

## INDEX

- Academy, 71  
 Aeneas, 5–6, 56; as Pater Indiges, 6  
 Aesculapius, 36 (Table 3), 55; temple of, 41 (Table 4)  
 Agrippa (Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, *consul* 37, 28, 27 BC), 34, 56  
 Alba Longa, 5, 56  
 allies, Roman, 64  
 altars, 60  
 Ancus Marcius (king, traditionally 640–616 BC), 16  
 animism, 13–14, 15, 16–17  
 anthropomorphism, 13–14  
 Apollo, 34, 35, 36 (Table 3), 42–3, 54, 57; temple of, 41 (Table 4)  
 apotheosis, ritual of, 52–3  
 Apuleius (novelist, second century AD), 69  
 Ara Pacis, 33–4; 59  
 army: calendar of (from Dura Europos), 61; Mithraism in, 70–1  
 Arnobius (Christian writer, third century AD), 44 & n. 3, 81  
 Arval Brothers (*fratres Arvales*), 24 (Table 1), 34; and the *Divi*, 61  
 Ascanius, 5, 56  
 assemblies (*comitia*), 28–9 & n. 19  
 astrology, 9  
 Atargatis, 68  
 Attis, 68, 70  
 Attus Navius, 4–5  
 Augustine (Bishop of Hippo, AD 354–430), 11, 73, 81, 82, 83  
*augures*, 4–5, 24 and Table 1, 30; Cicero as *augur*, 79; *ius* (law) of, 30  
 Augustus (emperor, 27 BC–AD 14), 17–18, 32, 33–4, 80; as avenger, 42; and the calendar, 46, 51; as *Divus*, 43, 61; Forum of, 42; house of, 43; as *pontifex maximus*, 33–4; *Res Gestae* of, 42; restores temples, 42; and the Secular Games, 34, 56–7, temple-building of, 42–3  
 auspices, 30, 37, 45  
 Bacchae, 66  
 Bacchanalia, 63–6; decree on, 64  
 Bacchus, 36 (Table 3), 63–7; worshippers of, 64, 66, 67, 71, 72  
 beliefs, 66–7, 78; and rituals, 83–5  
 building, religious, 32; see also temples  
 Caesar (C. Julius Caesar, *consul* 59 BC, *dictator* after 49 BC), 30, 32, 33; as *Divus* Julius, 43; and the Lupercalia, 47  
 calendar, 8, 46, 80; see also Festivals  
 Carthaginians, 16  
 Cato (M. Porcius Cato, *consul* 195 BC), 9, 18  
 Ceres, 36 (Table 3); Greek cult of, 19, 55; temple of, with Liber and Libera, 41 (Table 4)  
 Chaldaeans, expelled, 67  
 Christianity, 68; assumptions of, 29; development of, 73–5; as ex-pagans, 74; pagan hostility towards, 74–5  
 Christians, 60; refusal of sacrifice, 60; attitude of, to ruler-cult, 60; Jewish, 74; persecution of, 65–6, 72–3  
 Cicero (M. Tullius Cicero, *consul* 63 BC), 6–7, 30–1, 79; as believer, 84; *Republic*, 6; *On the Laws*, 19; *On his House*, 27, 31 & n. 25; *On the Command of Pompey*, 32; *On Divination*, 79; *On the Nature of the Gods*, 79; philosophy of, 79  
 Claudius (emperor, AD 41–54), 60; as *Divus*, 61  
 Clodius (P. Clodius Pulcher, tribune 58 BC), 27, 29 & n. 19, 30–1  
*collegia*, 18  
 conflict, religious, 63–6; 72–3; see also persecution  
 conservatism, 13–16, 56  
*contio*, 65  
 conversion, religious, 66, 69, 71; to Judaism, 72; to Christianity, 73–4, 75  
 creeds, 71  
 cults, mystery, 68–9, ‘oriental’, 68; of rebirth, 70–1  
 Cumae: and the Sibyl, 54; letter to, 55  
*decemviri sacris faciundis* (see also, *duo-*, *quindecimviri*), 8, 25, and Table 1, and prodigies, 27–8  
 decline, religious, 15, 29–3, 59, 68–9  
 deification, 7, 52–3, 60; see also ruler-cult  
 Diana, 36 (Table 3), 57; temple of, 41 (Table 4)  
 Diaspora, 71–2  
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus (historian), 8; on sacrifice, 44  
 discourse, religious, ch. VIII *passim*  
 Dis Pater, 36 (Table 3), 57  
*Divi*, *Divae*, 61–2 & n. 23; *Divus* Julius, 43; *Divus* Augustus, 43, 60, 61; *Divus* Claudius, 60, 61; *Divus* Augusta, 61; *Divus* Poppaea Augusta, 61; ritual of apotheosis of, 53;

- temples for, 41 (Table 4), 43, 53; see also ruler-cult, deification
- Domitius (Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, *consul*, 96 BC), 26
- Dumézil, Georges, 16–17
- duoviri sacris faciundis* (see also, *decem-*, *quindecimviri*), 8, 25, and Table 1; and prodigies, 27–8; and the Sibylline Books, 54
- eagle, 53
- Egeria, 6, 19
- Etruscans, 16, 54
- Emperors, religious position of, 33–4; apotheosis of, 52–3; cult for, 61; see also *Divi epulones* (*tresviri, septemviri*), 23 (Table 1), 52 & n. 30
- family (*familia*), 18; and temples, 40; and group religion, 65; and conversions, 66–7, 75; see also *paterfamilias felicitas*, 32–3
- Felicitas, temples of, 41 (Table 4)
- Festivals, calendar of, 45 & Table 5; in capital letters, 46; origins of, 46; interpretations of, 46–7, 50; Ovid on, 80–1; see also Lupercalia, Saturnalia
- fetiales*, 24–5 and Table 1, 27, 58
- Fides, temple of, 41 (Table 4)
- flamines*, 24 and Table 1; *flamen Dialis*, 6, 34, 58–9; *Martialis*, 6; *Quirinalis*, 6; four of, on the Ara Pacis, 59
- Fortuna, 36 (Table 3); temples of, 41 (Table 4)
- Games, see *ludi*
- Gelasius (Bishop of Rome, fifth century AD), 47
- Genius, 61
- God, anger of, 83
- godfearers, 72 & n. 33
- gods, goddesses, 35–43 and Table 3; anger of, 39; as citizens, 37; distinction of, 37; as interlocutors, in Ovid, 81; neglect of, 42; rationality of, 38; rejection of, by Jews and Christians, 72, 75; relationship of, with humans, 39–40; ritual communication with, 44–5; in Seneca, 82
- Greeks, 4, 7, 8, 16; influence of, on religion, 30, 32, 55; myths of, in Ovid, 80–1; rite, Greek, 19, 55; on sacrifice of, compared with Roman, 44; and the Sibylline Books, 54; views of, on Roman religion, 76
- groups, religious: of Bacchus worshippers, 64–5; Christian, 73–5; development of, 66–8; Jewish, 72; naming of, 66
- Hannibalic War, 17, 35, 38, 55
- haruspices*, 8, Table 1, 27; and prodigies, 27–8; response of, 40 & n. 16; at sacrifice, 45
- Hercules, temples of, 41 (Table 4)
- heresy, 71
- Honos, temples of, 41 (Table 4)
- Horace (Q. Horatius Flaccus, 65–8 BC), 42, 57
- immolatio*, 45
- immortality, 70
- individuals, 11–12, 66–7
- Indo-Europeans, 15, 16–17
- initiation, 69
- innovation, religious, 54–62; ch. VII *passim*
- Isis, mysteries, 68; persecution of, 67; women in, 69; temple of, with Sarapis, 41 (Table 4)
- Jews, 60, 67, 72
- Judaism, 68, 71, 72
- Julii, 42
- Juno, 36 (Table 3), 35, 57, 61; temple of, 41 (Table 4)
- Jupiter, 6, 16, 35, 36 (Table 3), 37, 57, 60, 61; Latiaris, 6; Optimus Maximus, 41 (Table 4)
- Justin (Christian apologist c.AD 100–165), 75
- Juvenal (satirist, second century AD), 69
- Lactantius (Christian writer, third century AD), 81
- Latinus, 5–6
- legislation, cancellation of, 30
- Lepidus (M. Aemilius Lepidus, *trimvir*): as *pontifex maximus*, 59
- lex Domitia*, 26–7
- Liber Pater, 55, 63; see also Ceres
- Libera, 55; see also Ceres
- Libertas (Liberty), 27, 31
- litatio*, 45
- Livy (T. Livius, 59 BC–AD 17), 8, 9, 55; on the Bacchanalia, 63–4; on prodigies, 38–9; religious language of, 77–8; vow in, 38
- Lucius (hero of Apuleius' *Golden Ass*), 69
- ludi* (Games), 46, 51–2; increase of, 52
- Lupercalia (15 February), 47–50; and death, 50; and goats, 47; Ovid on, 80–1; and wolves, 50
- luperci*, 24 (Table 1), 47–50, 80
- magic, 9–10
- magistrates, 8, 71
- Magna Mater (Cybele), 35, 36 (Table 3), 37, 56; as Mater Idaea, 56; as Mother of the Gods, 55; and the mysteries, 68; temple of, 41 (Table 4)
- Manichaeism, 68
- Marius (C. Marius, *consul* 106, 104–100, 86 BC), 32
- Marcus Aurelius (emperor AD 161–80), 43

- Mark Antony (Marcus Antonius, *triumvir* 43 BC onwards), 32
- Mars, 16, 35, 36 (Table 3); as Ultor, 42; temples of, 41 (Table 4)
- martyr-acts, 73
- martyrdom, 71, 73
- Mercury, 36 (Table 3); temple of, 41 (Table 4)
- Messalina (Empress): Juno of, 61
- Messiah, 70
- Minerva, 36 (Table 3), 61; temples of, 41 (Table 4)
- miracles, 5, 6, 7, 37 & n. 6
- Mithraism, 70–1
- Mithras, 68
- monotheism, 68–9, 72, 74–5
- mos maiorum*, 13
- mysteries: Bacchic, 63–4, 67; as a step towards Christianity, 68–71; Greek, 68; ‘oriental’, 68; Villa of (at Pompeii), 67
- myth, Roman, 4–9, 11, 37, 47–8, 80; Greek, 4, 80
- neglect, religious, 42, 78
- Neptune, 36 (Table 3); temple of, 41 (Table 4)
- Nero (emperor, AD 54–68), 53, 60, 61
- Numa (king, traditionally 715–673 BC), 6, 16
- offences, human prodigies and, 39–40; neglect of gods, results of, 42, 58
- Ovid (P. Ovidius Naso, 43 BC–AD 17); *Fasti*, 45, 50 & n. 22, 80–1
- Pagan-ism, 1
- Pantheon, 43
- paterfamilias*, 18, 19, 74
- Pater Indiges, 6
- Pax, temple of, 41 (Table 4)
- Paul (St.), 73
- persecution, 71; of the Bacchus worshippers, 63–6; of the Christians, 65–6, 72–3; of Chaldaeans, 67–8; of Jews, 67–8; of Isis worshippers, 67–8
- Pietas, temple of, 41 (Table 4)
- Plautus (T. Maccius Plautus, Roman dramatist, active c.205–184 BC), 63
- Pliny the Elder (C. Plinius Secundus, AD 23/4–79); *Natural History* of, 80
- Pliny the Younger (C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus AD c.61–c.112), on Christianity, 73 & n. 35, 74
- Plutarch (Greek writer, c.50–c.120 AD), 50
- politics and religion and, 29–31
- Polybius (Greek historian, c.200–c.118 BC), views on religion of, 30, 77
- Pompey (Cn. Pompeius Magnus, *consul* 70, 55, 52 BC), 32, 52
- pontifices*, 6, 24 and Table 1, 26, 31, 35; books of, 6; on Cicero’s house, 27, 31 & n. 25; see also priests
- pontifex maximus*, 24–6 and Table 1; election of, 26, 27; Augustus as, 59; see also *pontifices*
- prayer, 45
- predeistic phase, 14
- priesthood, 4–5; as elite monopoly, 22; in mysteries, 69; politics and, 29; and religious groups, 66; revival of, 58–9
- priests, priestesses, 8, 15, 22–9 and Table 1, 35; co-option of, 26; election of, 26–7; in the Empire, 33–4; importance of, 27–9 and Table 2; legislation on, 26–7; see also Arval Brothers, *augures*, *epulones*, *fetiales*, *flamines*, *haruspices*, *luperci*, *pontifices*, *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, *rex sacrorum*, Vestal Virgins
- prodigies, character of, 38–40; handling of, 27–9 and Table 2; interpretation of, 39–40; lists of, 38–9, 78; Livy on, 78
- prophecy, 8, 9; and prodigies, 39; in the Sibylline Books, 55–6
- Proserpina, 19, 57
- quindecimviri sacris faciundis* (see also *duo-decemviri*), 8, 25 and Table 1; letter of, to Cumae, 55; and prodigies, 27–8
- Quirinus, 13, 36 (Table 3); Romulus as, 6
- rationalism, 31
- religio*, 78, 82
- religion, Roman: character of, 4, 7–9, 10–11, ch. II *passim*, 29; Christian assumptions about, 29; foreign influence on, 29; language of, 76–80; and mystery cults, 68–71; neglect of, 31–2; private, 10–12; and politics, 29–31; prodigies and, 38–40; public, 10–12; revivals of, 58–9; un-funniness of, 81
- remedia*, 39–40, 45
- Republic, Roman, 17–19, 21–2, 32–3
- Remus, 5, 42, 47, 80
- revivals, religious, 58–9; by Augustus, 58–9
- rex sacrorum*, 24 and Table 1
- ritualism, 15
- rituals, ch. V *passim*; and beliefs, 83–5; as communication, 44–5; failure of, 45; fluidity of, 61–2; imperial, 52; interpretation of, 44; multiple meanings of, 50; neglect of, 57–8; performative, 84; and Roman identity, 84
- Roma, dea: in Rome, 43; temple of, 41 (Table 4)
- ruler-worship, 37, 52–3, 59–62; of the living emperor, 61
- Romulus, 5–6, 7, 16, 42, 47, 80
- sacrifice, animal, 44–5, 61; failure of, 45; human, 9; in Mithraism, 71
- Salii, 24 (Table 1)

- Sallust (C. Sallustius Crispus, historian, c.86–35 BC), 21–2
- Saturn, 36 (Table 3)
- Saturnalia, 51
- scepticism, 9, 78, 79, 84
- Secular Games (*ludi saeculares*), 34, 56–7
- senate (senators), and the Bacchanalia, 64; of the gods (in Seneca), 60; and prodigies, 27–9 and Table 2, 31; and temples, 40
- Seneca (L. Annaeus Seneca, c.AD 1–65), *Apocolocyntosis*, 60; *On Superstition*, 82
- Servius Tullius (king, traditionally 578–525 BC), 5
- Severus Alexander (Emperor, AD 222–235), 61
- Sibyl, 54
- Sibylline Books, 8, 19, 54–5
- source-material, 8, 10, 21
- Spes, temple of, 41 (Table 4)
- Stoicism, 79, 82
- Sulla (L. Cornelius Sulla Felix, *consul* 88, 80 BC), legislation on priests of, 27, 32  
*superstitio*, 82
- Tarquin (Tarquinius Priscus, king, traditionally 616–579 BC), 4–5, 54
- temples, 40–3 & Table 4; building of, 40, 43, 55; consecration of, 40; for the *Divi*, 43; maintenance of, 41–2; restoration of, 42; theatre-temples, 52; vowing of, 55
- Teans, letter to, 76–7
- Theatre: of stone, 52; temple as, 52; of wood, 52
- theology, Roman, 32
- Tiberius (emperor AD 14–37), 43, 80
- toleration, 63, 73
- Trajan (emperor, AD 98–117), 73
- triumph, 37
- Triad, Capitoline, 41 (Table 4), 61, 82
- Troy, 56
- Tullus (king, traditionally 672–641 BC), 6, 16
- underworld, 50
- Varro (M. Terentius Varro, 116–27 BC), 14  
 n. 7, 32, 50
- Venus, 36 (Table 3), 43; at the theatre, 52; of Eryx, 55; temples of, 41 (Table 4)  
*ver sacrum*, 38
- Vesta, 34, 35, 36 (Table 3)
- Vestal Virgins, 5, 19, 24 and Table 1
- victims (sacrificial), 45; in Arval records, 61; for Mithras, 71
- Victoria, temple of, 41 (Table 4)
- Virtus, temple of, 41 (Table 4)
- Vulcan, 36 (Table 3)
- vows, 37–8; character of, 38; and temples, 40
- women, 19–20; in Bacchic worship, 66; and Isis cult, 69 & n. 19; excluded from Mithraism, 71