practice of such displays in a funerary context continued into the second century CE.

sooner.[73] Roman villas also saw the disappearance of the *atria* in the next century, and thus senatorial *imagines* most likely disappeared, together with the venue of their primary display. As imperial funerals became ever more grand public ceremonies, public funerals with laudations for senators also vanished, with only two exceptions: the laudations of M. Vinicius (cos. 30, cos. II 45) in 46 CE and L. Verginius Rufus in 97.[74]

Among senatorial families, the classic use of *imagines* in republican funerals, with its concomitant claim of great ancestors, lasted for a few more generations beyond Augustus. Some Cornelii Gaetulici of the first century CE chose to mark their dead, including a lower-status procurator of the family, in the famous republican tomb of the Scipio family.[75] In family tomb buildings of some Tiberian senators, including those of C. Sulpicius Platorinus and probably also of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi (cos. 27 CE), the statues of the living were placed along ancestral portrait busts.[76] The location of the tomb of the famous M. Licinius Crassus, Caesar's ally in the 60s and 50s BCE, in the gardens of the family in Rome forecasts the trend in which senatorial funerary commemoration came to be displaced from its traditionally public, central position in Rome.[77] Similar combinations of statues and busts in other settings, including the so-called *lararium* in the villa of the Volusii Saturnini in Lucus Feroniae, offer further examples. The funeral pyres of the senatorial deceased now came to be situated in their private gardens, as the example of Valerius Asiaticus suggests: he asked his family to move his funeral pyre just before his suicide, in order to save the foliage of his trees in his gardens on the Pincian Hill, the *horti Asiatici* (the earlier *horti Luculliani*, Tac. *Ann*. 11.3).

The dynamics leading to the change in funerary commemoration are not easy to establish, but clearly a transformation was taking place. Most obviously, there was a very robust process of dislocation. Now only emperors and Vestals could be buried inside the city, as Servius attests (*ad Aen*. XI 206). Senatorial tombs erected after Augustus' Mausoleum, such as the *tumulus* of L. Munatius Plancus (cens. 22 BCE) and the mausoleum of the Plautii, from M. Plautius Silvanus (cos. 2 BCE) onwards, were built outside the city walls, in the mytho-historic site of Caieta, the legendary location of the tomb of

[73] The Latin "*exsequiae*" comes to refer to funerals in general, rather than processions, in the empire. On the *imagines* even the most optimistic reading of Flower 1996: 263 can only go to the second century CE; Appian, *Hisp*. 89 on the mid-second-century use of the *imago* of Scipio Africanus in processions is not a clear reference to funerary processions of *senators* associated with the Cornelii at this time (unlike Val.Max. 8.15.1). "*Imagines*" can also refer to painted portraits under the empire, see Sherwin-White 1966: 126 ad Plin. *Ep*. 1.17.3.

[74] Dio 60.27.4; Plin. *Ep*. 2.1.6. [75] *CIL* VI 1439, cf. also VI 9834. [76] Boschung 1986.

[77] Eck 1984: 133–137.

Aeneas' nurse (Verg. *Aen*. 7.5–7) and in Tibur. Similarly, all later examples of grand senatorial funerary commemoration were constructed away from Rome and tended to belong to senators originating from the provinces, as we saw earlier. Though the rationale behind their chosen locations must have been multifaceted and should not be reduced to imperial competition, it is clear that certain types of monuments had no place in the Rome of emperors. Thus, a library displaying a sarcophagus, like that of T. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus in Ephesus, would have found no place in the city. Nevertheless, senators who had to spend a significant part of their lives in Rome, too, still continued to be buried there in high numbers.[78] Rome, despite the overwhelming competition of imperial funerals and tomb monuments, remained the center of representation within the competitive field of funerary commemoration.

There was a further and rather different challenge to the traditional funerary customs among the elite, in which the piety strongly associated with display and reference to the ancestors through their *imagines* gradually fell out of favor. The emergence and growing popularity of the philosophical attitude dealt a double blow to this custom by focusing a disciplinary gaze on the virtues of the individual and in limiting excessive emotions: philosophical discussions challenged the meaning both of the images of dead ancestors and of the very cultural logic of death. Thus, for example, the philosopher Seneca contested the traditional meaning of nobility as the ownership of ancestors' funerary masks, arguing instead for the value of a virtuous life and an appropriate death, which now could also include suicide.[79]

The rationalization of suicide was unquestionably a departure from traditional religion: both Thrasea Paetus and Seneca modeled their deaths on the final hours of Socrates rather than those of their own ancestors. They even made an offering to Jupiter Liberator, a philosophical choice matching Socrates' offering of a cock to Asclepius.[80] The Socratic allusion was definitely not lost on the senatorial friends and family present at each of these suicides, mirroring the expected behavior of friends at the sickbed, where one's peers provided a community of like-minded advisors and an audience to the performance of death. The corresponding equivalent of the

[78] Eck 1997b: 88–89 suggests that an estimated 60 percent of known senatorial funerary inscriptions came from Rome or its immediate vicinity.

[79] Sen. *Ep*. 44.5; cf. Mart. 2.90.6, *immodicis imaginibus*, even *imagines superbas* in 5.20.7; and Juvenal's criticism of the habit of preserving such statues and displaying stemmata in 8.1–23.

[80] Tac. *Ann*. 15.60–64; 16.34–35. Cf. Ronconi 1966: 1259. Note also the example of Cato the Younger reading Plato's *Phaedo* the night before his suicide in Sen. *Ep*. 24.6, Plut. *Cat. Min*.

wise words about immortality spoken by Socrates had by then gained a whole philosophical genre of "speech," the *consolatio*. While in traditional Latin funerary rhetoric the emphasis was on the greatness of the deceased to enhance the sense of loss and consolation played no role in the *laudatio funebris*, philosophical *consolatio* provided a convenient mélange of non-doctrinaire arguments that could support the avoidance of excessive grieving and the assurance that the dead were now better off.[81] Late-republican epistolography had already contained elements of these *topoi* to be exchanged between the grieving party and his friends; imperial *consolatio* took on a much greater role in shaping the image of death and dying among senators. Delivered in a somber tone and lowered voice, or studied by later readers in written form, this rhetorical genre served as model for the proper way of grieving.[82]

The association between death and philosophical *consolatio* was significant, possibly extending even beyond philosophical circles. In addition to the primarily theoretical treatises in both Greek and Latin, partaking in a philosophical *consolatio* came to be seen as the proper accompaniment to grief. In the first surviving tract of about 40 CE, Seneca's *Ad Marciam*, Augustus' wife, Livia, is described as gaining greater comfort after the death of her son from a *consolatio* presented to her by Arius Didymus than from the sympathies extended by family members and the public. This *consolatio* by Arius Didymus may have been a model for Seneca's later work.[83] By the early second century CE Plutarch argued that those who failed to meet death with philosophizing should be classified as the superstitious: for such a man "when he is ill the physician is ejected from the house, and when he is in grief the door is shut on the philosopher who would advise and comfort him."[84]

Philosophical *consolatio* was particularly relevant for senators, given the restrictions placed on the public aspects of death, including mourning. There is some evidence that the elite were expected more than others to limit the expression of pain associated with the loss of a loved one. Rather significantly, no philosophical treatise on *consolatio* was ever addressed to an elite *man*, yet the arguments used in addressing elite women (who as women were associated with excessive lamentation and therefore might need such a reminder) clearly imply a social distinction in the matter. Marcia, the addressee of Seneca's first *consolatio*, and a member of a senatorial family exemplary in its resistance to the Julio-Claudians, is advised to blush at the

[81] On the *laudatio funebris* see Kierdorf 1980: 82–86; for the vague sense consolation made Petron. *Sat.* III.9.
[82] Quintilian lists *consolatio* along with funeral *contiones* as a genre of speech, *Inst.* II.3.153.
[83] *Dial.* 6.4.2; cf. Manning 1981: 1–5. [84] *De superst.* 168C.

"humble and vulgar" thought of grieving or crying for the dead, which is definitely not appropriate for a woman of her status.[85] The same argument returns not only in Seneca's other works, but also in the pseudo-Ovidian *Consolatio ad Liviam*, a poem purportedly addressed to the wife of Augustus on the loss of her son in 9 BC, which more probably originated in some anti-Neronian circles in the mid-50s.[86] Here again, grieving is associated with the *vulgus*, the common people, while people of high status are required to provide an example in the virtue of restricting their grief.[87]

The restriction of mourning, like the acceptance of suicide, can be understood as a response to new imperial powers that invaded all aspects of senatorial death. Suicide was clearly considered as exemplary behavior – even for women who frequently followed their husbands in self-destruction.[88] Killing oneself in advance of trial could help one avoid condemnation, a practice that is today often collectively referred to as *damnatio memoriae* and that included not only the abolition of one's memory (in images and inscriptions) but also the forfeiture of one's estate and, most radically, the prohibition of burial.[89] Even after a suicide, the emperor could retain the right to decide whether burial was allowed, at least in theory, as Tiberius considered doing after the starvation death of C. Asinius Gallus (cos. 8 BCE) in 33 CE.[90] Prohibitions on mourning were also in the emperor's hand and could follow the suicide of the senators in question, as in the case of Cn. Calpurnius Piso (*SC de Cn. Pisone Patri* 73–5). After C. Fufius Geminus (cos.ord. 29) stabbed himself when unable to defend himself against the charge of treason, his mother Vitia was killed because she cried at her son's death (Tac. *Ann*. 6.10). Suicide offered to the one about to die a sense of control, and self-imposed restrictions on mourning could serve a similar purpose, challenging the emperor's power over senatorial death.

The extent to which individual emperors tried to control the representation of senatorial death varied among later rulers, as it appears, carefully

[85] *Erubesce quicquam humile aut vulgare cogitar et mutatos in melius tuos flere* (*Dial*. 6.25.3). Comparison with other *consolationes* allows to secure such a meaning, cf. Lillo Redonet 2001: 325–326.

[86] Schoonhoven 1992: 38–39 on this interpretation of the *Consolatio ad Liviam*.

[87] Lillo Redonet 2001: 325–327, with reference to *Consolatio ad Liviam* vv. 343–356, esp. 347: *non eadem vulgusque decent et lumina rerum*, cf. *per te virtutum exempla* (355).

[88] Arria (maior), wife of A. Caecina Paetus, was just as exemplary among women as Cato was among men: see the rehearsal of her example in Plin. *Ep*. 3.16; compared to Arria in *Ep*. 6.24. Arria even features in a fascinating verse epitaph of a freedwoman, where she is mentioned, along with Laodamia, in the sacred circle of great women: *CIL* X 5920 (= Bücheler 423 = *ILS* 6261).

[89] *Damnatio memoriae* at first could and, after Hadrian, had to include the forfeiture of one's estate and the prohibition of burial. The avoidance of these punishments as the rationale for suicide is listed in Tac. *Ann*. 29.2; for this and the later developments see Vittinghoff 1936: 43–49, 52–61.

[90] Tacitus' outrage is clear: *Consultusque Caesar an sepeliri sineret, non erubuit permittere* (*Ann*. 6.23).

documented, in the literature of the following century – together with praises for restricting excessive grief, suggesting that the elite continued self-policing in this matter. Even the poet Statius, who was willing to entertain the idea of lamentation late in the first century, separates threnodic summons to mourn from consolation.[91] This line of reasoning became especially popular for mourning the loss of the young: their premature deaths were assumed to entail the greatest imaginable loss and thus, in this case, controlling grief could dramatize the heightened self-restriction necessary to overcome its pain.[92] In the second half of the second century CE the philosopher Demonax criticized Herodes Atticus for mourning the premature death of his slave, Polydeuces (possibly also his adoptive son),[93] and while Pliny the Younger never wrote an actual *consolatio*, in his letters he did criticize two senators, the above mentioned M. Aquilius Regulus (sen. Neronian-Flavian) and C. Minicius Fundanus (cos.suff. 107), for excessive mourning.[94] Their public expression of grief went explicitly beyond what Pliny found acceptable for a philosophically trained person with a proper understanding of death.

The development of restrictions on grieving coincides with increasing social restrictions on the expression of emotions in public in early imperial society.[95] From what we can tell based on two references in the letters of Pliny and Fronto, elite men not only expressed pain felt at the loss of loved ones to one another but also admitted the deficiency of philosophical consolation in addressing this pain. Yet this discussion was limited to epistolography among peers. It is more likely that even Pliny and Fronto preferred elite behavior at funerals to be shaped by practical philosophical considerations. If it is indeed the case that senators were dressed in the *toga sordida* instead of their usual status-marking toga during the initial mourning period (only the deceased was dressed up according to status),[96] solemn and restrained behavior could nevertheless set apart their position in the proceedings. Unfortunately, no detailed description of a senatorial funeral survives from this period that could show whether wearing the *toga sordida* and acting in a restrained manner was actually the practice.[97] In terms of funerary ritual, the case of the aforementioned M. Aquilius Regulus

[91] On the complex literary history that separates lamentation and consolation and how it affected the work of Statius, see A. Hardie 1983: 104–105.

[92] Referring to children also helped to point out that it was not death itself but its timing that was painful: *o morte ipsa mortis tempus indignius* (Plin. *Ep*. 5.16.6).

[93] Lucian, *Demon*. 24–25. [94] Plin. *Ep*. 4.2.; 5.16.

[95] See now Harris 2003: esp. pp. 201–263, 362–390 on restraining anger and revenge at this time.

[96] Tac. *Ann*. 6.8.2; Paulus, *Sent*. 1.21.14. Cf. for an imperial funeral Dio 75(74).4–5.

[97] Dio 75(74).4–5 suggests that senators lamented and wept at the funeral and *apotheosis* of Pertinax.

suggests that excessive mourning did take place: the father slaughtered the young boy's ponies, dogs, and birds at the funeral pyre, behavior that Pliny described as mad.[98] Ritual never expresses emotions freely – the very definition of ritual suggests that rules of comportment are involved,[99] but these writers attest to a desire to reframe the rites of mourning in such a way that grief would be turned into an expression of philosophical virtue.

The philosophical attitude promoted by elite discourse is clear, but the material remains of senatorial funerary commemorations suggest a more varied cultural response to death. The sheer multiplicity of memorial forms available to senators in early imperial Rome is overwhelming, making one wonder if philosophical speculations had any practical effect. Although more regular choices can be distinguished for senators, such as the decorated ash-urn or the funerary altar, the grand mausoleum complex and the odd pyramid can also be found, a variety of forms which also came to be used by people of lower status, by almost anyone who could afford them.[100] Funerary commemoration may have remained a matter of social competition, but it appears that senators did not try to mark their rank by the size of their commemorative monuments.[101] If anything distinguished senatorial funerary monuments as a visual standard, it was the inscription, which had a number of uniform features in terms of both form and content. The formal characteristics of the carefully spaced geometric letter-forms clearly separated by a border from the rest of the stone – what Arnando Petrucci so arrestingly called the "graphic norm" – were just as characteristic as the content; that is, the increasingly standard inclusion of the deceased's detailed "employment history," the *cursus honorum*.[102]

The frequent use of the *cursus* on senatorial funerary monuments tends to desensitize modern observers to the particular choices involved in its use, but the heavy focus on individual senators' official careers is striking and distinguishes elite funerary inscriptions from those characteristic of inscriptions dedicated to people of lower status or elite women in this period. Usually, these inscriptions were primarily genealogical, listing "father/husband of" or "mother/wife of," and not careers. Familial links were associated with the fact of inheritance, which could oblige the heir to set up the funerary monument. In the case of senatorial epitaphs, however, genealogical identification, beyond the father's *nomen* as part of the senators' own names, is significantly less frequent than that found among their lower-status counterparts (where

[98] *Luget insane*, *Ep*. 4.2.3. Note also his criticism, *nec dolor erat ille, sed ostentatio doloris* in 4.2.4. Cf. also Plut. *Cat. Min*. 11, Lucian, *Philops*. 27 for stories of burning expensive items at the funeral pyre.
[99] Tambiah 1985: 133. [100] Eck 1998: 30. [101] Eck 1998: 38–40. [102] Petrucci 1998: 18–23.

its use reaches a staggering 83 percent).[103] Of course, we would expect inheritors of huge senatorial fortunes to rely on means other than an inscription to secure their bequests. Yet this detachment from familial context also places senators in the milieu of their public, bureaucratic careers, even at their deaths. Insofar as these epitaphs list more than the highlights of senatorial careers, as was usual under the republic, they draw attention to the special details of a particular senatorial life, which, as inscribed, would have been of interest primarily to their peers. In addition, all chronological pointers in senatorial epitaphs are completely self-referential to the (upward or downward) *cursus*, with the one exception of the occasional reference to the current ruler, distinguishing senatorial *memoria* from the rest of society and aligning them with the world of emperors.

The focus on public achievement is so strong that epigraphers are hard pressed to distinguish funerary and honorary inscriptions: given a name and a list of career points on a stone, short of any further markers (as is often the case with fragmentary pieces), the notice of greatness in life and death appear the same.[104] Following an early phase during the late republic, in which such *cursus* inscriptions were restricted to the funerary arena, under Augustus they expanded to the honorary sphere.[105] Inscriptions for senators including their *cursus* could be erected both during and after a senator's lifetime, in honorary and funerary contexts, offering a possibility to have texts set by senators while alive and allowing them greater control in terms of how they would be commemorated.[106] These developments suggest that despite their superficially uniform appearance these *cursus* inscriptions were carefully constructed texts, and as such they are highly relevant to our understanding of what senators viewed as the most important aspects of their lives.[107] In the homes and gardens of senators private copies of public honorary statues and decrees with detailed *cursus* were preserved, including those of the recently dead, replacing the earlier ancestor galleries.[108]

The *cursus* inscriptions appear to have been motivated by what they were seen to represent: the ideally posited *memoria*, the idealized record of

[103] On interpreting the lower-status commemorative practices see Meyer 1990: 75 with earlier literature.
[104] The most reliable features are the size of the stone (and to a lesser extent its shape), the nominative of the name of the deceased, and the absence of a dedicator.
[105] Eck 1984: 148–152.
[106] Eck 1995: 230 also suggests that those honored may have provided models for these *cursus* inscriptions.
[107] Beard 1998b: 98–114; see also Eck's comments ad Beard, p. 117 in the same volume.
[108] On the movement of honorary inscriptions into private spaces see Plin. *HN* 34.9.17. Neudecker 1988: 75–84 argues for the replacement of ancestor portraits with such statues and inscriptions in private houses, now with Bodel 1997: 26–32 on the so-called *lararium* of the Volusii Saturnini with ancestor busts and *cursus* inscriptions in the villa.

a life. This was an area where senators remained in competition with the emperors: only members of the imperial family and of the senatorial *ordo* could be subject to the condemnation of memory, the so-called *damnatio memoriae*. Under Tiberius, Cn. Calpurnius Piso, who had been charged with treason, was thus punished, and we know that his name was erased from a statue base of Germanicus.[109] Others were to suffer similar punishments throughout this period. We should note that unlike the names of condemned emperors, which were systematically erased from all monuments as far as possible, there was only limited erasure of senatorial names after their *damnatio*. The exact reasons for this are unclear, but it seems to suggest that the emperor had more at stake in deleting the ideally posited *memoria* of any given senator through a decree, while for senators it was more important to show off the condemnation of an emperor's memory through the actual erasure of his name in the whole empire.[110]

This is not to say that the memorial had no import. In the *consolatio* Seneca addressed to Marcia, the excessive grieving Marcia displayed for her son is contrasted to her bravery after the loss of her father, A. Cremutius Cordus, who committed suicide after having been accused of treason in 25 CE. According to Seneca, the ultimate glory of Marcia's *pietas* to her father was her determination to save and publish his historical work, which celebrated Brutus and Cassius and had, therefore, been officially burnt by Sejanus. By this, she "saved him from real death and reinstated the work into public record."[111] Seneca's argument compares Octavia, Augustus' sister, who in her grief rejected the poems written to commemorate her son, with Livia, Augustus' wife, who celebrated the loss of her son in both images and words.

This contrast of Octavia and Livia neatly corresponds to the contemporary debate about what kind of funerary monuments one should have, if any, a debate we best know from Pliny.[112] Pliny represents the thrice-consul Sex. Iulius Frontinus (cos. III ord. 100) as taking the extreme position in this debate: forbidding that a funerary monument should be set up for himself – startling for a man of his rank and contradictory to the general desire for commemoration. Pliny then contrasts him with another, similarly high-ranking senator, L. Verginius Rufus (cos. III ord. 97), who, in Pliny's judgment, took desire for commemoration too far: Verginius, who specified the verses

[109] On Piso's punishment, and its elements of *damnatio* see Flower 1998, Bodel 1999.
[110] Vittinghoff 1936: 28–33; Kajava 1995: 203–204.
[111] Sen. *Dial.* 6.1.3: *a vera illum vindicasti morte ac restituisti in publica monumenta libros.*
[112] *Dial.* 6.2.3–6.3.2; Plin. *Ep.* 9.19. Cf. 2.1; 6.10.

to be written on his tomb, seems to have raised more senatorial eyebrows with an inflated claim to his daring defeat of the insurgent Vindex in 69, "not for himself, but for the country." In Pliny's judgment, however, Frontinus' statement, "the expense of a *monumentum* is wasted; my memory will endure if my life has deserved it," is outrageous, showing even more lack of self-restraint than Verginius' determination to publish two verses on his deeds in a single location.[113] Verginius may claim too much in his inscription, but Frontinus presumed that his memory would traverse the whole world with or without a *monumentum*. This contrast only works if we consider that, for Pliny, the much-desired *immortalis gloria* had to be carried by some inanimate object or committed to a piece of writing: a statue would serve as well as a biography.[114]

Given this understanding of glory after death, the community of other senatorial peers, also seeking to ensure their proper commemoration, is a key factor, as is their reponses to one another's memorials. In his undoubtedly best-known letter, written to Tacitus after the eruption of the Vesuvius in 79, Pliny himself sought immortal fame for his uncle through inclusion in Tacitus' historical *oeuvre*.[115] It has already been observed that in committing the Elder Pliny's final hours to writing, Pliny aimed to preserve his uncle's memory in a way not very different from setting up a funerary monument: *memoria* and *monumentum* could be synonymous.[116] In fact, the erection of a monument could compete with the fact of the burial in a second-century legal argumentation, which questioned whether a cenotaph itself could make a place *locus religiosus*, a designation usually restricted for locations with dead bodies.[117] Detached from concerns about the proper disposal of the body, preserving *memoria* and its monuments becomes the main focus of funerary piety. But there was more to this process than just the obligatory commemoration of the deceased. As Umberto Eco has shown in an excellent semiotic analysis, Pliny succeeded in inscribing *his own* eternal fame along with that of his uncle, the hero of science, across the numerous layers of time and personality that went into this task.[118] Pliny's recognition that dutiful commemoration of someone else's life is equal in value to that life is clear from another letter as well, in which he claims that

[113] *Ep*. 9.19.6: *Impensa monumenti supervacua est; memoria nostri durabit, si vita meruimus*.
[114] The same person may gain *immortalitas* through a statue (2.7.4) or a piece of writing (3.10.6). See though on the possibility of an inscription in the case of Frontinus, Eck 1998: 29.
[115] Plin. *Ep*. 6.16. [116] Paulus 1992: 33–38.
[117] Ferretti 2000: 426–427 suggests that this was primarily a legalistic distinction between the academic Marcianus and the pragmatic Ulpian, when in reality there were many types of and reasons for cenotaphs, some of which could qualify as *monumenta*.
[118] Eco 1985: 180–195.

the equestrian Cn. Octavius Titinius Capito earned immortality for both the recipient of a commemorative statue and for himself by arranging to have the monument set up.[119] A similar logic may have been in play when relatives and peers offered public spectacles in memory of a senator, wishing, quite possibly, to share in the glory of the deceased.[120]

The emphasis on the *monumentum* with its this-worldly group of peers as the intended audience, does not, however, mean that transcendental desires were not also involved. For example, even Pliny frequently refers to commemoration as *immortalis* and even as *divinus*, though it is clear that he prefers entrusting memory to this-worldly carriers.[121] In a sense, discarding the transcendental aspects of commemoration leads us to side with the early Christian thinkers who ridiculed the pagan focus on this world in funerary commemoration. Augustine, for example, makes this point when remarking that "pagans" love glory above all, through which they want to "live" even after death through the words of praise.[122] But, from a larger perspective, branding a desire for immortality as profane, just because it is also accompanied by this-worldly elements, would risk misunderstanding Roman religiosity while repeating the intentionally unfair judgments of Christian writers.

But did the rituals, commemorations, and philosophical discussions surrounding Roman death have a transcendental element? This is a difficult question, given that among the educated of the empire, death never had a fixed position in a theological sense or a firm definition in religious terms and thus involved both transcendentally suggestive as well as completely this-worldly elements. This was partially thanks to the rich variety of customs and attitudes in funerary commemoration, in which various settings implied starkly differing definitions of what really happens when a person dies: while emperors' souls ascended to heaven, many others sent their deceased along to the underworld with an inscription to the *dis manibus* and a coin to pay Cerberus for passing through the gates. Any educated Roman senator would have been familiar with a number of mythological stories, the varied philosophical arguments about the possibilities of a life after death, and, in

[119] *Ep.* 1.17.4.

[120] Plin. *Ep.* 34.1: *cuius memoriae aut opus aliquod aut spectaculum atque hoc potissimum, quod maxime funeri, debebatur.*

[121] E.g. *immortalis gloria*, Plin. *Ep.* 6.16.2; for *divinus*, used along with *immortalis* in such a context, Plin. *Ep.* 3.16.6; 6.10.4; note also the same phrase in Plin. *Pan.* 10.4.6.

[122] Augustine, *De civ. Dei* 5.14: *Sed cum illi essent in civitate terrena, quibus propositus erat omnium pro illa officiorum finis, incolumitas eius, et regnum non in caelo sed in terra; non in vita aeterna, sed in decessione morientium et successione morturorum; quid aliud amarent quam gloriam, qua volebant etiam post mortem tamquam vivere in ore laudantium?*

quite practical terms, with the ideology of imperial funerals. Such a multiplicity of viewpoints concerning death was both available to and actively expressed by senators in the context of funerary commemoration. Senators held multidimensional attitudes towards death, and in a manner similar to later complex societies.[123]

Conversely, a carefully guarded, almost Socratic agnosticism regarding the definition of death offers the only constant among the varied concepts associated with the elite of the Roman empire, especially under the influence of contemporary philosophical practice. Seneca's statement, "What is death? Either an end or a transition," is echoed a century later by the emperor Marcus Aurelius: "Of death: either dispersion, if atoms; or if a single whole, either extinction or a change of state."[124] This Stoic agnosticism is critical to understanding how death was conceptualized among the imperial elite in the first two centuries of the empire, under the philosophical influence of both Epicureanism and Stoicism. Most importantly, its main positive goal was not to find the correct definition of death, but rather to teach one how to avoid fear.[125] Thus, we never find security or absolute conviction about the afterlife; only a variety of possible opinions is offered on the part of the writer in philosophical consolations – despite what is found in the genre's Ciceronian precedents.[126] Or, similarly, only few epitaphs for male senators include the otherwise absolutely common dedication *dis manibus (sacrum)* – the spirits of the dead – which probably reflects elite self-differentiation as much as their general lack of certainty with regard even to the very existence of an underworld.[127]

This learned agnosticism undermines the long scholarly tradition, going back to Cumont and Panofsky, of trying to "read the meaning" implied by the iconography of funerary monuments, in particular, their desire to find references to the existence of an afterlife.[128] Even with the possibility of incongruities between textual and material evidence, we may wonder if the elite taste for agnosticism about death may have influenced senatorial patrons of funerary works of art to seek out iconographical references with a rather vague answer to this question. This difficulty can actually be

[123] Hood 1998: 391. [124] Sen. *Ep.* 65.24; M. Aur. *Med.* 7.32.

[125] Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 24.18; already in the Ciceronian tradition, e.g. *Tusc.* 1.21.48. See also Lucr. 3.37ff.

[126] Cicero himself expressed some ambiguity on this matter; nevertheless, in the case of Tullia, he seems quite committed to a positive image of the afterlife.

[127] It may be possible to propose that there is a decline even in the literary interest in the underworld: after Ovid (*Met.* 4.432–480, 14.140–157) we only have two detailed descriptions in the *Hercules furens* of Seneca (vv. 661–696) and in Book 8 of the *Thebaid* by Statius. Lucan's epic has a scene of necromancy instead (*Phars.* 6.420–770).

[128] Veyne 1985: 55–56.

proven by an examination of a form of funerary commemoration long seen as a prime example of senatorial innovation: the vogue of sarcophagi which became fashionable in the second century. Given that corpses were burnt during the ritual of imperial *apotheosis* at least until the mid-century, the popularity of sarcophagi, which implies a preference for inhumation over cremation, cannot easily be conceptualized as an initiative drawn from imperial example. As huge chunks of marble with extensive decoration, sarcophagi were always expensive and, to the Roman mind, traditionally associated with kings and aristocrats from an earlier age.[129] Throughout the late republic and early imperial period, the senatorial family of the Cornelii was notably remembered for its exceptional (but at the time most probably bygone) interest in inhumation,[130] when most residents of the Western empire practiced cremation. But what Petronius then could still call a "Greek custom" – inhumation – came to be increasingly preferred by many in the Italian peninsula in the second century.[131] Whether there was a significant religious component to this transformation, as some have argued, is impossible to say, and short of any text to this effect, these arguments must remain speculative.[132]

What sarcophagi can tell us about senatorial religion has to be based largely on iconography, given that they rarely include epigraphy. Their iconographic programs, however, provide an important parallel to the literary evidence discussed above. Yet it can be difficult to distinguish senatorial sarcophagi from those of others; here, details such as the presence of figures in senatorial clothing (*togae* or *calcei*) or engaged in specifically senatorial practices are critical.[133] With this limitation, the approach is necessarily biased towards identifying senatorial sarcophagi with realistic rather than mythological themes. Nevertheless, the groundbreaking work of Henning Wrede in the last two decades has ably connected senators with a special subgroup of sarcophagi displaying images from the senatorial lives, the so-called *vita humana*.[134] The theme can be traced through nine military commanders' sarcophagi from the 160s onwards, followed by seven battle sarcophagi starting in the 180s, with about the same number of other contemporary sarcophagi – depicting weddings and children's lives – also

[129] Tac. *Ann.* 16.6. [130] Cf. Sulla's abandonment of the practice: Cic. *Leg.* 2.56–57; Plin. *HN* 7.54.187.
[131] Petron. *Sat.* 111.2; Lucian, *De luctu* 21 refers to cremation as "Greek."
[132] The most substantial argument for a religious transformation was put forward by Turcan 1958; for a review of the debate, with full bibliographical references as well as for a skeptical view: Morris 1992: 31–33.
[133] Wrede 2001: 14–21 now with the review of Ewald 2003.
[134] Wrede 2001: 14–21; see already Reinsberg 1995: 353–354.

relevant.[135] In general, these sarcophagi follow the style of imperial art, with the exception that the sarcophagus portraits suggest an archaizing ethos closer to the time of Trajan than to contemporary rulers. The early third century, then, witnessed the development of more exclusively senatorial themes on sarcophagi. These monuments employ a "civil iconography" that places a decreasing emphasis on the military glory so prominent in the earlier period.

It is striking that the depictions on senatorial sarcophagi betray the same primary focus on official achievements as is found in inscriptional practice. The idealized catalogs of virtue present in inscriptions are brought to life in the iconography of the sarcophagi, which also depict the lives and duties of the senators inside them. Thus, parallel in their normative tendencies and themes to the *cursus* inscriptions, these sarcophagi concentrate on displaying an increasingly canonized set of virtues that the ideal senator was supposed to possess, an ideal heavily influenced by imperial precedents.[136] Among the virtues depicted, besides the officer's *virtus*, the magistrate's *clementia*, the spouse's *concordia* and *fecunditas*, *pietas* is also commonly present and usually expressed formally by the portrayal of a public sacrifice. Although heavily modeled on the religious representation of emperors, who are nevertheless absent from the senatorial sarcophagi, *pietas* invokes senatorial religion as exercised in the larger setting of magistracies and priesthoods and locates that piety among the public themes of funerary representation.

Besides these sarcophagi with the theme from one's *vita humana*, we know that senators also had sarcophagi adorned with mythological representations, a practice which was widely popular in the second century. Yet the majority of these pieces can be relatively securely assigned to freedmen, not senators, especially when the mythological decoration aimed at expressing a *consecratio in formam deorum*, a reference to a divine afterlife, recalling myths of humans raised to become gods – a message especially appropriate for freedmen.[137] While mythological depictions of senators were not unusual during their lifetimes, applying these themes to funerary representation appears to have been more appealing to freedmen, who were less worried about competing with imperial divinization. Unlikely to be accused of comparing their own hopes for immortality to the deification of emperors, they may have had more freedom in using mythological references and could have sought to evoke their own emancipation in the stories of ascension. Nevertheless, epigraphic evidence demonstrates that some senatorial families found mythology desirable for their sarcophagi: an Achilles

[135] Wrede 2001: 21–53. [136] Wrede 2001: 57 with earlier literature. [137] Wrede 1981, Cole 1993.

sarcophagus is clearly senatorial as is a sea-creature sarcophagus and several Dionysiac sarcophagi.[138] The popularity of the Dionysiac theme is especially interesting, as it appears on three remarkable senatorial sarcophagi, ranging in date from the late Flavian to the Severan periods. As Wrede has convincingly shown, the images on the sarcophagi of C. Bellic(i)us Natalis Tebanianus (cos.suff. 87), L. Iulius Larcius Sabinus (sen. late second century), and M. Vibius Liberalis (praet. Severan, now on display in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts), employ the Dionysiac motif as a stand-in for actual military glory achieved by these senators in their lifetimes, connecting themselves to the triumphal associations of the god.[139] Insofar as the senators choose to imitate military success with a mythological reference to Dionysus, who was also associated with blissful life and, if vaguely, with the possibility of an afterlife,[140] these sarcophagi also make at least an indirect connection with a desire for some type of divine bliss in death. The generally conservative agenda of senators, both within funerary commemoration and beyond, makes it unlikely that this iconography intends the viewer to imagine a full-blown *post mortem metamorphosis*. Still, the only other relevant use of the Dionysiac motif on a sarcophagus – on that of a senator's young daughter in the early third century[141] – suggests that the hope for blissful death, and maybe even for an invisible after-world not unlike that of the gods, may not have been unknown in senatorial circles.

As we have seen, senators displayed a rich intellectual engagement with death. They sought to negotiate a unique representation for their passing, one that would situate them between the imperial family and people of lower status. They also emphasized virtues and the ideal senatorial career in funerary commemoration, both in epigraphy and in iconography. Yet to fully understand the religious component of their concerns about death, I now have to turn to one final type of evidence – linguistic – which supports a religious reading of death among senators. Unusually for their general interest in emphasizing social distinction, senators shared the rather common reference to the deceased as *pius* or *sanctus*, usually in the superlative, with people of lower status. These terms were also common in virtue ethics, without implying a finite theological thesis about the potential for such *pietas* and *sanctitas* in an afterlife. Further, their use seems to be

[138] Achilles: *CIL* IX 658; sea creatures: *CIL* XIV 327. For the Dionysiac pieces, see below.

[139] Wrede 2001: 38–39.

[140] Note especially Plut. *Consolatio ad uxorem* 611D–F.

[141] Cohon 1992. The deceased is tentatively identified as Maconiana Severiana, who died *c.* 210–230 CE. The parents' sarcophagi (the one with the hunting theme for the father, and the Muse-sarcophagus for the mother) postdate my study, yet the set is especially relevant as the only known group of sarcophagi where the themes appear specially chosen for each deceased.

restricted to inscriptions that are made by another person, usually identified as a relative, who chooses to honor the dead as a pious or chaste parent, spouse, or child. The evocation of such a private context is distinct from traditional inscriptional practice and suggests a notion of private funerary piety that places the main emphasis on the deceased rather than the commemorators.

Of the two adjectives, the attribute "*pius*" is slightly earlier, and the logic of its use must stem from the familial context. The term points to dutiful behavior in the family, conduct that was generally considered religious by the Romans. Already in the first century, the son of T. Salvius Rufinus Minicius Opimianus, probably a senator, commemorated his parents as *parentes dulcissimi ac pientissimi* in Grottaferrata, close to Tusculum.[142] One of the most spectacular senatorial tombs in this era was cut into a cliff close to Petra, where the son of L. Aninius Sextius Florentinus (sen. 120s) commemorated his father with an inscription dedicated *patri piiss(imo)*.[143] In contrast to the bureaucratic focus of other funerary memorials, such dedications could also incorporate non-senatorial family members: L. Servaeus Amicus Potitianus (sen. late second / early third century) set up a funerary inscription to his grandmother as an "*exemplum*" of *pietas* in Sufetula, and C. Rufius Festus Laelius Firmus (sen. early third century?) offered with his sister an inscription to his equestrian father, *patri pientissimo*, in Volsinii.[144] The other adjective, "*sanctus*," was not uncommon in regular prose, especially in association with "*memoria*."[145] On epitaphs the attribute must have referred to being revered or chaste in a more general sense than the more familial "*pius*." Although "*sanctus*" is found in a familial context as the polyonymous Q. Roscius Pompeius Falco (cos.suff. 108) honored his wife, as *uxor sanctissima*, upon her death in Samos,[146] it was not always used in reference to a familial position. When M. Maecius Probus (cos.suff. 190s) died in battle, his wife and son, the future ordinary consul of 228, M. (Pomponius) Maecius Probus, commemorated him in Tarraco simply as *sanctissimus*.[147] Further, people outside the family could also use *sanctus*, for example, the *beneficiarii* and *cornicularii* of L. Petronius Verus (cos.design. 198) honored him upon his death as *praeses sanctissimus* in Ankara.[148]

[142] *AE* 1906, 80. On the frequency of these two adjectives in Southern Italy, see Pietri 1983: 526.
[143] *CIL* III 87, cf. 14148.l.10 [144] Sufetula: *CIL* VIII 236 = 11335; Volsinii: *CIL* XI 2698.
[145] Tac. *Hist*. 4.10: *Sorani sancta memoria*; Plin. *Ep*. 3.10.3: *sanctissimam memoriam*.
[146] *CIL* III 7163 = *ILS* 1037. [147] *CIL* II 4124 = *RIT* 142.
[148] *CIL* III 252 = 6754 = Bosch 1967: 283 no. 218.

In employing this particular vocabulary, senators relied on a non-exclusive language shared by people of lower social status.[149] Arguably, such superlatives were used so frequently in address that, in a process referred to as "weakening" in linguistics, they slowly came to lose their strength of expression.[150] One possible linguistic response was to return to the simpler positive – hence the prevalence of "*sanctus*" in Christian writers. Another possibility, employed by others, was to multiply the adjectives used – which is extremely helpful to us in trying to understand the general motivation for employing these words. Thus when the patrician Q. Pompeius Falco Sosius Priscus (praet. 210s–220s) dedicated, on his own initiative, a memorial monument to his polyonymous grandfather, Q. Pompeius Senecio (cos.ord. 149), in the city of Rome, he called him *sanctissimus vir et fortissimus, conditor religiosissimus domus suae*.[151] Though this is a rare example, the juxtaposition of numerous adjectives in the inscription provides a catalog of virtues that relies heavily on terms with religious connotations. The adjectives also provide a link to senatorial self-representation in late antiquity, which often included references to *sanctitas*, a philosophical-religious expression of ethical purity, and *religiositas*, a reference to proper religious behavior.[152] The social context of these funerary monuments in the fourth and fifth centuries was of course radically different, but, as this chapter has demonstrated, the desire to commemorate the dead by praising their values with religious referents was not unique to Christianity.

[149] Pietri 1983: 525–528. [150] Dickey 2002: 137. [151] *CIL* VI 1490 = *ILS* 1106. [152] Niquet 2000.

CHAPTER 6

Innovations and aspirations

Moving beyond regular and generally accepted practices and discourses, in this final chapter I turn to less usual and more ambivalent religious phenomena among senators. I seek to analyze senatorial religious aspirations that extend beyond the customs and norms created and accepted by their peers, and beyond the regulations enforced by imperial rule. Identifying these trends provides evidence for the investment of senators in the creation and application of innovative religious ideas, proving that senators were active agents in the construction of an imperial religion that was meaningful to them.

Significantly, as we will see, in turning to less mainstream religious interests senators focused on divine notions typically associated with the imperial cult, demonstrating the close connection between senatorial and imperial religion, a result discovered in Part II as well. Yet, as I argue, applying these divine associations to themselves, senators also appear to show an imaginary engagement with these religious phenomena, that is, an individual interest and investment in the forms of imperial religion closely connected to their own ideas about themselves. To make this point, I first discuss the worship of the *genius* of a living person, both *for* and *by* senators, showing that innovations in religious matters worked both ways: not only senators copying emperors, but also the other way around. Next, I consider the posthumous worship sought for and by them, practices that shared the religious framework of the imperial cult. A further connection to emperor worship is also evident in a group of inscriptions all containing the formulaic "*pro salute*," again known from the language of imperial cult. This term can be translated as "for the health, well-being, or deliverance" of a person, and it certainly encompasses more than a simple, matter-of-fact notion of well-being. The larger volume of these inscriptions and their chronologically wider distributions allow for a diachronic historical analysis of the changing uses of this term, and with it a glimpse into the changing religious interests of senators in imperial Rome.

THE *GENIUS* WORSHIP AMONG SENATORS

We have already seen in Chapter 2 that the relationship between senatorial religion and the imperial cult was never a simple dichotomy: senators in fact participated in the worship of already divinized emperors, even as they retained the right to discuss what kind of emperor deserved divinization. Yet the worship of the living emperor's *genius*, his innate divine spirit, was a much more delicate matter: the view Pliny expresses in his *Panegyricus*, that Trajan as a good emperor would not allow the worship of his *genius*, suggests strong senatorial aversion to the *genius* cult.[1] Whenever that viewpoint may have crystallized, the first certain attestation of the worship of the emperor's *genius* is in the senatorial priesthood of the arvals and dated to Nero.[2] Still, the Frieze of the Vicomagistri, attached to the worship of the divinized Augustus and Livia, may attest to *genius* worship already under Claudius in the early 40s.[3] After Nero, in the early Flavian period, the worship of the emperor's *genius* may have disappeared among the senatorial priesthoods, but the *acta* of the arvals mentions it again under Domitian. Despite the apparent association of *genius* worship with "bad" emperors early on, the cult was revived in the priesthood again under Marcus and Commodus, and became standard practice in the Severan period.

The earlier, more ambivalent association informed Cassius Dio's description of the experimentation with the *genius* cult by Caligula, who first set up an inscription declining a proposal to have his *genius* worshiped, yet later wanted to be worshiped as a god.[4] Dio's critical comments suggest that discussions concerning senatorial worship of the emperor's *genius* began before its acceptance under Claudius or Nero. Private *genius* cult had, of course, existed for centuries before that time: at least since the middle republic, on the birthday of

[1] Plin. *Pan. 52.6*.

[2] *CIL* VI 2037 = 32352 = *CFA* 24 (dated to Nero's birthday, December 15, in the year of 55): *Cn(aeo) Lentulo Gaetulico T(ito) Curtilio M[ancia co(n)s(ulibus)] | III Idus Decembr(es) in sacra vi[a] | P(ublius) Memmius Regulus pro magistro fratrum [Arvalium nomine ex edicto(?)] | Neronis Claudi Caesaris Aug(usti) Germanici pr[incipis parentisque publici ante] | domum Domitianam ob memoriam Domi[tii patris eius bovem marem immolavit] | XVIII K(alendas) Ianuar(ias) in Capitoli[o] | P(ublius) Memmius Regulus promagistro fra[trum Arvalium nomine ob natalem] | Neronis Claudi Caesaris Aug(usti) Ger[manici principis parentisque publici] | immolavit Iovi O(ptimo) M(aximo) bovem m[arem Iunoni vaccam Minervae vaccam] | Saluti publicae vaccam genio ipsi[us taurum] | in conlegio [adfuerunt ---] | P(ublius) Memmius Regulus [---] | Faustus Corneliu[s Sulla ---] | P(ublio) Lentulo Scipione Q(uinto) Volusio Saturnino*.

[3] Gradel 2002: 162–187.

[4] Dio 59.4.4: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἰκόνας τε ἀπαγορεύσας κατ' ἀρχὰς μηδένα αὑτοῦ ἱστάναι, καὶ ἐς ἀγαλμάτων ποίησιν προεχώρησε, καὶ ψηφισθέν ποτε τῇ τύχῃ αὐτοῦ θύεσθαι παρέμενος, ὥστε καὶ ἐς στήλην αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐγγραφῆναι, καὶ ναοὺς ἑαυτῷ καὶ θυσίας ὡς καὶ θεῷ γίγνεσθαι ἐκέλευσε. We have no other historical source for this.

the *paterfamilias* his *genius* was offered ritual celebration. In late republican and early imperial times, epigraphic dedications offered to the *genius* of individuals by one of their freedmen or slaves were a frequent type, and are usually taken to imply little religious content beyond the desire to honor the birthday of the recipient. From the mid first century BCE the notion of the *genius* of individual gods is occasionally attested in literature and inscriptions, in addition to the more general and popular *genius* of the Roman people, the *genius populi Romani*, first attested on coins under Sulla in the 80s BCE. Under Augustus it was this *genius* of the Roman people that was replaced by an image of the *genius Augusti*, the genius of the ruling emperor, with the emperor now depicted, maintaining the same traditional iconography, as a bearded togate figure. This *genius Augusti* was also appended to the cult of the *Lares compitales*, worshiped in the reorganized wards of Rome from 7 BCE, a cult which had some resonances in Italy in various contexts but did not enter the senatorial priesthoods of the capital for another half a century.[5]

The time-lag between the worship of the imperial *genius* in the wards (under Augustus) and in the setting up of a major senatorial priesthood in Rome (under Claudius or Nero) has led to a number of possible explanations. In the most recent attempt to resolve the problem, Ittai Gradel suggests that the acceptance of *genius* worship in the state cult was based not so much on the compital cult in the wards, but rather on the more general worship of the *genius* of the *paterfamilias* in the empire.[6] On this theory, the worship of the living emperor's *genius* was finally accepted after the title *pater patriae* was bestowed on Claudius in January 42. In other words, the living emperor would have then been worshiped as a father figure, the *paterfamilias* of the state, in what Gradel calls the Roman "state cult." Yet Augustus had already held that title since 2 BCE, which may have contributed to the popularity of his *genius* in numerous contexts, though the title failed to lead to "divine" acknowledgment within the worship in senatorial priesthoods. Further, emperors who do not seem to have had their *genius* worshiped in senatorial priesthoods, such as Vespasian and Titus, also held the title of *pater patriae*, suggesting that we cannot rely on a one-to-one correspondence between this title and the *genius* worship by senators.

[5] For an Augustan dedication see *AE* 1994, 624 = *AE* 2003, 643, from Regio VII, Capena. A dedication to the *genius* of Tiberius, from 27, *CIL* VI 251, was offered by the *magister* of the *pagus Amentinus*. To my mind, the only other possible earlier *senatorial* dedication, *CIL* VI 40315, with *divo Augusto [et genio]*| *Ti(beri) Caesaris Augusti*, which Alföldy, ad loc., dates to 25–31/2, may be better completed as *divo Augusto pro salute]*| *Ti(beri) Caesaris Augusti*, for which there exist parallels, involving Claudius, in *AE* 1985, 392 from Luna, Etruria, and *CIL* XIII 1642 from Forum Segusiavorum, Lugdunensis.

[6] Gradel 2002: 187.

The apparent frequency of dedications offered by lower-ranking associates of the *paterfamilias*, identified as *liberti* or *servi*, to his *genius*, confirm the potential for servile associations in the worship. Such subservient overtones make later senatorial participation in the cult rather surprising: whether we attribute the introduction of the senatorial *genius* worship to the early years of Claudius or Nero, emperor and senate appear more evenly matched, and therefore a sense of agreement between emperor and senatorial elite about the worship could be expected. But how could senators agree to put themselves in the low position associated with slaves or clients as worshipers of the *paterfamilias*? It is likely that *genius* worship was perceived to be less offensive than the direct worship of a living emperor, and therefore it served as a convenient compromise that helped senators avoid recognizing the emperor himself as a god, as Caligula infamously sought. Yet, if the thesis about the hierarchical emphasis of *genius* worship is correct, then worshiping the emperor's *genius* would have still connoted humiliation and loss of status for the senators.

The corporate nature of senatorial actions in general, and of senatorial priestly activities in particular in this period, which I have discussed in Chapter 1, offers further insight into this problem. Evidence for the senatorial acceptance of *genius* worship of a living emperor is primarily drawn from the collection of inscriptions preserved in the sacred groves of the priesthood of the *arvales*, and in effect almost all senatorial religious activity of a public nature took place in Rome with the participation of the arvals or some other similarly organized body of priestly worshipers. Thus, senators would have honored the emperor's *genius* collectively, not as individuals, unlike dedications offered to the *genius* of a powerful *paterfamilias*, which were more of an individual, private affair. Therefore, while I agree that the imagery of the familial cult may have played a role in the development of the public worship of the emperor's *genius*, contemporary parallels involving organized groups of worshipers appear to be a better comparison for understanding the associations of the senatorial cult.

There has been relatively little work so far on the worship of the *genii* or the *lares* of elite men in the imperial period, especially those in which the worship took place in an organized manner. For example, in Brixia the Severan M. Nonius Arrius Paulinus Aper was honored by *cultores Larum eius*, while a *clarissimus iuvenis*; he must have just recently received membership in the senatorial priestly college of the *quindecemviri sacris faciundis*.[7]

[7] *CIL* V 4340 = *Inscr. It. al.* 10, 5, 134 (Venetia et Histria, Brixia): *M(arco) Nonio M(arci) f(ilio)* | *Fab(ia) Arrio* | *Paulino Apro c(larissimo) i(uveni)* | *XVvir(o) sacr(is) fac(iundis)* | *cultores* | *Larum eius*.

Our earliest example, from Augustan Rome, suggests a well-organized and large association which even has *decuriones*; one of them, a *decurio Larum Volusianorum* called Hymnus, was in fact a slave of the emperor (rather than of the Volusii).[8] While a full understanding of this organization seems beyond reach especially at the current state of evidence, it appears that this slave *collegium* survived at least into the Flavian period, when they appear in an inscription again.[9] Together these inscriptions confirm the existence of this worship organization throughout the first century, making it the closest chronological parallel we have for the emerging senatorial worship of the emperor's *genius*.

In the case of the Volusii there is further, exceptional evidence suggesting that they had other special worship organizations for familial cult. In terms of material evidence, the large and exquisitely decorated *lararium* established for family worship at their villa at Lucus Feroniae, the location of their large estates, is unique in suggesting formalized worship held at a designated site.[10] Epigraphic evidence confirms this impression: in the large columbarium of the *familia* as many as four priests (*sacerdotes*) are listed, and their priesthoods refer to the familial context. Two of these are identified as "*sacerdotes deum Penatium*," which must be clearly understood as the *penates* of the Volusii family.[11] This worship of the familial *penates* is probably quite similar to that of the *lares*, but the existence of a specified *sacerdos* assigned to assist in the worship of these *penates* is unique in our epigraphic evidence, which is why the cult may be seen as evidence of senatorial experimentation, rather than the norm.

The other two priests mentioned in the inscriptions of the columbarium are even more exceptional: these are identified as *sacerdotes genii Lucii nostri*, that is, as priests of the worship of the *genius* of the senator L. Volusius.[12] The inscriptions refer to L. Volusius Saturninus as censor, which identifies

[8] *CIL* VI 10267: *Hymnus Caesaris Aug(usti)* | *Volusianus* | *Hermaphili Hymni lib(erti) f(ilii)* | *decurio Larum Volusianorum* | *Scantiae Priscae coniugi* | *carissimae et sibi*. Cf. Gradel 2002: 214–215.

[9] *CIL* VI 10266: *T(ito) Flavio Phileto et Statiliae* | *Paulae et Statiliae Spatale* | *vixit ann(os) XX iussu decur-(ionum)* | *Larum Volusianorum*.

[10] On the lararium see Torelli 1973–4: 746–750.

[11] *CIL* VI 2266 = 7283 = Buonocore 1984: no. 128: *Ninus sacerdos [deum]* | *Penatium* | *Vitali vicario vix(it) a[nn(os)*; *CIL* VI 2267 = 7283a = Buonocore 1984: no. 129: *Sabino sacer(doti)* | *deum Penat(ium)* | *vix(it) an(nos) XXXIII* | *Ninus fratr[i]* | *[b]ene meren[ti]*.

[12] *CIL* VI 1967 = 7366 = Buonocore 1984: no. 1: *[L(ucio)] Volusio El[aino]* | *[app(aruit)] censori sac[erdoti]* | *geni(i) L(uci) n(ostri) [---]* | *[Vo]lusia Syn[tyche(?)*; *CIL* VI 1833a = Buonocore 1984: no. 6: *[[L(ucio) Volusio Himero]]* | *[[scr[ib(ae) libr(ario)] q(uaestorio) [II]I dec(uriarum)]]* | *[[s[a]c[erdoti genii] L(uci) [n(ostri)] cens(oris)]]* | *[[[Phyllis l(iberta) coniugi et patron]o]]* | *[[[de su(o) loco dato ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)]]]* || *[[L(ucio) Volusio Himero]]* | *[[scrib(ae) li[b]r(ario) q(uaestorio) III d[e]c(uriarum)]]* | *[[sace[r]d[oti ge]ni L(uci) n(ostri) cens(oris)]]* | *[[Ph[y]llis l(iberta) coniugi et p[atr]ono]]* | *[[de su(o) loco dato ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)]]*.

him with the consul suffect of 12 BCE, who died in 20. It is likely that Volusius received the worship of his *genius* while still alive,[13] and the fact that formal arrangements were made to have this priesthood established is quite unusual. It suggests a religious innovation on the part of the Volusii to establish the *genius* worship of their *paterfamilias* while still alive, and it is therefore significant to our understanding of the development of *genius* worship in early imperial Rome. The analysis can be taken a step further by examining the social context of the worship of Volusius' *genius*. While the *decuriones Larum Volusianorum* are more difficult to locate on the social scale (an imperial slave can be rather powerful – or not), the *sacerdotes deum Penatium* can be usefully compared to the *sacerdotes genii Lucii nostri*. While the former may be either slaves or freedmen, the latter are certainly freedmen. Further, it seems noteworthy that the funerary inscriptions of the *genius* priests are about five times the size of those of the priests of the *penates*, though they all come from the same columbarium.[14] Although the worshipers of the *lares* in this period could be low-ranking slaves or freedmen of not too high a rank, the same is certainly not true for these priests of the *genii*. Of the two *sacerdotes geni Luci nostri*, one happens to be a *scriba*, and the other an *apparitor*, both high-ranking and most probably well-educated freedmen assisting the annual magistrates of the Roman state.[15] Given their proximity to the center of power, these two freedmen were certainly not misguided as to the larger significance of their participation in the worship of Volusius' *genius*, but they must have seen the priesthood as a potentially rewarding post, whether practically or symbolically. We can certainly make a case for a relatively high-ranking priesthood worshiping the *genius* of L. Volusius Saturninus, probably no later than under Tiberius, which would mean that this worship *predates* the formal establishment of senatorial worship for the living emperor's *genius*.

The organized worship of Volusius' *genius* offers an interesting parallel to the emerging worship of the imperial *genius* by senators. Relatively high-ranking freedmen, associated with leading magistrates in state functions, would undertake the worship of a senator's *genius*, even if that worship was based on their *former* servile relationship to him as their *dominus*. The worship of Volusius' *genius* is a singular example in our evidence, and therefore we can only speculate whether it represents a unique innovation or part of a larger trend in this period. In fact, Volusius' homonymous son, L. Volusius Saturninus (cos.suff. 3), received exceptional posthumous honors in Rome, including that nine statues of him were displayed in highly

[13] Zevi 1998: 61. [14] See Buonocore 1984, ad loc. [15] Purcell 1983.

symbolic locations in the city.[16] We also know that the Volusii were a family generally close to the emperors of the Julio-Claudian family – as Tacitus observed in his obituaries for both L. Volusius Saturninus and his son – which does not support any implication of highly transgressive intentions on their part.[17] In Lucus Feroniae these two senators, father and son, were responsible for establishing a temple for *divus Augustus* in the early Tiberian period.[18] It is only fitting that one of the grandsons, Q. Volusius Saturninus (cos.ord. 56), was present at that first attested sacrifice offered to Nero's *genius* in Rome on the emperor's birthday in 55.[19]

The proximity of the Volusii to the Julio-Claudian emperors makes it unlikely that the evidence for the private worship in the family would have been a senatorial attempt at challenging the emperor or imperial rule: the practices of the Volusii and their freedmen suggest that the *genius* worship of emperors was not conceived in contrast to imperial worship with which senators were already familiar. The cults of the Volusii stem from a zone of experimentation in which both imperial worship by senators and the senators' own religious aspirations were subject to innovation. It was from this exploratory space that the *genius* worship of the emperor by senators may have crystallized: an acceptable limitation for members of the elite in contrast to the widespread worship of the living emperor in many other contemporary social contexts. To the extent that the *genius* worship of Volusius may have been an experimental step that contributed to the development of the worship of the emperor's *genius* among senators, we can say that senatorial religious aspirations shaped the nature of the worship of Roman rulers in this period. That some features of the imperial cult as practiced by senators developed out of the conceptual world of religious honors offered to elite men in the late republic and early imperial era confirms the innovative potential and imaginary investment of senators in the religion of this period.

SEEKING POSTHUMOUS "DIVINITY"

The worship of Volusius' *genius* is generally presumed to have been established in his lifetime, and remained, in that form, a unique instance. In this

[16] For the classic analysis see Eck 1972.

[17] On this exceptional case of Tacitean obituaries for two members of the same family see Syme 1970, 88–91; Boatwright 1982: 11–16. The obituaries are at *Ann.* 3.30.1–4 and 13.30.2, respectively.

[18] Di Stefano Manzella 1982; *AE* 1983, 399: *[L(ucius) Vo]lusius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Sa[turninus VIIvir epulon-(um) co(n)s(ul) IIIvir] | [c]enturi(i)s equ[itum recognoscendis cens(oria) pot(estate)] | [L(ucius) V]olusius L(uci) f(ilius) Sa[turninus co(n)s(ul) augur proco(n)s(ul) Asiae] | [te]mplum divo Augusto [faciendum curaverunt idemq(ue) dedicaverunt].*

[19] Cf. *CIL* VI 2037 = 32352 = *CFA* 24 quoted above, n. 2.

section, however, I suggest that a number of other senators received somewhat similar divine honors, but posthumously. The fact that these honors are posthumous may appear to suggest that they are of lesser significance, but in the conceptual world of imperial senators "being a god" while alive was not acceptable, not quite even for emperors; at best, an emperor could claim to follow the sort of lifestyle which would allow him to be deified upon death. Indirectly, many senators may have sought such identification with divinely inspired categories during their lifetimes, and lavish funerary monuments with an emphasis on virtues (like the early second-century Ephesus monument depicting T. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus' four main philosophical virtues) can possibly refer to such divine aspirations.[20] My main focus in this section is on those references to posthumous divinity which rely upon the vocabulary and cultic associations of the imperial cult.

The provinces, as I have already shown in Chapter 4, offered more freedom of expression, and large-scale funerary monuments were usually built outside Rome. The first of my examples here, possibly suggesting an interest in divine worship, also comes from a provincial setting. Of the numerous possible benefactions left by senators in their wills, that of L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus (cos. suff. 139) for Barcino, Spain, may not appear extraordinary. Minicius was already active as a benefactor in Barcino earlier in his life; probably around the early 120s, as a young man, together with his father and still only as a *tribunus plebis designatus*, he had a bath with porticoes and an aqueduct built there.[21] This building activity may have also been connected to Hadrian's trip to Spain at this time[22] and may have resulted from the intense competition between the Minicii and the Pedanii, the two senatorial families significant in Barcino. This benefaction belonged to a busy period in the lives of the Minicii that probably kept them from any longer sojourn in Spain: the older L. Minicius Natalis was proconsul of Africa around 121–2, and his son accompanied him as his legate.[23] The 120s saw the younger Minicius as *tribunus plebis*, as Hadrian's candidate, and as *praetor*. Traveling to Greece in 129, probably in the company of emperor, he was the only imperial senator to win the four-horse chariot race at the Olympics, commemorated with a monumental statue of a chariot racer on his chariot.[24] Possibly this grand monument was set up only later, after Minicius reached the consulship in 139, and the

[20] Cf. Chapter 1, p. 43 with n. 74.
[21] *CIL* II 4509 = 6145 = *IRC* 4, 30; cf. Fagan 1999: no. 172. [22] Birley 1997: 146–147.
[23] Thomasson 1996: 54; cf. Birley's summary of his career in Birley 2005: 249–250.
[24] Krieckhaus 2003: 308.

proconsulship in Africa in 154, both of which are referenced in the inscription. The inscription from the Zeus precinct in Olympia therefore belongs to the late period of Minicius' career, as do his honorary inscription in Tibur, by the local *decuriones*, and three further inscriptions in Barcino.[25] On these three inscriptions from his hometown, in addition to honors by a client and by Carthage (the colonia Julia Carthago), Minicius was also honored by the *seviri Augustales* for his testamentary donation, to which I now turn for a more detailed discussion.[26]

After the compulsory full cursus, in dative, the *Augustales* refer to Minicius' testament, which is cited verbatim in the inscription:

colon(is) Barcinonens(ibus) ex Hispania [cit]er(iore) | [apud q]uos natus sum HS C(milia) ita si cav[e]ant | [se pro ea] summa ex quincuncib(us) omnib(us) annis | [d(ie) --- Iduu]m Februar(iarum) die natali meo sportulas | [decuri]onib[us] qui praesentes erunt singul(is) | [|(denarios) quatern]os Augustalib(us) qui praesentes erunt | [singul(is) |(denarios)] ternos daturos si quo pauciores con{t}|ven[eri]nt amplius inter praesentes pro rata | divi[dat]ur ut HS V(milia) usurar(um) quae annuae competunt | in ha[n]c rem omnib(us) ann(is) die natali meo erogentur.

to the inhabitants of Barcino, in Hispania Citerior, among whom I was born, [I leave] one hundred thousand sesterces; thus if they provide surety in return for that sum, they will give every year on the day(?) of the Ides of February, on my birthday, from 5 percent interest, a gift of four denarii to each one of the decurions who will be present, and a gift of three denarii to each *augustalis* who will be present; if they present themselves in lower numbers, then the sum intended to each shall be augmented in proportion among those present, so that the five thousand sesterces which result from the annual interests, should be expended to this end, every year, on my birthday.

At first sight, this seems to be just another, rather technical description of a familiar arrangement for posthumous benefaction. Such testaments were not unusual: already under Augustus, T. Helvius Basila left money to Atina to be used for local benefactions.[27] Testamentary benefactions seem especially frequent in the second century and range all over the empire and across all social strata. The distributions of dinner, money, games, or other gifts were often specifically scheduled for a particular day, which could be a specific holiday, the emperor's birthday, or even a beloved's or one's own birthday.[28] Thus in a roughly contemporary inscription the Italian municipal patron, M. Maegonius (Meconius?) Leo, offered a similar benefaction

[25] Tibur: *CIL* XIV, 3599 = Inscr. It al. 4, 1, 113 = *IG* XIV, 1125

[26] Carthage: *IRC* 4, 34 = *IRC* 5, pp. 111, 112 = *Hispania Epigraphia* 8, 1998, 38 = *AE* 1998, 804; *cliens*: *CIL* II, 4510 (p. 982) = *IRC* 4, 32; *Augustales*: *CIL* II, 4511 (p. 982).

[27] *CIL* X 5056, cf. *PIR*² H67. [28] See the chart in Laum 1914: 77–79; Champlin 1991: 164–165.

to the decurions and the *Augustales* in Petelia (Regio III) to be distributed on his own birthday.[29] But while the primary emphasis in the inscription of Maegonius is on the statue base on which his benefaction was to be inscribed, in the case of Minicius the emphasis seems to be on something else. On three occasions in the inscriptions, with only a few lines in between, Minicius refers to his being "born" (*natus*), and twice to his own birthday (*dies natalis*), which puts a clear emphasis on birth in an inscription commemorizing the senator's death and could possibly connect the celebrations established to those on birthdays of the deified emperors.

The desire of senatorial patrons to have their own birthdays celebrated seems very real: in 136 L. Caesennius Rufus, patron of Lanuvium and most likely not a senator, had his own birthday and those of his brother and parents inscribed into the dinner calendar of a cultic and burial association, along with the regular schedule of such dinners on the birthdays of the goddess Diana and of the recently deceased Antinous, the patron divinities of the association.[30] The comparison of the posthumous honors to Antinous, who was never formally deified in Rome, can be seen as highly relevant to the inscription of Minicius as well: after all, he was arranging posthumous honors for himself in his will. In fact, knowing what we know about the increasing cultic emphasis on birthdays in the imperial cult of the empire, we may wonder if this posthumous celebration, which according to the hypothesis of Duncan-Jones may have included as many as 100 decurions and 250 *Augustales*, had at least an air of "worship," even if only of the memory of Minicius.[31] After all the *Augustales* had ritual celebrations on imperial birthdays too.

Nevertheless, it is possible that Minicius sought simply to distribute his benefactions in his birth city on his birthday. Another benefaction, from Fabia Hadrianilla, wife of a senator, may provide evidence of an annual benefaction with individualized religious aspiration. This Roman *matrona* added two more instances of money distributions to an already existing *alimenta* scheme for children in Hispalis, Baetica, on her own birthday and on her husband's.[32] Yet her generous donation was not primarily a testamentary benefaction and did not include the social scene of the local elite, the decurions and the *Augustales*, in the distribution. Thus, the motive behind her benefaction seems quite different from that of Minicius.

Whether or not Minicius intended to establish a posthumous anniversary celebration for himself, modeled on those offered to deified emperors in the

[29] *AE* 1894, 148. [30] *CIL* XIV 2112 (p. 486).
[31] Duncan-Jones 1982: 285–286. [32] *CIL* II 1174.

official Roman calendar but on a smaller scale, must ultimately remain a question. But there is additional evidence further confirming the probability that an anniversary celebration was intended. It seems that relatively late in life, Minicius left numerous religious offerings in many parts of the empire: one commemorating his Olympian victory in Greece was probably completed with his depiction on top in a chariot; an offering to Asclepius Soter in Greek was made in Tibur; a dedication to Apollo was placed in Vulci; a bilingual offering was put up in Viterbo; and, finally, another bilingual offering referring to Helios, Sarapis, and Isis *Myrionymos* in Greek was erected in Minturnae listing Minicius' *cursus* in Latin.[33] Many of these inscriptions that survive in full list Minicius' African proconsulate as the final crowning achievement of his illustrious career. It is usually presumed that Minicius died relatively soon after his proconsulate in Africa, making the extensive dedicatory programme listed above all the more curious. Though Minicius' cognomen "Natalis" may suggest at least the possibility of an elaborate word-play in his testamentary inscription, his extensive dedications imply much more than a clever word-play, and a rather more serious comportment on his part in this period.

The intense engagement of Minicius with cults that had Greek associations, which was also expressed in his numerous bilingual inscriptions, points too to his seemingly exceptional religious sensibilities. In this regard, he may have been influenced by his trip to the East in the company of Hadrian (some thirty years earlier, in the late 120s) and also by similar interests among some other elite men in the same period. We can compare, for example, L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus (cos.ord. 142) from Pergamon, who was referred to as *herōs* in his epitaph, or Herodes Atticus (cos.ord. 143), whose own tomb was an altar identifying him as *herōs*, a label implying some form of worship in association with these dead senators.[34] And at least one of Herodes' commemorative monuments to his wife, Annia Regilla, is suggestive of a similar desire for worship: besides the Odeon of Athens, he built a tomb for her on the Via Appia as a temple for Faustina, displaying a poem by Marcellus of Side.[35]

These funerary monuments are distinguished by the worship-like activities they imply, in addition to the obligatory respect for the deceased. This separates them from more regular examples of euergetistic activities, for

[33] Olympia: *Insch. Ol.* 236 = *Syll.* 840; Asclepius Soter: *IG* XIV 1125 = *IGRom* I, 376= *Inscr. It al.* 4.1.33. in Tibur; Apollo: *CIL* XI 2925; Viterbo: *CIL* XI 3002 = *IG* XIV 2260; Helios, Sarapis, and Isis: *IGRom* I, 1391.

[34] *IG* II/III (2) 6791.

[35] *IGRom* I, 193–196 for the inscriptions; cf. Peek 1979: 76–84 who compares the monument to a *heroon*.

which Minicius, Cuspius, and Herodes were famous in various parts of the Mediterranean. These monuments point to an interest in controlling posthumous fame even further than the more common euergetistic inscriptions. Still, it is likely that the rather more typical simple juxtaposition of one's image with the image of a god or a deified – or soon to be deified – emperor in a sacred precinct did not represent a claim for posthumous divinity.[36] Further, just a generation earlier, the Trajanic military commander and political advisor, L. Licinius Sura (cos. III ord. 107), could still be satisfied with a testamentary dedication of a triumphal arch in Tarraco, built around 110.[37] But now senators seem to be seeking actual posthumous worship in some form. A list of mid-second-century inscriptions suggesting this interest would not be complete without the famous Terra Nova inscription referring, as *herōs*, to a cult of M. Pompeius Macrinus (Neos Theophanes) (cos.suff. 115), who took the Theophanes name in honor of his ancestor, the historian Theophanes of Mytilene.[38] It is not impossible that the Dionysiac cult association of his daughter Pompeia Agrippinilla – she was one of the main priestesses of a cult that included hundreds of low-ranking members – took on itself the ritual performance of some kind of cultic honors to the dead senator. Within this larger cultural and religious framework, it is quite likely that Minicius – as well as Cuspius and Herodes, and even Pompeius, or at least some of their relatives – had posthumous worship in mind for these senators.

Finally, senators interested in posthumous worship would have obviously looked at the imagery of imperial apotheosis when planning their own monuments, a field possibly least perilous in terms of its potential for competition with the imperial family. The use of the *sella curulis*, the magistrates' chair associated with high office in Rome, which had been an important status symbol for republican senators both in life and death, offers the best surviving example, expressing, as it does together with the *fasces*, the special power of their offices. Since the time of Caesar depictions of an empty *sella curulis* could mark ruler apotheosis, and for those outside the imperial family, the motif was largely displaced from honorary into funerary art.[39] Nevertheless there seems to have been some dialogue between imperial and senatorial representation. Contemporary to the

[36] So argued for Tarraco by Alföldy 1979: 191–192; and for Herodes Atticus, especially with regard to his display of portrait statuary in temples by Bol 1984: 87.

[37] Dedicated "*ex testamento*" in Tarraco, *CIL* II 4282 = *RIT* 930, in 110. It is possible that the arch primarily referred to an ancestor (so Caballos Rufino 1990: 183–193, Alföldy 1996a.).

[38] *IGUR* I 160. Cumont 1933: 237–239 suggested that Pompeius was worshiped here while still alive, yet this is rather unlikely; see the detailed discussion in Alföldy 1979.

[39] Schäfer 1989: 130–137.

honor of having an empty *sella* set up on behalf of the not formally divinized members of the imperial family – for Marcellus (23 BCE), Germanicus (19 CE), and Drusus (23 CE) – we will see the use of free-standing *sellae* in senatorial funerary imagery as well. The chair, often depicted in conjunction with magisterial or priestly action, references the this-wordly right to such a chair associated with curule magistrates and *flamines*.[40] The direct reference to this-worldly power meant that these representations remained restricted to senatorial and Italian municipal officeholders who could make the legal claim associated with the *sella curulis* and the *fasces*, a social restriction, which in turn may have been key to the staying power of this image among senators. The rich evidence for the use of the *sella* in funerary art in the late republican and early imperial periods nevertheless came to a halt once any positive associations of the empty *sella* were erased, first by the use of golden *sellae* for the absent Tiberius and for Sejanus in 30 in the theatre, then by the setup of an empty *sella* in the Capitoline Jupiter temple by Caligula (who supposedly also required senators to offer *proskynesis* to it), and finally by the similar usage of the empty *sella* by Nero.[41]

In the Flavian period, imperial coinage assimilated the imagery of the decorated chairs of gods with that of the emperor's *sella curulis*, empty yet decorated with a crown, which now clearly referenced imperial apotheosis.[42] With the imagery regaining some of its popularity under the new imperial family, there is a parallel shift in this period in the senatorial use of the image in funerary decoration: the preference for the earlier free-standing *sellae* gives way to reliefs with empty *sellae* and, in an early example, even with the crown and sceptre of Jupiter on top.[43] In this use, the potential for the divine and eternal fame of apotheosis, which the *sella curulis* marked in imperial art, is definitely part of the appeal for its use by senators. Yet, it is quite remarkable that, of all possible symbols of imperial apotheosis, one so strongly tied to his this-worldly status would be most popular with senators, suggesting that status mattered more than any notion of metamorphosis in death. Thus, in contrast to positing death as a boundary across which social and religious status change may occur, as it often is in many cultures and religions, senators preferred limiting the metamorphic qualities of death to the boundary between life and death in such a way that their high social status remained constant.[44]

[40] Schäfer 1989: nos. 1–12. [41] See Dio 58.4.4; 59.24.4; 62.23.3. [42] Schäfer 1989: 140.

[43] Cf. Schäfer 1989: nos. 1–12 in contrast to his nos. 13–20. The shift is signified by his no. 13, an empty *sella* with a crown made of bay and a sceptre with the head of Jupiter.

[44] Canetti 1973: 440–441 on the general cultural use of death as a boundary through which one can reach higher status.

Although senators found the association of this-worldly power and other-worldly divine status in funerary art appealing, the boundary between this-worldly imperial power and the emperor's claim to divinity in his lifetime was carefully guarded in terms of the symbolism of the empty *sella curulis*. That is, only "bad" emperors would use the empty *sella* to represent themselves in their lifetime, and especially would expect obeisance to the chair as if it were dues to the gods; it took a Commodus to display Hercules' club and lion-skin on an empty golden *sella*.[45] Posthumously, however, it was an acceptable honor, and Septimius Severus ordered that three golden *sellae* be carried into amphitheaters to honor the deceased Pertinax, a feature Dio mentions just before describing the former emperor's funeral and apotheosis.[46] It is therefore all the more remarkable that, at about the same time, the empty *sella* was depicted on a unique piece of funerary art honoring M. Antonius Antius Lupus. This senator, who had been executed by Commodus in 191, was posthumously given a large funerary monument on the Via Ostiense, established by his relatives, the pontifex M. Valerius Bradua Mauricus, and his wife, as well as two further *amici*, the *praetor urbanus* T. Annaeus Placidus and the otherwise unknown, and possibly not senatorial, Q. Fabius Honoratus.[47] The text of the inscription is quite direct in identifying Antonius' fate under Commodus as unfair, and in offering a restitution of title and *memoria* for the deceased senator: "of whom, being oppressed by force, the *memoria* has been restored to honor, according to the *senatus consultum* of the most powerful order."

The dedicants as heirs to Antonius' estate are obviously interested in restoring his *memoria*, which Commodus had condemned in association with his murder, since their inheritance is based on the re-establishment of the former senator's right to his belongings. But beyond their claim to testify to their own *pietas* towards Antonius, the heirs also refer to another reason for the funerary monument, namely to celebrate Antonius' name for eternity. The promise of eternal fame is driven home by the fact that the

[45] Dio 73.17.4. [46] Dio 75.4.1.

[47] Schäfer 1989: no. 19; for the inscription *CIL* VI 1343 (pp. 3141, 3805, 4683) = *CLE* 449 = *IG* XIV 1398 = *IGUR* III 1156: *D(is) M(anibus)* | *M(arci) Antonii Antii Lupi pr(aetoris)* | *patricii auguris quaest(oris) sodal(is) Titii trib(uni)* | *mil(itum) leg(ionis) II Adiutr(icis) Piae Fidel(is) Xvir(i) stl(itibus) iud(icandis) praef(ecti) fer(iarum)* | *Lat(inarum) cuius memoria per vim oppressi in* | *integrum secundum amplissimi ordinis* | *consultum restituta est sepulchrum ab eo coeptum* | *Claudiae Regillae uxori et Antiae Marcellinae fil(iae)* | *pietatis suae erga eum testificandae gratia et* | *nominis eius in perpetuum celebrandi perfecerunt atfines* | *M(arcus) Valerius Bradua Mauricus pontif(ex) et Antonia Vitellia* | *amici* | *Q(uintus) Fabius Honoratus T(itus) Annaeus Placidus accomodata gerunt [---]* | *praetextas stamina serum [---]* | *aedificata Tholis [.*

monument was set up to celebrate Antonius' name *in perpetuum*, after he was murdered by Commodus. His *memoria* was condemned in 191, only to be gloriously reinstated soon after the emperor's death, probably as soon as under Pertinax – in sharp contrast to the fate of the emperor Commodus, whose *damnatio memoriae* was never reversed.[48] Of course, the opposite of *damnatio memoriae* in the case of emperors is *apotheosis*, and the large empty *sella curulis* on Antonius' monument boasts a crown and a sceptre of the kind we first saw in the coinage of the Flavians, hinting at the potential of a similar posthumous fate for our senator.

Ultimately, posthumous worship was the business of survivors, and in this final instance we get just as good a look at those senators who arranged for Antonius' commemoration as at the senator himself. The interest of the survivors and the following generations in righting the wrongs of a "bad emperor," even if too late for the one whose memory is so restored, implies an interest in restoring rightful status across life and death, whatever the circumstances that death may actually bring. The restoration of a senator's memory should not be classified as a negation of imperial order (due to the apparent lack of such order in this-worldly life), in which case a rightful order would be projected onto the posthumous world so as to compensate for its this-worldly absence. Instead, the restoration of memory should be understood as an innovative religious claim in the affirmative, confirming the right to have order in this world as in the other world. The same can be said for those other posthumous arrangements mentioned above – for and by Minicius, Cuspius, Herodes, and Pompeius. Even though we cannot be certain what exactly these dedications entailed in theological terms, the parallelism they theorize between this-worldly and posthumous respect is obvious. The most evocative parallel model of posthumous respect was that granted to deified emperors, namely, maintaining the *memoria* through *worship* rather than a theologically clearly identified "divinity." Unlike the vague and socially unmarked mythological allusions, which grew so popular among freedmen in the same era,[49] this reference to being "*divus*" emphasizes primarily a status, an ordered and deserved rank, granted by the senators and honored by the worship of all in Roman society. These senators desired something similar for themselves upon their deaths.

[48] Schäfer 1989, no. 19, cf. *CIL* VI 1343.

[49] As discussed in Wrede 1981. Somewhat more difficult to interpret in social terms the nude portraiture of men and women, understood as a mythological guise, for which now see Hallett 2005: 199–204.

PRO SALUTE OF SENATORS

The similarity between this-worldly and other-worldly orders described above may appear to suggest a sense of senatorial religion based on external order *in contrast to* a more spiritual and individually satisfying faith. But my point is actually different: as I turn to a large group of inscriptions in the final section of this chapter, my aim is to indicate an alternative to this modern dichotomy within the world of imperial senators. In what follows I wish to suggest that the this-worldly and other-worldly dichotomy in religious orientation, between external social obligations on the one hand and "authentic" religious sentiments on the other hand, does not characterize the notional framework of senatorial religion. As I have argued throughout, the religious innovations and experimentations of senators certainly appear to have embraced rather than negated this-worldly social order; yet, the potential for transcendental meaning on a personal level was not contrary to their religion. The concept of *salus* and its uses in the framework of senatorial religion offer final corroboration to my thesis.

In the epigraphy of the Roman empire, inscriptions using the *pro salute* formula tend to be associated primarily with the imperial cult and secondarily with the practices of healing cult sites. The fact that the names of senators and their family members could also appear with the formula has been rarely studied and mostly dismissed as exceptional: Mommsen even suggested that these inscriptions were an expression of imperial ambitions on the part of the senators and thus fell under the law of treason under the empire.[50] In the following I intend to challenge this view, based on my collection of over fifty relatively securely identifiable inscriptions dating from the late first to the mid third century of the Roman empire, in which the genitive associated with the *pro salute* formula refers to a member of a family of senatorial rank.

In the larger context of religious concerns with health I have already mentioned how the religious association of the *salus imperatoris* connected the well-being of the state to the well-being of the emperor, at least since Tiberius.[51] Soon the imperial cult and by extension the cult of imperial virtues all became important contexts for the use of the formula.[52] Senatorial involvement in these developments can be dated immediately under Tiberius: whether or not pertinent to health concerns, I have referenced

[50] Mommsen 1887–8: II.811. [51] Winkler 1995: 61.

[52] Fears 1981a. Cf. the interesting comments regarding the relative importance and uses of *salus* in Liertz 1998: 143–150.

two inscriptions from Rome, from the relatively high-ranking senators L. Fulcinius Trio and C. Fulvius, which they dedicated to Concordia *pro salute* of the emperor.[53] While the political potential in such dedications is obvious, as pointed out in most recent readings of these texts, the latter dedication was made *ex voto suscepto*, offering a religious gloss on the dedication process.[54] Though senatorial inscriptions offered *pro salute* of emperors became all the more popular under later emperors, in both civic and military contexts, this does not exclude a general religious association of applying the term in a dedication. Already under Tiberius there is evidence for the Roman senators as *arvales* undertaking the annual *vota pro salute* of the emperor in their sacred groves just outside Rome.[55] Furthermore, among their duties associated with the imperial cult in the provinces, Roman senators were also involved in administering the annual *vota pro salute* of emperors, as Pliny proves.[56] The role of senators in the preparation of these dedications is clear from the various phrases employed in the associated epigraphic evidence (such as *ex auctoritate*, *sub cura*, *dedicante*, or a simple *per*) to reference the names of individual senators responsible for them.[57]

The plentiful evidence for dedications made *pro salute* of emperors by senators and others has effectively overshadowed the fact that individual senators and the senate could also receive such dedications. As a matter of fact, most early inscriptions dedicated *pro salute* of individual senators defy easy categorization. Probably the earliest one, perhaps from as early as 68 CE, was dedicated to Jupiter *pro salute et victoria* of L. Verginius Rufus by his bailiff and could indeed imply imperial ambitions, as Mommsen argued; additionally, there is a reference to a *votum*, confirming a ritual process behind the inscription.[58] The potential for political ambitions may also have

[53] L. Fulcinius Trio (*PIR*² F517): *CIL* VI 93: *[L(ucius) Fulcinius Trio]* | *[leg(atus) Aug(usti) prov(inciae)] Lusitaniae* | *[co(n)s(ul)] design(atus)* | *pro salute Ti(beri) Caesaris* | *Augusti optimi ac* | *iustissimi principis* | *Concordiae* | *…;* C. Fulvius (*PIR*² F524): *CIL* VI 30856: *Pro salute* | *Ti(beri) Caesar[is Au]g[u]st(i)* | *pontifi[cis maxi]mi* | *princi[p]is [optimi] et* | *ius[tissimi]* | *[ex] v[oto suscep]to* | *C(aius) Fulviu[s ---]us* | *proco(n)s(ul) […*

[54] For the political context see Pekáry 1966/67: 105–133, suggesting the date of June 26, 31; for a more recent view affirming the political motivation behind these inscriptions see Castillo and Sánchez-Ostiz 2000: 733.

[55] *CIL* VI 2024 = 32341 = *CFA* 5 (the *acta* of 27): *pro salute et incolumitate]* | *[Ti(beri)] Caesaris Au[g(usti)*; cf. Scheid 1990b: 364–366.

[56] *Ep.* 10.35.

[57] E.g., *ILAlg.* 2, 3604 ("*ex auctoritate*" a praetorian legate in Numidia); *AE* 1982, 798 ("*sub cura*" a praetorian legate in Pannonia superior); *AE* 1988, 1125 ("*dedicante*" a praetorian legate in Africa); or *CIL* III 7474 ("*per*" a praetorian legate in Moesia inferior).

[58] *CIL* V 5702 (Regio XI): *Iovi O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *pro salute* | *et victoria L(uci)* | *Vergini Rufi* | *Pylades saltuar(ius)* | *v(otum) s(olvit).*

shaped another dedication from the late 80s, to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno, and Minerva *pro salute* of Sex. Iulius Frontinus, especially given that by then, as Tacitus put it, "the secret of the empire, that emperors could be made elsewhere than at Rome" (such as the military camp of Vetera where this inscription came from) had become widely known.[59] Overall, the high status of all Flavian senators whose names occur with the formula is evident: they include M. Ulpius Traianus, the father of the future emperor whose name, together with that of his wife and children, appeared in the earliest use of the formula for a senator in Greek ὑπὲρ ὑγιείας καὶ σωτηρίας, probably during his Asian proconsulate of 79–80 CE.[60] At around the same time, *pro salute* of another consular, C. Laecanius Bassus Caecina Paetus, both one of his freedmen and a slave made an offering to Silvanus in what appears a rather different, and less public setting of land owned by the family in Minturnae. Their dedication confirms that even the early inscriptions could come from a wide variety of locations and social contexts.[61]

This parallel development between more official and more private settings continued into the early second century. The military was a major source of many of these dedications: L. Cornelius Latinianus and Tib. Iulius Flaccinus both received dedications offered to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and in the latter case, also to Mars Augustus in military contexts in Aquincum and Sarmizegetusa respectively.[62] But meanwhile a slave of P. Herennius Severus and a freedman of C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus made offerings *pro salute* of these senators to Serapis and Asclepius (suggesting an apparently more soteriological purpose in mind) in Valentia, Hispania citerior, and Kula, Lydia, correspondingly.[63] In a certain sense it is a combination of the public and the private that allows a dedication by Antonia Postuma to Diana Mattiaca *pro salute* of her daughter, Porcia Rufiana, at the healing site of Aquae Mattiacorum (today's Wiesbaden).[64] Her husband, T. Porcius

[59] Tac. *Hist.* 1.4. *CIL* XIII 8624: *[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) I]unoni | [Mine]rvae pro | [sal(ute) S]exti Iul(i) | [Fro]ntini | [leg(ati) Aug(usti)*.

[60] All three inscriptions from Kos use the same phraseology (offered by Demetrios, Deios, and Artemon: McCrum and Woodhead 1961: 264 = *BCH* 60, 1936, 199: θεοῖς πατρῴοις καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀρχηγέτῃ ὑπὲρ ὑγιείας καὶ σωτηρίας.

[61] *AE* 1908, 85: *Silvano sacr(um) | pro salute | C(ai) Caecinae Paeti | C(aius) Caecina Talaticus | ara(m) fecit*; *AE* 1908, 86: *Silvano sacrum | pro salute C(ai) Laecani | Bassi Caecinae Paeti | liberorumque eius | Theseus ser(vus) v(otum) s(olvit)*.

[62] *AE* 1962, 116: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) pro salute | L(uci) Corneli | Latiniani | leg(ati) Aug(usti) | pro pr(aetore) | Imbrasus | lib(ertus) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*; *IDR* 3, 2, 245: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | Marti Aug(usto) | pro salute | Iul(i) Flaccin|i leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o) | pr(aetore) translat(i) in | leg(ionem) XIII G(eminam) pos(uerunt)*.

[63] *CIL* II 3731 = *SIRIS* 763: *Serapi | pro salute P(ubli) | Herenni Se|veri Callini|[c]us ser(vus)*. Cf. *TAM* 5, 245.

[64] *CIL* XIII 7565: *Antonia Postuma | T(iti) Porci Rufiani leg(ati) | [l]eg(ionis) XX[II] P(rimigeniae) P(iae) F(idelis) [pro sa]lu|te Porciae Rufianae | filiae suae Dianae Mat[ti]|acae [ex] voto | signum posu[it]*.

Rufianus, was legate of the *legio XXII Primigenia*, and her dedication, as an offering from the officer's wife, had some public connotations, but as a woman dedicating on behalf of her daughter, her act also necessarily had a private aspect. Other healing sites close to military posts where senators will partake in similar dedications include Ad Mediam in Dacia and the outskirts of Poetovo in Pannonia superior.[65] In this latter case, the dedication was made not only *pro salute* of the senator but also of his son and probably even of his grandchildren.

Throughout our period the only place without inscriptions offered with the formula *pro salute* of senators is Rome (but not Italy), which parallels the evidence of other religious and funerary practices of Roman senators as attested by epigraphic evidence.[66] While *pro salute* inscriptions were clearly more popular in the Latin West, they also occured in the Greek East. Despite the variety of locations and social contexts, including both military and civic settings, both relatively public situations and private healing circumstances, there is an important shared characteristic of most inscriptions containing the formula *pro salute* of senators: the hierarchical nature of each offering. They depend upon a unidirectional social setup, in which social inferiors offer dedications to a divinity *pro salute* of at least a social equal, but usually someone socially superior. Thus, in the most frequent contexts of these inscriptions, members of a senatorial official's staff make dedications *pro salute* of their superior in sanctuaries in the area of military camps; the dedicants are usually military personnel or a group thereof, but also slaves and freedmen traveling with the senator. These servants occasionally also offer inscriptions *pro salute* of their (former) owners usually in or around the estates of the senatorial family. The fact that we find some variety, such as provincial officials making offerings *pro salute* of senators on local duty, or when senatorial men or women make dedications *pro salute* of their relatives, especially children at healing sites, does not alter this basic social setup.

In an interesting development that can probably be dated to the late second century, senators and their families begin to offer inscriptions to a divinity *pro salute sua* (with the possible addition *et suorum*). Our earliest example, datable to 184–6, comes from Bonna, where Flavia Tiberina, wife

[65] *CIL* III 1575 = *IDR* 3, 1, 70, cf. *AE* 1998, 1108: *[D(eo)] Suc(ello?) | pro salute | M(arci) Sedat(i) | Severiani | leg(ati) Aug(usti)* (other suggestions for the god included Sol Victor Conservator or Silvanus, which I find less likely); *CIL* III 4120: *Polluci | pro salute | L(uci) F(abi) Cilonis | c(larissimi) v(iri) et fili(i) | nep(o)tes q(u)e eiu[s] | Menande[r] | liber(tus)*

[66] Erkelenz 2003 suggests that the distribution of these inscriptions had to do with local traditions, and he compares *pro salute* inscriptions to the practice of offering honorary statues to a senator.

of Claudius Stratonicus, on duty in Germania inferior as an imperial legate, made an offering to the Matronae Aufaniae *pro salute sua*.[67] In Asturica Augusta, Q. Mamilius Capitolinus made an offering to a variety of divinities *pro salute sua et suorum* around 200, probably as he was to leave his outpost to return to Rome to serve as prefect of the *aerarium Saturni*.[68] Around the same time, and in a similar military context in Aquincum, a junior senator, a tribune of the legion, made a dedication to Sol Invictus Mithras *pro salute sua et suorum*.[69] Despite this variety, the hierarchical order is never overturned: no inscription *pro salute* of senators or their family members is ever offered by a social equal, such as another senator of equivalent rank (other than a family member), or a superior, such as a member of the imperial family.

The sheer variety of contexts in which the *pro salute* formula occurred makes it difficult to translate it with a single phrase. In the more formal civic and military settings of the provinces, using the formula must have made an obvious reference to similar dedications offered to the ruling emperor and his family. This association with the imperial *salus* can help to explain why senators may have had an interest in these dedications. To start with, instead of competition, as implied by Mommsen, we find that "borrowing" the expression did not seem to be a problem to either senators or the emperor – which is not surprising considering both the pervasive influence of these ceremonies on the religion of the empire and the active role of senators in promoting the imperial celebrations as part of their duties. Furthermore, while the full range of soteriological associations available in Greco-Roman religion may not have been present in the formula as used for emperors, the word *salus* did have a healing overtone, which grew even stronger from the 60s onwards – exactly at the time when the earliest senatorial inscriptions with the formula started occurring.[70] Ultimately, the Greek version, ὑπὲρ ὑγιείας καὶ σωτηρίας, is the most telling: its

[67] *AE* 1930, 30: *Matronis | Aufaniabus | pro salute sua | Fla(via) Tiberina | Cl(audii) Stratonici | [l]egati [Au]gu[sti] | [l]eg(ionis) I M(inerviae) P(iae) F(idelis) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

[68] *CIL* II 2634: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | Soli Invicto Libero | Patri Genio praetor(ii) | Q(uintus) Mamil(ius) Capitolinus | iurid(icus) per Flaminiam | et Umbriam et Picenum | leg(atus) Aug(usti) per Asturiam et | Gallaeciam dux leg(ionis) VII [G(eminae)] P(iae) [F(elicis)] | praef(ectus) aer(arii) Sat(urni) pr[o] salute | sua et suorum*. Cf. Corbier 1974: 303 n. 60.

[69] *AE* 1990, 819: *S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) | Sex(tus) Decimi|us Verus | Barbarus | trib(unus) leg(ionis) II | adi(iutricis) c(larissimus) i(uvenis) pro sa|lute sua et suo|rum ex voto*.

[70] For the contrast of soteriology and the *salus* concept in the imperial cult see Taeger 1957–60: 2, 169; Andresen 1966: 148. Especially interesting is the observation of the three possible meanings of *salus* as physical health, general prosperity in this world, and prosperity in the other world, in Le Glay 1982.

combined words make a clear reference to both the medical and the complex, partially soteriological aspects involved in the message.

Significantly, the hierarchical aspects of the *pro salute* formula were preserved in the longest-lasting limitation on inscriptions containing it: members of the imperial family and senators did not occur in the same *pro salute* phrase on the same inscription. In the Severan period, the senate could occur along with the *castra* in the *pro salute* formula following the names of the emperor and members of the imperial family.[71] From the final years of the second century, inscriptions not only *pro salute* of emperors and the senate, but also of emperors *and* individual senators, are found in military contexts. Thus Q. Anicius Faustus *both* set up inscriptions *pro salute* of the emperors in Tripolitania, Africa, and Numidia[72] *and* was mentioned along with the emperors in *pro salute* inscriptions both in Egypt and, twice, in Numidia.[73] In Aquincum, Pannonia inferior, around 209–13, the *equites singulares* made a dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus *pro salute* of the rulers and C. Iulius Septimius Castinus, with the significant added twist that the emperors are not named, only the senator.[74] But this apparently transcendental claim to power in the *pro salute* formula appears not only here: in Dacia, this senator's *superiumentarius* offered a dedication to Epona *pro salute* of the senator only, with no mention of emperors, possibly suggesting a more personal type of concern, such as an illness.[75]

This long-lasting limitation suggests the existence of some kind of control mechanism, yet there is little explicit evidence to confirm that such a mechanism was in place or how it could work. In fact, in many ways, this limitation is similar to the dearth of senatorial religious representation in

[71] *E.g. CIL* II 2661; cf. *IScM* 2, 3, 97 under Marcus, where the senate and the Roman people follow the *pro salute* formula with the names of the imperial family, introduced by a "*pro*", but without "*salute.*"

[72] Inscriptions by Anicius: Tripolitania: *ILAfr.* 9 = *ILTun.* 1; Africa: *AE* 1909, 104 = *AE* 1986, 704; in Numidia his name is mentioned in the ablative in the "*dedicante*" phrase in *AE* 1967, 569; *AE* 1985, 881b; *CIL* VIII 2437 = 17940 = *AE* 1985, 881a; *CIL* VIII 2527 = 18039 (to the *genius legionis*); *CIL* VIII 2528 (to the *genius Lambaesis*); or simply in ablative: *AE* 1911, 97 (to Hercules Invictus), offered by a *primis pilus*; and in *AE* 1957, 186 and in *CIL* VIII 18766a = *ILAlg.* 2, 2, 6248a, both of which also identify him as *consul designatus*.

[73] Egypt: *AE* 1939, 215 = *AE* 1948, 217; Numidia: *AE* 1978, 893 and 893a. In none of these cases do we have the conjunction between the names of the imperial family and the senator: but all names are next to each other in the genitive.

[74] *CIL* III 10360 = *RIU* VI 1337: *Pro salute | dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) Auggg(ustorum) et C(ai) Iul(i) | Castini leg(ati) Auggg(ustorum) | pr(o) pr(aetore) eq(uites) sing(ulares) c(uram) a(gente) | Aur(elio) Victorino |(centurione) leg(ionis) | II Ad(iutricis) admin(istrante) Aur(elio) Bito | dec(urione) Ael(ius) Florianus | Aur(elius) Maturus sub/c(uratores?) ex voto.*

[75] *IDR* 3, 5, 71: *Epon(a)e sanct(a)e | pro salute | C(ai) Iuli Septimi | Castini leg(ati) Aug(usti) | pr(o) pr(aetore) III Daciar(um) | Libella superi(u)|mentarius eius | [votum s]olvit.*

Rome, plentifully compensated for in other areas of Italy, especially those surrounding Rome, as well as in the provinces. While there were some regulations related to setting up statues and funerary monuments, the Roman imperial government shows little interest in monitoring the potentially highly symbolic epigraphic and monumental output of its senators, especially outside the symbolic center of Rome, in the same way as they would police senatorial actions potentially more threatening to the rule of the current emperor. It appears then that this control mechanism was therefore more likely internal, a form of instinctive repression rather than external enforcement. This self-policing, however, blocked the complete assimilation of the cult of the living emperor to the potentially transcendental aspects of senatorial honors, even though the two were in many ways closely intertwined. The decline in the frequency of inscriptions *pro salute* of senators, together with the decline in the imperial cult in the mid third century, offers a further clue: although inscriptions offered *pro salute* of senators did occur in late antiquity, they never regained their earlier popularity.[76] The final, and latest, datable offering is from Numidia, dated to the late 240s, offered to Jupiter Optimus Maximus *pro salute* of the imperial legate, M. Aurelius Cominius Cassianus along with the rulers and the imperial house; here, again, only the senator is named – the emperors are not.[77] This parallel decrease in *pro salute* inscriptions and in the worship associated with the imperial cult cannot be simply ascribed to the decline of the epigraphic habit; rather, they disappear at the same time because the two were based on the same social and notional structures. The desire to have a dedication offered *pro salute* of oneself was somewhat transgressive insofar as it approximated the worship of living emperors, even if only as a much repressed desire; yet when the imperial cult disappeared the desire stopped making sense as well.

The inscriptions with the formula *pro salute* of senators therefore support my thesis about the rather intricate connections between senatorial and imperial religion. First, when the earliest such inscriptions appeared in the late 60s CE, they coincided with the development of the concept of *salus Augusti*, the personal health of the emperor, which came to be connected with public welfare. In the social context of these inscriptions, those who

[76] Cf., though, a few late antique examples of inscriptions dedicated *pro salute* of senators, *e.g. AE* 1980, 793a and b from Moesia inferior.

[77] *AE* 1989, 895 (Tazembout): *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | pro salute | dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) to\|tiusq(ue) do\|mus divinae | [et] M(arci) A(ureli) Comini | Cassiani v(iri) c(larissimi) | [le]g(ati) [[Augg(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore)]] | C(aius) I[u]lius Mar\|[tia]lis et T(itus) Alfi\|u[s] Messor | [m]agg(istri) cum se\|[n]iorib(us) loc(i) f(e)c(erunt) | d(e)d(icaverunt).*

chose to make dedications *pro salute* of senators could associate the *salus* of the senator with similarly wide-reaching benefits for both the senators and themselves. Secondly, the unidirectional social hierarchy of the inscriptions offered for senators reinscribed the social hierarchy into religion, and in a way that suggests that the formal expressions associated with the cult of living emperors may not have been as separate from senatorial religious notions as usually presumed. Finally, the use of the formula at healing sites, together with the standard Greek translation, implies serious religious concerns that extend beyond actual healing. In this way, the *pro salute* offerings confirm a transfer of the associations from the imperial cult that could include both the medical and soteriological aspects of the formula. The depth of senatorial religious engagement is obvious from the numerous dedications offered *pro salute* of senators by their own family members, whose primary purpose is more likely to be sought in authentic personal concerns than in reinscribing social hierarchy. This depth of feeling is nevertheless striking, because it shows how much imperial religion shaped the religious aspirations and innovations of senators. While at first repressed, the direction of the desire for divine recognition is clear in its final outcome, which allowed senators' names to occur in the same formula as those of emperors by the end of the second century. At the same time, the direction of this innovation also inscribed its fate: inscriptions offered *pro salute* of senators declined together with those of emperors, and senatorial religion lost much of its traction as the crisis of the third century followed.

Conclusion
Two saecular *games*

In 17 BCE, during a week-long celebration around the *ludi saeculares*, numerous members of Roman society ritually enacted the social renewal brought about by the Augustan period. The new *saeculum* introduced by the *ludi* in actual fact delivered a new era: that of the rule of emperors and that of a new position, next to the emperor, for the Roman senate and its members. The involvement of the senatorial priesthood of *quindecemviri sacris faciundis* in the *ludi*, along with the associated role played by an oracle from the Sibylline Books, was said to be traditional, yet, in fact, their participation was probably invented for the ritual celebration of 17 BCE. While the Sibylline Books allowed the emperor a claim to set this *time* for the festivity, which was more Greek and "knowledge"-based than the traditional portent-based system, the involvement of senators allowed them to take a principal and charismatic role in the event, as would not have been the case with the Etruscan, and non-senatorial, *haruspices*. The names of the senatorial priests participating were carefully listed in the detailed *commentarium* of the *ludi*, which was inscribed, at least in part, to set the model for future *ludi saeculares*. Involving the senatorial priests partially enabled the (specious) claim that the ritual was traditional, as a connection between past and future, and it was symbolically inscribed, along with the names of senators and the emperor, into the collective sense of renewal that the new *saeculum* represented.

More than two hundred years later, in 204, Septimius Severus celebrated another *ludi saeculares* in Rome. The surviving *commentarium* attests to how much the tradition of the Augustan games shaped these celebrations. There were a few changes, but much remained the same, and the participation of senatorial *quindecemviri sacris faciundis* had become a stable mainstay. Accordingly, the names of the participating senators are again largely preserved in an inscription, along with those of other participating

senatorial and equestrian men, women, and children. Among the *quindecemviri sacris faciundis* we can find Q. Aiacius Modestus Crescentianus, a member in the senatorial priesthood, of praetorian rank at the time.[1] He was soon to leave Rome for Arabia, as a *legatus pro praetore* of the emperor, only to return to Rome to become consul suffect for the first time in the later years of the decade (probably in 207 or 208; his second consulship is dated to 228). The fact that Aiacius, as a commander in the province, made numerous offerings in Arabia was in no way unusual, nor was the entourage that accompanied him in the province, including his wife, Danacia Quartilla Aureliana, and his two sons, Q. Aiacius Censorinus Celsinus Arabianus (maybe born in the province) and L. Aiacius Modestus Aurelianus Priscus Agricola Salvianus. Yet the set of dedications he left behind at the sanctuary of Quasr, in Petra, is striking. As many as seven inscriptions appear to make up a carefully selected cycle,[2] and although sections are missing, they seem to follow a pattern: they are all offered to a divinity, *pro salute* of the emperor Septimius, his sons, and Julia Augusta, as *mater castrorum*, as well as of the whole *domus divina*, by Aiacius, his wife, and his sons. The divinities whose names survive are Apollo, Liber Pater, Pax, and Spes – the very gods and goddesses, who together with Temperantia, made up the list of main divinities celebrated in Rome for the 204 version of the *ludi saeculares*. Aiacius, it would seem, carried out a ritual celebration of some sort in Arabia that echoed the *ludi saeculares* celebrated in Rome.[3] But from the perspective of senatorial religion this event has unique significance: it shows the level of investment senators could have in what may appear to us as just another imperial ritual taking place in Rome.

The *saecular* games of 17 BCE and 204 CE, as temporal boundaries, mark out a relatively balanced period of the imperial era, in which imperial and

[1] See the *commentarium*: *CIL* VI 32327.

[2] *AE* 1968, 518: *Apollini* || *Pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) L(uci) Sep|timi Severi Pii Pertinacis | Aug(usti) Arabici Adiabenici | Part(h)ici maximi et Imp(eratoris) | Caes(aris) M(arci) Aureli Antonini | Aug(usti) [[et P(ubli) Septimi Getae]] | Caes(aris) et Iuli[ae Aug(ustae) ma]|tris castrorum totiu[s]|que domus divin[ae]* || *Q(uintus) Aiacius Mo|des[tus Cr]escen|tian[us v(ir) c(larissimus) X]V|vir [s(acris) f(aciundis) leg(atus)] Augg(ustorum) | [pr(o) pr(aetore) co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus)* || *[cum Danacia Quartil]|la Aureliana ux[ore et Q(uinto) Ai]acio Censorino Ce[lsino A]rabiano et L(ucio) Aiacio [Modes]|sto Aureliano Pris[co Agri]|cola Salv[i]ano filis*; *AE* 1968, 519: *Liber[o P]atri* || *[Pro salute Imp(eratoris)] Cae(saris) L(uci) Se|[ptimi Severi Pii Per]tinaci[s* (rest broken); *AE* 1968, 520: *Paci* || *Pro salute Imp(eratorum) Caes(arum) L(uci) Septimi | [Se]veri Pii [Per]tinacis Aug(usti) Arabici | [Adiabenici Parthici m]aximi et I[mp(eratoris)*; *AE* 1968, 521: *Spei Temperantiae* || *Pro salute Imp(eratorum) Caes(arum) L(uci) S[eptimi] | Severi Pii P[e]rtinacis Au[g(usti) Arabici] | Adiaben[ici] Part[hici maximi et] | Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) [M(arci) Aur(eli) Antonini Aug(usti)*. Cf. *AE* 1968, 522–524.

[3] Christol 1971.

senatorial investment in a shared social and religious order created an equilibrium, if an occasionally shaky one, between the tendencies for stability and those for change. The new rule of Augustus turned to religion to legitimize its powers but did not do so in a social vacuum; rather, especially when it came to senators, the rule faced a complex web of traditional customs and potentially disturbing notional associations. In the first part of this volume I argued that the senate maintained a strong *ordo* identity through the early period of transformation into empire in part through a new emphasis on a collective religious identity, which was based on a claim to traditional senatorial expertise and authority in religious matters. In an age when emperors came to make unprecedented assertions to their right to assign normative values in the political arena, the area of religion served in part as a related battle-ground, and in part as a safe harbor, in which senatorial authority still had a chance to shape imperial rule. In fact, senators did attempt to claim power in religious debates, and did so collectively. It was the same collective authority that priesthoods could now rely on as well. At the same time, priestly gatherings also took on a new role, offering networking opportunities for senators. Personal networks, whether in the context of a priesthood or at a friend's sickbed, not only secured social connections but also served to maintain a strong cultural component in shared senatorial identity, of which senatorial religion was an important part.

With the coming of imperial rule, another trend analyzed in Part II can also be observed: non-priestly magistrates in both Rome and in the provinces had new access to claims of religious authority and significance. Clearly modeled on the new power of the emperors, which included a transcendental aspect, their activities in the city and in the provinces brought non-priestly magistrates, such as consuls or praetors, into highly ritualized roles with potentially religious associations – for example, in the ritual opening of games that they offered in the city of Rome. The developing cultural logic of these new roles, in which piety and euergetism were intricately intertwined, shows the tight connection between the power to reinforce social and religious order on the one hand and the claim of transcendental access to power on the other hand. Undoubtedly, we can discern dynamics of freedom and un-freedom between Rome and Italy, the major cities and distant provinces. Yet, senators on official duty and also privately, as landowners, confirm the widespread success of a transcendentally understood model of power, which shaped the ways of how they wanted to be seen and who they wanted to be. The example of Aiacius above, in celebrating the divinities of the *ludi saeculares* in his

province, proves how deeply and imaginatively senatorial religious activities could be invested in the forms advocated by this model. The epigraphic culture, which recorded benefactions and honored the senators (in the same dative form and primary spot reserved for gods in dedications), was a symptom of the pervasive influence of the connection between piety and benefaction.

In the final part of this volume I turned to the elusive issue of the "theological" knowledge base of imperial religion. Through an examination of the many different contexts in which religious matters were discussed, I suggested that there were a number of concurrent (and somewhat mutually re-enforcing) ways for understanding the religious. Of these, mythological language emerged as the most prominent among the discourses by both emperors and those of lower rank, which may have contributed to the more private application of myth among senators. As in all areas of religious knowledge, there was a potential for conflict between emperor and senators here, especially when it came to the legitimation of imperial power in transcendental terms. It was the legal approach that tended to unite all parties the most in trying to safeguard the religious and political order. In philosophical contexts, senators could offer something of a challenge to imperial rule: applying the contrast between religion and superstition to a parallel contrast between virtues and vices, philosophizing language connected this-worldly morals to other-worldly aspirations in a way that imperial interest in deification could be critiqued. While this discourse never resulted in a full-fledged theology, the philosophical approach served as an important measuring rod of life whether that of senators or emperors. Thus, when it came to the formal deification process of the dead ruler in the senate, senators could judge the emperor on the basis of this divinely inspired scale of virtue and vice. But to the extent that philosophical notions shaped the concept of the divine among senators, and therefore also their view of the imperial cult in the larger Roman empire, the symbolic associations of the imperial cult inhabited the imaginary religious lives of senators or how they imagined their own selves in religious terms. As a result, most of what might be seen as unusual, innovative, and even somewhat transgressive notions or practices in senatorial religion in this period can be seen as a creative engagement with the notions and forms of the imperial cult: for example, senatorial interest in posthumous worship is projected in the terms and rituals of the imperial cult. It seems that there must have been an accepted, possibly internalized, constraint on senatorial aspirations for the imaginary assimilation between imperial religious power and that of senators, especially when it came to the transcendental aspects of imperial

power (including posthumous deification). This association of imperial power and religion nevertheless was the larger social context in which religion was experienced and senatorial religion itself evolved.

This new imperial complex, including both practices and notions, now played a prime role in shaping the perceptions of power and religion. This is not to say that some of the innovations may not have masqueraded as renewals of and returns to age-old tradition. But the new imperial religion inevitably weakened the more traditional workings of Roman religion as a *polis* religion, in which members of a relatively homogeneous elite competed in the public cult of a singular city and with the shared goal of keeping any other religious practices and notions emerging from the non-elite in check. That senators played an important role in shaping and engaging with the new ritual foci and changing religious ideas can be best proven by their ongoing participation and occasional innovations within the new religious framework. As to ongoing senatorial participation in imperial religion, the first four chapters of this study offered ample evidence, including both Rome and the provinces; as to senatorial engagement with the new imperial religion, innovations discussed in the final chapter give some examples. Probably the best of them is the use of the *pro salute* formula; here we can observe how senatorial religious innovations grew out of widespread practices of the imperial religion, and the obvious limitations on competition with the emperor only delayed the reference to senatorial *salus* in those transcendental terms, before it could emerge, without any distinction, right next to the *salus* of the emperor.

The sheer military power with which Roman emperors commanded, and the tendency to apply violence to maintain their rule, may appear to suggest that Roman imperial power was above all a matter of secular, martial force. In this book, I have shown that Roman imperial rule exercised its power not simply through military force and violence, but also by means of dynamic, religiously inflected normative practices and notions. Religion was thus a dynamic element, providing one of the most important ways to shape and represent the social and political order. On my reading, the *saecular* games of 17 BCE were far from "secular"; instead, they marked the beginning of two hundred and fifty years of imperial rule as a period in which religion played a critical role in confirming imperial command and in defining the larger normative order of the world. That imperial religion was no externally enforced and ultimately meaningless business is clear from how much senators took to its forms and language: the model of benefaction and piety now became a major way to order the world. The senate, which had a cultural component to its identity in part associated with its traditional

claim to religious expertise, followed along in this transformation of Roman religion, and in a way that suggests that religion played an ongoing, dynamic role in the symbolic and imaginative aspects of religious life among senators throughout our period. As the language of the imperial cult pervaded the conceptual framework and language of senatorial religion, it also attested to the depth of this transformation, as well as to the capacity of the religion of the Roman empire to shape senatorial religious imagination. Ultimately, the multiple capacities of imperial religion, its role in confirming and representing power and shaping its innovations, confirms its dynamic role in Roman society in the first two hundred and fifty years of the empire.

Appendices

APPENDIX A: FIRST-GENERATION PROVINCIAL SENATORS WHOSE ANCESTORS HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN THE IMPERIAL CULT

(1) Calpurnius Rufus, M. (*PIR*^{2} VII.1 pp. 117–118, sen. under Claudius), mother *hierosamenē Iulias Sebastēs kai Theas archegetidos Romēs* (*AE* 1922, 2 = *SEG* 2, 696 from Adalia);
(2) Ignotus (not in *PIR*, cf. Halfmann, *Senatoren*, pp. 108–109 n. 12, sen. mid first century);
(3) L. Antonius Saturninus, (*PIR*^{2} A874, cos.suff. 82), father *flamen prov. Hisp. Cit*. in Tarraco;
(4) Q. Valerius Vegetus (*PIR*^{1} V150, cos.suff. 112), mother *flaminica Aug*.;
(5) C. Calpurnius Flaccus, (*PIR*^{2} C268, cos.suff. late 120s), father or self *flamen Hisp.Cit*.;
(6) [M. Valerius Propinquus ?] Grani[us Fabianus Baebianus Fulvianus?] Grattius [Cerealis?] Geminius R[estitutus?] (*PIR*^{2} G221, cos.suff. 126), father *flamen prov. Hisp. Cit*.;
(7) Octavius Novatus (*PIR* online, Alföldy, 1987: 83–84, 114–115, sen. of unknown date): relative as sacerdos of the *conventus Carthaginiensis*;
(8) Iulius Taurus (*PIR*^{2} I596, sen. second century), father *sacerdos arae Augusti* in Lugdunum, Gallia;
(9) M. Valerius Maximianus (*PIR*^{1} V79, cos.suff. 184/5), father *sacerdos provinciae Pannoniae Superioris* and himself *pontifex coloniae Poetovionensium*;
(10) L. Servenius Cornutus, (*PIR*^{1} S404, of praetorian rank, under Vespasian), parents *archiereis* of imperial cult;
(11) M. Arruntius Claudianus (*PIR*^{2} C753, senator under Domitian), his father may have been *archiereus* of imperial cult in Lycia;
(12) C. Caristanius Fronto (*PIR*^{2} C423, cos.suff. 90), grandfather *sacerdos* (most likely of imperial cult) in Antiocheia ad Pisidiam, Galatia;

(13) T. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus (*PIR*² I260, cos.suff. 92), family of priestly origin in Sardis: *hiereus tēs Romēs*;
(14) Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes (*PIR*² C801, cos.suff. 132/3), self and father inherited *archiereis* of imperial house for life;
(15) M. Claudius P. Vedius Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus (*PIR* online, *I.Eph.* 727–728, 2065, 4110, sen. 120s–130s), father and self *asiarchs* in Ephesus;
(16) L. Gavius Aelianus (*PIR*² G90, sen. 130s), father *archiereus* in Attaleia, Pamphylia;
(17) T. Flavius Lollianus Aristobulus (*PIR* online, *RE* Suppl. 15 [1978] 100 s.v. Flavius 117a, sen. under Pius), grandfather and great-grandfather both *asiarchs* in Ephesus;
(18) Q. Vil[ius] Titia[nus] Quadra[tus] (*PIR*¹ V435, sen. under Pius), forefathers *archiereis* in Lycia;
(19) C. Claudius Titianus Demostratus (*PIR*² C1044, of praetorian rank under Antoninus Pius/Marcus), father *archiereus* in Ephesus;
(20) M. Antonius Zeno (*PIR*² A883, cos.suff. 148), more distant forefathers of first century were involved in imperial cult in Asia and Phrygia;
(21) Ti. Claudius Frontinus (*PIR*² C872, cos.suff. 149–160), father inherited *archiereus* for life;
(22) Ti. Claudius Agrippinus (*PIR*² C776, cos.suff. 152–160), father *lyciarch*;
(23) C. Iulius Maximianus Diophantus (*PIR*² I418, sen. under Marcus), father *archiereus* of imperial cult in Lycia;
(24) L. Flavius Sulpicianus Dorion Polymnis (*PIR*² F375, sen. under Marcus), grandfather high priest of the Cretan *koinon*;
(25) M. Claudius Fronto (*PIR*² C874, cos.suff. 165), father most probably *archiereus* of Ionia;
(26) T. Carminius Flavius Athenagoras Claudianus (*PIR*² C429, cos.suff. under Commodus), father *asiarch* in Cyzicus;
(27) Flavius Rufinianus (*PIR*² R137, cos.suff. under Commodus), grandfather *archiereus* in Ephesus;
(28) Cn. Pompeius Hermippus Aelianus (*PIR*² P615, sen. under Commodus), father *archiereus* in Ephesus;
(29) [C.] Iul(ius) Teres (*PIR* online, cf. AE 1999, 1390, cos. late Antonine), father *thracarch*;
(30) Iulius Fronto (*PIR* online, *SEG* 44, 1211, sen. second century), Iulius Fronto Tlepolemus (*PIR*² I328, sen. in 210s) [as well as C. Iulius Nigrinus (*PIR* online, *SEG* 44, 1211, sen. third century?)], forefather C. Iulius Tlepolemus *archiereus* of Lycia in the 140s; possibly also some

lyciarchs in family (cf. *SEG* 44, 1211); possibly Iulius Fronto Tlepolemus himself was a *lyciarch*;

(31) Aelius Antipater (*PIR*² A137, cos. 200s), whose grandfather P. Aelius Zeuxidemus Cassianus was *asiarch* in Hierapolis, Phrygia;

(32) L. Claudius Attalus (*PIR*² C796) and (Ti. Claudius) Diogenes (*PIR*² C851, senators under Septimius Severus), father *archiereus* of Asia;

(33) Ti. Claudius Telemachus (*PIR*² C1037, sen. under Septimius), father involved with imperial cult in Xanthos, Lycia;

(34) C. Iulius Philippus (*PIR*² I458, sen. under Septimius Severus), grandfather *asiarch* and *archiereus Asias* in Tralleis, Lydia;

(35) Aur(elius) Athenaeus (*PIR* online, *I.Eph*. 971, sen. in 210s), father *asiarch* in Lydia;

(36) [Aurelius] (not in *PIR*, cf. AE 1960, 80, sen. in 220s), father *archiereus* in Sardis;

(37) T. Flavius Clitosthenes (*PIR*² F243, sen. 220s–230s): father *asiarch* in Ephesus;

(38) Claudius Apellinus (*PIR*² C780, sen. under Sev. Alexander), distant ancestor as *archiereus* in Perge, Pamphylia;

(39) C. Asinnius Nicomachus (*PIR* online, AE 1993, 1506, cos. Severan era), father was *archiereus tēs Asias* in 176;

(40) M. Aurelius Attinas (*PIR*² A1462, sen. 230s–250s), possibly descendant of Aurelius Attinas, *archiereus* (and *archon*) of Saittai, Lydia;

(41) P. Flavius Menander Africanus (*PIR*² F321, *cl. iuv*. 3C), father *asiarch* in Ephesus;

(42) P. Ennius Saturninus Karus (*PIR* online, *AE* 1979, 657, sen. under Pius), himself *flamen perpetuus* in Bisica Lucana, Africa; already forefather *flamen perpetuus*;

(43) C. Annius Arminius Donatus (*PIR*² A634, *cl. puer*, mid second century), maternal grandfather was *flamen perpetuus* in Numidia, Thamugadi;

(44) M. Munius Primus Statianus (*PIR*² M743, *cl. puer*, late second century), father *flamen perpetuus* in Avedda;

(45) Q. Servaeus Fuscus Cornelianus (*PIR*¹ S400, Severan sen.), ancestor *flamen perpetuus* in Gigthis;

(46) Q. Marcius Victor Felix Maximillianus (*PIR*² M253, sen. second or third century), relative (P. Marcius Felix) *flamen* in Bulla Regia;

(47) Iulii of unknown name: sons of P. Iulius Liberalis (*PIR* online, *AE* 1980, 955), *flamen perpetuus et sacerdotalis provinciae Africae* in Thamugadi;

(48) P. Flavius Pudens Pomponianus (problematic identification, *PIR*² F346, sen. 200s), maternal grandfather *flamen perpetuus* in Numidia, Thamugadi;

(49) M. Memmius Caecilianus (*PIR*² M459), Q. Memmius Pudens (*PIR*² M466), and L. Messius Rufinus (*PIR*² M520a, all senators under Caracalla) had *flamines perpetui* in family in Gigthis;
(50) Fulvius Pius (*PIR*² F553, cos.ord. 238), distant predecessor *flamen Ti. Caesaris Aug.* in Lepcis;
(51) Q. Octavius Fortunatus Erucianus Stella Stratonianus (*PIR*² O33, sen. third century), father *flamen perpetuus* in Sicca Veneris;
(52) C. Pontius [Ul?]pius Verus … nianus Vic[to]r signo Potam[ius] (*PIR*² P831, *cl. puer* late second or third century), father *flamen perpetuus* in Thamugadi.

APPENDIX B: SENATORS ORIGINATING FROM THE PROVINCES WITH ONGOING INVOLVEMENT IN THE IMPERIAL CULT

(1) Raecius Gallus (*PIR*² G64, sen. under Vespasian), *flamen imperatori Vespasiani Caes. Aug. perpetuus* in Tarraco and *flamen provinciae Hisp. Cit.*;
(2) Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus, (*PIR*² L247, cos.suff. 106) or his son, Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus Quadronius Proculus (*PIR*² L249, sen. *c.* 120), *flamen provinciae Hisp. Cit.* in Tarraco;
(3) C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus L. Vibullius Pius (*PIR*² I302, praet. under Hadrian), inherited *archiereus* of imperial house in Sparta;
(4) C. Iulius Severus (*PIR*² I573, cos.suff. 138), *archiereus* and *sebastophantēs* of imperial. cult in Ancyra;
(5) M. Domitius Euphemus (*PIR*² D146, sen. Hadrian/Pius), priest of the local mysteries to Antinoos (clearly not inherited);
(6) Ti. Claudius Saethida Caelianus (*PIR*² C1004a, sen. 170s), *archiereus* for life, *helladarchēs* in Messene;
(7) L. Flavius Hermocrates (*PIR*² F285, sen. under Septimius), *archiereus* of imperial cult in Phokaia;
(8) M. Coculnius Quintillianus (*PIR*² C1234, sen. 190s), *flamen* in Cirta (was buried there too);
(9) C. Sallius Aristaenetus (*PIR*¹ S55, cos.suff. early third century), *archiereus* in Byzantion, as attested on a coin.

APPENDIX C: SENATORS BURIED IN THE PROVINCES OF THEIR *ORIGO* FROM THE WEST

(1) L. Aemilius Arcanus (*PIR*² A333, sen. Hadrian) in Gallia Narbonensis;
(2) P. Alfius Maximus Numerius Licinianus (*PIR*² A535, sen. Severan) in Hispania Tarraconensis;

(3) Annius Camars (*PIR*² A638, sen. Flavian) in Gallia Narbonensis;
(4) L. [Annius] Longus (*PIR*² A669, sen. Flavian) in Gallia Narbonensis;
(5) Claudius (sen. unknown date) in Dalmatia;
(6) C. Fulvius Lupus Servilian[us] (*PIR*² F548, sen. Vespasian) from Nemausus, Gallia Narbonensis;
(7) Q. Iul(ius) Maximus (*PIR*² I424) and his sons (sen. family in early third century) from Lusitania;
(8) C. Iunius Faustinus Postumianus (*PIR*² I752, cos.suff. *c.* 204–5), mausoleum in Tituli, Africa;
(9) Pompeius Faustinus Severianus (*PIR*² P605, cos. first half of third century), Carthaginian senator buried in Thuburnica;
(10) M. Pompeius Silvanus Staberius Flavinus (*PIR*² P654, cos.suff. 45; cos. suff. II ?74; cos.design. 83) from Gallia Narbonensis;
(11) C. Valerius Respe[ctus] Terentianus (*PIR* online, *CIL* III 1988, III 1989 and *PIR*² VII. 1 p. 56, sen. late second or early third century) from Dalmatia;
(12) C. V(alerius) V(alerianus) Sanctus (*PIR*¹ V148, sen. second or third century) from Aquitania;
(13) Anonymous of *CIL* II 4130 = *RIT* 153 in Tarraco.

APPENDIX D: SENATORS BURIED IN THE PROVINCES OF THEIR *ORIGO* FROM THE EAST

(1) T. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus (*PIR*² I260, cos.suff. 92), buried in Celsus library in Ephesus (cf. his *origo* in Sardis);
(2) C. Iulius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus (*PIR*² I151, cos.suff. 109), buried in mausoleum in Athens, of Commagene royal family;
(3) C. Iulius Maximus Mucianus (*PIR*² I427, sen. 160s), buried in Philippi, Macedonia;
(4) C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus (*PIR*² I508, cos.suff. 105), buried, on Hadrian's orders, in Pergamon;
(5) M. Plancius (Rutilius?) Varus (*PIR*² P443, sen. Vesp.), honored with a memorial statue in Perge, Pamphylia;
(6) L. Servenius Cornutus (*PIR*¹ S404, praet. Vesp.), *heroon* in Akmoneia, Phrygia;
(7) T. Flavius Claudianus Ponticus (*PIR* online, *SEG* 36, 1196, sen. Commodus–Severan), buried in Phrygia;
(8) L. Vibullius Hipparchus Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes (*PIR*² C802, cos. ord. 143), buried in Athens;
(9) Anonymus, buried in Attaleia, Pamphylia (Birley and Eck 1993: 45–54).

APPENDIX E: *FETIALES*

(1) ?M. (Licinius) Crassus Scribonianus (*PIR*² L192, sen. killed in 70), augur;
(2) Cn. Domitius Afer Titius Marcellus Curvius Tullus (*PIR*² D167, cos. I suff. 70s, cos. II suff. 98), *VIIvir epulonum*;
(3) Cn. Domitius Afer Titius Marcellus Curvius Lucanus (*PIR*² D152, cos. suff. *c.* 73–4), *VIIvir epulonum*;
(4) Q. Aurelius Pactumeius Fronto (*PIR*² P38, cos.suff. 80, the first African consul);
(5) C. Cilnius Proculus (**PIR*² C732, cos.suff. 87), *VIIvir epulonum*, *sodalis Augustalis*;
(6) C. Iulius Proculus (*PIR*² I497, cos.suff. 109, cos. II suff. 134?), *XVvir s.f.*;
(7) L. Catilius Severus Iulianus Claudius Reginus (*PIR*² C558, cos. I suff. 110, cos. II ord. 120), later *VIIvir epulonum*;
(8) L. Caesennius Sospes (*PIR* online, *RE* Suppl. 14 [1974] 80–81 Caesennius 13a, cos.suff. 114);
(9) L. Aemilius Honoratus (*PIR*² A350, cos. Trajan);
(10) Q. Lollius Urbicus (*PIR*² L327, cos.suff. 135–6);
(11) P. Pactumeius Clemens (*PIR*² P37, cos.suff. 138);
(12) L. Pomponius Bassus Cascus Scribonianus (*PIR*² P706, cos.suff. *c.* 138–43), augur, *sodalis Titialis*;
(13) M. Pontius Laelianus Larcius Sabinus (*PIR*² P806, cos.suff. 144), *pontifex*, *sodalis Antoninianus Verianus*;
(14) C. Aufidius Victorinus Mulv[ius . . . Mar]cellinus Rhesius Per[. . . Nu]misius Rufus Arrius Paul[inus? . . .]ius Iust[us Co]cceius Gallus (*PIR*² A1393, cos. I suff. 155?, cos. II ord. 183), *XVvir s.f.*, *sodalis Antoninianus Verianus Marcianus*;
(15) M. Servilius Fabianus Maximus (*PIR*¹ S415, cos.suff. 158), *fetialis* before consulship;
(16) Q. Antistius Adventus Postumius Aquilinus (*PIR*² A754, cos.suff. 167);
(17) P. Septimius Geta ((*PIR*¹ S326, cos. I suff. *c.* 191, cos. II ord. 203);
(18) Ti. Claudius Gordianus (*PIR*² C880, cos. *c.* 192);
(19) M. Asinius Rufinus Valerius Verus Sabinianus (*RE* Suppl. 14 [1974] 62f. s.v. Asinius 32a, cos. Comm.);
(20) M. Gavius Crispus Numisius Iunior (*PIR*² I721/N208, cos.suff. Comm.);
(21) L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus (*PIR*² M308, cos. I suff. 198 or 199; cos. II ord. 223);
(22) T. Marcius Cle[mens] (*PIR*² M225, of praetorian rank, second half of second century);

(23) [Catius? Lepi]dus I[–] (*RE* Suppl. 14 [1974] 88 s.v. Catius 9a, cos.suff. 200s);
(24) L. Roscius Aelianus Paculus Salvius Iulianus (*PIR*² R92, cos.ord. 223), *VIIvir epulonum*, *sodalis Flavialis Titialis*.

APPENDIX F: *SALII*

F1: *SALII* WHO ARE REPLACED, BECAUSE THEY BECOME *FLAMINES*

(1) M'. Acilius Vibius Faustinus (*PIR*² A86, cos.suff. 179), from *salius Palatinus* to *flamen*;
(2) L. Annius Largus (*PIR*² A664, sen. 170s), from *salius Palatinus* to *flamen*;
(3) L. Cossonius Eggius Marullus (*PIR*² E10, cos.ord. 184), *salius Palatinus*, *flamen factus*, then pontifex;
(4) [. . .?]Rocius Piso (*PIR*² R72, sen. 180s), from *salius Palatinus* to *flamen*;
(5) L. Roscius Aelianus Paculus (*PIR*² R91, cos.ord. 187), from *salius Palatinus* to *flamen*;
(6) L. Salvius Carus (*PIR*¹ S100, sen. 170s), from *salius Palatinus* to *flamen*.

F2: *SALII COLLINI* WHO BECAME MEMBERS IN ANOTHER PRIESTLY COLLEGE OR CONSULATE

(1) M'. Acilius Glabrio Cn. Cornelius Severus (*PIR*² A73, cos.ord. 152), from *salius Collinus* to pontifex;
(2) L. Annius Ravus (*PIR*² A684, cos.suff. 186), from *salius Palatinus* to pontifex, "*exauguratus*";
(3) M. Cocceius Nerva (*PIR*² C1227, cos. I ord. 71; cos. II ord. 90), the later emperor, from *salius Palatinus* to augur;
(4) P. Cornelius Anullinus (*PIR*² C1323, cos.ord. 216), from *salius Palatinus* to augur;
(5) Ser. Cornelius Dolabella Metilianus Pompeius Marcellus (*PIR*² C1350, cos.suff. 113), *salius Palatinus* to *flamen Quirinalis*;
(6) P. Cornelius Salvius Tuscus, (*PIR*² C1433, sen. 180s–200s), *salius Palatinus* to *XVvir s.f.*;
(7) L. Cossonius Eggius Marullus (*PIR*² E10, cos.ord. 184), *salius Palatinus*, *flamen factus*, then pontifex;
(8) L. Fulvius Gavius Numisius Petronius Aemilianus (*PIR*² F541, praet. *c.* 169), *salius Palatinus* to pontifex *promagister*;
(9) Q. Hedius Rufus Lollianus Gentianus (*PIR*² H42, cos.suff. *c.* 186), *salius Palatinus* to augur;

(10) M. Lollius Paullinus D. Valerius Asiaticus Saturninus (*PIR*² L320, cos. suff. 94, cos. II ord. 125), *salius Collinus* to pontifex;
(11) P. Manilius Vopiscus Vicinillianus L. Elufrius Severus Iulius Quadratus Bassus (*PIR*² M142, cos.ord. 114), *salius Collinus* to pontifex;
(12) M. Metilius Aquillius Regulus Nepos Volusius Torquatus Fronto (*PIR*² M540, cos.ord. 157), *salius Collinus* to augur;
(13) [L. Nonius Calpurnius] Torquatus Asprenas (*PIR*² N134, cos.suff. 71 or 72), *salius Palatinus* to *VIIvir epulonum*;
(14) M. Nummius Umbrius Primus Senecio Albinus (*PIR*² N238, cos.ord. 206), *salius Palatinus* to pontifex;
(15) Cn. Pinarius Cornelius Clemens (*PIR*² C 1341, cos.suff. *c*. 70), *salius Palatinus* probably to pontifex;
(16) Cn. Pinarius Cornelius Severus (*PIR*² C1453, cos.suff. 112), *salius Collinus* to augur and *rex sacrorum*;
(17) Q. Pompeius Falco Sosius Priscus (*PIR*² P603, sen. 210s–220s), *salius Collinus* to pontifex;
(18) Q. Pompeius Sosius Priscus (*PIR*² P656, cos.ord. 149) or Q. Pompeius Senecio Roscius Murena Coelius Sex. Iulius Frontinus Silius Decianus C. Iulius Eurycles Herculaneus L. Vibullius Pius Augustanus Alpinus Bellicius Sollers Iulius Acer Ducenius Proculus Rutilianus Rufinus Silius Valens Valerius Niger Cl. Fuscus Saxa Amyntianus Sosius Priscus (*PIR*² P651, cos.ord. 169), *salius Collinus* to pontifex;
(19) Q. Tineius Rufus (*PIR*¹ T168, cos.ord. 182), *salius Palatinus* 170 to 178, then pontifex.

APPENDIX G: *LUPERCI*

(1) [P. Alfius Max]imus Numerius Avitus (*PIR*² N202, cos. Antonine or Severan), probably patrician;
(2) M. Fabius Magnus Valerianus (*PIR*² F43, cos.suff. Comm., also Severan), prior *XVvir s.f.*;
(3) C. Iulius Camilius Galerius Asper (*PIR*² I23, cos.suff. first half of third century), *VIIvir epulonum*.

APPENDIX H: SENATORIAL CHILDREN INVOLVED IN RITUAL ASSISTANCE OF *ARVALES*

In 87 (*CIL* VI 2065, 2):
(1) P. Calvisius Tullus Ruso (*PIR*² C357, cos. I ord. 109), future pontifex, whose father was P. Calvisius Ruso Iulius Frontinus (**PIR*² C350, cos. suff. 84, *XVvir s.f.*, *sodalis Augustalis*);

(2) [–]ilius Marcianus (*PIR*² M203);
(3) M. Petronius Cremutius (*PIR*² P278), whose father was M. Petronius Umbrinus (*PIR*² P320, cos.suff. 81, *VIIvir epulonum*).

In 105 (*CIL* VI 2075):
(1) [Cornelius Dola]bella Verania[nus] (*PIR*² C 1352), whose father was Ser. Cornelius Dolabella Petronianus (*PIR*² C1351, cos.ord. 86, pontifex);
(2) D. Valerius (*PIR*¹ V17), possibly a descendant of D.? Valerius Asiaticus (*PIR*¹ V25, cos.suff. 35, cos. II ord. 46);
(3) [Valeriu]s Catullus Mes[sallinu]s (*PIR*¹ V40), whose grandfather may have been L. Valerius Catullus Messallinus (*PIR*¹ V41, cos. II suff. 85);
(4) T. Vin[–] (*PIR*¹ V440).

In 109 (*Bull. Comm. Arch.* 78 [1961/2], 116ff.):
[–]us Lepidus (*PIR*² L154), *arvalis* or *puer*;

In 117 (*CIL* VI 2016):
L. Vitrasius Aequus (*PIR*¹ V521), whose father may have been a *homo novus*;

In 117–118 (*CIL* VI 2076, 2078 = 32374):
C. Statius Capito Arrian[nus] (*PIR*¹ S627);

In 118 (*CIL* VI 2078 = 32374):
M. Pompeius A[…] (*PIR*² P587).

In 118–120 (*CIL* VI 2078 = 32374; 2080 cf. 32375):
Q. Gavius Stat[iu]s Helvius Pollio (*PIR*² G115).

In 120 (*CIL* VI 2080):
L. Iulius Flavianus (*PIR*² I314), possibly son of L. Iulius Catus (*PIR*² I253), an *arvalis* co-opted in 118, and *proflamen* in 120;
C. Sentius Aburnianus (*PIR*¹ S289), whose father was Cn. Sentius Aburnianus (*PIR* online, *RE* Suppl. 14 [1974] 659 s.v. Sentius 7a, cos.suff. 123);
C. Statius Capito Arrian[nus] (*PIR*¹ S627);
C. Statius Cerialis (*PIR*¹ S628).

In 145 (CIL VI 32379):
Calpurnianus (*PIR*² C237);
A. Larcius Lepidus Plarianus (*PIR*² L93);
Q. Iunius Mauricus (*PIR*² I773).

In 155 (*CIL* VI 2086):
Q. Cor[nelius] (*PIR*² C1319);
L. Hedius Rufus Lollianus Avitus (*PIR*² H41), a patrician.

In 183 (*CIL* VI 2099):

Cl(audius) Sulpicianus (*PIR*² C1035), whose father was L. Flavius (Claudius) Sulpicianus (*PIR*² C1034/F190/F373, cos.suff. *c.* 172/6, himself possibly *arvalis*, in this year *flamen factus*, as well as *sodalis [Hadrianalis sodalis Antoninianus] Verianus [Marcianus]*, we cannot exclude the possibility that he may have been an augur;

M. Ulpius Boethus (*PIR*[I] V542, maybe also in CIL VI 2100 a 17).

In 183 and 186 (*CIL* VI 2099, 2100):

Acilius Aviola (*PIR*² A48);

Acilius Severus (*PIR*² A80).

In 186 (*CIL* VI 2100):

P. Helvius Pertinax (*PIR*² H74, cos.suff. 212), son of Pertinax, the future emperor.

APPENDIX I: *AEDILES CEREALES*

(1) [M. Aedi]us Celer (*PIR*² C626, praetorian under Tiberius);
(2) L. Allius Volusianus (*AE* 1972, 119, of quaestorian rank in the final third of second century);
(3) Antonius Fronto Salvianus (*PIR*² A832, of quaestorian rank in early third century), dies as *aedilis Cerealis designatus*;
(4) Sex. Asinius Rufinus Fabianus (*PIR*² A1247, of praetorian rank in late second century);
(5) […]us Celsus (*PIR*² C647, of quaestorian rank under Trajan);
(6) C. Caesius Aper (*PIR*² C191, of praetorian rank under Vespasian;
(7) A. Caesius Gallus (*PIR*² C195, of praetorian rank, undated);
(8) Q. Coelius (*PIR*² C1238), under Tiberius, praetor (*CIL* VI 91);
(9) M. Acilius Priscus A. Egrilius Plarianus (**PIR*² E48, cos.suff. 129–32);
(10) Q. Herennius Silvius Maximus (*PIR*² H131, of praetorian rank under Caracalla);
(11) C. Hostilius Maximus Ro[bustus] (*PIR* online, *RE* Suppl. 15 [1978] 112–113 s.v. Hostilius 20a + nota *PIR*² VII. 1 pp. 68ff., of praetorian rank, undated);
(12) M. Iulius Aquillius Tertullus (*PIR*² I172, of uncertain date);
(13) C. Iulius […] Cornutus Tertullus (*PIR*² I273, cos.suff. 100);
(14) C. Iulius Maximus Mucianus (*PIR*² I427, of praetorian rank in 160s);
(15) C. Lucilius Benignus Ninnianus (*PIR*² L380, of uncertain date)
(16) C. Luxilius Sabinus Egnatius Proculus (*PIR*² L452, of praetorian rank under Severus Alexander);

(17) [Ma?]mius Murrius Umber (*PIR*² M749, of praetorian rank in the early empire);
(18) C. Memmius Fidus Iulius Albius (*PIR*² M462, cos.suff. 191/2);
(19) [–]cus Modestus Paulinus (*PIR*² M663, early third century);
(20) L. Neratius Proculus (*PIR*² N63, cos.suff. 144/5);
(21) P. Septimius Geta (*PIR*¹ S326, brother of emperor, cos. I. suff. *c.* 191; cos. II. ord. 203);
(22) P. Tullius Varro (*PIR*¹ T284, cos.suff. 127);
(23) [?Vale]rius [P]riscus [Coe]lius Festus (*PIR* online, *RE* Suppl. 14 [1974] 821 s.v. Valerius 314a, undated)

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Index hominum

(Entries marked with an asterisk are debated identifications)

General index

Personal names are indexed under the *nomen gentile* or family name, with the exception of major public figures who are indexed under the name by which they are best known. Only senators better known or who occur in various parts of the monograph are listed here; for a complete list see the prosopographical index above.