THE GOD OF THE LUPERCAL*

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(Plates I–IV)

I

On 15 February, two days after the Ides, there took place at Rome the mysterious ritual called Lupercalia, which began when the Luperci sacrificed a goat at the Lupercal. There was evidently a close conceptual and etymological connection between the name of the festival, the title of the celebrants, and the name of the sacred place: as our best-informed literary source on Roman religion, M. Terentius Varro, succinctly put it, 'the Luperci [are so called] because at the Lupercalia they sacrifice at the Lupercal . . . the Lupercalia are so called because [that is when] the Luperci sacrifice at the Lupercal'.[1]

What is missing in that elegantly circular definition is the name of the divinity to whom the sacrifice was made. Even the sex of the goat is unclear — Ovid and Plutarch refer to a she-goat, other sources make it male[2] — which might perhaps imply a similar ambiguity in the gender of the recipient.[3] Varro does indeed refer to a goddess Luperca, whom he identifies with the she-wolf of the foundation legend; he explains the name as *lupa pepercit*, 'the she-wolf spared them' (referring to the infant twins), so I think we can take this as an elaboration on the myth, and not much help for the ritual.[4]

'Lupercalia' is one of the festival days (*dies feriati*) that are named in large letters on the pre-Julian calendar. (Whether that list goes back to the early regal period, as Mommsen thought, or no further than the fifth century B.C., as is argued by Agnes Kirsopp Michels in her book on the Roman calendar,[5] it is the earliest evidence we have for the Lupercalia.) There are forty-two such names, of which thirty end in *-alia*; and at least twenty of those thirty are formed from the name of the divinity concerned — Liberalia, Floralia, Neptunalia, Saturnalia, and so on. But there are others that are not (e.g. Agonalia, Feralia, Vinalia), and I think it likely that 'Lupercalia' belongs in that category.[6]

Like the names of the 'large-letter' festivals, so too the names of the *flamines* (priests of individual divinities, of which thirteen out of fifteen are known) must reflect the pantheon of early Rome.[7] As one might expect, the two lists overlap substantially: corresponding to the Flamen Quirinalis and six of the minor *flamines* — Carmentalis, Cerealis, Furrinalis, Portunalis, Volcanalis, and Volturnalis — are the calendar items Quirinalia, Carmentalia, Cerealia, Furrinalia, Portunalia, Volcanalia, and Volturnalia. But no name corresponds to the Lupercalia, and in fact we know that there cannot have been a specialist *flamen* to look after that cult; on 15 February the Flamen Dialis, Jupiter's priest, was in charge.[8] That fact, together with Varro's circular explanation of Lupercalia-Luperci-Lupercal, seems to imply that for the Romans no one god (or goddess) was particularly associated with the ritual.

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[1] Varro, *LL* v.85; vi.13 (Appendix No. 1).

[2] Ovid, *Fasti* ii.361; Plut., *Rom.* 21.4 (αἶγες); Quint., *Inst.* i.5.66 ('luere per caprum'); Serv., *ad Aen.* viii.343 ('de capro luebatur'). The Luperci skinned the sacrificial goat and used its hide for wearing and for striking those whom they met: Dion. Hal., *AR* i.80.1 (Tubero fr. 3P); Nic. Dam., *FGrH* 90F130.71; Festus (Paulus) 75–6L; Ovid, *Fasti* ii.445f.; Plut., *Rom.* 21.4f.; Val. Max. ii.2.9. They were called *crepi*, evidently a form of *capri*: Festus (Paulus) 49L, cf. 42L.

[3] Arnob., *Adv. gent.* vii.19: 'dis feminis feminas, mares maribus hostias immolare'. (Female offerings to Faunus at Ovid, *Fasti* iv.652 and Hor., *Odes* i.4.11f. are regarded by the commentators as 'un-Roman'.)

[4] Varro, *Ant. div.* fr. 221 Cardauns (Arnob., *Adv. gent.* iv.3).

[5] A. K. Michels, *The Calendar of the Roman Republic* (1967), 207–20 for a history of the controversy. Cf. J. A. North, in *CAH*² vii.2 (1989), 574: 'We do not know when this form of calendar was introduced, though it may well have been in the course of the republican period; its introduction might or might not have coincided with the fixing of the list of festivals in capitals.'

[6] The list is in A. Degrassi, *Inscr. It.* xiii.2 (1963), 364–5; I have omitted the Ides of each month from the totals. Degrassi gives 'Lupercalia Luperco sive Fauno', but that begs the question.

[7] Varro, *LL* v.84: 'horum singuli cognomine habent ab eo deo cui sacra faciunt' (similarly vii.45, citing Ennius, *Ann.* 116–8Sk); J. H. Vanggard, *The Flamen: a Study in the History and Sociology of Roman Religion* (1988), esp. 24–8.

[8] Ovid, *Fasti* ii.282. (Conversely, minor *flamines* without corresponding 'large-letter' festivals are Falacer, Floralis, Palatualis, and Pomonalis.)

In modern accounts it is normally taken for granted that the divinity honoured at the Lupercalia was Faunus, and that is indeed what Ovid says.[9] Other authors, however, give other names, as we shall see; and for Faunus in particular there is a strong *prima facie* argument against. His festival was the Ides, 13 February, very close to the Lupercalia but not the same day. It was in fact the dedication day of Faunus' temple on the Tiber island, founded in 193 B.C., which *ought* to imply that Faunus was thought of as closely associated with the Lupercalia cult, but not himself the recipient of it.[10]

The Lupercalia ritual and its associated myth, of the suckling of Remus and Romulus at the Lupercal,[11] have been a subject of inexhaustible fascination for scholars both ancient and modern. In recent years the prevailing mode of enquiry has been that of the comparativists, beginning in 1964 with Gerhard Binder's very influential monograph *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes*,[12] and continuing with Andreas Alföldi's formidably learned argument on 'the structure of the pre-Etruscan Roman state', almost entirely based on his comparative interpretation of the Lupercalia ritual and the myth of the twins.[13] Since then, we have had Christoph Ulf's book *Das römische Lupercalienfest*, arguing from the supposed parallel of African initiation rites, and Jan Bremmer's anthropological interpretation of the foundation story in the Bremmer and Horsfall collection *Roman Myth and Mythography*.[14] (One might expect the name of Georges Dumézil to appear in this doxology; but Dumézil's only extended treatment of the Lupercalia was in an early work, and in his later years he disowned it.[15])

The trouble with comparativist analysis is that it argues synchronically, and makes no adequate allowance for change over time.[16] Alföldi, for instance, claims to extrapolate, from the details given in our historical sources, the model of a ritual which had served a society thousands of years earlier and thousands of miles away (unimaginable to the Romans themselves) and which remained essentially unchanged into the historical period, effectively dictating to the Romans the performance of ritual acts that had little or no significance for their own thought-world. Surely that is absurd. No doubt religious behaviour is inherently conservative; perhaps Roman religion was more conservative than most. But any community's dealings with its gods must reflect, at some level, its own needs and preoccupations, and adjust, with whatever time-lag, as those needs and preoccupations change.

There have, of course, been protests at some of the comparativists' excesses,[17] but perhaps the time has come for a new look at the Lupercalia from an empirical historian's viewpoint, plotting the evidence over time and looking for the ways the ritual developed in a constantly changing world. It may help to keep the material under control if we focus in particular on that puzzling question: to whom did the Luperci sacrifice at the Lupercal on the morning of the Lupercalia?

[9] Ovid, *Fasti* II.267f.; 303f.; 423f.; V.99–102 (Appendix No. 2). Like Horace (*Odes* I.17.1–4), Ovid assumes the identity of Faunus and Pan (*Fasti* II.423f.; II.84; IV.650–3); see now H. C. Parker, *TAPA* 123 (1993), 199–217.

[10] Faunus temple: Ovid, *Fasti* II.193f.; *Inscr. It.* XIII.2 (1963), 4, 223; Livy XXXIII.42.10; XXXIV.53.4. But see n. 51 below.

[11] Ovid, *Fasti* II.381–422; *Origo gentis R.* 22.1; Serv., *Ad Aen.* VIII.343; cf. Plut., *Rom.* 21.4; Dion. Hal., *AR* I.32.3f., 79.7f. Detailed analysis in T. P. Wiseman, *Remus: a Roman Myth* (1995).

[12] *Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* 10 (1964), esp. ch. 10, 'Der Romulusmythos und das Lupercalienfest', pp. 96–115.

[13] *Die Struktur des voretruskischen Römerstaates* (1974), esp. chs 3–6, 'Der Mythos von der Wölfin-Urahnin' (pp. 69–85), 'Das Luperkalienfest' (pp. 86–106), 'Hirtenkriegertum und Männerbund' (pp. 107–50), 'Zweiteilung und Doppelmonarchie' (pp. 151–80).

[14] C. Ulf, *Das römische Lupercalienfest*, Impulse der Forschung 38 (1982); J. N. Bremmer, 'Romulus, Remus and the Foundation of Rome', in J. N. Bremmer and N. M. Horsfall, *Roman Myth and Mythography*, BICS Supplement 52 (1987), 25–48. For earlier literature see Ulf's bibliography, and add Walter Pötscher's 'structural analysis' in *Grazer Beiträge* 11 (1984), 221–49.

[15] G. Dumézil, *Le problème des centaures: étude de mythologie comparée indo-européenne* (1929), 197–222; cf. *Archaic Roman Religion* (1970), 349 n. 33. The Lupercalia offered no support for Dumézil's 'tripartite' theory, on which see A. Momigliano, *History and Theory* 23 (1984), 312–30 = *Ottavo contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico* (1987), 135–59, and W. W. Belier, *Decayed Gods: Origin and Development of Georges Dumézil's 'Idéologie Tripartite'*, Studies in Greek and Roman Religion 7 (1991).

[16] Bremmer, however (op. cit. (n. 14), 38–43), does argue for a historically specific context.

[17] e.g. K.-W. Welwei, *Historia* 16 (1967), 44–69, responding to Binder; H. S. Versnel, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 33 (1976), 391–401, reviewing Alföldi. As an analogy, cf. Momigliano on Dumézil: op. cit. (n. 15), and in *CAH*² VII.2 (1989), 55: 'What Dumézil cannot do, because it is contradictory in terms, is to postulate an invariable Indo-European pattern as the explanation of the continuously changing relations between the social groups of Rome.'

II

Our earliest evidence for the god of the Lupercal dates back to the middle of the third century B.C. It is a fragment of Eratosthenes, and I draw particular attention to it because for some unaccountable reason it is not included in Jacoby's *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*.[18] It comes in the scholia to Plato's *Phaedrus*, at the point where Socrates mentions the Sibyl. The scholiast gives a list of Sibyls, including this item at no. 4:[19]

> The fourth is the Italian [Sibyl]. It was her lot to spend her life in the wilderness of Italy; her son was Evander, who founded the cult-place of Pan in Rome, which is called Luperkon. Eratosthenes wrote about her.

Clement of Alexandria, who was very well read in the Greek philosophers, evidently had the same passage in mind when he wrote his *Stromateis* about A.D. 200. Arguing that the Sibyls, like Moses, pre-date Orpheus and the other sages of Greece, he discusses the Phrygian and Erythraean Sibyls, and then goes on:[20]

> Heraclides Ponticus refers to them in his *On Oracles*. I say nothing of the Egyptian [Sibyl], or the Italian one who dwelt at the Karmalon in Rome; her son was Evander, who founded the cult-place of Pan in Rome, which is called Luperkion.

The last phrases, agreeing almost word for word with the Plato scholiast, show that Clement too knew of the Italian Sibyl, and the cult of Pan at the Lupercal, from Eratosthenes.[21]

This fourth Sibyl must be the 'Cimmerian Sibyl in Italy' mentioned by Naevius and Piso.[22] She clearly owes her existence to the early identification of Lake Avernus as the scene of Odysseus' visit to the dead:[23]

> The vessel came to the bounds of eddying Ocean, where lie the land and city of the Cimmerians, covered with mist and cloud. Never does the resplendent sun look on this people with his beams, neither when he climbs towards the stars of heaven nor when once more he comes earthwards from the sky; dismal night overhangs these wretches always.

That does not sound much like the Bay of Naples. Nevertheless, Pliny and Festus are explicit that the city of the Cimmerians had been next to Avernus, between Baiae and Cumae; and, though there is a textual corruption, the *Origo gentis Romanae* evidently made it the home of the Sibyl.[24] That idea probably goes back at least as far as the fifth century: Aeschylus' *Psychagogoi* seems to have been set at Lake Avernus, with a chorus descended from Hermes; and Hermes was the father of Evander.[25]

At some stage the story of Evander and his prophetic mother was moved to Rome. In Eratosthenes she is still a Sibyl, living at the Cermalus, the site of the Lupercal;[26] later, when the story of the Cumaean Sibyl had developed, with a canonical date in the time of King Tarquin, Evander's mother became Carmentis, 'a prophetess before the Sibyl came to Italy', as Livy puts it.[27] So Eratosthenes' item on the Italian Sibyl and the Roman cult of Pan belongs to a quite early stratum of Roman legend. But how early?

[18] The passage is referred to, but not quoted, at *FGrH* 241F26: IIB (1962), 1018; no comment in the *Kommentar* volume (p. 713).

[19] Schol. Plat., *Phaedr.* 244b, Ruhnk p. 61 (Appendix No. 3).

[20] Clem. Alex., *Strom.* I.108.3 (Appendix No. 4); cf. Heracl. Pont. fr. 130, Wehrli.

[21] Eratosthenes was clearly expanding Heraclides' list: see H. W. Parke, *Sibyls and Sibylline Prophecy in Classical Antiquity* (1988), 23–36, who, however, does not refer to these two passages.

[22] Lact., *Div. inst.* I.6.10 = Varro, *Ant. div.* fr. 56a Cardauns. Parke, op. cit. (n. 21), 33, wrongly assumes she was invented by Naevius.

[23] Hom., *Od.* XI.14–19 (trans. W. Shewring); Strabo V.4.5 (244); cf. Sophocles, *TrGF* IV F748 for the *nekyomanteion* at 'Aornos'.

[24] Pliny, *NH* III.61; Festus (Paulus) 37L; *Origo gentis R.* 10.1, 'Sibylla in oppido quod vocatur †Cimbarionis' — i.e. Cimmerium, as in Pliny?

[25] Aeschylus, *TrGF* III F273, 273a (Aristoph., *Frogs* 1266; Max. Tyr. VIII.2b); cf. n. 23 above (Sophocles). Hermes as father of Evander: Dion. Hal., *AR* I.31.1, 40.2 (by Themis = Carmenta); Virg., *Aen.* VIII.138, 336 (by Carmentis); Paus. VIII.43.2 (by the daughter of Ladon); *contra* Ovid, *Fasti* I.472 (not a god); Serv., *ad Aen.* VIII.130 (Echemos).

[26] Varro, *LL* V.54; Plut., *Rom.* 3.5 (Fabius Pictor, *FGrH* 809F4.3).

[27] Livy I.7.8; cf. Strabo V.3.3 (230); Dion. Hal., *AR* I.31.1, 40.2; Virg., *Aen.* VIII.336, etc.; see also n. 35 below. Cumaean Sibyl: Lact., *Div. inst.* I.6.10f. = Varro, *Ant. div.* fr. 56a Cardauns; Parke, op. cit. (n. 21), 76–9.

Evander was an Arcadian from Pallantion, from which was named Palatium, the Palatine hill.[28] Pallantion was mentioned in Stesichorus' *Geryoneis*, the sixth-century poem that told the story of Herakles' tenth labour, the cattle of Geryon. The Roman legend of Herakles and the cattle, which explained the Forum Bovarium and the Ara Maxima, was evidently current by about 530 B.C., when the hero's deification was celebrated on a temple in the Forum Bovarium itself.[29] In our later literary sources Evander greets Herakles, and his mother prophesies the apotheosis; but whether that too goes back to the sixth century B.C. it is impossible to say.

Certainly the sixth century is too early for Pan. Even in Athens, the Arcadian god found a home only in the fifth century, after his help at the Battle of Marathon.[30] In fact, the Athenian cult may well be helpful for our purposes. It was set up in thanks for victory, in a cave below the Acropolis, close to the point where the temple of Victory guarded the entrance to the citadel.[31] The Roman topography corresponds exactly.

The temple of Victory at the western corner of the Palatine was begun in or about 307 B.C., but not finished till 294.[32] Archaeological evidence now reveals why it took so long. First, it was a very large and imposing building, even bigger than its later neighbour, the temple of Magna Mater. Second, the building programme evidently involved more than just the temple itself: the side of the Palatine overlooking the Forum Bovarium was built up with great terracing walls in opus quadratum, and it is probable that the programme included a new monumental approach, the Clivus Victoriae. The effect must have been like the entrance to an acropolis, with a Victory temple at the gate.[33]

We know from Dionysius that there was a clear conceptual and topographical relationship between the Victory temple and the Lupercal. Both cults were supposedly founded by Evander, and both came from Arcadia. The victory goddess, according to Arcadian legend, was the daughter of Pallas son of Lykaon, eponyms respectively of the Palatine (Pallantion) and the Lupercal (Lykaion). As Dionysius tells us, her temple was at the top of the hill, and the Lupercal cave at the bottom — just as in Athens.[34] In view of this close association of the two cults, it is not surprising to find that one of the names our sources give us for Evander's mother is Nikostrate, 'victorious army'.[35]

There is another parallel with the Pan cave in Athens, this time involving the foundation myth. In one version of the story of the twins, Mars ravishes their mother inside the Lupercal cave itself, just as Apollo rapes Creousa in Pan's cave in Athens, and fathers on her the founder-hero Ion.[36] Pan himself uses caves for raping nymphs, and a comic version of that idea is applied by Ovid to Faunus, his Roman Pan, in one of the aetiological stories for the Lupercalia.[37]

So the Eratosthenes fragment enables us to see Pan in Rome in two different areas of life: on the one hand, sex and conception; on the other, war and victory. We shall be pursuing both those aspects — the former in Sections III and IV, the latter in Section V — but first it is worth noting that the very idea of Pan in Rome is not as paradoxical as one might think. Herakles had his cult at the Ara Maxima by the sixth century B.C.; the Dioscuri had theirs in the Forum in 484, and Apollo his in the Flaminian fields in 431; Asklepios was brought from Epidauros to

[28] Varro, *LL* v.53; Dion. Hal., *AR* 1.31.4; Livy 1.5.1, etc.

[29] *PMGF* Stesichorus 85 (Paus. VIII.3.2); *Enea nel Lazio: archeologia e mito* (1981), 121f.; *La grande Roma dei Tarquini* (1990), 119f. and tav. IX.

[30] Hdt. VI.105; P. Borgeaud, *The Cult of Pan in Ancient Greece* (1988), 133–62; R. Garland, *Introducing New Gods: the Politics of Athenian Religion* (1992), 47–63.

[31] For the topography, see J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (1971), 70f., 148–57, 417–21; the juxtaposition of Pan's cave and the Nike temple is illustrated in Garland, op. cit. (n. 30), pl. II.

[32] Livy X.33.9: begun by L. Postumius Megellus as *aed. cur.*, dedicated by him as *cos. II*.

[33] P. Pensabene, *Archeologia laziale* 3 (1980), 65–81; 4 (1981), 101–18; 6 (1984), 149–58; 9 (1988), 54–67; also in *Roma: archeologia nel centro* (1986), 179–212, and *La grande Roma dei Tarquini* (1990), 87–90. T. P. Wiseman, *Antiq. Journ.* 61 (1981), 35–52 = *Roman Studies* (1987), 187–204.

[34] Dion. Hal., *AR* I 32.3–33.1, with Wiseman, op. cit. (n. 33), 35f. = 187f.

[35] Strabo V.3.3 (230); Serv., *ad Aen.* VIII.336. Otherwise Themis (Dion. Hal., *AR* 1.31.1, 40.2) or Tiburs (Serv. auct. loc. cit.), the latter implying an identification with the Tiburtine Sibyl. Cf. n. 27 above, and for the Tiburtine Sibyl (Albunea) see Lact., *Div. inst.* 1.6.12 = Varro, *Ant. div.* fr. 56a Cardauns, with F. Coarelli, *I santuari del Lazio in età repubblicana* (1987), 103–10.

[36] Serv. auct., *ad Aen.* 1.273: 'repentino occursu lupi turbata refugit in speluncam, in qua a Marte compressa est.' Eur., *Ion* 491–506, 936–41; for Ion as a founder, Eur., *Ion* 74, cf. 1571–94; I am grateful to Christina Kraus for pointing this out to me. Cf. Borgeaud, op. cit. (n. 30), 151f., for the cave as a 'wild spot in the heart of town'.

[37] Eur., *Helen* 188–90; Ovid, *Fasti* II.315, 332 (Faunus and Omphale in a very well-appointed cave), cf. n. 9 above. A hint of rape from Silenus in his cave: Virg., *Ecl.* 6.13 and 26 (cf. 6.27 for dancing Fauni).

the Tiber island in 291.[38] Why should Pan not have been introduced at the Lupercal some time in (say) the late fifth or early fourth century?

III

An interesting contemporary sidelight on Eratosthenes' Roman Pan is provided by a series of engraved bronze mirrors from Praeneste. A third-century example (Fig. 1) portrays a sprightly little ithyphallic goat-legged Pan, labelled 'PAINSSCOS' for Paniskos, dancing with 'Marsuas' the satyr;[39] Marsyas was a figure of some importance in Rome, the legendary ancestor of the gens Marcia and the symbol of *libertas*, with his statue in the Forum.[40]

FIG. 1. PRAENESTINE MIRROR, THIRD CENTURY B.C. (*ETR. SPIEGEL* V.54, TAF. 45; *ILLRP* 1201; *ROMA MEDIO-REPUBBLICANA* 290–2): PANISKOS AND MARSYAS.

FIG. 2. PRAENESTINE MIRROR, FOURTH CENTURY B.C. (*ETR. SPIEGEL* V.172; R. ADAM AND D. BRIQUEL, *MEFR(A)* 94 (1982), 33–65): ON THE LEFT, PAN LYKAIOS?

A much more elaborate scene, dated to the third quarter of the fourth century (Fig. 2), evidently shows the Lupercal myth itself, with a she-wolf in the centre suckling human twins.[41] To the left stands a male figure, naked but for boots and a goatskin loosely knotted round his neck by the forelegs;[42] he is wild and unkempt, and carries a *lagobolon*, the shepherd's throwing-stick. I think he is Pan. The contemporary iconography of Pan in his

[38] Herakles: n. 29 above. Castor and Pollux: Livy II.42.5. Apollo: Livy IV.29.7. Asklepios: Livy X.47.7; *Epit.* XI.

[39] E. Gerhard *et al.*, *Etruskische Spiegel* V (1897), 54, Taf. 45; *ILLRP* 1201 for the inscription.

[40] M. Torelli, *Typography and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* (1982), 99–106; F. Coarelli, *Il foro romano: periodo repubblicano e augusteo* (1985), 91–119. For satyrs at Rome, see T. P. Wiseman, *JRS* 78 (1988), 1–13 = *Historiography and Imagination* (1994), 68–85, esp. 4f. = 73f. on Marsyas.

[41] R. Adam and D. Briquel, *MEFR(A)* 94 (1982), 33–65; cf. *LIMC* IV.1 (1988), 131. For an interpretation of the scene as a whole, see T. P. Wiseman, *PBSR* 61 (1993), 1–6.

[42] As in Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* VI.27: a libidinous satyr on Lemnos.

native Arcadia shows him in human form, as a young man with a *lagobolon*, while Pan as a wild man is attested on the coins of the Black Sea colony of Panticipaeum, which was named after the god (Pl. IA).[43] The only sign of bestiality is very unobtrusive horns, effectively undetectable in the dishevelled hair of the 'wild man' version, which is what I think we have here.

The closest analogue to the figure on the mirror is a passage in Justin's abridgement of the first-century B.C. historian Pompeius Trogus, on the Arcadian Evander at Rome:[44]

> At the foot of this hill [i.e. the Palatine] he established a shrine to Lycaeus, whom the Greeks call Pan and the Romans Lupercus. The actual image of the god is naked with a goatskin cape, the costume in which the running is done nowadays at the Lupercalia in Rome.

We know that the Luperci of the first century B.C. wore their goatskins as loincloths, and brandished goatskin thongs, not throwing-sticks.[45] However, Trogus was evidently describing a statue which may have represented an earlier state of affairs, as illustrated on the mirror.

Trogus calls the god of the Lupercal 'Lycaeus' — that is, Pan Lykaios, named after the Arcadian Mount Lykaion.[46] The Roman name he offers is merely a calque — *lupus* for *lykos* — and a back-formation from the ritual itself, like 'the god Februarius' evidently named by Livy in his lost Book XIV.[47] Livy offers a more interesting name in Book I, where he reports the capture of Remus at the Lupercalia:[48]

> They say that even at that time there existed this Lupercal festival at the Palatine hill (called Pallantium, and then Palatine, after the Arcadian city of Pallantion), and that Evander, a man of Arcadian descent who held that region many generations earlier, had brought the rite from Arcadia and instituted it there: naked young men ran about in shameless sport in honour of Lycaean Pan, whom the Romans afterwards called Inuus.

Inuus was the god of sexual penetration (*inire*, to enter),[49] an appropriate identity for Pan, whose rampant sexuality was one of his defining features. Ovid on the other hand identifies Lycaean Pan with Faunus, a god of prophecy but also a dweller in the wild with strong sexual appetites.[50] The idea of Faunus as the god of the Lupercal goes back at least as far as the historian C. Acilius in the mid-second century B.C.[51]

The three gods Pan, Inuus, and Faunus are often identified,[52] and also a fourth, Silvanus, whose characteristics notoriously overlap with those of Faunus.[53] Silvanus is never mentioned in relation to the Lupercalia, but I think one of his cult-places in Rome may well be associated with the ritual.

[43] Arcadia: B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum* (2nd edn, 1911), 445, fig. 241; U. Hübinger in R. Hägg (ed.), *The Iconography of Greek Cult in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, Kernos Suppl. 1 (1992), 208, 210. Panticapaeum: C. M. Kraay and M. Hirmer, *Greek Coins* (1966), 335, nos 440–2. See in general F. Brommer, *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 15 (1949–50), 5–42.

[44] Justin XLIII.1.7 (Appendix No. 5).

[45] Dion. Hal., *AR* 1.80.1 (Tubero fr. 3P); Nic. Dam., *FGrH* 90F130.71; cf. Ovid, *Fasti* II.445f. (thongs); V.101 (*cinctuti*); Plut., *Rom.* 21.4–5; *QR* 68. Justin's 'nunc' is inexplicable.

[46] Livy I.5.1–2; Virg., *Aen.* VIII.343f. and Serv. ad loc.; Dion. Hal., *AR* 1.32.3, 80.1; Ovid, *Fasti* II.423f.; Plut., *Rom.* 21.3; *Caes.* 61.1; *Ant.* 12.1; *QR* 68 (Appendix Nos 6–12); see also Augustine, *CD* XVIII.16 = Varro, *De gente pop. R.* fr. 29 Fraccaro. For the mysterious cults of Mt Lykaion, see W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (1983), 84–93; Borgeaud, op. cit. (n. 30), 34–42; Hübinger, op. cit. (n. 43), 189–212.

[47] Livy fr. 63 Weissenborn = 'Gelasius', *Adv. Andr.* 11–12 (*CSEL* 35.1, 456f.: Appendix No. 13). For *februare* as the purification ritual of the Luperci, see Varro, *LL* VI.13, 34; Festus (Paulus) 75–6L; Ovid, *Fasti* II.19–36; Plut., *QR* 68; *Rom.* 21.3; *Numa* 19.5; Censorinus 22.15.

[48] Livy I.5.1–2 (Appendix No. 6); cf. also Macr., *Sat.* 1.22.2 ('Pan ipse quem vocant Inuum').

[49] Festus (Paulus) 98L: 'init ponitur interdum pro concubitu'. E.g. Suet., *Aug.* 69.2; Sen., *Ep.* 95.21. Usually of animals (Livy XLI.13.2; Varro, *RR* II.7.9 etc.); see Arnob., *Adv. gent.* III.23 for Inuus as guardian of flocks.

[50] Ovid, *Fasti* II.423f. (Appendix No. 2). Faunus *a fando* (or from φωνή): Varro, *LL* VII.36; *Origo gentis R.* 4.4; Serv. auct., *ad Georg.* I.10–11; Serv., *ad Aen.* VII.47, 81; Cic., *ND* II.6 with Pease's commentary ad loc. Sexuality: Hor., *Odes* III.18.1, etc. Nonnos (no doubt from a Hellenistic source) makes Faunus the son of Circe, with clear reference to the Hesiodic 'wild man' Agrios, brother of Latinos: Hes., *Theog.* 1011–6; Nonn., *Dion.* XIII.328–32; XXXVII.56–60.

[51] Plut., *Rom.* 21.7 = Acilius, *FGrH* 813F2 (Appendix No. 14).

[52] Serv., *ad Aen.* VI.775; Probus, *ad Georg.* I.10; Ps.Acro, *ad Carm.* I.17.1; Rut. Nam. 31–6 (Appendix Nos 15–18). Cf. Plut., *Numa* 15.3: Fauni like Panes.

[53] *Origo gentis R.* 4.6 (Appendix No. 19). Silvanus as Faunus: Dion. Hal., *AR* V.16.3; Livy II.7.2; Val. Max. 1.8.5 (the voice in the Silvia Arsia). Silvanus as dangerous rapist: Augustine, *CD* VI.9 (Varro, *Ant. div.* fr. 111 Cardauns); XV.23. P. F. Dorcey, *The Cult of Silvanus*, Columbia Studies 20 (1992), 33–40, vainly tries to argue away the similarities.

The naked Luperci 'ran about' this way and that: *discurrere* and *diatheein* are the words most often used to describe them. According to Varro, they ran up and down the Sacra Via.[54] But Varro also calls their run a *lustratio* of the ancient Palatine settlement, which should mean an encircling route *round* the hill; and that is what Dionysius and Plutarch both imply.[55] There is no real contradiction, however. It was not a race, and the Luperci evidently spent much of the day running about performing their antics; on the other hand, they began from the Lupercal and they evidently ended in the Comitium, as is clear from the Lupercalia of 44 B.C., when a large crowd in the Forum, and Caesar on the Rostra, were watching the climax of the show.[56] That makes a very credible *lustratio* of the Palatine (Fig. 3), if we imagine a date for its institution when the Velabrum was still a marsh, or a backwater of the Tiber.[57]

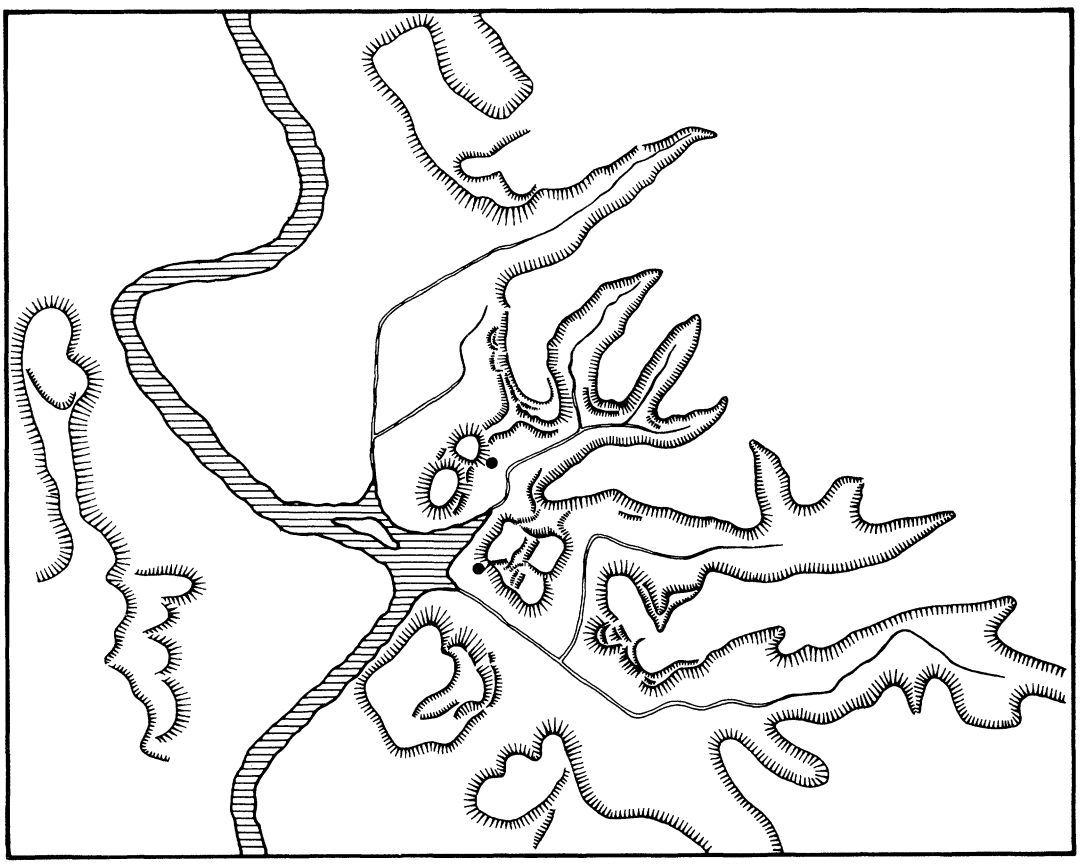


FIG. 3. MAP OF THE SITE OF ROME, DRAWN BY RODNEY FRY. THE DOTS REPRESENT THE SUGGESTED BEGINNING AND END OF THE COURSE OF THE LUPERCI, EACH THE SITE OF A FIG-TREE: LOWER, THE LUPERCAL; UPPER, 'IN FRONT OF THE TEMPLE OF SATURN' (PLINY, *NH* XV. 77).

The Lupercal and the Comitium were both, paradoxically, the site of the Ficus Ruminalis, the fig-tree under which the she-wolf suckled the twins. The duplication was explained by a miraculous relocation of the tree from Lupercal to Comitium effected by the

[54] *Discurrere*: Festus (Paulus) 49L; *Origo gentis R.* 22.1, cf. Ovid, *Fasti* II.285 (of the god). *Diatheontes* etc.: Plut., *QR* 68; *Rom.* 21.5; *Caes.* 61.2; *Ant.* 12.1. 'Luperorum per sacram viam ascensum atque descensum': Varro, *De gente pop. R.* fr. 21 Fraccaro (Augustine, *CD* XVIII.12).

[55] Varro, *LL* VI.34: 'tum februatur populus [n. 47 above], id est Lupercis nudis lustratur antiquum oppidum Palatium gregibus humanis cinctum'. *Lustrare* also at Ovid, *Fasti* II.32; V.102; Festus (Paulus) 75L; Censorinus 22.15; cf. Dion. Hal., *AR* I.80.1 (*perielthein*); Plut., *Rom.* 21.4 (*peridromē*); 21.8 (*peritheein*).

[56] Cic., *Phil.* II.85; Plut., *Caes.* 61.3; *Ant.* 12.1; Appian, *BC* II.109; Dio XLIV.11.2.

[57] Varro, *LL* V.43f., 156. Cicero (*Cael.* 26) was probably right to date the origin of the Luperci 'before civilisation and the rule of law'.

wonder-working augur Attus Navius.[58] One is tempted to guess that there were necessarily two fig-trees, one at each end of the Lupercalia run. Fig-trees were associated with fertility and with goats, both prominent aspects of the Lupercalia,[59] and late authors give 'Ficarius' as an epithet of Faunus.[60] In the passage where he describes Attus Navius' miracle, Pliny refers to a fig-tree, possibly the same one, that grew in front of the temple of Saturn but had to be removed, with a sacrifice by the Vestals, because it was undermining the statue of Silvanus.[61]

Silvanus and a fig-tree, in front of the temple of Saturn; and Propertius, in his poem on Tarpeia, offers a grove of Silvanus, complete with a cave and a spring, below the *arx* of the Capitol on the Forum side.[62] The imagined landscape is very like that of the Lupercal.[63] The area in front of the Saturn temple was supposed to be where the bones of Orestes were placed after he had brought the image and cult of Artemis Tauropolos to Aricia. In the more usual version of the myth, Orestes died in Arcadia.[64] The details escape us, but it looks as if the Comitium below the Capitol, like the Lupercal below the Palatine, was the site of an early cult imported from Arcadia, and that the two were linked by the course of the Luperci, from one fig-tree to the other.

IV

In dealing with Pan, Inuus, Faunus, and Silvanus as gods of sexual energy and desire, we must not omit two minor characters who are frequently associated — or indeed identified — with them in this respect. They are Incubus, or Incubo, and Ephialtes: he who lies on you (in Latin) and he who jumps on you (in Greek).[65] They in turn are associated, or identified, with the *pilosi*, the hairy ones.[66]

The *pilosi* happen to be attested first in the Vulgate, as the wild creatures who Isaiah predicts will dance in the wilderness that once was Babylon, but St Jerome took them from an earlier tradition in authors unknown to us.[67] Strabo has Ephialtes along with Lamia, Gorgo, and Mormolyke as a bogey to frighten children;[68] Petronius has Incubo as a goblin sitting on treasure — snatch his cap off, and it's yours;[69] coins of Bithynian Nicaea in the second and third centuries A.D. show Ephialtes, goat-legged and wearing a cap, in his guise as Epopheles, 'the helpful one'.[70] But above all Ephialtes and Incubus (or Incubo) were the names of the god of nightmare, who sits on your chest while you're asleep and stops you breathing.[71] Peonies

[58] *In comitio*: Tac., *Ann*, XIII.58.1; Festus 168L; Conon, *FGrH* 20F1.48.8; Dion. Hal., *AR* III.71.5; Torelli, op. cit. (n. 40), 98f. *In Cermalo* (i.e. Lupercal): Varro, *LL* V.54; Livy 1.4.5; Ovid, *Fasti* II.411f.; Plut., *Rom.* 4.1; *Origo gentis R.* 20.3. Both (miracle of Attus Navius): Pliny, *NH* XV.77.

[59] Isid., *Orig.* XVII.7.17 ('ficus a fecunditate'); the wild fig-tree is *caprificus*. See n. 2 above for the Luperci as goats.

[60] Jerome, *ad Isaiam* 13.21 (*PL* XXIV.159); Isid., *Orig.* VIII.11.104 (Appendix Nos 24, 27). Cf. Pelagonius, *Vet.* 31 (p. 41 Ihm) for 'Fatuus ficarius'; Fatuus was another name for Faunus (e.g. Serv., *ad Aen.* VI.775, Appendix No. 15).

[61] Pliny, *NH* XV.77 ('Fuit et ante Saturni aedem . . .'); he gave the date of its removal, but the numerals have been lost from the text.

[62] Prop. IV.5.3–6, cf. 13f. for a spring at the site of the Curia; the 'springs of Janus' (Ovid, *Fasti* 1.257–76; *Met.* XIV.778–804; Varro, *LL* V.156) must have been thereabouts. For the 'wood below the Capitol' in what was later the Forum, see Dion. Hal., *AR* II.50.2; for the possibility that the Comitium was once a *lucus*, see J. Vaahtera in *Senatus Populusque Romanus: Studies in Roman Republican Legislation*, Acta Inst. Rom. Finlandiae 13 (1993), 103–7.

[63] Dion. Hal., *AR* 1.32.4, 79.8. 'Satyr country': Wiseman, op. cit. (n. 40), 12f. = 84.

[64] Serv., *ad Aen.* II.116; cf. Hdt. 1.67f. (bones of Orestes in Tegea); Paus. VIII.5.5; Strabo XIII.1.3 (582), etc.

[65] Serv., *ad Aen.* VI.775 (Appendix No. 15); Ps.Acro, *ad Carm.* 1.17.1 (Appendix No. 17); Artemidorus, *Oneirocr.* II.37; Caelius Aurelianus, *Morb. chron.* 1.3.54; Augustine, *CD* XV.23; Jerome, *Vita Pauli* 8 = *PL* XXIII.23 (Appendix Nos 20–3); cf. also Ps.Augustine, *De spiritu et anima* 25 (*PL* XL.789). For the etymology of Ephialtes, cf. *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* (ed. Dindorf) III.248; Eustath., *ad Iliad.* 560.10f.

[66] Jerome, *ad Isaiam* 13.21 = *PL* XXIV.159; *Myth. Vatic.* II.24 Bode; Greg. Magn., *Moralia* VII.36 = *PL* LXXV.786; Isid., *Orig.* VIII.11.103f. (Appendix Nos 24–7).

[67] Vulg., *Isaias* 13.21, 34.13. Jerome, *ad Isaiam* 34.13 (*PL* XXIV.372): '. . . onocentauri et pilosi et Lamia, quae gentilium fabulae et poetarum figmenta describunt.'

[68] Strabo 1.2.8 (19); cf. *PCG* VII.395–7 (Phrynichus' *Ephialtes*); Aristoph., *Wasps* 1037f. and scholia ad loc.

[69] Petr., *Sat.* 38.8; cf. Porph., *ad Sat.* II.6.12. 'Incubare' was the *mot juste* for guarding treasure (references in A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (1890), 173), but it was more often dragons that did it: e.g. Festus (Paulus) 59L; Phaedrus IV.21; Martial XII.53.3. For the cap, cf. Hübinger, op. cit. (n. 43), 198, 204: worn by dedicants (hunters and shepherds) at Pan's sanctuary on Mt Lykaion.

[70] *LIMC* III.1 (1986), 802. Epopheles: Cael. Aur., *Morb. chron.* 1.3.54 (Appendix No. 21); Hesychius s.vv. *Opheles* and *Epopheles*; cf. also ὠφελείας at Artemidorus II.37 (Appendix No. 20).

[71] Cael. Aur., *Morb. chron.* 1.3.54–7; Macr., *ad Somn. Scip.* 1.3.7; Eustath., *ad Iliad.* 561.8; *ad Odyss.* 1687.52; Aristoph., *Wasps* 1037f., etc.

will keep him away; Pliny, who tells us this, calls the nightmare demons Fauni,[72] and since their nocturnal assaults were often sexual,[73] it is clear that we are dealing with the libidinous and many-faceted god of the Lupercal.

At this point we return to the Praenestine mirrors, and in particular to a pair, dated to the late fourth or early third century B.C. and clearly from the same workshop (Pl. IB), which are engraved with related scenes.[74] The first, now in Baltimore (Pl. II; Fig. 4), shows a Dionysiac scene surrounded by a vine with grapes. To the left, a flute-girl. To the right, with an amphora ready to hand, a young man, apparently naked, blows into a conch-shell(?); he is not garlanded, and two little horns appear from his hair. In the centre, a man with a garland on his head sprawls on the cushions, clearly dead drunk, while behind him, evidently trying to revive him by pouring wine on him from a kylix, is a garlanded and bearded figure with a thyrsus in the crook of his left arm. He seems at first to be hairy, but the left forearm and right wrist show that he is wearing a tight-fitting hairy costume.[75] He looks rather sad; and the young man and the flute-girl seem to have somewhat disapproving expressions.

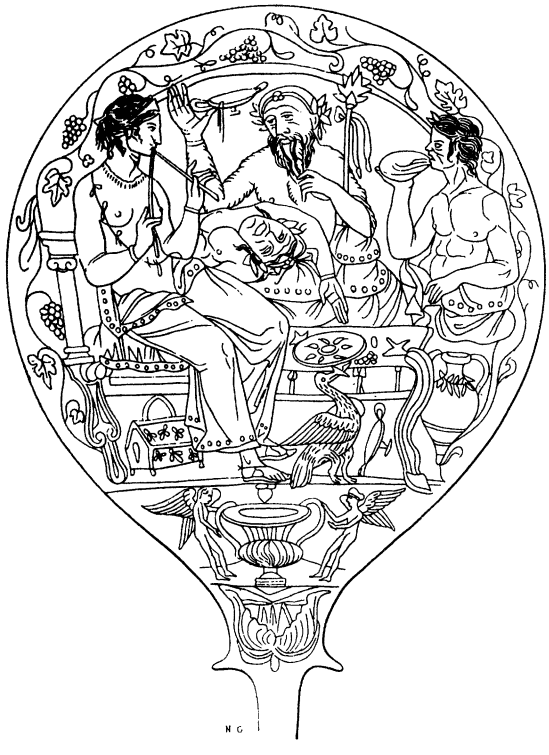


FIG. 4. PRAENESTINE MIRROR (SEE PLS IB, II): DRAWING FROM *ETR. SPIEGEL* V, TAF. 43.

For the second scene (Pl. III: the mirror is in the Villa Giulia at Rome), we have moved from the *triclinium* to the *cubiculum*. A lady, garlanded and with an elaborate coiffure, lies on the bed naked, holding back the mantle round her shoulders in a gesture of invitation. She is being pawed by what looks like the same bearded figure in the hairy costume (his thyrsus is

[72] Pliny, *NH* XXV.29; XXX.84; Dioscorides, *Mat. med.* III.140; cf. Aetius Amidenus, *Med.* I.84 (*CMG* VIII.1.50) on the peony as *ephialtia*.

[73] Cael. Aur., *Morb. chron.* I.3.56; Paul. Aeg. III.15 (*CMG* IX.1.158f.). *Incub(it)are* in sexual sense: Plaut., *Persa* 284; Pomp. Mela III.83.

[74] *Etr. Spiegel* V (n. 39 above), 51–3, Taf. 42–3.

[75] Compare the 'curious papposilen, obviously wearing a costume' on a volute-crater of the Arpi painter, also of late fourth- or early third-century date: A. D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou, *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia* II (1982), 924, pl. 362; better illustration in A. D. Trendall, *Red-Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily* (1989), fig. 266. See also the actor playing Silenos on the 'Pronomos vase' (Attic red-figure, *c.* 400 B.C.): R. A. S. Seaford, *Euripides Cyclops* (1984), 3f., pl. III. Such hairy-costumed performers evidently pre-date the genre of satyr-play, and appear on black-figure vases from the first half of the sixth century onward: see G. M. Hedreen, *Silens in Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painting* (1992), 113f., 125f., 128, 163f., pls 4, 31, 37, 44; also *JHS* 114 (1994), pl. IV(a), where the hairy skin of the ithyphallic silen/satyr stops at the elbows, and is, therefore, presumably a costume.

propped up behind him), while to the right a colleague in the same gear leaps up high, with a torch in one hand and the amphora in the other. Between them the young man, his horns now much more prominent, gallops across the bed playing the syrinx with his left hand and pointing with his right at the lady's private parts. They still do not look very happy, and it is worth noticing that they are not ithyphallic.

Given that mirrors were often wedding-presents, it is the marriage-torch that tells the story for us. The bride awaits; the bridegroom is incapably drunk; and the gods of sexual desire try to wake him up and show him what to do. The iconography even tells us who they are. The two figures in costume are 'hairy ones', *pilosi*. The one on the left is lying on the lady: *incumbere*, whence Incubus or Incubo. The one on the right is leaping up: *ephallesthai*, whence Ephialtes. The young man plays Pan's pipes, and has Pan's horns; but the direction of his pointing finger is a clear instruction to *inire*, whence Inuus.

Inuus is named by Livy as the god of the Lupercal. He had a cult-place, Castrum Inui, on the coast of Latium between Antium and Ardea;[76] it was either identical with, or very close to, the place called Aphrodision by Strabo, Pliny, and Pomponius Mela. Cicero refers to a birth-goddess, Natio, whose shrine was one of a group in the territory of Ardea at which sacrifice was still regularly offered in the first century B.C.[77] It looks as if Inuus was part of a complex of ancient cults concerned with human reproduction and fertility. Moreover, Antium and Ardea were the nearest ports to Praeneste, and linked to the inland city by the cult of Fortuna.[78] Fortuna, the guardian goddess of Servius Tullius, was a neighbour of the Lupercal at Rome.[79]

Before we leave the mirror scene, let us remember that the *pilosi* Incubus and Ephialtes are evidently in costume. Are we to think of them as supernatural beings, or human performers? If the latter, are they performing in a stage drama or an act of ritual? Perhaps these categories are too schematic: are they human performers impersonating supernatural beings, in a drama which is in itself a ritual?[80] The questions cannot be answered, but are relevant equally to the Lupercalia. For according to Varro the Luperci were *ludii*, players or performers; the first stone theatre in Rome, begun in 154 B.C. but destroyed soon after, was to have overlooked the Lupercal;[81] and in Lactantius' time (though by then the circumstances were somewhat different) the Luperci even wore masks.[82]

V

I think it is clear from all this that the Roman Pan attested by Eratosthenes is perfectly explicable as the Hellenized form of an archaic Latin god of fertility. But there is another aspect of his personality to be explored.

The longer version of Servius' commentary on Virgil's phrase 'gelida sub rupe Lupercal' adds this learned comment to the identification of Pan Lycaeus:[83]

> There are those who say that this Pan is Enyalios, the warlike god; others call him Liber Pater, because a he-goat is sacrificed to him, which is the offering appropriate to Liber.

[76] Livy 1.5.2 (Appendix No. 6); Virg., *Aen.* VI.775; Martial IV.60.1; Sil. It. VIII.359: Rut. Nam. 227–36 confuses it with Castrum Novum in Etruria. Cf. G. and F. Tomassetti, *La campagna romana* II (1910), 460f. on a 'villa Priapi in agro Ardeatino', tenth century A.D.

[77] Strabo V.3.5 (232); Pliny, *NH* III.57; Pomp. Mela II.71; Cic., *ND* III.47. For the archaic context, see M. Torelli in A. Mastrocinque (ed.), *Ercole in Occidente* (1993), 91–117. Note that Horace (*Odes* III.18.6) calls Faunus 'Veneris sodalis'; and the Rutuli of Castrum Inui are 'Faunigenae' in Sil. It. VIII.356. Cf. also Vitr., *Arch.* VIII.3.2 for springs smelling of sulphur *in Ardeatino* — like Faunus' oracle at Albunea (Virg., *Aen.* VII.84).

[78] Coarelli, op. cit. (n. 35), 74–9. Cf. Torelli, op. cit. (n. 77), 98: 'il rapporto tra Preneste ed Anzio è strettissimo'.

[79] Ovid, *Fasti* VI.476–9, 569–80; F. Coarelli, *Il foro boario* (1988), 305–28.

[80] cf. R. Seaford, *Reciprocity and Ritual* (1994), 266–9 for men dressed as satyrs as part of wedding ritual; ibid., 308 for weddings and Dionysiac mysteries, 270 n. 154 for the mysteries as a *spectacle*.

[81] *Ludii*: Varro, *Ant. div.* fr. 80 Cardauns (Tertull., *Spect.* 5.3); see P. L. Schmidt in G. Vogt-Spira (ed.), *Studien zur vorliterarischen Periode im frühen Rom* (1989), 77–133, esp. 88f. Theatre: Vell. Pat. I.15.3; for the circumstances, see J. A. North in *Apodosis: Essays Presented to Dr W. W. Cruikshank* (1992), 75–83.

[82] Lact., *Div. inst.* I.21.45: 'nudi, uncti, coronati, aut personati aut luto obliti currunt.' But see n. 131 below.

[83] Serv. auct., *ad Aen.* VII.343 (Appendix No. 7).

Liber Pater, otherwise identified as Dionysus, is intelligible enough; but why 'man-slaying Enyalios', 'the warrior with the flashing helmet'?[84] That doesn't sound like Pan. However, Virgil at one point calls the Lupercal the cave of Mars, and in one version of the foundation story Mars fathers the twins there.[85] There was also an aetiology of the running of the Luperci which derived it from the victory of Romulus and Remus over Amulius, and their triumphant run homewards waving their swords.[86]

That is appropriate to the cult supposedly founded below the temple of Victory by Evander the son of Nikostrate, a cult analogous to that of Pan the bringer of Victory at Athens.[87] The military associations are made to extend also to the god's Latin analogues: Faunus is a son of Ares in Dionysius and Appian, and by a wonderful bilingual pun Inuus (Ἐνυοῦς) is made the son of Enyo, the war-goddess whose Roman name was Bellona.[88] The obvious context for these versions is the Roman conquest of Italy; the real temple of Victory was dedicated in 294, and the temple of Bellona was vowed in 296 and dedicated a few years later.[89]

Now, an Inuus who is really Enuous is no longer derived from *inire*, and has presumably lost his penetrative function. The source that gives us this eccentric etymology carefully explains that Bellona's son was goat-footed, and very quick at running up and down hills. What defines him now is not sex but speed.[90] And the reason for that, I think, is that he has become the god of the *equites*.

The original Roman cavalry were the Celeres, the swift ones — supposedly the flying squad of three hundred horsemen who served as Romulus' bodyguard.[91] Their real origin was probably the late fourth century, when the Romans, who had had no significant cavalry up to then, borrowed the idea from the Samnites.[92] The defining ritual of the *equester ordo*, the parade (*transvectio*) to the temple of Castor every 15 July, was introduced by Q. Fabius Rullianus in his censorship in 304 B.C.,[93] evidently an innovation in recognition of a new élite corps. The first commander of Romulus' Celeres was called Fabius in one surviving version of the story.[94]

In view of the later reputation of the Fabii, based on the patient caution of the great Cunctator, it may seem paradoxical to associate them with *celeritas*, of all characteristics. But that is what their enemies evidently said of them. The two most notorious Fabian exploits in the tradition of the early Republic are, first, their offer to fight the Veientes on their own, which led to the disastrous defeat at the Cremera, and second, their rash engagement with the Gauls at Clusium, which led to the even more disastrous sack of Rome. Before the Cunctator redefined their image, the Fabii could be represented as men who acted first and thought afterwards — gallantly courageous or dangerously headstrong, according to your prejudice.[95] The Celeres themselves were similarly controversial: according to Plutarch's version, they were one of the symptoms of Romulus' increasingly tyrannical rule, and the first thing Numa did was to disband them.[96] Perhaps what was at issue, in the social and political context of the late fourth century, was the behaviour of young aristocrats liberated from the discipline of the phalanx by the innovation of swift and mobile cavalry. Was it flair, promptness, and glamorous high spirits, or rashness, arrogance, and mindless exhibitionism?

In his account of Roman military institutions, Polybius makes a very interesting observation about the Roman cavalry. Nowadays, he says, they are armed like Greek cavalry; but originally they used no body-armour and fought naked except for loincloths (*perizōmata*),

[84] Hom., *Il.* II.651; XXII.132.

[85] Virg., *Aen.* VIII.630 and Serv. auct. ad loc. (Fabius, *Ann. Lat.* fr. 4P); Serv. auct., *ad Aen.* I.273 (n. 36 above).

[86] Plut., *Rom.* 21.6, from Butas' elegiac *Aetia*.

[87] See above, nn. 30–5.

[88] Dion. Hal., *AR* I.31.2; Appian, *Reg.* fr. 1 (identifying Faunus and Latinus); Diomed., *Gramm. Lat.* I.475 Keil (Appendix No. 28).

[89] Livy X.33.9; Livy X.19.17–21, cf. Ovid, *Fasti* VI.201–4.

[90] Appendix No. 28. So too Faunus: Hor., *Odes* I.17.1f. (*velox*); Ovid, *Fasti* II.285f.

[91] Dion. Hal., *AR* II.13.2; Festus (Paulus) 48L; Pliny, *NH* XXXIII.35; Serv., *ad Aen.* XI.603 (*a celeritate*). The *tribunus Celerum* had the same relationship to the king as the *magister equitum* to the dictator (and the Praetorian Prefect to the emperor): Pomp., *Dig.* I.2.2.15–19; Lydus, *De mag.* I.14 (cf. 37).

[92] *Ineditum Vaticanum*, *FGrH* 839F1.3 (ll. 19–22).

[93] Val. Max. II.2.9 (Appendix No. 29); *De vir. ill.* 32.3.

[94] Jerome, *Chron. ad Ol.* 6.3 (Fotheringham p. 152): 'Remus rutro pastorali a Fabio Romuli duce occisus.' The implement is significant, given the ancient etymology of 'Fabius' from words meaning 'to dig': Festus (Paulus) 77L; Plut., *Fab. Max.* 1.2.

[95] The Fabian legends, favourable and hostile, are discussed by E. Montanari, *Roma: momenti di una presa di coscienza sociale* (1976), 83–187, esp. 114f., 130f. on Fabii as *celeres*. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* II.205 (the Fabii reach the Cremera 'celeri passu') and 223 ('latis discursibus', cf. n. 54 above for *discurrere*).

[96] Plut., *Rom.* 26.2; *Numa* 7.4.

in order to maximize their *speed* in getting on and off their horses.[97] There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of Polybius' information, and it gives us valuable confirmation of the military role of the Celeres in the late fourth century. It also directs us back to the Lupercalia.

'Naked except for loincloths' is also a description of the Luperci, as we meet them in Dionysius and Plutarch. Ovid calls them *cinctuti*, a very rare word meaning not just 'girt' (that would be *cincti*), but 'wearing the *cinctus*' — that is, the minimal covering used by young men at exercise, sometimes called *campestre* after the Campus where the young men trained.[98] Pompeius Trogus, however, (as excerpted by Justin) describes an ancient statue of the god of the Lupercal naked but for a goatskin used as a cape — exactly the costume of Pan on the Praenestine mirror in about 330 B.C.[99] His assertion that that is also what the Luperci wore directly contradicts the descriptions in Dionysius, Ovid, and Plutarch.

I suggest that the statue represented an archaic form of the Lupercus costume, which was then superseded, perhaps for reasons of modesty, by the goatskin loincloth. And since the 'reformed' Luperci were thus dressed (or undressed) like the Celeres, it is an economical hypothesis to assume that the redefinition of Inuus as a quasi-Celer dates from the same time. Faunus as the son of Mars, Inuus as the son of Bellona, Pan as Enyalios, the Luperci's run as the triumphant waving of swords, Evander's Lupercal shrine associated with the temple of Victory above — all these things fit most comfortably into the years between the vowing and the dedication of the Victory temple (*c.* 307–294 B.C.). The key moment was no doubt the censorship of Q. Fabius Rullianus in 304.[100]

Valerius Maximus provides a confirmation of the hypothesis, in the second section of his chapter on traditional customs (*de institutis antiquis*).[101] The examples he offers are in hierarchical order, from the Senate and magistrates down to the *populus*, interpreted in military terms as the infantry. His one item on the *equester ordo* — of which the Celeres were the original nucleus — refers to the two occasions each year on which the young cavalrymen were allowed to 'show themselves off' to the city: 'equestris vero ordinis iuventus omnibus annis bis urbem *spectaculo sui* sub magnis auctoribus celebrabant'. Those two occasions were the parade (*transvectio*) on 15 July, and the Lupercalia on 15 February.

The *magni auctores* to whom Valerius refers are respectively Fabius Rullianus, who instituted the equestrian parade as censor in 304, and Romulus and Remus, who were supposed to have instituted the Lupercalia after their grandfather Numitor, now restored as king of Alba, had given them permission to found a city at the place where they had been brought up. The foundation of the Lupercalia by the twins is an aetiological explanation for the division of the Luperci into two groups, the Fabiani and the Quinctiales;[102] Valerius refers to this element of the ritual with the phrase 'divisa pastorali turba'.

Many items in Valerius' collection of anecdotes, including some in this chapter,[103] come from the family history of the Fabii Maximi. The fact that he associates the Lupercalia with the cavalry, and that one of the two groups of Luperci was named after the Fabii, makes one suspect that perhaps *both* the events he mentions were innovations by Fabius Rullianus in 304. The parade was a wholly novel institution, for which Fabius himself properly took the responsibility; but if he also introduced changes in the traditional ritual of the Lupercalia, they would need to be disguised as a return to ancient practice, with an appropriate aetiology from the distant past.

Ovid too tells the story of the origin of the Lupercalia, and his narrative includes a very revealing detail. While the meat was being prepared after the sacrifice of a goat to Faunus, the twins and their followers were exercising naked. It was reported that robbers were stealing their flocks. They ran off in pursuit in different directions; Remus and the Fabii caught the robbers, brought back the booty, and helped themselves to the meat, which was now ready; Romulus and the Quinctii returned empty-handed, and had to go hungry.[104] The story is very

[97] Pol. VI.25.3f.; E. Rawson, *PBSR* 39 (1971), 20f. = *Roman Culture and Society* (1991), 43–5, suggesting the heavy cavalry were introduced between 212 and 206 B.C.

[98] See n. 45 above. *Cinctus*, *campestre*: Varro, *LL* V.114; Ps.Acro, *ad Epist.* I.11.18; Augustine, *CD* XIV.17; Isid., *Etym.* XIX.22.5; 33.1.

[99] See nn. 41–4 above.

[100] See nn. 32–5, 83–8 above.

[101] Val. Max. II.2.9 (Appendix No. 29).

[102] Festus (Paulus) 78L; Festus 308L; Ovid, *Fasti* II.375–8; *CIL* VI.1933, 33421; XI.3205.

[103] Val. Max. II.2.1, 4. Fabian items take up nearly a page in the index to Kempf's Teubner edition.

[104] Ovid, *Fasti* II.359–80, esp. 374 'haec certe non nisi *victor* edet'.

similar to that of the Pinarii at the Ara Maxima: they came late and had to go without.[105] In each case, there must have been a ritual reason why certain persons involved in the sacrifice were not allowed to share the feast.

We know that the cult of Hercules at the Ara Maxima was reorganized in 312. I suggest that the Lupercalia were reorganized in 304, that the two teams of Luperci were introduced at that time, and that this doubling of the number of potential participants made necessary an aetiological explanation why only one of the two groups could share the sacrificial meat. If we are right to attribute the innovation to Fabius Rullianus in 304, it is no surprise that the Fabian group was privileged.

It was Mommsen who pointed out that the Fabii and the Quinctii, after whom the two groups of Luperci were named, were the only patrician gentes who ever used the praenomen Kaeso. The name, he suggested, was derived from *caedere*, to beat, with reference to the ritual of the Lupercalia in which the young men beat whomever they ran into.[106] Now, the best known Kaeso Quinctius was the young patrician who was supposedly put on trial in 461 B.C. for beating up plebeians. His combination of glamour and arrogance reflects, I think, the ambivalent image of the Celeres.[107]

The Fabii who bore the name Kaeso are also significant. There were at least two of them, and possibly four. The two certain ones were K. Fabius Vibulanus, who as consular tribune in 479 led the ill-fated Fabian army to the Cremera, and K. Fabius Ambustus, who in 391 led the embassy to Clusium which provoked the Gauls to march on Rome.[108] That is, both the episodes in which Fabian haste and thoughtlessness led to disaster were attributed to Fabii called Kaeso. However, there are also traces of a tradition which gave the name to Fabian heroes. In one version of the story of the priest who during the siege of the Capitol miraculously walked through the Gallic lines to perform sacrifice, his name is given as K. Fabius Dorsuo (otherwise Gaius).[109] And in one version of the story of the exploration of the Ciminian forest during the war against the Etruscans in 310, the heroic spy is named as K. Fabius (otherwise Marcus), the brother of Fabius Rullianus himself.[110] It looks as if the Kaesones, both Fabii and Quinctii, were exploited by both sides in the political controversies of the late fourth century, as patrician charisma strove with plebeian constitutionalism for ideological supremacy. That in turn implies that the Luperci were now controversial, one of the symbols of a patrician ideology which claimed credit for Rome's military success but was resisted by its opponents as arrogant and tyrannical.

VI

The half-century from the Caudine Forks to the defeat of Pyrrhus was a period of intense conflict, crisis, and innovation. It is unrealistic to try to separate out religious, political, and military elements. Just as Appius Claudius' censorship in 312 revolutionized both the cult of Hercules and the political influence of the urban plebs, so that of his enemy Fabius Rullianus in 304 honoured the new military role of the young aristocrats and also, I suggest, radically reorganized the Lupercalia.

Two teams of Luperci were created, named after aristocratic gentes and consisting of young cavalrymen, dismounted but stripped for action. The loincloths that were the uniform of the Celeres enabled them to show off their physique without the undignified nudity of the traditional Luperci. The explicitly sexual associations of the Pan cult were minimized, Inuus, Faunus, and Pan himself being reinterpreted as divinities of war. The ritual run, if we may trust the aetiology preserved in Plutarch, now took place with the waving of swords. The Lupercal cave itself must have been involved in the ambitious restructuring of the hillside

[105] Plut., *QR* 60; Serv., *ad Aen.* VIII.269; Serv. auct., *ad Aen.* VIII.270; *Origo gentis R.* 8.3; Lydus, *De mag.* I.23: Pinarii ἀπὸ τοῦ πεινᾶν, another bilingual etymology.

[106] T. Mommsen, *Römische Forschungen* I (1864), 17; also plebeian K. Duillii (*Xvir* 450, *cos.* 336) and K. Acilii (grandfather of *cos.* 150). Val. Max. II.2.9 (*obvios*); Nic. Dam., *FGrH* 90F130.71; Plut., *Rom.* 21.5; *Caes.* 61.2.

[107] Livy III.11.5–13.10; Dion. Hal., *AR* X.5–8.

[108] Livy II.48.5–50.11; Dion. Hal., *AR* IX.14.1; 15.3; 16.3; 22.5. Of the 'three sons of M. Fabius Ambustus' sent to Clusium in 391 (Livy V.35.5), the senior was evidently Kaeso, who had already held the consular tribunate three times (Livy IV.61.4; V.10.1; 24.1).

[109] Dio VII fr. 25.5; Gaius in Livy V.46.2; 52.3; Val. Max. I.1.11.

[110] Front., *Strat.* I.2.2; cf. Livy IX.36.2, 'M. Fabium, Caesonem alii . . . tradunt'.

below the new temple of Victory, which was dedicated the year after Rullianus' great victory at Sentinum in 295.

Such innovations would not please everyone, and when the victory in 295 was followed by three years of continuous pestilence,[111] we can reasonably guess that Rullianus' enemies attributed it to the anger of the gods. This was the epidemic that caused the Romans to summon Asklepios (Aesculapius) from Epidauros in 292.[112] The word used of it is *lues*, plague, a contagion of the sort that lustration rituals like the traditional Lupercalia were designed to prevent,[113] and it seems to have been sent by the god of the Lupercal himself.

The first-century A.D. medical writer Soranus, discussing the choking symptoms of nightmare, insisted that Incubus/Ephialtes was not a god but a disease, of which the symptoms were pallor and emaciation.[114] He quotes a Greek authority, 'Silimachus the Hippocratic' (possibly Callimachus, and if so third century B.C.), as saying that many people at Rome had died of this disease, incurring it through contagion as if in plague (*velut lue*). The reference must surely be to the plague that caused the embassy to Epidauros, of which Ovid mentions *pallentia corpora* among the symptoms.[115] When Asklepios came to Rome, he stopped on the way at Antium, in Inuus' territory; he was finally installed on the Tiber island, where a century later a temple was also set up to Faunus. Not only that, but Ephialtes is named by the late medical writer Oribasius as the 'sacred interpreter and minister' of Asklepios.[116] It seems that the Romans, and Asklepios on their behalf, were going out of their way to mollify an offended god.

Fifteen years later, Rome was afflicted by another epidemic. This time the problem was miscarriages and still-births, both animal and human. The date, 276 B.C., is given by Orosius, and a fragment of Livy reveals that this was the occasion when the Lupercalia flagellation ritual was introduced. According to Augustine, Asklepios was no help; he announced that gynaecology was not his speciality.[117]

What happened can be read in Ovid, in a narrative transposed to the time of Romulus. Juno, goddess of childbirth, was consulted; she announced, with a clear allusion to the name Inuus, that 'the sacred he-goat must enter the women of Rome'. Pan is the goat-god, and we know that the Luperci, ministers of Pan Lykaios, were called *crepi*, a corruption of *capri*, he-goats.[118] One obvious way to fulfil the command would be for the Roman women to submit to sexual penetration by the Luperci. However, an alternative interpretation was found and adopted. When the Luperci made their goat-sacrifice on 15 February, the victim was to be skinned and the pelt cut up into thongs, with which the women of Rome must allow themselves to be whipped. In that way, if the skin was broken, the he-goat would have 'entered' them. According to Festus, the goatskin thongs were called *amiculum Iunonis*; no doubt 'wearing Juno's little cloak' was a euphemistic formula for offering yourself half-naked to the lash. Plutarch and Juvenal tell us that by the second century A.D. ladies used merely to hold out their hands to the Luperci 'like children in school'; but Ovid's phrase *terga percutienda dabant* suggests that originally it was more serious than that.[119]

All the literary evidence makes it clear that the Lupercalia ritual was an occasion for laughter and enjoyment: the words used are *paidia*, *gelōs*, *hilaritas*, *lusus*, and *lascivia*. Naked young men, their bodies oiled or smeared with mud, ran about striking anyone who got in their way. The fertility ritual introduced in 276 made the fun more brutal, and no doubt more exciting for the onlookers: the young women were no longer to run away, but to offer

[111] Val. Max. 1.8.2 (*triennio* before 293); Zonaras VIII.1 (prophesied in 297).

[112] Ovid, *Met.* XV.622–744; Val. Max. 1.8.2; Livy X.47.6f.; Plut., *QR* 94; Lact., *Inst. div.* II.7.13; *De vir. ill.* 22.

[113] *Lues*: Ovid, *Met.* XV.626; Lact., *Inst. div.* II.7.13. Purification: see above, nn. 47 and 55.

[114] Soranus, *Causae*, quoted in Cael. Aur., *Morb. chron.* I.3.55f.

[115] Cael. Aur., *Morb. chron.* I.3.57; Ovid, *Met.* XV.627. For Callimachus (Pol. XII.25d.4; Pliny, *NH* XXI.12, etc.), see H. von Staden, *Herophilus: the Art of Medicine in Early Alexandria* (1989), 480–3. The alternative emendation is 'Lysimachus', date uncertain but pre-Neronian (von Staden, op. cit., 564).

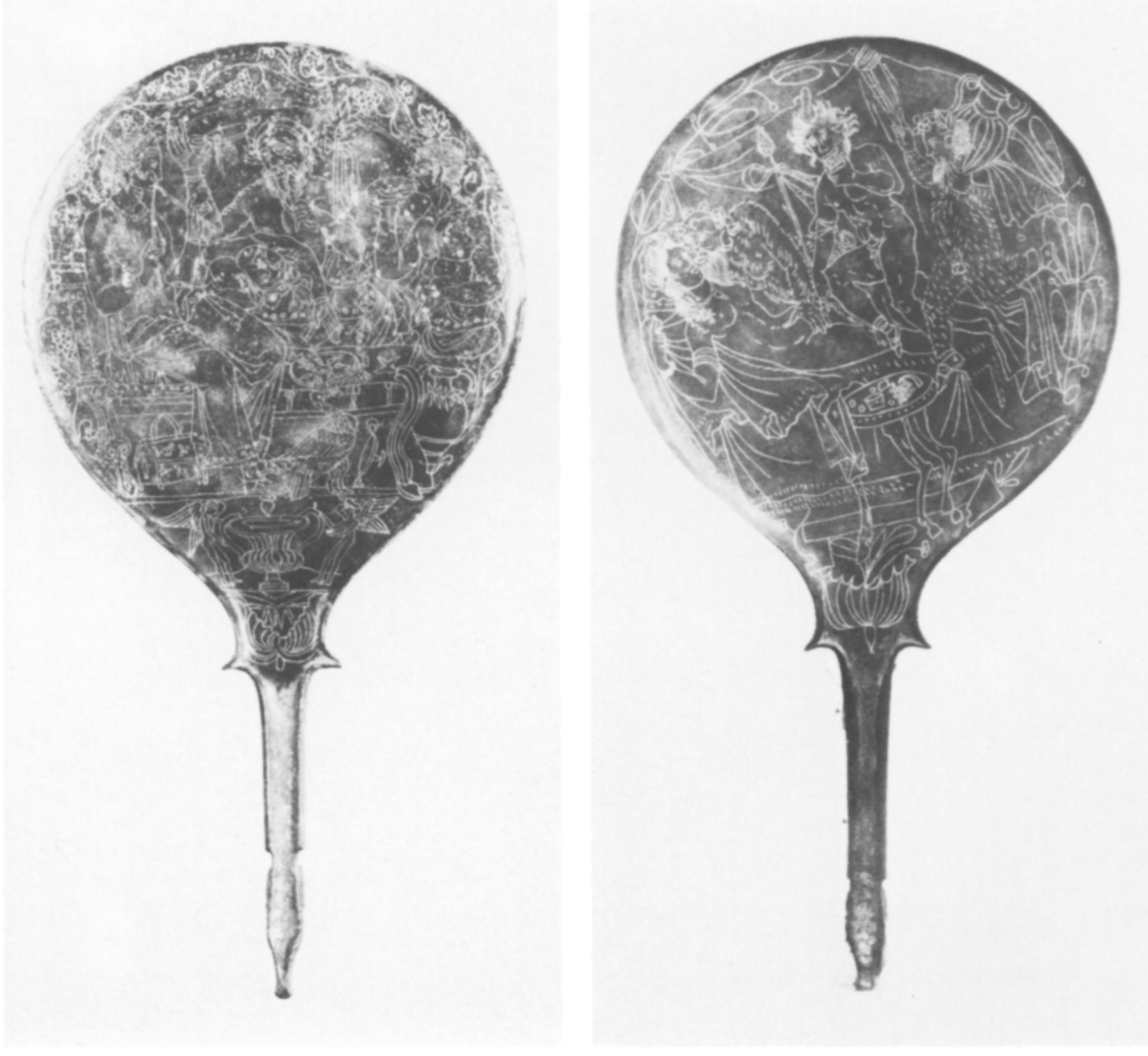
[116] Antium: Ovid, *Met.* XV.719–28; Val. Max. 1.2.8; *De vir. ill.* 22.3. Faunus: n. 10 above. Ephialtes: Oribasius, *Synops.* VIII.2 (Appendix No. 30). The Celeres were evidently portrayed in Asklepios' temple, but now renamed *ferentarii* (Varro, *LL* VII.57, unarmoured cavalry).

[117] Orosius IV.2.2; Livy fr. 63 Weissenborn (Appendix No. 13); Augustine, *CD* III.17. See A. W. J. Holleman, *Pope Gelasius I and the Lupercalia* (1974), 20f.; innovation already emphasized by W. F. Otto, *Philologus* 26 (1913), 183–5.

[118] Ovid, *Fasti* II.425–52; 441 for 'sacer hircus inito'. *Crepi*: n. 2 above.

[119] Festus (Paulus) 75–6L; Plut., *Caes.* 61.2 ('shaggy thongs', as at *Ant.* 12.1); Juv. 2.142; Ovid, *Fasti* II.445f. There may have been an Arcadian precedent: see Paus. VIII.23.1 for the flagellation of women at the Dionysus festival at Alea, on the instructions of Delphi.

A. FOURTH-CENTURY B.C. COINS OF (LEFT) THE ARCADIAN FEDERATION AND (RIGHT) PANTICAPAEUM ON THE BLACK SEA: PAN IN HUMAN FORM WITH *LAGOBOLON*, AND AS A WILD MAN.
(*Photos by courtesy of the British Museum.*)



B. PRAENESTINE MIRRORS, LATE FOURTH OR EARLY THIRD CENTURY B.C. (*ETR. SPIEGEL* V. 51–3, TAF. 42–3). SEE RESPECTIVELY PLS II AND III.
(*Photos by courtesy of (left) the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, and (right) the Soprintendenza archeologica per l'Etruria meridionale, Villa Giulia, Rome.*)

DETAIL OF PLATE IB, LEFT; SEE ALSO FIG. 4.

DETAIL OF PLATE IB, RIGHT.

DETAIL OF SARCOPHAGUS FROM THE S. PRAETEXTA CATACOMB, ROME, THIRD CENTURY A.D. (W. N. SCHUMACHER, *JAHRBUCH FÜR ANTIKE UND CHRISTENTUM* 11–12 (1968–9), 65–75).
(*Photo by courtesy of the DAI, Rome – Inst. neg. 32.120.*)

themselves to a flagellation that was a metaphor for sexual union. It was a female divinity who demanded a carnal remedy, and a male interpreter of the divine will who had it commuted to flagellation. No doubt the husbands of the women of Rome were not eager to have their wives literally impregnated by the Luperci.

It is important to remember the sheer sexiness of the Lupercalia. The young men themselves were objects of desire, which is why Augustus would not allow beardless boys to take part in the run. And from 276 onwards, the ritual encouraged young married women to bare their bodies in public.[120] One can see why it was such a popular spectacle.

But the reason for its introduction was specific to the third century B.C. The secession of the plebeians in 287 shows that social and political tensions were still acute; a new and dangerous war with Pyrrhus began with costly defeats in 280 and 279. When pestilence returned, despite Asklepios, in 276, Juno evidently demanded a return to traditional ways. A compromise was reached, and once more the ritual of the Lupercalia was reformed. When the flagellation of women was introduced, the necessary aetiological explanation was again attributed to Romulus, attached this time to the story of the Sabine women.[121] As in 304, innovation was disguised as a return to ancient custom.

This reconstruction is, of course, in the highest degree speculative. But enough evidence survives to make a reconstruction possible, to explain the phenomena in a coherent way, provided that we entertain the possibility of development, controversy, and change, and reject the premise that ritual must remain essentially the same despite fundamental changes in the community whose prosperity it is meant to guarantee. In times of very rapid change, like the late fourth and early third centuries B.C., far-reaching social and political developments must have affected myth and ritual along with everything else.

VII

The next time Rome was convulsed by revolutionary change on that scale was in the first century B.C., and it is no surprise to find that the next development in the ritual of the Lupercalia takes place precisely then.

Among the special honours granted to Caesar the dictator late in 45 B.C. was the creation of a third group of Luperci, the Iuliani.[122] Their leader at the next Lupercalia was the consul himself, M. Antonius, who used the occasion to offer Caesar the crown. Cicero was disgusted. Running as naked Luperci was all very well for young men, but quite incompatible with the dignity of a consul; after the Ides of March, Cicero never tired of taunting Antony with the time he had run into the Comitium 'nudus, unctus, ebrius', and mounted the Rostra in an attempt to make Caesar king.[123]

The Senate in 43 withdrew Caesar's funding from the Luperci, and may have abolished the Iuliani; but the historian Aelius Tubero, writing in the thirties B.C., clearly implies three groups in his account of the origin of the ritual, and it is likely enough that the Triumvirs restored them.[124] Suetonius tells us that the Lupercalia were one of the ancient ceremonies that Augustus restored from oblivion, and Augustus himself in the *Res Gestae* includes the Lupercal among buildings he constructed. That probably implies a reorganization analogous to the one in 304, though all we know for certain about it is his prohibition of boys before the age of puberty from taking part in the run.[125]

The concern for sexual morality is very characteristic. In the late Republic the college of Luperci had evidently had a somewhat equivocal reputation; Cicero, for instance, did not approve of his nephew becoming a member.[126] Augustus re-emphasized the connection with

[120] Suet., *Aug.* 31.4. 'Matronae nudato corpore publice vapulabant': 'Gelasius', *Adv. Andr.* 16 (*CSEL* 35.1.458).
[121] Ovid, *Fasti* II.431–4.
[122] Dio XLIV.6.2; XLV.30.2; Suet., *Jul.* 76.1.
[123] Cic., *Phil.* II.84–7; III.12; XIII.17; Dio XLV.30.1–5.
[124] Cic., *Phil.* XIII.31 and fr. 19 (Non. 418L). Tubero fr. 3P (Dion. Hal., *AR* I.80.2).
[125] Suet., *Aug.* 31.4; Aug., *Res gestae* 19.1.
[126] Cic., *Att.* XII.5.1. Late-republican Luperci included Geganius Clesippus (*ILLRP* 696; Pliny, *NH* XXXIV.11), A. Castricius Myriotalentus (*CIL* XIV.2105), (P.) Cornelius P.l. Surus (*AE* 1968.33; S. Panciera, *Bull. com.* 91 (1986), 35–44); also M. Caelius Rufus and L. Herennius Balbus (Cic., *Cael.* 26), though the latter claimed to be a strict moralist (*Cael.* 25–30).

the *equester ordo*,[127] but seems to have introduced attendants to minimize any danger to the young *equites*' moral well-being, and no longer required them either to wear goatskin or to brandish goatskin thongs.

The gravestone of Ti. Claudius Liberalis in the Vatican Museum shows us how a young *eques* who died at sixteen years of age was remembered in the early Empire: on one side, Liberalis riding in the *transvectio* parade, attended by a man with a flag; on the other, Liberalis as a Lupercus, wearing a substantial loincloth certainly not of goatskin, carrying a whip, not a goatskin thong, and escorted by two attendants.[128] The dignity and moral probity of the equestrian order are conspicuously on display, but what has happened to the *hilaritas* and *lascivia* of the republican ritual? The evidence of Plutarch and Juvenal, that in the second century A.D. all the married ladies had to do was to put out their hands to be struck by the Luperci, suggests that the ritual's traditional erotic charge had been deliberately neutralized.

The next great period of crisis and innovation in Roman history — one which involved the ultimate revolution in the Romans' religious outlook — was the late third and early fourth centuries A.D., from (let us say) the building of Aurelian's wall to the founding of Constantinople. We have two images of the Lupercalia from this period, and very astonishing they are.

The first is on a mosaic floor from Thysdrus in North Africa; there is a scene for each month, and February is represented by the Lupercalia. Here the Lupercus is not running but standing; he is wearing a substantial apron, and raising a whip to bring down on the body of a woman who is being held in place by the two attendants. She looks back over her left shoulder at where her dress is raised to bare her body for the blow.[129] The same scene in greater detail appears on a late third-century sarcophagus from Rome (Pl. IV).[130] Here the hieratic pose of the Lupercus and the humiliating exposure of the woman are even more explicit. The lady wears bracelets and an elegant coiffure, and the Lupercus carries out the rite with a very conscious dignity. His equestrian rank is symbolized by the man on the right carrying the *vexillum*. Behind him, shouldering the tree-branch which is his regular attribute, appears Silvanus, the god whose ancient grove by the temple of Saturn probably marked the ritual conclusion of the Luperci's run.[131] The Lupercalia are still just recognizable, but fundamentally changed. This young equestrian is static and solemn, not naked but wrapped up tightly as far as the chest. The high spirits have disappeared, replaced by a cold-blooded formality.

To us, this scene is repulsive. But it was evidently not offensive at the time; when the Lupercus' sarcophagus was re-used for the burial of a Christian lady about A.D. 340, his portrait and inscription were removed but the flagellation scene was not touched. Moreover, the Luperci in the late Empire seem to be rising in status, with even senators appearing among them from the late second century A.D. onwards.[132] One such was Crepereius Rogatus, who early in the fourth century created an elegant triple-naved *lararium*, its design very like a Christian basilica, on his property on the Viminal slope.[133] The apse was decorated with mosaics, showing the she-wolf and twins behind the altar, a male figure with a spear at the top of the arch, and on the pilaster at each side a Lupercus carrying a whip.[134]

If this was the headquarters of a *sodalitas* of Luperci, as Lanciani thought, then they met in formal and luxurious surroundings, and the god they worshipped was evidently Mars. Inuus, Faunus, Pan Lycaeus, Incubo, and Ephialtes were well known to the learned (much of our evidence about them comes from this period), but perhaps rituals involving the élite demanded something more dignified. Faunus, however, was still respectable in distant Britain, where his name is prominently featured on the silverware of the Thetford treasure;

[127] *CIL* VI.31200.b.2.5–9: equestrian honours to Drusus at the Lupercal and on the day of the *transvectio* (15 July). Luperci as essentially equestrian: *CIL* VI.2160; VIII.9405–6; 21063; *AE* 1924.41 (second to third century A.D.).

[128] Illustrated and discussed by P. Veyne, *REA* 62 (1960), 100–10, cf. Wiseman, op. cit. (n. 11), fig. 10. For the whip (appropriate to a horseman), cf. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. ant.* II.2 (1896), 1153–4.

[129] H. Stern in *Atti del convegno 'Tardo antico e alto medioevo'*, Acc. Lincei quaderno 105 (1968), 177–200, esp. 181f. and pl. III, fig. 2; also in Holleman, op. cit. (n. 117), 138, and L. Foucher, *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 83 (1976), 278.

[130] W. W. Schumacher, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 11–12 (1968–9), 65–75; H. Solin and H. Brandenburg, *Arch. Anz.* (1980), 271–84.

[131] See nn. 61–2 above; for the iconography of Silvanus, see Dorcey, op. cit. (n. 53), 17–19, with illustrations 2, 3, and 6.

[132] e.g. *CIL* VI.1397; 1474; 31716; XI.2106 (a Fabius from Clusium!). If Lactantius was right that they sometimes wore masks (n. 82 above), that may have been to protect their dignity.

[133] R. Lanciani, *Bull. com.* 18 (1891), 305–11, and *Forma Urbis Romae* (1893–1901), Sheet 23: on the line of Via Cavour below S. Maria Maggiore; C. Dulière, *Lupa Romana* (1979), 255–9 and fig. 128.

[134] Vatican MSS Lat. 2733 II f. 285: 'in utroque ipsarum [i.e. parastatarum] latere dicto opere [i.e. musivo] duo nudi luperci efficti erant, gestantes ferulas intortas'.

and Macrobius shows how Pan and Inuus could be reinterpreted as allegory to satisfy the sensibilities of serious persons.[135]

The god of the Lupercal had to recede into the background, but the Lupercalia remained as an important element in the civic life of Rome. When a late fifth-century pope — probably Felix III rather than Gelasius — tried to abolish it, a senator called Andromachus complained that the city was being deprived of its protection against pestilence and famine.[136] The pope returned to the attack, in that spirit of hostility to the 'neutral ground' of secular observance which Robert Markus has recently documented.[137] The episcopal polemic reveals that the flagellations still took place, but as a performance by 'vile and common persons of the lowest class', to the accompaniment of obscene songs.[138] The pope challenges the senator and his fellow traditionalists: if the ritual is so important, why do you not do it the old way and run around naked yourselves with your little whip?[139] It is likely that the rite was suppressed not long after that.

In Constantinople, on the other hand, the Lupercalia were still celebrated in the tenth century, in a curious performance at the circus-races, where the charioteers dismounted and ran on foot, using the reins on each other.[140] A springtime hymn was sung, which shows how the Lupercalia (15 February) had been assimilated to the date for the start of spring and the coming of the *genitabilis aura Favoni* (7–8 February).[141] An even more harmless association was with the beginning of Lent; the Byzantine Lupercalia ritual was defined as *makellarikon*, to do with the eating of meat, no doubt to mark the last day (before Easter) when it was allowed.[142]

That sort of tolerantly creative reinterpretation contrasts strongly with the hostility of the Roman Church. One of the things that made the difference was clearly the flagellation of women, which was giving trouble again a thousand years later. In 1481 the Carmelite friar Baptista Spagnuoli of Mantua — 'good old Mantuan' to Holofernes in *Love's Labour's Lost* — published his long poem *De sacris diebus*, which did for the Christian calendar what Ovid's *Fasti* had done for the pagan one. His fourth item under February (after St Agatha on the 5th) concerns 'the evil custom of Shrove Tuesday'[143] — nothing less than a revived Lupercalia, with youths running about the town in masks, taking advantage of their anonymity to manhandle the young married women, bare their bodies, and whip them. The same licenced sadism is attested in Saxony in the seventeenth century, again as part of the 'carnival' permissiveness of Shrove Tuesday.[144]

Northern Europe may also provide a somewhat more spectacular manifestation of the god of the Lupercal. Behrend Pick's derivation of Mephistopheles from *Opheles*, one of the names of Ephialtes,[145] may not be right — in the *Faustbuch* of 1587 the name is spelt 'Mephostophiles'[146] — but even so, the horns and goat's feet of Pan and his equivalents have made a contribution to the iconography of Christian Europe which is literally diabolical.[147]

[135] C. Johns in M. Henig and A. King (eds), *Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire* (1986), 93–103; Macr., *Sat.* 1.22.2–7.

[136] 'Gelasius', *Adv. Andr.* 3, 13, 23 (CSEL 35.1.454, 457, 460f.); Y.-M. Duval, *REL* 55 (1977), 243–60, esp. 246–50 for the date (suggesting *c.* 488).

[137] R. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (1990), 131–5, esp. 133: 'The attack on the Lupercalia is not so much an attack on "remnants of paganism" as on traditions of Roman urban living'.

[138] *Adv. Ant.* 16, 19f. (CSEL 35.1.458, 459): 'viles trivialesque personas, abiectos et infimos'. The *cantilenae turpes* were evidently a charade, confessions of sexual misconduct to justify the whipping.

[139] *Adv. Andr.* 17 (CSEL 35.1.458): 'ipsi celebrate more maiorum, ipsi cum resticulo nudi discurrite'. *Resticulo* (cf. n. 128 above) is Guenther's emendation for the MSS *ridiculo*; for *discurrere*, see n. 54 above.

[140] Const. Porph., *De caerimoniis* 1.79 (70), 82 (73); Duval, op. cit. (n. 136), 223–43. Does ἡνιοχοῦντες ἀλλήλους describe a 'fossilised' derivative of the thong-wielding Luperci of classical Rome (n. 2 above)?

[141] 1.82 (73); Pliny, *NH* 11.122; Columella XI.2.15; Ovid, *Fasti* 11.148; Y.-M. Duval, *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 83 (1976), 264–7. Favonius: Lucr. 1.11; Hor., *Odes* 1.4, etc.; for the connection with Faunus and the Lupercalia even in Horace's time, see W. Barr, *CR* 12 (1962), 5–11.

[142] Duval, op. cit. (n. 136), 226f.

[143] Poitiers 1481 (Appendix No. 31), 'de carnisprivii mala consuetudine'.

[144] Paul Heinrich Tilemann, *Commentatio historico-moralis et juridica de eo quod justum est circa nuditatem* (1692), cited in W. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte* I (2nd edn, 1904), 255f.: 'Tempore quadragesimali im Fachtnacht mulieres sibi obviam factas inhonesto ioco interdum denudatis posterioribus virgis vel etiam herba aliqua pungente feriunt' (no mention of masks). Mannhardt offers many examples of striking on the hands (cf. n. 119 above), op. cit., 252–6.

[145] B. Pick, *Jahrbuch der Goethe-Gesellschaft* 4 (1917), 153–64 = *Aufsätze zur Numismatik und Archäologie* (1931), 105–12, citing the coins showing Ephialtes Epopheles at Nicaea and elsewhere (n. 70 above).

[146] So too in Marlowe: D. Bevington and E. Rusmussen (eds), *Doctor Faustus A- and B-Texts (1604, 1616)* (1993), 127, 211; the apparatus criticus reports 'Mephostophiles' for both texts.

[147] R. Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: a Study in Art, Sentiment and Demonology* (1952), 93–101; cf. P. Merivale, *Pan the Goat-God* (1969).

APPENDIX: TESTIMONIA

1. Varro, *LL* v.85; vi.13.

Luperci, quod Lupercalibus in Lupercali sacra faciunt. . . . Lupercalia dicta, quod in Lupercali Luperci sacra faciunt.

2. Ovid, *Fasti* ii.267f.; 303f.; 423f.; v.99–102.

Tertia post idus nudos Aurora Lupercos
aspicit, et Fauni sacra bicornis eunt. . . .

Sed cur praecipue fugiat velamina Faunus,
traditur antiqui fabula plena ioci. . . .

Quid vetat Arcadio dictos a monte Lupercos?
Faunus in Arcadia templa Lycaeus habet. . . .

Sacraque multa quidem, sed Fauni prima bicornis
has docuit gentes alipedisque dei.
Semicaper, coleris cinctutis, Faune, Lupercis,
cum lustrant celebres vellera secta vias.

3. Schol. Plato, *Phaedrus* 244b (Ruhnk p. 61).

Τετάρτη Ἰταλική. ἡ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ τῆς Ἰταλίας τὴν διατριβὴν λαχοῦσα, ἧς υἱὸς ἐγένετο Εὔανδρος, ὁ τὸ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῦ Πανὸς ἱερόν, τὸ καλούμενον Λούπερκον, κτίσας. περὶ ἧς ἔγραψεν Ἐρατοσθένης.

4. Clem. Alex., *Stromateis* i.108.3.

μέμνηται τούτων Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ χρηστηρίων. ἐῶ δὲ τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλήν, ἣ τὸ ἐν Ῥώμῃ Κάρμαλον ᾤκησεν. ἧς υἱος Εὔανδρος ὁ τὸ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῦ Πανὸς ἱερὸν τὸ Λουπέρκιον καλούμενον κτίσας.

5. Justin xliii.1.7.

In huius radicibus templum Lycaeo, quem Graeci Pana, Romani Lupercum appellant, constituit; ipsum dei simulacrum nudum caprina pelle amictum est, quo habitu nunc Romae Lupercalibus decurritur.

6. Livy i.5.1–2.

Iam tum in Palatio monte Lupercal hoc fuisse ludicrum ferunt, et a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadica, Pallantium, dein Palatium montem appellatum; ibi Euandrum, qui ex eo genere Arcadum multis ante tempestatibus tenuerit loca, sollemne allatum ex Arcadia instituisse ut nudi iuvenes Lycaeum Pana venerantes per lusum atque lasciviam currerent, quem Romani deinde vocarunt Inuum.

7. Virg., *Aen.* viii.343f. and Servius *ad loc.*

. . . et gelida monstrat sub rupe Lupercal
Parrhasio dictum Panos de more Lycaei.

Sub monte Palatino est quaedam spelunca, in qua de capro luebatur, id est sacrificabatur: unde et lupercal non nulli dictum putant. alii quod illic lupa Remum et Romulum nutrierit; alii, quod et Vergilius, locum esse hunc sacratum Pani, deo Arcadiae, cui etiam mons Lycaeus in Arcadia consecratus est. et dictus Lycaeus, quod lupos non sinat in oves saevire. ergo ideo et Euander deo gentis suae sacravit locum et nominavit lupercal, quod praesidio ipsius numinis lupi a pecudibus arcerentur. [*Serv. auct.*:] sunt qui dicant hunc Πᾶνα Ἐνυάλιον, deum bellicosum; alii Liberum patrem, eo quod capro ei fit divina res, qui est hostia Liberi propria. in huius similitudinem intecti cultores eius; cui lupercalia instituta sunt, quia deus pastoralis est. nam Remum et Romulum ante urbem conditam lupercalia celebrasse eo quod quodam tempore nuntiatum illis sit latrones pecus illorum abigere; illos togis positis cucurrisse caesisque obviis pecus recuperasse; id in morem versum, ut hodieque nudi currant. non nulli propter sterilitatem hoc sacrum dicunt a Romulo

constitutum, ideoque et puellae de loro capri caeduntur, ut careant sterilitate et fecundae sint; nam pellem ipsam capri veteres februm vocabant.

8. Dion. Hal., *AR* 1.32.3.

οἱ δ' οὖν Ἀρκάδες ὑπὸ τῷ λόφῳ συνοικισθέντες τά τε ἄλλα διεκόσμουν τὸ κτίσμα τοῖς οἴκοθεν νομίμοις χρώμενοι καὶ ἱερὰ ἱδρύονται, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ Λυκαίῳ Πανὶ τῆς Θέμιδος ἐξηγουμένης (Ἀρκάσι γὰρ θεῶν ἀρχαιότατός τε καὶ τιμιώτατος ὁ Πάν) χωρίον ἐξευρόντες ἐπιτήδειον, ὃ καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι Λουπερκάλιον, ἡμεῖς δ' ἂν εἴποιμεν Λύκαιον.

9. Dion. Hal., *AR* 1.80.1 (Tubero fr. 3P).

ὡς δε Τουβέρων Αἴλιος δεινὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ περὶ τὴν συναγωγὴν τῆς ἱστορίας ἐπιμελὴς γράφει, προειδότες οἱ τοῦ Νεμέτορος θύσοντας τὰ Λύκαια τοὺς νεανίσκους τῷ Πανὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδικὴν ὡς Εὔανδρος κατεστήσατο θυσίαν ἐνήδρευσαν τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον τῆς ἱερουργίας, ἡνίκα χρὴν τοὺς περὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον οἰκοῦντας τῶν νέων ἐκ τοῦ Λυκαίου τεθυκότας περιελθεῖν δρόμῳ τὴν κώμην γυμνοὺς ὑπεζωσμένους τὴν αἰδῶ ταῖς δοραῖς τῶν νεοθύτων. τοῦτο δὲ καθαρμόν τινα τῶν κωμητῶν πάτριον ἐδύνατο, ὡς καὶ νῦν ἔτι δρᾶται.

10. Plut., *Rom.* 21.3.

τὰ δὲ Λουπερκάλια τῷ μὲν χρόνῳ δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι καθάρσια. δρᾶται γὰρ ἐν ἡμέραις ἀποφράσι τοῦ Φεβρουαρίου μηνός, ὃν καθάρσιον ἄν τις ἑρμηνεύσειε, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκάλουν Φεβράτην. τοὔνομα δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἑλληνιστὶ σημαίνει Λύκαια, καὶ δοκεῖ διὰ τοῦτο παμπάλαιος ἀπ' Ἀρκάδων εἶναι τῶν περὶ Εὔανδρον.

11. Plut., *Caes.* 61.1; *Ant.* 12.1.

ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἡ τῶν Λουπερκαλίων ἑορτή, περὶ ἧς πολλοὶ γράφουσιν ὡς ποιμένων τὸ παλαιὸν εἴη, καί τι καὶ προσήκει τοῖς Ἀρκαδικοῖς Λυκαίοις. . . . ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἡ τῶν Λυκαίων ἑορτὴ Ῥωμαίοις, ἣν Λουπερκάλια καλοῦσι.

12. Plut., *QR* 68 (*Mor.* 280c).

ἢ λύκος μὲν ὁ λοῦπός ἐστι καὶ Λύκαια τὰ Λουπερκάλια, λύκῳ δὲ κύων πολέμιος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θύεται τοῖς Λυκαίοις;

13. 'Gelasius', *Adv. Andr.* 11–12 (Livy fr. 63W).

Dic mihi, cum saepenumero in Romanis historiis legatur Livio oratore saepissime in hac urbe exorta pestilentia infinita hominum milia deperisse atque eo frequenter ventum, ut vix esset unde illis bellicosis temporibus exercitus potuisset adscribi: illo tempore deo tuo Februario minime litabatur an etiam cultus hic omnino nil proderat? illo tempore Lupercalia non celebrabantur? nec enim dicturus es haec sacra adhuc illo tempore non coepisse, quae ante Romulum ab Euandro in Italiam perhibentur adlata. Lupercalia autem propter quid instituta sunt, quantum ad ipsius superstitionis commenta respectat, Livius in secunda decade loquitur nec propter morbos inhibendos instituta commemorat sed propter sterilitatem, ut ei videtur, mulierum quae tunc acciderat exigendam.

14. Plut., *Rom.* 21.7 (Acilius fr. 2P).

Γάιος δὲ Ἀκίλιος ἱστορεῖ πρὸ τῆς κτίσεως τὰ θρέμματα τῶν περὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι. τοὺς δὲ τῷ Φαύνῳ προσευξαμένους ἐκδραμεῖν γυμνοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν, ὅπως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱδρῶτος μὴ ἐνοχλοῖντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γυμνοὺς περιτρέχειν τοὺς Λουπέρκους.

15. Servius, *ad Aen.* VI.775.

Una est in Italia civitas quae castrum novum dicitur; de hac autem ait 'castrum Inui', id est Panos, qui illic colitur. Inuus autem Latine appellatur, Graece Πάν. Item Ἐφιάλτης Graece, Latine Incubo; idem Faunus, idem Fatuus, Fatuclus. Dicitur autem Inuus ab ineundo passim cum omnibus animalibus, unde et Incubo dicitur.

16. Probus, *ad Georg.* 1.10.

Eundem Pana, eundem Inuum, eundem Faunum quidam interpretantur, quod ei in Italia quidam annuum sacrum celebrant, quidam menstruum.

17. Ps.Acro, *ad Carm.* 1.17.1.

Dicit ergo contempto Lycaeo, monte Arcadiae, venisse ad Lucretilem montem Faunum, quem quidam Incubum vocant. sed hic magis Pana pro Fauno voluit intellegi, nam et capellas suas eum custodire dicit.

18. Rutilius Nam., *De reditu* 31–6.

Multa licet priscum nomen deleverit aetas,
hoc Inui castrum fama fuisse putat,
seu Pan Tyrrhenis mutavit Maenala silvis
sive sinus patrios incola Faunus init;
dum renovat largo mortalia semina fetu,
fingitur in venerem pronior esse deus.

19. *Origo gentis Romanae* 4.6.

Hunc Faunum plerique eundem Silvanum a silvis, Inuum deum, quidam etiam Pana esse dixerunt.

20. Artemidorus, *Oneir.* 11.37.

ὁ δὲ Ἐφιάλτης ὁ αὐτὸς εἶναι τῷ Πανὶ νενόμισται, διάφορα δὲ ϐημαίνει, θλίβων μὲν γὰρ καὶ ϐαρῶν καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποκρινόμενος θλίψεις καὶ στενοχωρίας ϐημαίνει, ὅτι δ' ἂν ἀποκρίνηται τουτό ἐστιν ἀληθές. ἐὰν δέ τι καὶ διδῷ καὶ συνουσιαζῃ, μεγάλας ὠφελείας προαγορεύει, μάλιστα δὲ ὅταν μὴ ϐαρῇ.

21. Caelius Aurelianus, *Morb. chron.* 1.54–5.

Incubonem aliqui ab hominis forma vel similitudine nomen dicere dixerunt, aliqui a phantasia qua patientes afficiuntur, siquidem veluti ascendere atque insidere suo pectore sentiant quicquam. Themison vero secondo epistolarum libro pnigaliona vocavit, siquidem praefocet aegrotantes. item quidam veteres ephialten vocaverunt, alii epofelen, quod utilis patientibus perhibeatur. . . . est autem supradicta passio epilepsiae tentatio. nam quod neque deus neque semideus neque Cupido sit, libris causarum quos aetiologumenos Soranus appellavit plenissime explicavit.

22. Augustine, *Civ. Dei* XV.23.

Creberrima fama est, multique se expertos vel ab eis qui experti essent, de quorum fide dubitandum non esset, audisse confirmant Silvanos et Panes, quos vulgo Incubos vocant, improbos saepe exstitisse mulieribus et earum appetisse et peregisse concubitum.

23. Jerome, *Vita Pauli* 8 (*PL* XXIII.23).

Nec mora, inter saxosum convallem haud grandem homunculum videt, cuius extrema pars corporis in caprarum pedes desinebat. . . . quo cognito gradum pressit Antonius, et quisnam esset interrogans hoc ab eo responsum accepit: 'Mortalis ego sum, et unus ex accolis eremi quos vario delusa errore gentilitas Faunos satyrosque et Incubos vocans colit.'

24. Jerome, *Ad Isaiam* 13.21 (*PL* XXIV.5).

'Et pilosi saltabunt ibi', vel Incubones vel satyros vel silvestres quosdam homines, quos nonnulli Faunos ficarios vocant aut daemonum genera intelligunt.

25. *Mythographus Vaticanus* II.24.

Fauni autem sunt qui vulgo Incubae vel pilosi appellati sunt, et a quibus, dum a paganis consulerentur, responsa vocibus dabantur.

26. Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia* VII.36 (*PL* LXXV.786).

Qui namque alii pilosi appellatione figurantur, nisi hi quos Graeci Panas, Latini Incubos vocant? quorum nimirum forma ab humana effigie incipitur, sed bestiali extremitate terminatur.

27. Isidore, *Orig.* VIII.11.103–4.

Pilosi, qui Graece Panitae, Latine Incubi appellantur, sive Inui ab ineundo passim cum animalibus. unde et Incubi dicuntur ab incumbendo, hoc est stuprando. saepe enim improbi existunt etiam mulieribus, et earum peragunt concubitum. quos daemones Galli Dusios vocant, quia adsidue hanc peragunt immunditiam. quem autem vulgo Incubonem vocant, hunc Romani Faunum ficarium dicunt.

28. Diomedes, *Gramm. Lat.* I 475–6 Keil.

<. . .> et Bellonae, id est Ἐνυοῦς, filio quem caprino pede Inuum poetae fingunt, quod summa montium et difficilia collium concitato cursu caprae more superaret, quotiens praedatoria vice grassaretur, citipedem hunc cursum sibi repperisse testificantur.

29. Val. Max. II. 2.9.

Equestris vero ordinis iuventus omnibus annis bis urbem spectaculo sui sub magnis auctoribus celebrabat: Lupercalium enim mos a Romulo et Remo inchoatus est tunc, cum laetitia exultantes quod his avus Numitor rex Albanorum eo loco ubi educati erant urbem condere permiserat sub monte Palatino [hortatu Faustuli educatoris sui], quem Euander Arcas consecraverat, facto sacrificio caesisque capris epularum hilaritate ac vino largiore provecti, divisa pastorali turba, cincti obvios pellibus immolatarum hostiarum iocantes petiverunt. cuius hilaritatis memoria annuo circuitu feriarum repetitur. trabeatos vero equites idibus Iuliis Q. Fabius transvehi instituit.

30. Oribasius, *Synops.* VIII.2.

οὔκ ἐστιν ὁ καλούμενος Ἐφιάλτης δαίμων κακός, ἀλλὰ ὁ μέν τις νόσος ἰσχυρά, ὁ δέ ὑποφήτης ἱερὸς καὶ θεράπων Ἀσκληπιοῦ.

31. Fratris Baptistae Mantuani vatis et theologi profundissimi opus absolutissimum de sacris diebus . . . (Pictavis in edibus Iacobi Boucheti [1481]).

Hic memorare libet quoddam grave temporis huius
crimen: et ipsius subiungere criminis ortum.
Roma lupercales ludos antiquitus isto
mense celebrabat: posita gravitate per urbis
compita cursabant stolidi sine veste luperci,
et scuticis olidi tractis de tergore Capri
pulsabant nuruum palmas: quia verbere tali
Pana Deum faciles credebant reddere partus.
Ista superstitio levis haec insania nostros
transiit in mores. Veteris contagia morbi
hausimus, et quodam simili langore tenemur.
Nam iuvenes istis facit insanire diebus
Pan Deus Arcadiae quondam: totasque per urbes
currere et acceptis facies abscondere larvis.
Est pudor in facie: facies velata pudorem
significat laesum: sciri lascivia non vult,
ora tegit: Scelus est pavidum metuitque videri.
Cuncta sub ignotis petulantia vultibus audet
quae ablegat gravitas et quae proscribit honestas.
Per fora per vicos it personata libido:
et censore carens subit omnia tecta voluptas:
nec nuruum palmas sed membra recondita pulsat:
perque domos remanent foedi vestigia capri.
Hos quoque Roma levi cursu gaudebat equorum
tempore: et in Martis celebrabat equiria campo.

Altera nil melior nuper dementia venit:
sordida produxit vetitos comoedia ludos.
Scorta ambubaias balatrones et parasytos,
et genus id reliquos trahit in proscaenia mensis
improbus: unde trahunt iuvenilia pectora pestem
mortiferam: fiuntque ipsae sine fronte puellae.
I pudor in villas si non patiuntur easdem
et villae vomicas: urbs est iam tota lupanar.

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