Durham University

Durham E-Theses

From periphery to centre: pagan continuity and revival in Britain and Rome during the late fourth centaury AD

Ranieri, Carmela Maria

How to cite:

Ranieri, Carmela Maria (2008) *From periphery to centre: pagan continuity and revival in Britain and Rome during the late fourth centaury AD*, Durham theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/2305/

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a link is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the full Durham E-Theses policy for further details.

Academic Support Office, The Palatine Centre, Durham University, Stockton Road, Durham, DH1 3LE
e-mail: e-theses.admin@durham.ac.uk Tel: +44 0191 334 6107
http://etheses.dur.ac.uk

FROM PERIPHERY TO CENTRE: PAGAN CONTINUITY AND REVIVAL IN BRITAIN AND ROME DURING THE LATE FOURTH CENTURY AD

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author or the university to which it was submitted. No quotation from it, or information derived from it may be published without the prior written consent of the author or university, and any information derived from it should be acknowledged.

CARMELA MARIA RANIERI

MASTER OF ARTS BY RESEARCH IN CLASSICS

2008

25 MAR 2009

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER 1:
The Legislation of the Christian Emperors in the Fourth Century 6

CHAPTER 2:
Rome: Christian Capital? 18

Introduction 18
The Codex Calendar of 354 AD 21
The Circus Maximus: pagan art in secular contexts 25
Christian attitudes towards pagan monuments 28
Temple restoration 31
Senatorial life in Rome 44
Mithraism as part of senatorial life in fourth century Rome 46
Summary 52

CHAPTER 3:
Evidence of pagan continuity and revival from Britain 55

Introduction 55
Romano-British temples 61
Destruction or abandonment of temples during the fourth century 64
Continuity & revival during the second half of the fourth century 70
Possible explanations for a revival 76
Late fourth century burial practice: a return to pagan practice? 79
Evaluation of the finds 87

CHAPTER 4:
The pagan revival of Julian the Apostate: the extent of his influence 92

Introduction 92
A brief discussion on Julian's influence in Britain and Rome 94
The political power base 96
The reception of Julian from a social perspective 108
Economic decline and transition 109
Summary 112

CONCLUSION 114

APPENDIX 118

BIBLIOGRAPHY 124

INTRODUCTION

In light of recent archaeological evidence regarding rural temples and the Christianisation of the countryside in the Roman Empire, a re-examination of the concept and forms of pagan worship existent in the late fourth century is necessary in order to accommodate these new findings. Firstly, it is of vital importance to attempt to define the extremely broad term that is 'paganism' and to select the specific areas that will be addressed. The colloquial term *pagani*, which first appeared in Christian inscriptions of the early fourth century, likely referred to civilian non-believers who had not been baptised.[1] However, it must be noted that the oldest sense of the classical Latin term *pāgānus* meant 'of the country' or 'rustic'. It has been argued that the transferred use reflects the fact that the ancient idolatry lingered on in the rural villages and hamlets after Christianity had been generally accepted in the towns and cities of the Roman Empire.[2] From its earliest beginnings, Christianity is believed to have spread much more rapidly in major urban areas (such as Antioch, Alexandria, Corinth and Rome) than in the countryside. In fact, the early church was almost entirely urban and soon the word for country dweller became synonymous with someone who was not a Christian, giving rise to the modern meaning of 'pagan'. This may, in part, owe much to the conservative nature of rural people, who could have been more resistant to the new ideas of Christianity than those who lived in major urban centres. However, it may have also resulted from early Christian missionaries focusing their efforts within major population centres rather than throughout an expansive yet sparsely populated countryside.

The term 'cult acts' has also been posited as a more apt description of Roman religious practice, and this certainly does account for the panoply of practices of a religious nature that existed in the Roman world; differences in culture, class, geography and ancestry led individuals to seek religious affiliations unique to themselves.[3] A distinction must also be made between state supported cults and regional private cults

---

[1] An earlier example has been suggested in Tertullian De Corona Militis 11, "*Apud hunc [sc. Christum] tam miles est paganus fidelis quam paganus est miles infidelis,*" but the word paganus could be interpreted here in the sense of 'civilian' rather than 'heathen'

[2] Oros. *Hist.* 1. Prol. 9 "*Ex locorum agrestium compitis et pagis pagani vocantur.*"

[3] See O'Donnell 1979

UNIV. DUNELM.

which never received official consecration of their places of worship. Long before Theodosius I closed sanctuaries and outlawed sacrifice, public funding, imperial grants and city taxes no longer funded temples belonging to cities in the second half of the fourth century. However, there is evidence to suggest that in the countryside especially, cult acts were far from defunct at this time and even survived well into the fifth century. This is true regarding the status of temples also during the second half of the fourth century, at a time when the legislation of the Christian emperors was being passed against places of worship as well as certain ritual acts such as sacrifice. Some have claimed that cults were only valid due to the fact that they enjoyed centuries of uninterrupted support and ensured social cohesion as the pillars of tradition within Roman society. However, a large number managed to survive for a time even when support, including financial, had ceased.

It is necessary at this early stage to construct a time frame in which the evidence for continued pagan practice can be presented. An attempt to measure decline can be made at any point in the post-Constantinian period and, although the focus will predominantly be on the late fourth century, the reigns of Constantine and his sons will be addressed in order to provide a point of comparison for the later part of the century, ending roughly with the reign of Theodosius I when the main pillars of pagan worship were officially outlawed. Within this time frame, an attempt will be made to explore the differences between Rome as the traditional centre of the western Empire and Britain as a province on the periphery of the north-western Empire. The difference between urban and rural as well as the increasingly prominent types of ritual in the later fourth century will be addressed; whether the loss of temples as a vital institutional base was real or perceived, bearing in mind that paganism was, largely, a non-institutional form of worship in that it was deeply rooted in earth-based belief structures. This will be explored with the legislation in mind, in order to determine the impact that the laws had on the city of Rome as a centre of traditional values and on a province further away in order to discover the success of these attempts to limit the types of religious practice in two differing social contexts. Not only does the legislation itself hold importance, but also the gradual effects of Christianisation, including Christian hostility towards pagan

worship, and to what extent this determined the fate of rural and urban temples as bases for continued worship in the Roman Empire.

The primary motivation behind this line of enquiry into the city of Rome and the province of Britain resides in the fact that such diversity existed within the Roman Empire with regard to processes of Christianisation, it would be worthy to delve into two specific and seemingly contrasting areas in order to provide a place for these two areas in the wider context of religious life in the late fourth century. In other parts of the Empire such as Gaul, there existed a more thorough and systematic campaign of Christianisation, especially in the countryside. From the 360s onwards, the efforts of Martin of Tours throughout Gaul to destroy pagan altars, temples and sculptures certainly played a large role in the Christianisation of the province and, although met with some opposition, his success is undeniable. In fact, those places which had such zealous Bishops or missionaries did become more thoroughly Christianised than other areas, such as Britain, which do not appear to have cultivated or been sent any such people in order to convert the pagan populace. One must be wary, however, in using Christian sources on the conversion of pagans as overemphasis upon victory of a saint in the face of pagan resistance must be seen as a possibility. Butler's *Lives of the Saints* often describes pagan rituals of the local populace being stopped by Christians, such as processions through fields aimed at bringing prosperity to the village. For example, Symphorianus, Bishop of Autun, stopped such a procession and destroyed the idol Berecynthia.[4] There is some sporadic evidence of pagan continuity into the later fourth century in the east and in Africa, such as a letter written to Augustine by a Christian landowner in North Africa who reveals that food offerings being left at sacred sites was still a common practice around the year 398 in rural areas.[5] Some Christian sources from the beginning of the fifth century mention such a vast number of pagan villages in existence, that they presented an opportunity for monks to make conversions.[6] However exaggerated the Christian source material may be, it does seem to be the case that places which were subjected to Christianising efforts that were more organised were converted

---

[4] Butler 1894 (concise edition, Bangley 2005)
[5] Aug. *ep.* 46
[6] *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* 8.46-71; 10.31-34, 88-89, transl. Russell 1981

at a faster rate and more wholly than other areas left more so to their own devices, such as Britain.

With regard to the city of Rome, there is a wealth of historical source material as well as archaeological and epigraphic evidence to indicate that paganism was still at the centre of Roman social life during the mid to late fourth century and, although Christianity certainly enjoyed a presence in the city, the picture of a Christianised city appears less likely. Pagan art in secular contexts such as the Circus Maximus and Christian attitudes towards this continued presence of the old religion in the daily lives of those living in the city are of particular interest. Senatorial life in Rome and the duties of these officials towards the traditional cults was of great importance to the nature, aesthetic appeal and success of the city. Temple restoration as part of the obligation of officials such as Praetextatus as well as their more personal and passionate attempts to maintain tradition provides an insight into the beliefs and causes of the city's influential elite. In addition to this, there is evidence of Mithraic worship becoming prominent in the second half of the fourth century among the senatorial ranks, an Oriental mystery religion predominantly associated with the military in the preceding centuries. The role which Julian the Apostate played during his short reign as well as the reception of his policies may also provide some insight into the attitudes of pagan and Christian alike during the fourth century towards religion.

Archaeological evidence combined where possible with historical sources will be used to provide examples of active temples in the fourth century, some of which may have survived into the fifth century as cult sites with a modified use. Little archaeological evidence exists from Britain to suggest compliance with Theodosius' decrees to ban sacrifices, cults and close temples or the preceding legislation which became gradually more restrictive towards pagan forms of worship. In this province too, there is some evidence to suggest a possible 'pagan revival' during Julian's reign compared to other areas of the Empire, albeit Romano-Celtic in nature which may indicate a return to normality for native Britons who never really took to Roman rule in the same way as populations of other provinces had done. This evidence must be

compared with documented cases of temples being abandoned and in ruin by the late fourth century in order to provide a balanced picture of the socio-religious climate in this province of Roman Empire at this point in time. In addition, changes in burial practices in fourth century Britain will be examined, in particular the two rather curious practices quite specific to the fourth century of prone and decapitated burial. The likelihood of these burial rituals indicating pagan practice is worthy of exploration, as well as the many other factors determining cultural attitudes towards the deceased that must be taken into account.

CHAPTER 1
THE LEGISLATION OF THE CHRISTIAN EMPERORS IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

The attitude of the Christian emperors towards paganism throughout the fourth century AD can be explained as a progressive shift from toleration under Constantine to proscription under Theodosius. To a large extent, knowledge of the Christian emperors' legislation is based on the *Codex Theodosianus*; it is therefore essential to be aware of its limitations. The *Codex Theodosianus* was compiled between 429 and 437 AD. It contained only a part of the imperial legislation of the fourth century and it is important to note that the compilers of the Code edited the laws so that only the essential aspects of each were included. One must therefore treat this source with caution and, where possible, use it in conjunction with other primary sources of relevance, for example the surviving writings of Ammianus Marcellinus and Eusebius' *Vita Constantini*.

It is essential to highlight the evolution of the actual application of the legislation and of local resistance to it throughout the Empire, the aim being to show that the growth of the Church's influence over the emperors had been an important factor in the hardening of the imperial legislation and the growth of the Church at the local level had been even more decisive in ensuring that these laws were enforced. Whether or not this hardened approach was successful is another matter, and examples of continuing pagan religious practice will be provided throughout this work.

The legislation of the Christian emperors towards pagan practices has been the subject of much contention among historians, some believing that the emperors had little or no intention of outlawing pagan practices while others have argued that this was their main aim. As many of the laws contained within the *Codex Theodosianus* were based on precedent, the Christian emperors had no solid framework for the outlawing of religious practice aside from Diocletian's persecutory measures against the Christians. The reversal of these policies in Constantine's Edict of Milan marked a return to a more

tolerant religious policy as had existed prior to Diocletian's reign, with no harsh measures taken against pagan practices.

The attitude of the Emperor Constantine towards pagan practices is a highly problematic and complicated issue that continues to come under scholarly debate. Many scholars have regarded Constantine as a promoter of religious toleration while T.D. Barnes, accepting Eusebius' apologetic and partisan depiction of Constantine, has interpreted the emperor as an aggressively anti-pagan emperor whose religious policy was coherent and comprehensive. Barnes' reinterpretation has been criticised by other historians who have ended up with a more complex view of Constantine's religious policies.[7] The most problematic evidence is Eusebius' claim that Constantine banned all sacrifices by a law when he became sole Roman emperor in 324 AD.[8] The account of Eusebius is supported by the first extant law against sacrifice, issued by Constans and Constantius in 341 AD, which alludes to said law issued in the past by Constantine. This law states:

> "Imp. constantius a. ad madalianum agentem vicem praefectorum praetorio. cesset superstitio, sacrificiorum aboleatur insania. nam quicumque contra legem divi principis parentis nostri et hanc nostrae mansuetudinis iussionem ausus fuerit sacrificia celebrare, competens in eum vindicta et praesens sententia exeratur. accepta marcellino et probino conss."[9]

There is no certain evidence for a campaign against cult practices by Constantine, and the documentary evidence for the law having ever existed is conflicting. Eusebius mentions two laws being sent out at the same time and produces a copy of the second law. The first refers to the prohibition of sacrifice, but Eusebius makes the claim that its

---

[7] Eus. *vita Const.* 2.45.1; Barnes 1984, 69-72; Curran 1996, 68-77; Lane Fox 1988, 666-667; Beard - North - Price 1998, 372.
[8] Eus. *vita Const.* 2.45.1.
[9] *C.Th.* 16.10.2 (341 AD)

contents were more general, addressing the erection of cult statues, magic, divination and sacrifice, that is, a ban on all forms of cult practice:

> "The law prevented the abominations of idol-worship that had previously been practised both in cities and in the countryside, to the effect that absolutely no one should dare to have cult statues erected or engage in divination or other false practices and that absolutely no one should offer sacrifice."[10]

Libanius claimed in 386 that Constantine "made absolutely no alteration in the traditional forms of worship."[11] Libanius' testimony is generally rejected as an exaggeration, also being seen as problematic because his work is not a contemporary source. Whatever the case regarding the law it is clear that Constantine, as well as his successors, maintained hostility towards the practice of sacrifice. In his letters, Constantine referred to polytheistic practices with a polemical tone but he never seems to have passed any general repressive legislation.[12]

Constantine's edicts and letters preserved in the *Codex Theodosianus* confirm the image of an emperor who was generous towards the Christians, as Eusebius described. Constantine ordered restoration to churches of property confiscated during the persecutions of Diocletian, exempted clerics of the Catholic Church of any taxation and compulsory public services[13] and erected a series of churches which were endowed with generous estates assuring a large income. In the surroundings of Rome, the Basilica of Saint Peter and many other churches dedicated to the veneration of the martyrs were all built between 313 and 325. After the conquest of the eastern Empire, Constantine devoted himself to erecting churches in the east. All the aforementioned actions of Constantine contribute to explain why Eusebius presented Constantine as the ideal Christian emperor.

---

[10] Eus. *vita Const.* 2.45
[11] Lib. *or.* 30.6
[12] Curran 1996, 74-77; Bradbury 1994, 124-130
[13] *C.Th.* 16.2

Despite these pro-Christian actions, Constantine did not directly damage or attack paganism and it seems that he did not even attempt to do this. He appeared to merely be restoring rights that Diocletian had denied the Christians. Among the great numbers of letters and edicts by Constantine collected in the *Codex Theodosianus*, very few deal with paganism. Constantine's religious toleration was above all the product of pragmatism. It would have been unreasonable for him to persecute paganism shortly after his successful usurpation while the great majority of the Roman population, including army and elite, were pagan. Even later, it would have been impossible for the emperor to impose a strict prohibition of pagan worship as this was difficult to enforce. Indeed, the great number of letters and edicts in which Constantine feels he must reassert the privileges granted to Christian clerics[14] could indicate resistance from local pagan authorities to enforce his laws. While Constantine first exempted Christian clerics from any taxation and compulsory municipal duties in the first years following the Milvian Bridge victory in 312 AD, it was still the subject of letters to local authorities around 330 as well as under his successors. High ranking officials at local level remained pagan, which prevented strict application of Constantine's legislation even if his intention was to shift the balance in favour of Christianity.

Furthermore, proscription of pagan worship would not have been a realistic ambition. Constantine sought to gain support from the pagan aristocracy, as was common with other emperors. He was seen as the restorer of the Senate which was pagan in its great majority. Among the great number of new senators and other appointees to high positions in the imperial administration during Constantine's reign, a large number were from the new aristocracy which emerged out of the third-century confusion and few of them were Christian.[15] Constantine continued to hold the title of *pontifex maximus* and ancestral privileges of pagan priests remained unchanged. In summary, the decline of paganism was not among Constantine's premier objectives. The unity of the Catholic Church seems to have been of much more concern for Constantine;

---

[14] *C.Th.* 16.2.1-9
[15] Cameron 1993, 55

heretics and schismatics posing a greater danger than pagans. It seems that Constantine wanted to appear as the emperor of both the Christian minority and the pagan majority as it was in his interests to do so.

Despite Eusebius' claims regarding a total ban on sacrifice, Constantine permitted pagan practices to continue publicly in his legislation. He prohibited sacrifices and divination practised in private, but public sacrifices and haruspicina were still allowed as the emperor recognised the traditional role they played in the community. Constantine distinguished between good and harmful magic, and emphasised that the old rites practised publicly were not forbidden.[16] Constantius II reaffirmed and built upon his father's prohibitions. These imperial edicts were not innovations in Roman legislation, but a continuation of long-standing Roman tradition. Sacrifices performed in connection with illicit divination and magic had been defined as dangerous superstition and forbidden in the early Empire.[17] *Superstitio* was seen as a deviation from the proper *religio* of the Roman state. The traditional Roman meaning of *superstitio* was improper religion, irrational, private divination or magic but Christian writers began to use it to refer to the incorrect beliefs of pagans. Both definitions appear in the *Codex Theodosianus*[18] and the interpretation of the ambiguous term *superstitio* in legislation depended on who interpreted and enforced the laws in each area. A Christian interpreter could regard the term *superstitio* as a pagan sacrifice while a pagan could interpret it traditionally as illicit divination and magic.

The term *superstitio,* defined as illicit divination or magic and excessive fear of the divine, is found in the earliest Latin texts of the third century BC. The term was used to refer to divination and soothsaying associated with religions originating outside of Italy, that is, such practices within the framework of Roman religion were not included in this term.[19] The meaning of the term is rather ambiguous, and appears in different contexts, particularly in legal texts. The connection between *superstitio* (illicit divination

---

[16] *C.Th.* 9.16.3, 9.16.2; *C.Th.* 9.16.1
[17] 11 AD prohibition mentioned by Cass. Dio. 56.25.5
[18] Salzman 1987, 176-180; Salzman 1990, 206.
[19] Salzman 1987, 173

or magic) and excessive or irrational fear of the divine is mentioned in a law from 297 AD, which legislates against Manichees and *maleficis*, both groups being accused of superstitious doctrine. The rise of Christianity in the fourth century AD brought about a change in the definition of the term; Salzman has argued that it came to be synonymous with paganism and that this shift was reflected in the legal usage of the term.[20]

Coexisting definitions of *superstitio* occur within the *Codex Theodosianus*, including two laws of Constantine displaying this inconsistency of usage; the first law is dated to 319/20 and prohibits the private consultation of haruspices and soothsayers, but allowing public consultation in the service of *superstitio*, while the second law, dated to 323, uses *superstitio* according to Christian usage.[21] These two usages from the same period confirm this ambiguity and allow for a degree of freedom in interpretation, as stated above. Where pagans were especially influential, such as at Rome, the term could satisfy Christians while allowing pagans to continue with little alteration to their daily routine. This seems to be an important feature of the early fourth century; the concept of satisfying both parties equally and this is reflected in the legal documents of the age. In a time where the process of religious change was gradual, this must have appeared to be the most politically viable solution to the reigning emperors. Those who enforced the laws could interpret them as they saw fit, depending on the particular situation or their own religious affiliations, and this may explain the variation existent in the archaeological and historical evidence relevant to the process of Christianisation throughout the Empire in the fourth century. By the late fourth century, less ambiguity surrounded the term and this introduced a significant shift in semantics. It no longer referred primarily to the practices of the worshipper, but solely to the object of belief and worship. *Superstitio* transformed in meaning from excessive and politically destabilising rituals to wrong belief and worship.

If the term *superstitio* shifted in meaning, then it is of equal import to examine the term *religio* on the same grounds. The term *religio*, as discussed above, was used to

---

[20] Salzman 1987, 175
[21] *C.Th.* 9.16.1 (Feb. 1, 319/320); *C.Th.* 16.2.5 (323)

define the appropriate practices for maintaining the social order and solidarity of Rome. In the later fourth century, the term came to mean the belief in that which is true, as sanctioned by an authoritatively and legally produced orthodoxy. As Beard *et al* point out:

> "*Religio* is worship of the true god, *superstitio* of a false,"[22] as the Christian Lactantius remarked in the early fourth century AD - so asserting that alien practices and gods were not merely inferior to his own, but actually bogus. The traditional Roman distinction seems to have made no such assumption about truth and falsehood: when Romans in the early empire debated the nature of *religio* and *superstitio* they were discussing instead different *forms* of human relations with the gods. This is captured in Seneca's formula that "*religio* honours the gods, *superstitio* wrongs them."[23]

The laws against sacrifice cannot always be regarded as being directed against pagan cults themselves; the legislation of Constans and Constantius aimed to control divination and magic as these were considered politically dangerous skills to possess. They were seen as a potential threat to ruler as practitioners of those sciences could play a part in imperial politics by foretelling the successor of the reigning emperor as well as other important political events, and this could be utilised to seize power. In their religious legislation, Constantius and Constans forbade pagan sacrifices and worship of statues, and decreed closure of some temples. Though these measures against pagan cults and temples may sound austere, the laws did not take effect as severely as the sons of Constantine may have intended. The properties of the temples were not confiscated nor were the cult places systematically harmed.[24]

---

[22] Lact. *Div. Instit.*, 4, 28
[23] Seneca *Clem.* 2.5; Beard, North, Price 1998, 216
[24] *C.Th.* 16.10.4 (between 356-361); *C.Th.* 16.10.6. Jul. *or.* 7.228BC; Lib. *or.* 1.27; 18.114-115; Eunap. *vit. soph.* 10.6.3; 10.6.8

A law of 342[25] attested that paganism was not directly under attack. It stated that 'the buildings of the temples situated outside the walls [would] remain untouched and uninjured.' Chuvin recalls that this law evidently did not mean that destruction of temples within the city of Rome was permitted but it aimed to protect isolated sanctuaries which were more vulnerable. Chuvin sees Constantius' victory over the usurper Magnentius in 353 as a turning point in which the policies of Constantius policies became more severely anti-pagan.[26] Pagan support for Magnentius in the West may have been the reason behind Constantius' renewed vigour against pagan practices as he could have been attempting to quash a potential revolt from supporters of his rival. In practice, the aforementioned laws regarding worship of statues and sacrifice were not carried out with any widespread success. A law with reference to governors of the provinces who should be executed if 'they should neglect to avenge such crimes'[27] suggests that Constantius found it difficult to have his anti-pagan legislation enforced by local officials throughout the Empire. Indeed, the emperor had no way of strictly imposing his own legislation on a particular city where high ranking officials in charge remained pagan. The outcome was quite heavily dependent upon the power struggle at local level between Christians and their adversaries. The legislation stirred up fear and animosity, but it did not put an end to paganism. Although local officials seemed to be mostly pagan at that time, bishops had progressively joined the bureaucrats as members of a new governing class at both local and imperial level and it is known that some pagan temples were destroyed during this period by zealous bishops, monks and Christian communities. This period of harsh intolerance,[28] at least in law, lasted only a few years since Constantius was succeeded in 361 by Julian the Apostate.

The policies of the Emperor Julian (361-363 AD) were an exception among the Christian emperors of the fourth century. He ordered the pagan temples be reopened and restored the properties confiscated by Constantine and his sons.[29] This will be discussed in greater depth below. In the time directly following Julian's death, during Jovian's

---

[25] *C.Th.* 16.6.3
[26] Chuvin 1990, 58
[27] *C.Th.* 16.10.6 February 20, 356
[28] Chuvin 1990, 38
[29] Athanassiadi 1981, Amm. 22.5.2; Lib. *or.* 18.126; *C.Th.* 5.13.3; 10.1.8; Soz. *HE,* 5.3.1-2.

short reign (363-364 AD), cult practices and sacrifices defined as legal appear to have been tolerated.

Valentinian I and Valens began their reign in 364 with a decree of religious tolerance.[30] Pagans and Christians alike commended Valentinian for his impartiality and tolerance in religious matters.[31] Though Valentinian and Valens were both Christian, their religious policy was tolerant for practical political reasons; they wished to maintain internal peace and order in the Roman Empire by maintaining balance between pagans and Christians, exercising a more laissez-faire approach towards religious activity. They also refrained from interfering in religious disputes between Christians.[32] The Roman cult still remained as the state religion; the emperor was *pontifex maximus* and the college of the pontifices still arranged pagan festivities and processions, oversaw tombs and burials and judged according to the ancient pontifical law.[33] However, during their reign, Valentinian and Valens took over the income and property of the pagan temples that Julian had returned.[34] They also attempted to control magic, divination and private sacrifices in their legislation. *C.Th.* 9.16.7 of Sept. 9 364 forbade nefarious prayers, magical practices and nocturnal sacrifices. A later law, *C.Th.* 9.16.8, issued in the eastern part of the Empire, prohibited the activities of astrologers, *mathematici* and all sacrifices, public as well as private, both by day and night. Both laws against magic were issued for political reasons, following Constantius' legislation and the tradition of earlier imperial legislation and aimed to suppress magical practices but not of the Roman civic cult. As Valentinian I states in *C.Th.* 9.16.9, he did not intend to condemn divination but to forbid it to be practised harmfully. Despite these laws, magical practices continued.[35] Furthermore, traditional Roman cults continued performing sacrifices in the name of the senate and the people due to their public nature.[36]

---

[30] *C.Th.* 9.16.9
[31] Amm. 30.9.5; Soz. *HE,* 6.6.
[32] Chastagnol 1960, 150
[33] *C.Th.* 9.17.2
[34] Amm. 30.9.5; *C.Th.* 5.13.3; 10.1.8
[35] *C.Th.* 9.16.8. Amm. 29.1
[36] Amm. 19.10.4.

The Christian emperors restricted and prohibited many pagan ritual practices, but they did allow pagan festivals and the civic cults to continue, the latter even receiving state subsidies.[37] The reign of the Emperor Gratian marked a significant change; he withdrew the subsidies of the civic cults, annulled the immunity of pagan priests and confiscated pagan temple revenues. This edict is not existent but a later law issued by Honorius in 415 AD refers to it.[38] In addition, Gratian abandoned the title of *pontifex maximus* that had been retained by the previous Christian emperors.

In the 380s, at the beginning of the reign of Theodosius, the pagan cults were tolerated while he directed his attention towards the 'heretics'. He maintained the situation left by his predecessors, allowing temples to remain open, the Roman civic religion to continue and pagan rituals of incense, libations and fire to carry on. This changed towards the end of his reign when he set out to systematically prohibit paganism. The year 391 has been considered as the turning point in the religious legislation of Theodosius and Valentinian II since thereafter all polytheistic practices were banned and prohibitions were intended for universal application.[39] This apparent change of policy has been credited to the increased influence of Ambrose of Milan. However, there appears to be some evidence of Theodosius possibly trying to free himself of Ambrose's influence. Ambrose mentions one particular occasion on which he did not receive information regarding the transactions of the imperial consistory:

> "Afterwards I plainly addressed the most clement Emperor Theodosius, and hesitated not to speak to his face. And he, having received a similar message from the Senate, though it was not the request of the whole Senate, at length assented to my recommendation, and so I did not go near him for some days, nor did he take it ill, for he knew that I was not acting for my own advantage, but was not ashamed to say in the sight of the king that which was for the profit of himself and of my own soul." [40]

---

[37] *C.Th.* 12.1.60; *C. Th.* 12.1.75
[38] *C.Th.* 16.10.20
[39] *C.Th.* 16.10.10; *C.Th.* 16.10.11; Trombley 1993, 3
[40] Amb. *ep.* 57,4

Further evidence comes from early in the year 388 AD, when Libanius was denounced for questioning an oracle on political matters, which was an offence. The prefect of the east after Cynegius' death was the pagan Tatian, who threw out the case and Libanius was even promoted to prefect. Similar 'favours' seem to appear around this time for his friends. The Jewish patriarch Gamaliel was found innocent of magic and given an honorary title of praetorian prefect.[41] Symmachus too was not reprimanded for supporting the usurper Maximus; he sought refuge in a church to escape punishment and received the pardon of the emperor, then went on to be nominated as consul. Libanius again gained hearing for his oration on behalf of the temples.[42] Seeck dates this to sometime between 385 and 390; after 385 because it mentions an event that took place during that year, namely, the journey of Cynegius along with the riotous behaviour of his monks which it criticises and before 391 at the Serapaeum in Alexandria, which was destroyed in that year, was still standing when it was written.[43]

During most of the fourth century, Christian emperors had found it difficult to enforce their religious legislation through their officials throughout the Empire because a great number were still pagan. By the 380s, there seems to have come about a shift in which bishops had gained greater support and power on the whole in order to influence the degree to which the anti-pagan legislation was carried out. Some high officials, with the support of local bishops, imposed strict anti-pagan rules even while the emperor himself had legislated in favour of a relative toleration of paganism. This opened the door to exactions imposed on pagan communities that the laws barely protected any longer.

Arcadius and Honorius followed a similar line after Theodosius's reign and this resulted in the total abolition of pagan cults in August of 395.[44] Pagan sacrifices and prayers were by this time forbidden but public ceremonies and processions celebrated by

---

[41] Seeck 1906, 162
[42] Lib. *or.* 30
[43] Seeck 1906, 35, 44
[44] *C.Th.* 16.10.13

pagan priests were still allowed; the *ludi* and *circenses* continued with the support of the emperors and the local aristocracy. The Lupercalia festival, for example, was celebrated as late as 494.[45] Temples were permitted to remain open if they were used in traditional civic festivals.[46]

The immediate effect of the imperial legislation is unclear. Harsh laws did not necessarily imply that they were obeyed and the fact that the laws were renewed several times, with punishments becoming more severe each time, may indicate that they were not successfully enforced everywhere in the Empire. Regional variations existed within the Roman Empire and the willingness of local authorities to enforce the laws certainly must be taken into account. The suppression of pagan practice depended largely on whether or not the area had a Christian majority among the decurions. It must also be noted that the imperial governments of the late fourth century passed many more laws directed against heretics than against pagans.[47] Perhaps the entire situation of paganism being at the forefront of socio-political concerns in the late fourth century is somewhat exaggerated. By the end of the fourth century however, the Roman civic cult and its public rituals and sacrifices ceased to be those of the state as Christianity became the dominant religion of the Empire, but pagan practices were not instantly eradicated when this change came into effect. The series of anti-pagan legislation of the fourth century provides the backdrop for this thesis, which will aim to explore the extent to which the laws were successfully implemented in two contrasting areas of the Empire: the city of Rome as the traditional centre of the Empire and the province of Britain as an island on the west coast periphery.

---

[45] Gelasius, *Epistle to Andromachus*, in Lancon 2001, 95
[46] *C.Th.* 16.10.8. Salzman 1990, 239; Beard-North-Price 1998, 382
[47] *C.Th.* 16.10.19; Bradbury 1994, 133-137; Brown 1998, 638-639; Hunt 1993, 157; MacMullen 1964, 49-53.

CHAPTER 2
ROME: CHRISTIAN CAPITAL?

"Consuetudinis amore magnus est."[48]

There was a tendency in the scholarship of the post-war and Cold War period concerning the religious climate in the fourth century to interpret Christians and pagans in terms of conflict and a sharp dichotomy.[49] This oversimplification of pagan-Christian antagonism has appeared in literature concerning the concept of a 'pagan revival' or 'pagan reaction' of the late fourth century, as if there was some sort of movement against Christianity being led by the pagan senatorial classes of Rome. These interpretations of ancient sources and historical events are heavily influenced by modern conceptions of religion, in that there is a tendency to view life in late antiquity using divisions of Christian and non-Christian. It is only when one removes these prejudices that any real enquiry can begin into this vast subject area. O'Donnell's attempt to deconstruct this model of binary oppositions resulted in the construction of another binary model. He suggested that the traditional division of pagans and Christians be replaced with a division between tolerant and intolerant attitudes toward religious issues, that is to say that paganism was not a religion but an attitude toward religion which promoted tolerance of religious plurality whereas Christianity did not. According to this division, the Emperor Julian was 'unpagan' in his fanaticism and many Christians were 'pagan' in their tolerant attitude toward religion.[50] All this achieves is a new model of tolerance-intolerance and therefore does not move interpretations any further forward. In recent times, the fourth century has been seen as a period of gradual transformation of pagan culture into Christianity and a time of relatively peaceful coexistence. That is not to say that conflict did not exist during this period in the Roman world, but to say that it was the dominant driving force which led to the Christianisation of the Empire would be narrow-minded and inaccurate as there exists much evidence of relatively harmonious transition which far outweighs the instances of violence and turmoil among these two

---

[48] Symm. *ep.* 3.7
[49] Examples can be found in Alfoldi 1969; Bloch 1945; Bloch 1963.
[50] O'Donnell 1979, 51-57

groups in society. Furthermore, there appears to be a greater shift towards a more secular form of social life, with less import upon the religious nature of traditional festivities. With this latter view of gradual transformation in mind, an enquiry into the daily life in the city of Rome during the fourth century can be attempted.

There is no shortage of source material from this period in Rome's history. Most aspects of life are covered. From the Codex Calendar of 354 AD, one can construct a picture of everyday life in the city through this detailed list of religious and civic festivities that were being celebrated. This document also indicates the growing influence of a Christian presence in late fourth century Rome. The calendar and the cults that were being supported in Rome in the later fourth century will be examined as a representation of *sacra publica*. This does not necessarily limit the study, as the public cult and its official manifestations in the urban life of Rome's inhabitants were so closely linked to the senatorial aristocracy, as well as the emperor and the state. There has been much debate on whether or not the Codex Calendar is a true reflection of religious life in the city of Rome during the later fourth century. Mommsen claimed this calendar was a piece of fourth century nostalgia thought paganism to be almost extinct at this time, interpreting the calendar as a compilation of celebrations allowed by Constantius who retained certain games because of their historic significance to the people of Rome.[51] Neither view accounts for the inclusion of a smaller section listing Christian holidays separate from the list of pagan festivals and not included as part of the official days celebrated. If paganism was 'almost extinct' or this work was a list of outdated festivals no longer prominent in the urban life of the city of Rome, surely there would be no need to even mention any Christian holidays, as a list of the old pagan festivals would suffice for nostalgic purposes. The inclusion of both Christian and pagan holidays indicates that both religions held enough prominence to be included, with the Christian dates playing a secondary role to the pagan festivals mentioned therein.

The Circus Maximus, where games were held as part of the festivities mentioned in the Codex Calendar, can provide an insight into the reception of pagan art in secular

[51] Salzman 1990, 18

contexts. Curran's theories will be addressed regarding the religious atmosphere of the venue as used by the Christian emperors to ensure continuity of the civic institutions. Following on from this will be a brief study of Christian attitudes towards classical monuments more generally in the fourth century. Again, this has previously been studied against the background of hostility between Christian and pagan and is therefore worthy of re-examination using a non-binary model and concentrating more on the idea of the process being one of gradual change. An attempt will be made to show that hostility towards pagan monuments was not commonplace, nor an officially adopted policy of the Christian state or Church.

Evidence of temple restoration during the late fourth century in Rome will be examined, with special reference to the efforts of Praetextatus and Symmachus to maintain traditional elements of the city due to the interruption in the public finance system for maintaining pagan cults. As a result of this, in the western part of the Empire, the senatorial aristocracy to which Praetextatus and Symmachus belonged acquired and succeeded in maintaining considerable political and economic power in the fourth century. The influence of western senators was based on their landed properties that they connected with their high posts in the imperial administration, usually controlling as governors the same provinces where their family estates were situated. Senators enjoyed much prestige as an order though the senate no longer had real significance as a political assembly but rather was only the old symbol of the *res publica*. The traditions of senatorial conduct, self-awareness and forms of representation, which had been taken directly from the Roman pagan past, still lived on since the new members who entered the order soon adopted the traditions. Their influence as well as obligations and duties to the city were of great importance.

The ideas behind their efforts to ensure continuity were firmly based upon tradition and maintaining the *status quo* in the face of significant shifts that were occurring during this period in Rome's history. Parallel to this stance against change, there also occurred a shift within paganism. In the eastern Empire and among the senatorial nobility in the west, intellectual paganism was reinforced by Neo-Platonic

philosophy. This marked a shift in the pagan movement, uniting theology and philosophy. Philosophical schools of thought ceased to be pure structures of human reason and became modified by religious faith, to form a system of theological enquiry. What evolved was a form of 'higher monotheism' and the concept of man in relation to God was becoming more definite and concrete. In this sense, the paganism and Christianity of the time were moving towards one another, further refuting notions of widespread conflict during the later fourth century. A series of inscribed dedications to Magna Mater from the Vatican Phrygianum also attests the participation of late fourth century Roman senators in the cult of Mithras. This group of dedications is intriguing for many reasons, not the least of which is that it attests the devotion of senators to Mithras for the first time in the long history of the cult. An exploration will be undertaken into the reasons for the tremendous popularity of Mithraism in Rome at a time when it had all but faded into obscurity elsewhere in the Empire.

The Codex Calendar of 354 AD

The Codex Calendar of 354 was made by Furius Dionysius Filocalus, a leading calligrapher of the period, for a wealthy Christian aristocrat named Valentinus. This illustrated manuscript has survived through partial copies or adaptations from the Carolingian and Renaissance periods. This source is of great value as it documented not only pagan holidays, imperial anniversaries, historical commemorations and astrological phenomena, but also historiographical material such as the names of Roman consuls and prefects of the city as well as the names of bishops of the Catholic Church in Rome. It has been suggested that Polemius Silvius probably consulted the manuscript when preparing his own calendar in 449 AD and that a sixth century copyist used the illustrations contained in the Codex to devise a planisphere, or star chart.[52] In 602, Columbanus of Luxeuil possibly copied the Paschal Cycle from the Codex and an Anglo-Saxon text of 689 AD may also refer to this work.[53] The Codex recorded only public, officially recognised events and festivals, not those celebrated in private.

[52] Stern 1953, 35; Salzman 1990, 4
[53] Stern 1953, 35

Nevertheless, the manuscript provides a valuable insight into the functions of the dominant institutions within the city, and how Christian religious institutions were assimilated into pre-existing secular models of political life. The importance of the Roman civic and religious calendar cannot be emphasised strongly enough; it embodied the traditions of the society which created it and knowledge of the ceremonies and festivities of the gods was a sign of distinction and proper education.

The Codex (the term used for the entire manuscript and not only the Calendar section) is divided into sixteen sections. The illustrated Calendar, Section VI, is the centrepiece of the Codex, comprising of text and illustrations, distichs of the months and tetrastichs of the months, although it is argued that the latter were possibly a later addition and not included in the original.[54] The illustrations contained within are based entirely on secular and pagan imagery, the text records only pagan festivals and traditions associated with the senatorial aristocracy and imperial government, and not the rites and traditions of the Christian Church. Sections I to VII are illustrated and provide information regarding imperial, astrological, religious or civic matters, while Section VIII to XVI do not have accompanying illustrations and also contain imperial and civic information, as well as lists of the Bishops of Rome, the Deposition of Martyrs and Bishops, and the Easter Cycle.

Although the entire manuscript is of relevance when embarking upon an examination of religious life in fourth century Rome, several sections are of greater importance and one must also look at the way in which the information is arranged and segregated. Mommsen has argued that the omission of the specific nature of individual days combined with the lack of lengthy descriptions regarding cult acts indicates that these cultic acts were no longer celebrated in the fourth century.[55] However, there is no indication from earlier calendars that such information was ever included in them either. For example, the pre-Caesarian Fasti Antiates Maiores contains no description of cultic acts, nor do other first century calendars such as the Fasti Maffeiani from 8 AD.[56] In

[54] Salzman 1990, 24
[55] Mommsen 1892, 28
[56] Degrassi 1963, 1-128, 70-84; Stern 1953, 96-99; Salzman 1990, 17

addition, the inclusion of sections listing information about Christian matters reflects the increasing importance of the religion in Rome. However, these sections being included separately indicates that the commemoration of martyrs, Easter and other such holidays had not yet made their way into the civic calendar of Rome in 354.

The artwork contained in the Codex Calendar (Section VI) has mixed themes[57], the artist using a combination of seasonal, festival-related and combined themes for each month. The images for all the months survive aside from January which was lost from the archetype of all the illustrated copies. March shows a young shepherd with a goat, three baskets and a large bird surrounding him, which has been suggested as a depiction of the god Mars whose festivals were celebrated throughout the month of March.[58] The illustrations for September have been associated with Dionysus, July with Apollo/Sol and April possibly with Cybele. The imagery for November appears to be inspired by the Cult of Isis, portraying a priest carrying a sistrum, a goose at his feet that was sacred to the goddess and the head of Anubis.[59] The omission of sacrifice being depicted in the artwork may indicate the increasing influence of Christianity in Rome at the time, although one should bear in mind that the calligrapher was a Christian, creating this manuscript for another Christian, therefore the inclusion of material offensive to the creator and recipient seems unlikely. Furthermore, the idea that the Romans honoured custom and tradition did not mean their rituals were static. The local nature of pagan practice could change over time, and the subject matter of artistic depictions could evolve alongside as one festival became more prominent than another. For an example of this from elsewhere in the Empire, two mosaic cycles from Hellin, Spain and El-Djem, Tunisia dated to the second or third century AD illustrated the month of May with Mercury, whereas the 354 Calendar from Rome replaced this with the Macellus rosas sumat.[60]

---

[57] See Appendix I for images of March, April, July, September and November
[58] Akerstrom-Hougen 1974, 77
[59] www.tertullian.org/fathers/chronography_of_354_06_calendar.htm
[60] Salzman 1990, 119

Sixty-nine days were devoted to festivals and holidays in honour of the gods of the Pantheon, thirty-seven of these were taken up by six types of public games, as was the case from the Republican period onwards. These six games were the *ludi Romani*, *ludi Plebeii*, *ludi Megalenses*, *ludi Cerialici*, *ludi Florales* and the *ludi Apollinares*.[61] Six further festivals with *ludi* or *circenses* were added to the Roman festival calendar in the mid-first century AD or after.[62] The Codex Calendar also provides information on the most important cults in fourth century Rome, as only cults with imperial sanction could be publicly celebrated and therefore appear therein.[63] The Calendar indicates the prominence of the Imperial Cult, along with other cults in order of importance based on how many days of *ludi* and *circenses* were dedicated to each. Nine cults had *ludi* and *circenses* dedicated to them on more than one day, eight with *ludi* and *circenses* on one day only, six without either and ten with celebrations on one day only. Of the most prominent cults, only one was new in the post Julio-Claudian period, the cult of Sol Invictus. Four festivals are recorded in honour of this god, often associated with Apollo, and his following was of considerable enough size that St Augustine felt the need to preach against them.[64] Archaic festivals are also recorded in the calendar, but do not have as many games associated with them; Wissowa suggests that they were celebrated out of tradition, but their cults were no longer vital.[65]

It is interesting to note that several Christian and pagan festivals occurred on the same day. On January 15, one can see that the Carmentalia and commemoration of the burial of Marcellinus takes place. The pagan festivity of the Caristia is celebrated on the same day as the Christian *natalis Petri de cathedra*. There are fourteen days during the year when the festivities of pagan and Christian occurred on the same day. In inclusion of information for both Christian and pagan contained in the Codex gives the impression of a willingness to accommodate and assimilate Christian holidays into the long-standing pagan traditions of Rome. Whether this is merely a reflection of the attitude

---

[61] Salzman 1990, 123
[62] Salzman 1990, 127. *Ludi Solis, Iano Patri, Iovi Statori, ludi Fatales, ludi Genialici, ludi Fabarici.*
[63] Symmachus mentions that imperial approval was necessary in *Rel.* 6, 8, 9.
[64] Aug. *Ser. de Vet. Test.* 12; *Enem. in Psalm.* 25, 2
[65] Wissowa 1912, 399

held by the calligrapher, its intended recipient or the wider populace cannot be known but it does display a harmonious picture even if it is purely at the microcosmic level.

The Circus Maximus: pagan art in secular contexts

It is of value to examine the physical and symbolic context in which Roman civic festivals were celebrated. McCormick has argued, while pagan festivals continue to be celebrated throughout the fourth century, the more overtly pagan elements were neutralised before they came to be replaced by Christian practices.[66] However, one must take into account that several other factors must be taken into account when discussing this 'neutralisation'. Following the third century crisis, economic decline, barbarian invasions and military unrest all put a strain on civic life and resources for festivities were undoubtedly affected by these factors, as will be discussed below with regard to the decline of blood sacrifice during the reign of Julian. This 'secularisation' of society could well have been the result of limited resources being available for the more extravagant aspects of the festivities and officials may have found themselves in a compromised position in which they had no alternative but to prioritise certain aspects of civic life in order to ensure social cohesion and unity, without being able to achieve the same level of expenditure as they had done previously.

With reference to the Circus Maximus specifically, sixty-six games were held here annually, an average of five per month.[67] Great trouble was taken to maintain this venue, indicating the strong links in this period between the *plebs Romana,* the senatorial aristocracy and the Christian emperors. There is evidence to suggest that the seating capacity of the venue was increased during the reign of Constantine and the number of circus races increased markedly during the fourth century.[68] No argument is being made here that these actions did not serve a practical political function in fourth century Rome; but during a time where significant religious change was taking place,

[66] McCormick 1986, 101
[67] Curran 2000, 230
[68] Curran 2000, 234

one must enquire into the effect the statues that were housed at the Circus Maximus had on the viewer.

There is no indication that any of the statues had altars associated with them, but the presence of these statues indicates an impression of divine and human participation in the events taking place at the venue. As Elsner remarks, there was not necessarily a distinction between statues as 'cult' and 'works of art'; both were considered to be 'signs' of the sacred.[69] Curran agrees with this, believing the venue to possess a "carefully constructed religious dimension" with no neutrality at all.[70] The most vivid surviving depiction of the Circus Maximus comes from a mosaic from the villa Piazza Armerina.[71] This mosaic shows a statue of Magna Mater (Cybele) seated on a lion on the barrier of the circus. Above the starting gates, there were statues of Mercury and Fortuna, on the acroterion, Cybele in a quadriga being drawn by four lions, an ox on the meta nearest the starting gates being led to sacrifice and as already mentioned, Magna Mater seated on a lion on the barrier.[72] There was also a shrine of Venus Murcia in the track on the Aventine side of the Piazza Armerina mosaic[73] and Tertullian mentions that three altars stood on the barrier, dedicated to Magni Potentes Valentes.[74] The *pompa circenses* traditionally ended with cult images being given the best seats in the house. However, this was altered under Constantine, replacing the images of deities with the emperor's image.[75] Despite this, the venue at which the games were held was flooded with pagan religious symbolism, indicating the deeply ingrained implication of divine presence in civic life.

The language of imagery could serve as an expression of cultured historical background and as a universally understood system of visual communication. As Elsner remarks:

---

[69] Elsner 1995, 243
[70] Curran 2000, 238
[71] Ibid.
[72] Humphries 1986, 226
[73] Ibid, 95-7
[74] Tert. *De Spect.* 8
[75] Curran 2000, 251

> "Mystic viewing is predicated upon the assumption that in mystic experience the dualism of subject and object can be transcended into a unity that is neither subject nor object and yet is simultaneously both."

Plotinus associates the process of mystic union with seeing.[76] He uses an analogy of a visit to a temple sanctuary and considers the statues in the outer shrine to be secondary objects of contemplation and representations of the Divine itself.[77] Beyond the sanctuary and the outer shrine, there existed the pagan statuary in secular contexts. However, one must bear in mind that, although these were not shrines where people left votive offerings, the very reason they were attending a venue such as the Circus Maximus in the first place was for the purpose of celebrating some festival, often related with a deity. Using Plotinus' model, their reason for being there, which no doubt the people in attendance were reminded of, could be construed as contemplation of some kind. On the contrary, one could argue that people were merely attending out of custom or some sense of duty or obligation, but this undermines the awareness of the populace of Rome. Whether or not they made a deep spiritual connection between the objects they were viewing and the deity the games were being held in honour of, some level of consciousness must have been present within them to allow for a connection to be made, however weak or strong.

The symbolic significance that one assigns to external objects may reflect more about the viewer than objective reality, thus making the entire process of engagement between object and viewer a subjective experience. Ultimately all visual objects have the potential to possess symbolic significance to the viewer. Symbolic art can remind the viewer of resolutions or goals or inspire particular feelings and emotions. The meaning of symbolic imagery may depend on the age and gender of the viewer as well as the cultural context. With this in mind, one must assume that the majority of spectators who attended the games at the Circus Maximus at least had an awareness of which deities

---

[76] Plot. *Enn.* 6.9.10-11
[77] Plot. *Enn.* 6.9.11; Elsner 1995, 91

were being depicted in the form of statues, even if the works of art did not create an emotive response in the viewer on a conscious level.

Christian attitudes towards pagan monuments

Although attacks against pagan monuments were not widespread, the majority, instigated by the Church as well as the state, occurred toward the end of the fourth century and coincide with the more heavy-handed measures taken by Theodosius I. A great number of attacks were initiated by Cynegius, praetorian prefect in the east and close advisor of Theodosius.[78] The attitude of the state toward pagan monuments is related on the one hand to imperial religious policy, on the other hand to the cultural and social realities of the time. Imperial ceremony and symbolism remained predominantly pagan for some time. It has been suggested that maintaining a pagan aspect helped to secure social order. Paganism still constituted a strong social and cultural force and, despite the differences that separated the two groups, their similarities and the way in which they interacted was of great importance.

Destruction of temples is not found in the early anti-pagan legislation. Isolated incidents do occur: for example, Constantine ordered the destruction of the temple at Mamre in order to allow for the erection of a church on site.[79] A decree from the year 346 AD mentions that temples situated outside the city walls were to be preserved because of their connection with public entertainment, already mentioned as a well-established tradition.[80] The most important attacks on pagan temples occurred in the eastern Empire, predominantly those carried out by Cynegius, the destruction of temples in Gaza by another imperial officer and the destruction of the Serapaeum in Alexandria. There is no evidence of imperial policy ever promoting a systematic destruction of pagan sanctuaries.[81] The attacks of the Church against the temples follow a similar pattern. Destruction of pagan sanctuaries was not the result of an organised effort of the

[78] *C.Th.* 16.10.9; MacMullen 1984, 98
[79] Eus. *vita Const.* 3.51-53.
[80] *C.Th.* 16.10.3.
[81] Kaegi 1966, 243-75

Church. It was sporadic, the work of local bishops, and occurred mainly in the east and in Africa.[82] Theodosius' law of 385 in which the emperor directed Cynegius to enforce the prohibition of sacrifice[83] appears to have been taken up by the official with much more enthusiasm than was expected, as Cynegius then sought out to suppress and destroy temples in Syria and Egypt. Libanius suggested that an unnamed governor in the east was contravening the will of the emperor.[84]

Classical statues and monuments continued to be appreciated for their artistic value. Cyril Mango, in a study of the significance of ancient statuary in Byzantine civilisation, expresses his surprise at the collection of pagan statues by Christian emperors and remarks that it 'constitutes something of a paradox.'[85] He suggests that the explanation lies in the ambiguous religious policy of the first Christian emperors. Christian thinkers developed an artificial explanation: according to Eusebius, pagan statues thus exposed were subject to public ridicule.[86] Other sources do not seem to share Eusebius' sentiments: a *constitutio* from the year 365 issued by Valentinian and Valens indicates that in several cases, Christians were actively involved in preserving pagan temples. It states,

> "Quisquis seu iudex seu apparitor ad custodiam templorum homines Christianae religionis adposuerit sciat non saluti suae, non fortunis esse parcendum."[87]

Other Christian sources explicitly mention the beauty of pagan monuments.[88] Apart from these testimonials to the artistic significance of the classical monuments for Christians, other sources, mainly archaeological and hagiographical, reveal a more complex picture, namely the reuse of pagan monuments by Christians. It is widely accepted that several pagan sanctuaries were reused for either Christian or secular

[82] MacMullen 1984, 98-99.
[83] *C.Th.* 16.10.9
[84] Lib. *or.* 30.46
[85] Mango 1963, 55-75
[86] Eus. *vita Const.* 3.54
[87] *C.Th.* 16.1.1
[88] Theod. *HE*, 5.22; Soz. *HE*, 7.15

purposes, either the entire building as it stood or the building materials for new constructions. Statues, particularly from sanctuaries, were also believed to be inhabited by *daimones*. In late Antiquity, both pagans and Christians believed in the existence of these minor gods whose power was ambivalent. Pagans considered them to be companions and protectors, but their power could sometimes be destructive.[89] Christians considered these demons to possess an evil nature and they were considered dangerous enemies.[90] In late Antiquity, various sources, both pagan and Christian, testify to the general belief that statues were animated. St Augustine remarked,

> "they give the illusion of moving and feeling, and greatly increase the veneration of the crowd, on which their cult so greatly depends."[91]

The evidence of the sources mentioned above suggests that this was not a medieval interpretation of the pagan monuments, but rather a continuation of a concept rooted in the pagan religious beliefs of late Antiquity. The continuation into medieval times of such pagan beliefs in connection with the monuments is also attested in some Christian sources from the end of late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. In the seventh century, Anastasius Sinaites mentions that the *telesmata histamena* of the magician Apollonius were still being practised at this late date.[92] Dagron has shown that statues attributed to Apollonius are mentioned in many later Byzantine sources.[93] Superstition thus prevailed in late Antiquity and the Byzantine era with regard to pagan statues.

One possible explanation for the reuse of temples by Christians could reside in the fact that the Christian concept of the sacred was very different from that of the pagans. In order to illustrate the pagan attitude toward the concept of that which was 'sacred' in late Antiquity, a few examples must suffice. In the fourth century, Libanius in his *Pro templis* recommends reusing pagan temples to house the municipal administration, stating:

---

[89] Dodds 1965, 37; Lane-Fox 1986, 327-30
[90] MacMullen 1984, 26; Lane-Fox 1986, 327-30
[91] Aug. *ep.* 102.3
[92] Kartsonis 1986
[93] Dagron 1984, 104

> "They are at least buildings, even though not used as temples. Taxation, presumably, required offices of collection: so let the temple stand and be the collection office, and keep it from demolition."[94]

In the fifth century, Zosimus describes how the Romans destroyed the most sacred of their statues during the siege of Rome by Alaric.[95] Although the act certainly had a political significance, it no doubt reveals a concept of the sacred quite different from that of the Christians.

Temple restoration

In the late fourth century, there was a significant shift in how public buildings were defined. During Gratian's reign, the authorities began also to regard Christian churches as public buildings alongside the traditional pagan temples.[96]As the imperial government interrupted the public finance system for pagan cults in 382 AD, wealthy pagan aristocrats took upon themselves the full weight of responsibility for the maintenance of their religious centres without the benefit of state subsidies. At the end of the fourth century, Christian building activity did not yet hold a monopoly in Rome and many pagan monuments and public buildings were still restored or redecorated, with pagans continuing to dedicate altars and cult statues. The Forum Romanum remained a pagan reserve. For example, the temple of Vesta and the temple of Saturn were restored in the late fourth century. Most of the building activity of the time was restoration work as opposed to new construction.[97] Pagan and Christian aristocrats continued to sponsor the construction and restoration of shrines in Rome because the private patronage of religious building was part of the aristocratic code of life for pagan and Christian senators without discrimination or preference of their chosen religion.

---

[94] Lib. *or.* 30.42
[95] Zos. 5.41.6-7.
[96] There is no evidence of Christian churches under the surveillance of the city prefect before Gratian's reign. Chastagnol 1960, 140; Chastagnol 1994, 324.
[97] The only one major pagan building known to have been built in Rome after Constantine's death is the Syrian sanctuary on the Ianiculum, probably during the reign of Julian (361-363).

The contrasting ideas of urban topography and sacred space between pagans and Christians become quite evident when examining the buildings in the city of Rome. While pagan restorations can be seen as a result of the religious obligations of the senatorial classes or even as a form of religious propaganda, sacred pagan buildings occupied a very central position in the city in comparison to Christian churches. This was due to the fact that pagan ceremonies and cult activities were very much located within the walls of the city, whereas those of the Christians tended to be situated outside these walls in the surrounding vicinity. Praetextatus' desire to protect pagan buildings as city prefect and praetorian prefect becomes more understandable when perceived in the wider context of this conquest of sacred space in the fourth century. While it is held that new Christian churches outside the city competed with the old traditional pagan areas in a more central location for import and visibility, the fact that they were not actually competing for the same physical space presents a picture of lessened priority to do away with the old and introduce the new, as they could quite happily co-exist based on their different ideas of sacred space. Praetextatus aimed to keep the pagan religious tradition prominent and visible in the central cityscape of Rome by restoring and protecting pagan shrines. Praetextatus aimed at freeing the sacred buildings from the surrounding clutter in order to make these sacred sites more visible as important structures to the historical value of the city. Furthermore, he was simply attempting to ensure that the public buildings of the city, religious or otherwise, were maintained in good order.

When Praetextatus held the city prefecture in 367, he took measures to protect public buildings and particularly pagan shrines. He had all the Maeniana, the extra structures that had been added to pagan temples, removed and also removed the walls of private houses which had been illegally joined to sacred buildings:

> "namque et Maeniana sustulit omnia fabricari Romae priscis quoque vetita legibus et discrevit ab aedibus sacris privatorum parietes isdem inverecunde conexos."[98]

[98] Amm. 27.9.10

These Maeniana were extra structures such as balconies or galleries added on to buildings privately and had originally been built to view the games in the Forum Romanum. According to Ammianus, this kind of building had been forbidden since earlier times in Rome. Such extra structures were also prohibited in late antiquity, often because of the risk of fire or because the width of the streets were narrowed as a result of their presence. It is possible that Praetextatus intended not to demolish all extra additions to Roman buildings, but to clean up the Forum Romanum area in order to keep pagan buildings visible in the civic landscape.[99]

Praetextatus is also known to have restored and rededicated the Porticus deorum consentium in the Forum Romanum during his time as city prefect. *CIL* VI 102 records this restoration, stating that he restored the sacred statues, *sacrosancta simulacra* of the *di consentes* and their cult in its old form.[100] The Porticus deorum consentium had been originally built in the second or third century BC but its present form dates from the Flavian period. The Roman *di consentes* were important as protectors of the city, and celebrations in their honour were maintained for centuries. The cult placed an emphasis on well-being and civic responsibility and had been vital for the Romans, as for the welfare of their capital city. The *di consentes* also played a fundamental role in Roman state life since the importance of the senatorial order and the functions which it served were seen to be projected through them on a metaphysical level. Bloch has suggested that the portico of the *di consentes* was of much more importance to Praetextatus because he identified a Neo-Platonic connection with them; they could have been seen by him as manifestations of the supreme universal divinity in symbolic form.[101] The *di consentes* appear in the Neo-Platonic literature of the fourth and fifth centuries; for instance, in Sallustius' treatise concerning the gods and the universe they govern the twelve spheres of the cosmos and are protectors of the planets.[102] In addition, they are depicted as *tutelae* of the months and the zodiac in Macrobius' *Saturnalia* where the

---

[99] Laws against any extra structures *C.Th.* 15.1.22 (in 383), 15.1.25 (in 389), 15.1.39 (in 398) and 15.1.47 (in 409).
[100] *CIL* VI 102 = *ILS* 4003
[101] Bloch 1945, 208
[102] Sallustius 6.2-5

writer in Praetextatus' imaginary discourse refers to Mars and Venus as the *tutelae* of March and April.[103]

The restoration of the Porticus deorum consentium and the preservation of the *di consentes* were, in the eyes of the pagan aristocracy, essential for the protection and prosperity of the city. However, the restoration of the Porticus was not only an expression of pagan belief but, as mentioned before, the responsibility of the urban prefect who was in charge of all public construction and maintenance of the public buildings in the city of Rome, pagan as well as Christian. To highlight this, the pagan city prefects Sallustius and Symmachus were responsible for the construction of a Christian church in 383-385.[104] The simple distinction between pagans and Christians is not very useful here; sacred buildings were not necessarily restored because they were pagan or Christian but because they were public buildings. The Porticus deorum consentium is the last recorded pagan monument to be officially restored or erected by a Roman magistrate. However, Praetextatus was not the only individual who carried out restoration works on pagan shrines. Other restorations in connection with the pagan cults were carried out by the city prefect and other high-ranking officials of Rome. For example, the temple of Apollo was restored by Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus during his prefecture of 357-359 and the Porticus Boni Eventus by Claudius Hermogenianus Caesarius during 374-375.[105] A city prefect was able to utilise his official position in order to construct and restore buildings that played a central role in the traditions of the city of Rome in order to promote his religious and political interests.[106]

An inconsistency occurs with regard to the preservation of public buildings in fourth century Rome. Several laws passed during this period provide evidence of the conflicting policies of the Christian emperors towards these structures. Pagan sacred buildings were closed and their revenues confiscated by the imperial government, but at the same time imperial legislation directed the authorities to protect the temples as

---

[103] Macr. *Sat.* 1.12.5-8; zodiac signs, Macr. *Sat.* 1.12.10. Macr. *Sat.* 1.23.5-6
[104] Chastagnol 1960, 168; Chastagnol 1994, 324.
[105] Orfitus: *CIL* VI 45; Caesarius: Amm. 29.6.19
[106] Kahlos 2002, 2.4

public monuments and as fiscal property. Temples were not only seen as pagan shrines but also as civic monuments of the past and as imperial property.[107] In imperial legislation, Rome in particular was protected from new construction and the Roman civic administration was charged to restore and maintain public buildings.[108] The imperial government, particularly under the Emperor Gratian, was neither efficient nor interested in protecting pagan monuments in Rome and did not do much to prevent Christian magistrates from destroying pagan shrines. An example can be seen in the case of Furius Maecius Gracchus who, during his urban prefecture in 376-377, demolished a shrine of Mithras.[109] Vettius Probianus became city prefect after Gracchus and removed several statues from temples to the basilicas in the Forum Romanum.[110]

One further event in particular illustrates the significance of the religious buildings in fourth century Rome. The Capitoline hill was the centre of the Roman state cult as the temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus was situated upon it. Jerome, in a letter to Marcella, criticises Praetextatus who had ascended to the Capitol just before his death as if he had been celebrating a triumph. The letter states,

> "Ille, quem ante paucos dies dignitatum omnium culmina praecedebant, qui quasi de subiectis hostibus triumpharet Capitolinas ascendit arces, quem plausu quodam et tripudio populus Romanus except..." [111]

Praetextatus' ascent to the Capitol was applauded by the Roman people and was an official procession because it was evidently organised by authorities of the city. According to Jerome, Praetextatus was preceded by the highest magistrates of the city, *dignitatum omnium culmina praecedebant* which could be an allusion to Symmachus, the city prefect at that time. Jerome could have realised that though Praetextatus' ascent to the Capitol was not a real triumph, some people could still have connected these

---

[107] *C.Th.* 16.10.19: temples in public use; *C.Th.* 16.10.3; 16.10.18: respect for the monuments of the past; *C.Th.* 16.10.8 stresses the aesthetic value of temples and images; *C.Th.* 16.10.15 protects the ornaments of temples as works of art
[108] *C.Th.* 15.1.19 (in 376); 15.1.27 (in 390).
[109] Symm. 1.561-565
[110] *CIL* VI 1658, *CIL* VI 3864
[111] Jer. *epist.* 23.2-3 (in 384)

celebrations to the tradition of triumph; it seems likely that the *spectaculum triumphale* organised by Praetextatus and Symmachus was inspired by the pagan ceremony of triumph. Though many of its sacral connotations were probably forgotten by the late Empire, a triumph was a fundamental homage to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus. The celebration ended on the Capitol where a triumphator deposited his laurel wreath into the lap of the statue of Jupiter.[112] Christian emperors had abandoned the traditional aspect of the triumph that ended with a sacrifice to the deity. The Emperor Constantine had probably refused to make a sacrifice on the Capitol, which must have offended traditionalist circles in Rome, and after him, no Christian emperor wanted to end his triumph in Rome with the traditional procession to the Capitol and with the sacrifice to the Capitoline Jupiter.[113]

When Praetextatus made his solemn 'triumphal' appearance before the Roman people, he and Symmachus occupied the highest offices; Praetextatus was praetorian prefect at the time and Symmachus city prefect. There had been discussion about whether the imperial government should continue supporting the Roman state religion and Praetextatus' ascent could have been interpreted as a protest against the hardening anti-pagan imperial legislation of the later fourth century. He had evidently played a leading role in ideological discussions as well as in the celebrations on the Capitol, which could explain why Jerome condemned his actions so strongly. Praetextatus' ascent to the Capitol has been suggested as a triumph, a protest deliberately directed against Christian emperors. Though this act of Praetextatus' may not have been a conscious act against emperors, it was indeed essential from a topographical point of view since the Capitoline temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus was an ideal centre for nurturing old Roman religious traditions. Making a public appearance in front of the Roman people in his official capacity and in a senatorial manner, indicates that Praetextatus may have wanted to display that the Capitol with its temples was still alive and thriving as a cult centre instead of being a mere nostalgic relic.

---

[112] Symm. *rel.* 9.3; *Pan.* 7.8.7; MacCormack 1981, 34-39
[113] Zos. 2.29.5; Lib. *or.* 19.19, 20.24

Following on from this, there is one more event worthy of mention in relation to public pagan monuments and buildings. After the unsuccessful attempt made by Julian to instil new life into paganism, which was cut short by his death on the Persian campaign, no harsh measures were taken against paganism until the reign of Gratian. The majority of the Roman aristocracy and senatorial class still upheld the 'cause' of paganism. This was evident in the art of the time, which was marked by a classicist revival in works made for the senatorial classes, for example the ivory diptych commemorating the marriage alliance of the Nicomachi and Symmachi families in the fourth century. Symmachus, in the name of the pagan members of the Senate, requested that the Altar of Victory should be restored. Symmachus was primarily arguing for the status quo and the preservation of the traditions of the ancestors in Rome. Symmachus differs from Julian in this sense, as he was merely asking for toleration of the survival of an old faith, whereas Julian actively sought to make a serious revival quite far removed from the old religion. An embassy was sent to the Emperor Gratian, led by Symmachus, but Gratian refused to receive it possibly due to the Bishop Ambrose's persuasions. New requests were made for its reinstatement in 392 to the Emperor Valentinian.[114] This act appeared to be a determined move on the part of Symmachus, prefect of the city, to reinstate the observances of the pagan religion. He was perhaps the leading aristocrat in Rome at the time, renowned as a statesman, scholar and orator. Yet he did not possess the energy to assume the leadership of the 'pagan cause' which Praetextatus had held before his death in 384. The argument over the Altar of Victory arose precisely at a time when Christianity has gained prominent status and paganism had experienced resurgence. The religious course of the Empire was, in a sense, decided upon at this highly critical time. It appears that the last pagan revival in the west reflected the waning of the old religion (at least on an official scale). The fight against the removal of the old faith was relatively weak despite numerous opportunities to regain some form of stronghold due to weaknesses in the Church. Rather unsurprisingly, the altar was not restored.

[114] Amb. *ep.* 57.5

The deterioration of pagan sacred buildings and areas was gradual but the sporadic destruction of pagan shrines by private persons continued undisturbed. In 384, Praetextatus as praetorian prefect tried to put a stop to the desecration of sacred buildings when he obtained an imperial order from Valentinian II for the city prefect, Symmachus, to investigate and bring to justice those responsible for the desecration of public buildings. Praetextatus and Symmachus' actions were obviously intended to prevent Christian spoliation of pagan shrines and to restore ornaments removed from public places for private use.[115] The text of the *sacrum edictum* that Praetextatus obtained is unknown but the words 'ubi primum senatus ... subiecta legibus vitia cognovit' in Symmachus' *relatio* 3.1 might refer to the decree achieved by Praetextatus.

There is some evidence of hostile Christian attitudes towards Praetextatus and Symmachus during their time in office. An attack against Symmachus was made, as it was rumoured that he was using the court of Milan inquiry to mistreat Christians. These rumours claimed that he imprisoned and tortured Christian priests. Valentinian II reprehended him in a public letter and ordered that all those he had imprisoned should be released. In his defence, Symmachus stated that he had been authorised by Praetextatus who obtained the decree from the emperor himself. Symmachus had not even started the inquiry and Damasus, the Bishop of Rome, testified that no harm had come to any Christians. Symmachus' defence was well founded since he had the urban *officium* and Damasus as his witnesses. Damasus was also indebted to Praetextatus for his support as city prefect during the rivalry for the bishopric of Rome between Damasus and Urbanus in 367.[116] The attack was probably targeted against Praetextatus and the imperial letter to Symmachus could have connected Praetextatus' name with the accusations. Praetextatus' restoration policy as a *praefectus urbi* and as a *praefectus praetorio* may have angered some people within the Christian circles at the court of Milan and resulted in these accusations. In fact, Symmachus alludes to someone very near the emperor who had accused him of torturing Christians and who could have been a Christian magistrate in the imperial palace because he had access to the emperor. It

[115] Symm. *rel.* 21.2-3
[116] Symm. *rel.* 21.1-6.

appears that Symmachus and Praetextatus were wary enough to not begin their campaign immediately but Praetextatus perhaps first waited for Symmachus' appointment and Symmachus chose to wait as opposed to beginning the investigation immediately.[117]

The most important contemporary sources concerning these two officials are the letters of Symmachus to Praetextatus and his *relationes*, the administrative reports sent to the emperors. He left behind six hundred letters, twenty-one relations and several speeches.[118] These documents are valuable as they reveal a great deal of important information about Praetextatus, while he is only mentioned three times by the historian Ammianus Marcellinus in the *Res Gestae*, written in Rome probably in the early 390s. Ammianus does praise Praetextatus exceedingly in all these passages while elsewhere he is characteristically condemning of Roman aristocrats and their way of life.[119] Ammianus might have met Praetextatus personally in Rome in the 380s and possibly used him as a source for some of his accounts. When reporting on Emperor Julian's actions in Constantinople in 361, Ammianus remarks that Praetextatus took part in or witnessed these events. Another contemporary writer is Jerome who describes the Roman aristocratic circles that he knew well because he associated with Christian aristocratic women in Rome in the 380s. Jerome criticises Roman society so strongly and mentions Praetextatus in two letters[120] as well as in a pamphlet *Contra Ioannem Hierosolymitanum* written to Pammachius, criticising Bishop John of Jerusalem in 397, and attacks him violently in each case. Hunt remarks how rarely Jerome attacks Roman pagans; he never mentions Symmachus who appealed for the restoration of subsidies for the Roman state cults. Hunt points out that only Praetextatus was prominent enough for Jerome to be unable to ignore him. Praetextatus' death caused such an amount of public expressions of grief that Jerome felt it necessary to react to it.[121]

---

[117] Symm. *rel.* 21.1-3.
[118] *PLRE* I, Symm. 4, 865-870
[119] Amm. 22.7.6; 27.9.8-10; 28.1.24
[120] Jerome *epist.* 23 and 39
[121] Hunt 1977, 170

The picture the sources draw of Praetextatus is not consistent or harmonious. If some opinions are contradictory, they at least inform the reader of Praetextatus' significance in his time as a Roman official. It cannot be denied that he at least inspired emotions in his contemporaries and even in the next generation. Jerome disapproves of him while, on the other hand, Symmachus shows great respect for his friend, describing Praetextatus as a virtuous man and an excellent magistrate of the *res publica.*[122] For Ammianus, Praetextatus is *praeclarae indolis gravitatisque priscae senator* who acts with honesty and probity for which he was famous since his early youth, *per integritatis multiplices actus et probitatis, quibus ab adulescentiae rudimentis inclaruit.*[123] Zosimus also praises Praetextatus as a man excelling in every virtue.[124] The Praetextatus depicted in Macrobius' *Saturnalia* almost possesses divine-like qualities in his tranquillity, clemency and gravity.[125] He is presented as the intellectual leader of the Roman pagan senators and his superior authority on religious matters is emphasised when he is called *princeps religiosorum*, *sacrorum omnium praesul* and *sacrorum omnium unice conscius.*[126]

As already noted, religion and state were inseparable in Roman state life and the preservation of Roman official cults was closely connected with maintaining the traditional state life of Rome. Symmachus believed that the Roman civic religion guaranteed the support of the gods and thus the continuity and longevity of the Empire. Much in the same sense, the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* written by Symmachus in 350 also stresses that in Rome the sacred rites of gods were performed by the Vestal Virgins on behalf of the welfare of the state.[127] The Roman civic religion, therefore, was not simply a private matter for Symmachus alone due to the fact that it was necessarily bound to the public security of the state. Faithfulness to the traditional religion meant loyalty to the traditional culture and the Roman state.[128] In the minds of many Roman polytheists, the ceremonies of the Roman civic religion had to remain public and to be

[122] Symm. *rel.* 11
[123] Amm. 22.7.6; 27.9.8-10.
[124] Zos. 4.3.3
[125] Macr. *Sat.* 1.7.2
[126] Macr. *Sat.* 1.11.1; 1.17.1; 1.7.17.
[127] Symm. *rel.* 3.11: saluti publicae dicata virginitas
[128] Symm. *epist.* 1.51

financed by the state otherwise they could not be correctly accomplished and could not count as valid. If this occurred, the gods would not accept their rituals. When state subsidies did in fact cease in 382, this must have come as a severe blow to the purveyors of traditional Roman life.

Symmachus asserts his concern in a letter to Praetextatus, expressing the view that the benevolence of the gods would be lost unless it was retained by the public cult,

> "convenit inter publicos sacerdotes, ut in custodiam civium publico obsequio traderemus curam deorum. Benignitas enim superorum, nisi cultu teneatur, amittitur."[129]

Libanius too claimed that the neglect of the sacrifices to the gods would cause misfortunes to humanity.[130] The connection between the grandeur of the Roman Empire and the Roman civic religion was an old theme in Latin literature. Cicero had already claimed that the power and success of the Roman state was based on the official Roman cults.[131] In his appeal for the public maintenance of the civic religion, Symmachus argues that the glory of Rome's history provided clear evidence for the support of the gods.[132] Even decades after Symmachus' appeal, pagans and Christians continued debating whether pagan gods had supported the Roman Empire and which religion protected the Roman people better; Augustine's *De civitate Dei* is the most extensive example of this debate. The public support of the civic religion also guaranteed the fertility of the earth and was a sort of insurance policy rather than an act of generosity.[133] As the western part of the Empire suffered from a grave famine in 383, Symmachus complained that the gods had punished Rome as it had neglected the traditional cults. In the third *relatio,* he also blames the famine on the neglect of the

---

[129] Symm. *epist.* 1.46
[130] Lib. *or.* 24.2
[131] Cic. *nat. deor.* 2.3.8
[132] Symm. *rel.* 3.8
[133] Symm. *rel.* 3.17

gods, referring evidently to Emperor Gratian's withdrawal of the state subsidies for the Roman cults.[134]

There has been much discussion on the topic of the motives behind Roman pagan senators wanting to conserve the old Roman cults and their buildings. It has been argued that Symmachus and the senatorial aristocracy wished to conserve pagan cults because they were a part of the Roman tradition (*mos maiorum*). The pagan senators were not bound to the pagan cults only for material reasons otherwise they would not have supported pagan cults voluntarily and privately after Gratian had removed the state subsidies for pagan cults.[135] Symmachus uses this notion of tradition as an argument for the support of pagan cults in his appeal for the restoration of the state subsidies and the altar of Victory,[136] Other interpretations are altogether more cynical and materialistic, emphasising the primary concern of Symmachus and other pagan senators as possessing the desire to maintain the economic privileges they enjoyed as pagan priests. Their privileged position was connected with the state support of the pagan cults because, as pagan priests, they controlled the landed estates of temples. When the state support was removed, the Roman cults were no longer a source of income and prestige for the Roman aristocracy.[137] Paschoud asserts this view of Symmachus and the Roman senator.[138] Symmachus' third *relatio* is almost entirely dedicated to the economic privileges of the priestly colleges and the revenues of pagan temples, which may indicate this aspect as Symmachus' primary concern. Symmachus admits elsewhere that priesthood was excellent insurance against a lack of currency and Ambrose also remarked that pagan priests benefited from temple revenues.[139]

The wider view, as purported by scholars such as O'Donnell, defends the senatorial class somewhat in order to provide a more balanced view. According to the aforementioned historian, the pagan senators did not defend paganism solely due to their

---

[134] Symm. *epist.* 2.7; Symm. *rel.* 3.16
[135] Kahlos 2002, 2.1
[136] Symm. *rel.* 3.2-4
[137] Kahlos 2002, 2.1
[138] Paschoud 1967, 95
[139] Symm. *epist.* 4.61.1; Symm. *epist.* 1.68; Ambr. *epist.* 18.6

properties and privileges, but because religion was a matter of convenience tied to considerations of class and culture.[140] As the Roman religion and the pagan cults belonged to the senatorial way of life, it was the proper thing for a member of the Roman aristocracy to try to uphold the cults and traditions connected with the old religion. The cult practices of the Roman civic religion and other pagan cults formed a part of the aristocratic code of life and functioned as a means of senatorial self-expression. As religion cannot be separated from its wider social context, it is unnecessary and not entirely useful to construct a dichotomy between the society in which the senators lived and their religious adherence.

In summary, it is clear that pagan religious buildings were still a prominent feature in the city of Rome during the late fourth century and that several people in prominent positions continued to uphold the traditional values of the city and were met with some hostility as a result. With regard to this, one could claim that there was no real religious motivation behind these actions and the prefects were merely acting out of obligation more than anything. However, religion and tradition had always been so closely tied to one another in Roman life and it is difficult to think of the inhabitants of the city not associating one with the other. Much like the concept of pagan art remaining in secular contexts, one cannot deny that tradition and religion went hand in hand and that there was some level of awareness of the symbolism by which the populace were surrounded. In particular cases, it sparked a strong emotive response as with Praetextatus and Symmachus. One must also bear in mind that any surviving records mentioning such strong responses are limited to the views of the literate members of the population. One cannot definitely argue that they represented anyone else's view but their own, not the majority or even the minority. In the same vein, it would be narrow to label these few notables as the only representatives of a dying religion left in Rome. There was no coherent pagan 'movement' in place which aimed to defend the old religion and it may be the case that there was simply very little to oppose, save for the inevitability of change which was occurring alongside the old tradition.

[140] O'Donnell 1979, 72-73

Senatorial life in Rome

Both pagans and Christians shared similar values and cultural heritage. In certain respects, the Christian religion differed from the polytheistic environment of the fourth century but it also had very much in common with the pagan religions and philosophies. Pagan and Christian basic positions tended to assimilate in the fourth century as the religions had a reciprocal influence upon one another. It is sometimes difficult to find any differences between pagan and Christian senators as there existed a cultural unity within the senatorial aristocracy in spite of religious diversity. Pagans and Christians used a common language of forms and themes in the decoration of their tombs, sarcophagi and other objects; Christians also used the contemporary classical repertory and classical and Christian themes, forms and ideas tended to be mixed. The cosmetic case of Secundus and Proiecta of the Esquiline Treasure as well as the *erotes* in the mosaics of Sta Costanza in Rome are good examples of the classical allegorical themes and forms that – though 'pagan' in origin – should not interpreted as anti-Christian or manifestly pagan.[141]

The period of about thirty years from Constantius II to Valentinian I was a long period of transition since the Christianisation of Roman society was a slow, gradual process. The reign of Valentinian I in particular seems to have been a period characterised by peaceful coexistence between pagan and Christian cults. Some scholars even speak of the symbiosis between pagans and Christians rather than of rivalry since on the level of daily reality pagans and Christians certainly accommodated themselves to peaceful coexistence. The 360s and 370s in Rome appear especially as an age of tolerance and compromise. Pagans were appointed to the magistratures of the Empire with continuity and pagan aristocrats remained in high offices, especially in Rome and elsewhere in Italy, as Praetextatus' example shows. Though the emperors were Christians, as practical politicians they often did not let religious affiliation influence official appointments. The city prefects of Rome, for example, were pagans and

[141] Elsner 1995, 162-4

Christians by turns under Constantius II and under Valentinian I.[142] Even as late as the 380s eminent pagans held the supreme offices, Praetextatus the praetorian prefecture, Symmachus the city prefecture of Rome, Nicomachus Flavianus the praetorian prefecture, Themistius the city prefecture of Constantinople.

Paganism in Italy and especially in the city of Rome enjoyed a special privileged position in the imperial religious policy and it seems that the religious legislation was not always intended for Rome. The senatorial aristocracy appeared to be powerful enough to prevent the enforcement of laws against pagan cults in the city.[143] The political instability and usurpations in Italy in the 340s probably forced Constantius to seek the support of the pagan aristocracy of Rome and as a result, he made concessions for Rome. His visit to Rome in 357 illustrates the respect that even the Christian emperors felt for the Urbs Aeterna. Ammianus describes how Constantius admired all the marvels, ancient buildings and temples of Rome and Symmachus stresses that even though the emperor himself followed different rites, he preserved pagan rites. Generally speaking, he left untouched the state subsidies for Roman cults and temples and the privileges of the traditional priesthoods and remaining himself as *pontifex maximus*.[144] As the Codex Calendar of 354 indicates, the public festivals and spectacles of Roman state religion were still vital in Rome as a result of aristocratic attention and imperial backing.[145]

The imperial religious legislation against paganism at the end of the fourth century should be seen as the symptom rather than the cause of the conversion of the Roman aristocracy and the emergence of a respectable aristocratic Christianity.[146] The dating of the Christianisation of the senatorial aristocracy is a much-debated issue. T.D. Barnes has argued that it became Christian significantly earlier than modern scholars have usually presumed, and that Constantine and Constantius preferred Christians in

---

[142] Chastagnol 1960, 428-429.
[143] *C.Th.* 16.10.2 (in 341) was not intended for Rome. *C.Th.* 16.10.3 (Nov. 1, 342) addressed to the prefect of Rome directs him to protect the pagan temples outside the walls. Salzman 1987, 179; Salzman 1990, 197, 205-208.
[144] Amm. 16.10.13-17; Symm. *rel.* 3.7; Salzman 1990, 116, 218-223
[145] Salzman 1990, 197
[146] Wormald 1976, 218

appointments to high office.[147] It is clear that the majority of the Roman aristocracy became Christian within ninety-five years of Constantine's victory but the Christianisation of the Roman Empire was a wave-like process, depending on the religious policies of each emperor, and the final turning point from paganism to Christianity occurred as late as Gratian's reign in 375-383. In any case, the Christianisation of the Roman aristocracy was well advanced at the end of the century. Christianity was an obvious instrument of career advancement, at least in the imperial court and therefore new senatorial families adopted it first.[148]

The Roman senate consisted of both pagan and Christian senators but it is uncertain whether pagan senators formed a majority in the 360s and 370s. In his *Confessiones*, Augustine writes that almost the whole Roman nobility was still pagan in approximately 350. In 384, Ambrose asserted that pagans were not a majority in the senate but admitted that many Christian senators were influenced by their pagan fellow senators. Ambrose's claim belongs to the propaganda of the Christian side in the dispute over the altar of Victory which may cover the historical circumstances. Even if Ambrose is right and Christian senators had become a majority in the senate by the 380s, pagan senators at least remained very influential at the end of the fourth century. Some scholars have regarded the years 394-395 as the turning point in the Christianisation of the senatorial aristocracy; according to this view, most pagan senators converted to Christianity after the defeat of Eugenius by Emperor Theodosius in 394.[149]

Mithraism as part of senatorial life in fourth century Rome

A series of inscriptions to Magna Mater from the Vatican Phrygianum attests the vitality of the Mithras cult among late fourth century Roman senators at a time when it had become an obscure cult throughout most of the Empire.[150] The group of dedications is intriguing for many reasons, not the least of which is that it attests the devotion of

---

[147] Barnes 1994, 135-147
[148] Salzman 1992, 452, 465-471; O'Donnell 1979, 82-83.
[149] Aug. *conf.* 8.2
[150] See Sauer, *The end of paganism in the north-western provinces of the Roman empire the example of the Mithras cult*, 1996

senators to Mithras for the first time in the long history of the cult. Merkelbach posited the view that the Mithraism these senators practised differed from that of earlier centuries, although he may have overstated his case when he denied that the Magna Mater dedications were true testimonials of the Mithraic cult.[151] What distinguished fourth century Mithraism from preceding centuries was the participation of senators in the cult; in prior centuries, the cult had gained popularity among slaves, freedmen and legionaries throughout the Empire. The senators went so far as to worship Mithras in the public context of the Phrygianum in the Ager Vaticanus and this is of significance. It is important to explore why these senators embraced Mithraism so wholeheartedly when they had never done so previously.

Archaeological remains of mithraea from private homes combined with the Phrygianum inscriptions provide a relatively well documented account of Mithraism in fourth century Rome, the latter providing names of individual senators and the cults in which they participated. As the worship of Mithras was social in nature, it provided the perfect setting for senators to advance personal and political interactions. Furthermore, the structure of grades contained within the cult of Mithras mimicked the hierarchy of Roman society and was thus able to replicate and promote the social organisation in which the senators had once possessed a great deal of influence. Publicly, the cult offered senators a locale for important interaction and privately, it reaffirmed hierarchy within the *familia* setting and amidst peers.

Several mithraea have been recovered on the Quirinal hill, two in the grounds of the Palazzo Barberini and one in the Nummii Albini. It is known from the brickwork from one of the mithraea at the Palazzo Barberini and also from a large painted tauroctony scene contained therein that this sanctuary had two distinct phases of use during the second half of the second century and the first quarter of the third century, but aside from this, there is no secure evidence of how long it remained in use or who owned it.[152] The owner of the second sanctuary has been identified in secondary sources

[151] Merkelbach 1984, 147, 247
[152] Gatti & Annibaldi 1943-45, 97-108; Vermaseren 1982, 83-89

as Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius based on evidence from the inscriptions found nearby. Each inscription identifies this man as a *pater* in the cult of Mithras and it must be noted that both sanctuaries lay within a few metres of the inscriptions. The first mithraeum cannot be associated with the *domus* of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius with any certainty due to the fact that it is unclear how long it was in use and its Severan date.

The second sanctuary was in the *domus* of the Nummii Albini near the baths of Diocletian. Several inscriptions have been recovered from the area, which seem to provide some evidence of ownership. The first inscription was a dedication to M. Nummius Albinus on a statue base on the occasion of his second consulship in 345.[153] Another inscription recovered in 1877 mentions M. Nummius Attidianus Tuscus. Other fragments referring to family members were found in 1883.[154] Two further fragments found in the late 1800s refer to a Nummius Tuscus as urban prefect in 302-303.

The notion that slaves and freedmen in the senators' *familiae* could have installed and used the mithraea sanctuaries in private homes, especially where there is no evidence to be found of ownership, has been postulated. It has been argued that, while the owner certainly recognised the value of the cult, the only thing that can be proved is that they consented to providing a Mithraic sanctuary and this does not indicate that senators ever used them for their own worship.[155] This is not the case, however, with the *domus* of Kamenius as he is clearly mentioned as a *pater* in the cult. Several further inscriptions from the Campus Martius attest to at least one of the mithraea being owned and used by an aristocratic family. These dedications detail the promotion of members of the congregation to higher grades in the years 357, 358, 359, 362, and 376 by Nonius Victor Olympius,[156] a *pater patrum* of a Mithraic congregation and his sons, Aurelius Victor Olympius[157] and Aurelius Victor Augentius,[158] both *patres*

[153] Chastagnol 1962, 127
[154] Chastagnol 1962, 30
[155] Griffith 2000
[156] *PLRE* Nonius Victor Olympius 18, 647 and *CIL* VI.749-53=*ILS* 4267a-e
[157] *PLRE* Aurelius Victor Olympius 17, p.647 and *CIL* VI.752=*ILS* 4267d
[158] *PLRE* Aurelius Victor Augentius 2, p.125 and *CIL* VI.749-53=*ILS* 4267a-e and 4268

of the same congregation as well as Aurelius Victor Augentius' son Aemilianus Corfo Olympius.[159] The grandson of Nonius Victor Olympius, Tamesius Olympius Augentius,[160] and son of either Augentius or Olympius, also dedicated one inscription. As this set of inscriptions provides evidence for the worship of Mithras by three generations of one family of senatorial rank, it offers a rare opportunity to discover the structure of the cult in the fourth century.

Further and perhaps more concrete evidence for Mithraism being practised by the senatorial ranks is provided in the form of another group of inscriptions to Magna Mater and other deities between the years 305 and 390 from the Phrygianum in the Ager Vaticanus. One dedication to the Great Idaean Mother of the Gods and Attis Menotyrannus comes from the year 374 and again Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius is mentioned here. Each dedicator identified himself as *vir clarissimus* and listed his offices in various oriental cults in a manner which is quite formulaic. Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius was a *vir clarissimus*, *septemvir epulonum*, *pater* and *hieroceryx* of Invictus Mithras, *hierophanta* of Hecate, *archibucolus* of Liber, and a tauroboliate and crioboliate, in that order. The statue bases from his house on the Quirinal hill also provide this information and add that he was a *magister* in the cult of Mithras, *quindecimvir sacris faciundis*, and *pontifex maior*.[161] Two other dedications from this group provide a similar list of religious offices held by their dedicators: Caelius Hilarianus, Ulpius Egnatius Faventinus, and Iunius Postumianus.[162] Caelius Hilarianus was a *vir clarissimus*, *duodecimvir* of the city of Rome, *pater* and *hieroceryx* of Mithras, and a *hieroceryx* of Liber and of Hecate. Ulpius Egnatius Faventinus was a *vir clarissimus*, an *augur publicus populi Romani Quiritium*, *pater* and *hieroceryx* of Mithras, *archibucolus* of Liber, *hierophanta* of Hecate, *sacerdos* of Isis, and a tauroboliate and crioboliate. Iunius Postumianus was a *vir clarissimus*, *pater patrum* of Mithras, *quindecimvir sacris faciundis*, and *pontifex solis*. *A New Document of the Last Pagan Revival in the West* provides a list of twenty-three senators with known

[159] *PLRE* Aemilianus Corfo Olympius 14, p.646 =*CIL* VI.751b
[160] *PLRE* Tamesius Olympius Augentius 1, p.124-25=*CIL* VI.754
[161] *CIL* VI.31902
[162] *CIL* VI.500 for Caelius Hilarianus; *CIL* VI.504for Ulpius Egnatius Faventinus; and *CIL* VI.2151 for Iunius Postumianus

dedications to multiple oriental cults.[163] A further seven can be found, including C. Rufius Volusianus and Vettius Agorius Praetextatus mentioned as *patres* in the cult of Mithras. These dedications suggest that the mithraea located in private homes were used by the senatorial ranks.

There is little evidence to suggest that Mithraism was popular among the higher ranks of society prior to the fourth century and one must enquire into the reasons why it gained a following so late since its arrival to the Roman Empire from the oriental east. Rather surprisingly, in all the possible reasons provided in the secondary literature, nobody has considered the role that the Emperor Julian played in bringing Mithraic worship to the fore in Roman life. Griffith's paper on Mithraism in the private and public lives of fourth century senators in Rome provides a detailed argument for the reasons behind the popularity of the cult among the senatorial classes based upon the elevation of solar cults to an almost semi-official status from the time of Aurelian, followed by the emperors of the Tetrarchy.[164] The majority of the dedications from the Phrygianum are dated from after Julian's short reign. This fact appears to have been overlooked and presents a picture quite different from the one presented in the secondary literature of an emperor whose views and practices were too radical and distant from the type of religion that the senatorial ranks of Rome desired to preserve in their quest to maintain the *status quo*.

Julian's affiliation with Mithraism is well documented and need not be repeated at great length here.[165] Introduced to the Mithraic mysteries by Maximus of Ephesus, Julian dedicated his *Hymn to King Helios* to the god as he identified him with the Sun, as well as being one and the same with Prometheus, Apollo, Hyperion and Phaethon. He also introduced the cult to Constantinople. Coinage from the year 362[166] depicting a 'bull of paganism',[167] as it is called by Ephraem, has been convincingly proposed to represent the Mithraic tauroctony as opposed to the more popular assertions that it is a

[163] Bloch 1945, 199-224
[164] Griffith 2000
[165] See Athanassiadi 1981
[166] See Appendix II for an example of this coinage
[167] Ephraem *Carm. contra Iul.* 1.16-19

depiction of an Apis bull.[168] A comparison of Apis bull coins from the Antonine period reveals that there are a fair amount of differences in Julian's coinage; the Apis bull is normally represented with a disc between the horns, an altar and a moon on its side.[169] Gilliard offers the alternative explanation that the bull is a zodiacal representation of Julian's birth sign, Taurus. However, several recent scholars have argued for the Mithraic interpretation of the tauroctony, the stars representing Aldebaran and Antares as representatives of Cautes and Cautopates, normally depicted as two torch bearers representing the equinoxes.[170]

Returning to the inscriptions from the public setting of the Phrygianum, one must enquire firstly into why the senatorial classes were attracted to the Mithraic cult and secondly, what they hoped to achieve by joining. Mithraic practices had always been shrouded in a veil of secrecy and hence the cult was labelled as one of the 'mystery' cults. The Phrygianum dedications present the opposite picture to that which traditionally surrounded Mithraic cultic practices, that being secrecy and privacy as these inscriptions were public and open proclamations of the senators' devotion to Mithras.[171] The senators clearly intended their peers to know that they were followers of Mithras. It can only be assumed that the senators not only wanted their Mithraic beliefs known, but felt there to be some benefit in doing so. Perhaps the perceived benefit was social in nature, enabling senators to fulfil their duties and display their authority and power in a public setting. Perhaps this can be seen as an open defiance to Christianity; a display of their loyalty to each other and to the longstanding social obligations and pagan religion of Rome, although the cult was never an official religion of the state. It is not completely implausible that these open dedications, specifically with regard to those made during and after Julian's reign (of which over half fall into this category), showed support for what the emperor was aiming to achieve with his pagan revival. The hierarchical structure of Mithraism, the social aspect of the cult meal and its emphasis on strong bonds and loyalty are reminiscent of the core values of the Roman aristocracy

---

[168] Eckhel *Doctrina Nummorum Veterum*, 2.8 1798, 113
[169] Gilliard 1964, 139
[170] Barnes 1998, 160
[171] Griffith 2000

of old. Senators enjoyed a privileged status, with positions of social prominence and influential roles in many aspects of government and administration, but this had waned somewhat with the rise of Christianity and the increasing prominence of Christian officials under emperors of the same religious persuasion towards the end of the fourth century. It may be the case that the structure of Mithraism and the title of *pater patrum* provided a sense of importance that the pagan senatorial aristocracy felt was slipping from their grasp as the fourth century continued. Essentially, their need to affirm their status became a greater priority as their influence in governmental roles deteriorated and they felt that Mithraism provided the means to make this affirmation in conjunction with a desire to support something which reminded them of the traditional values of Roman pagan society.

Summary

In conclusion, an exploration into the survival of paganism in the city of Rome during the later fourth century presents a mixed picture, but not necessarily one marked with a sense of contradiction or conflict. The Codex Calendar provides convincing evidence that, although Christian holidays had a presence in the social calendar of some of Rome's populace in 354 AD, the vitality of pagan festivities was still very much at the centre of Roman life. The fact that some pagan and Christian celebrations occurred on the same day could possibly have allowed for the accommodation of new festivities to replace the old, a gradual transition from one religion to the other and in some senses this could potentially have made the process much easier for the populace. The remaining pagan elements contained in art that was set in a secular context such as at the Circus Maximus would have undoubtedly allowed for the old traditions and religion of Rome to be remembered in some capacity; the extent of the awareness and the subjective connection made within the minds of the population between the art and architecture and its symbolic representation is not something that can be measured therefore it can never be known whether this connection was definitely made. As time passed and new generations lived on, the meaning behind the art could well have been

forgotten. Bearing in mind the remaining evidence from the mid to late fourth century, this does not appear to have been the case at this particular point in time.

Certain prominent figures of the senatorial nobility at the very least were aware of the importance of maintaining pagan religious buildings and monuments, out of duty to uphold the traditional aspects of the cityscape such as the Porticus deorum consentium and the *di consentes*. The different approaches to sacred space between pagan and Christian allowed for pagan buildings to be maintained until quite late in the fourth century, as the two religions were not vying for the same geographical space; Christian churches were located outside the city walls and pagan within. This paints a picture of a relatively peaceful co-existence between the two religions as opposed to one of violent conflict such as occurred in other parts of the Empire like the East and Africa at certain times. Even this destruction of pagan monuments by Christians was normally the result of zealous Bishops and not a systematic policy of the Christian emperors who, at times, passed conflicting laws on the one hand to protect and preserve pagan temples as imperial property for either the purpose of reuse as secular or Christian buildings or in their original state as pagan places of worship and on the other, ordering they be closed or have their revenue confiscated. Pagan temples probably enjoyed a degree of protection and freedom as they were classified as imperial property, until 391 AD. How successful the policies were implemented in varying parts of the Empire depended heavily on the officials in charge in any particular place. Had the Christian emperors desired a systematic destruction of pagan worship throughout the Empire, which is not evident as their goal if the surviving laws are taken into account, the enforcement was ultimately delegated to provincial governors and many were still pagan in the later fourth century. The general feeling is one of gradual transformation, with sporadic conflict between Christian and pagan but on the whole a sense that the population of Rome had almost accepted the inevitable change that was taking place. It may have been the case for many that it happened so slowly that it was barely noticeable. Some, however, did notice and attempted to maintain the old religion of Rome; the restoration efforts of Praetextatus and Symmachus in the city of Rome cannot be ignored as important evidence of the senatorial classes being unwelcoming of the changes taking

place and wanting to protect the old tradition and the welfare of the Empire by continuing to worship the gods in order to enjoy their favour. Archaeological evidence from inscriptions found in Rome provide evidence of a number of senators having been initiated into the cult of Mithras during the fourth century, which may provide an indication of some adherence to the Emperor Julian's form of worship. State and the traditional Roman religion were inseparable even in the late fourth century and such a longstanding system could not be changed instantly; the gradual process of change was heavily replied upon.

CHAPTER 3

EVIDENCE OF PAGAN CONTINUITY AND REVIVAL FROM BRITAIN

The three main traditions of religious experience existent in Britain during the Roman occupation were those of the Roman, Celtic, and Oriental. Given the assimilative nature of pagan beliefs, two of these three types of religious practice had a reciprocal influence upon each other during this time, to form what is known as Romano-Celtic religious syncretism.[172] Certain areas, such as legionary centres, were more susceptible to Roman influence, while ports and frontier stations inhabited by the less Romanised provincials as well as foreign traders were more likely to adhere to the Oriental religions.[173] It is of great importance at this point to stress the fact that the result of an archaeological study of cult sites, temples, burials and inscriptions does not produce homogeneous results and a great deal of variation existed across Britain. It is therefore of great difficulty to gain a wholly accurate picture of religious life in Britain throughout the period of Roman occupation and more specifically, in the late fourth century when significant transformations were taking place in the rest of the Empire and it is therefore quite likely that this occurred in this province as well.

The situation is complicated by a lack of literary sources before the fifth century[174] and the scarcity of classical literature on the subject of Roman Britain. As a result, one must rely on the works of pre-conquest authors such as Pliny, Caesar, Diodorus Siculus, Lucan and Tacitus whose views of the Celts, although possibly accurate in some cases, lean towards the romantic and even defamatory at times.[175] In addition, there exists some post-Conquest literature from Ireland, Scotland and Wales not penned until the Middle Ages.[176] The associated problems with using such literary sources are quite clear; firstly, they do not deal specifically with the period in question and secondly, they cover a wider range of territory than just Roman Britain. The early and late literature can, however, allow for a more general commentary on religious

---

[172] The term 'Romano-Celtic' was coined by R.E.M. Wheeler 1928
[173] York as a legionary centre, London and Carrawburgh for evidence of Mithraea
[174] Ross 1967, 3
[175] Pliny *NH* 16; Lucan *Phars.* 1; Caesar *de Bello Gallico* 6; Tac. *Agric.*; Diodorus Siculus *Biblio. Hist.* 5
[176] Gildas *De Exc. Brit.*

beliefs in Britain during the Roman occupation which can possibly shed some light on certain aspects of the material remains. In addition, the wide geographical range of certain types of Celtic iconography and architecture like the horned god and the square porticoed temple make it legitimate on occasions to draw parallels between, for instance, northern Gaul and southern Britain.[177]

The literature that is worthy of mention for comparative purposes would be Gildas' *De Excidio Britanniae* and Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica.* These two works present a conflicting picture of what life in sub-Roman Britain was like; Gildas (c.504-570) gives the impression that paganism had been eradicated by the sixth century when he was writing. There is no exact certainty about the date of Gildas' writings, but the rough dates of his lifespan indicate that he must have been referring to the time prior to Augustine's arrival in Britain in 597 AD. Gildas repeatedly criticises the pagan Anglo-Saxon invaders despite this apparent lack of pagan worshippers in Britain, and Bede goes on to mention that Augustine was instructed to destroy idols but leave the temples in order to convert them to Christian churches.[178] The historical sources relating to this period in British history end here. The archaeology seems to solidify Bede's assertion that there were pagan temples still in use at the end of the sixth century in Britain and a pagan populace prominent enough to warrant a Christianising effort on the part of Augustine.

Of the three aforementioned traditions of Roman, Celtic and Oriental, it has generally been accepted that the Roman type of religion occupied the pivotal position, both as the official tradition of the conquering legions and as the intermediary between the Oriental and Celtic traditions. As a standalone system, it covered a wide range of beliefs and practices. It had certain superficial similarities to the Celtic tradition; an example can be seen in Mars, the divine founder of the Romans, who had a number of different qualities such as success in war and peace, health and fertility. Mars was often found in urban contexts in a triad with Jupiter and Quirinus and with Janus and Jupiter

[177] Lewis 1966, 99; Ross 1967, 127
[178] Bede *HE* 1.30

in rural cults. The Celts too favoured triads with three-headed busts and three-horned animals sculpted to represent deities.[179] Roman religion had a background which made possible a certain degree of assimilation to the Celtic and northern religions through the *interpretatio Romana* of Tacitus.[180] However, one must bear in mind that simply combining the names of deities did not necessarily imply that all native Britons identified these gods as Roman - that is, the long standing traditions of their tribe or family unit quite likely took precedence over the Roman element of this syncretism.

Although Britain had long been a part of the Roman Empire, Romanisation was not as thoroughgoing here as it had been elsewhere. Resistance to the occupation from 43 AD had been firm and prolonged and, despite the fact that peace had prevailed by the end of the second or beginning of the third century, *romanitas* was not adopted with much enthusiasm in many parts. It is therefore quite likely that the resistance was reflected through religion in much of the province. For example, it has been suggested that Britons initially opposed the Imperial Cult and what it represented.[181] The failure to build temples in the classical style may also suggest a reluctance to adopt Roman ways. Furthermore, the Celtic tradition appears to have had its own myths and legends completely alien to the Romans, which it constantly elaborated with invention. The distinct presence of predominantly Celtic deities with or without *interpretatio Romana* and the Romano-Celtic temple style which appeared in southern Britain (as well as northern Gaul and Germany) during the Roman occupation seem to indicate that throughout the first four centuries AD, Celtic ideas were still strong. This may also be true regarding the limited archaeological evidence showing any sort of compliance with the anti-pagan legislation of the Roman Christian emperors of the fourth century.

Romano-Celtic temples appeared first in urban centres and later in rural areas where they survived longer.[182] It is possible that where Roman influence was strongest, the emergence of religious structures was well received by wealthy Britons, but in the

---

[179] Ross 1967, 74
[180] Tac. *Ger.* 43
[181] Tac. *Ann.* 14.31-2 for the temple of Claudius in Colchester being a target in the Boudiccan revolt of 60/1; Watts 1998, 6
[182] Lewis 1966, 51-5

countryside, old sacred places or simple shrines that had been visited since the Iron Age sufficed for up to three centuries before a cella and ambulatory structure appeared.[183] Very few new urban temples appear in Britain after approximately 200 AD, but in rural areas temples were being built or refurbished until the end of the fourth century. This is in contrast to the situation on the Continent, where Romano-Celtic temples were in decline in rural areas from the end of the third century. The Temple of Mithras at Carrawburgh, Northumberland provides evidence of votives continuing to be offered into the fifth century[184] and, similarly in Witham, Essex a Romano-Celtic temple was built beside a natural spring in the late third or early fourth century.[185]

Few dedications for temples are known, other than classical: Apollo Cunomaglus at Nettleton, Mercury, Mars and Silvanus from Uley, Nodens at Lydney and Coventina at Carrawburgh.[186] The inscriptions on altars and metal plaques indicate the presence of the Roman pantheon of gods, regularly paired with a Celtic deity by the votary. This syncretism is indicative that the temples of Britain reflected more continuity of native tradition as opposed to a full scale conversion to, and embracing of, Roman religion. If this was the case with regard to the old gods over several hundred years of Roman occupation, then it is perfectly plausible that it also continued when Christianity reached the province. When exploring the finds, one gains a sense of Britain being a reluctant part of an Empire that it was geographically distant from.

Several different types of religious site will be discussed in greater detail with regard to Roman Britain, therefore it is necessary to create a distinction between said types and further, to categorise them as private or communal, urban or rural, military or civilian. Using Rodwell's typology of temple architecture, religious structures can be divided into twelve types. Firstly, there is the private household shrine or *lararium*; a single room, cella or alcove dedicated to housing images of household gods. An example can be found at Verulamium, where a bronze statuette of the goddess Venus

[183] Watts 1998, 7
[184] Watts 1998, 8
[185] Turner 1982. The spring had been turned into an artificial pond in Roman times and was possibly the site of an earlier Iron Age sacred site.
[186] Allason-Jones & McKay 1985; Wedlake 1982; Wheeler & Wheeler 1932

was discovered.[187] The second type is that of a house temple, a purpose built room (or rooms) set aside specifically for religious use. Three separate rooms from the villa at Great Witcombe, Gloucestershire have been suggested to be of this particular type.[188]

Moving into the realm of religious structures for communal use, type three constitutes proprietary shrines or temples. These were detached buildings in villa or farm complexes presumably for communal use, such as the Chedworth Nymphaeum.[189] Structures located a short distance from the villa, but still on the estate, are classified as estate temples for communal use.[190] Local cult centres, such as the temple of Mercury at Uley, Gloucestershire were rural or semi-rural complexes displaying evidence for the primacy of one deity. The sixth type identified is that of major rural sanctuaries such as Gosbeck's in Essex.[191] Also within the rural sphere but not necessarily identified by any actual structure, natural shrines existed. These sites include springs and groves where evidence of votive offerings has been found. Many were upgraded to include a structure of some description during the Roman period. One such site exists in the form of the Temple of Sulis-Minerva at Bath, although Rodwell chose to consider Bath as a separate type; a Spa Temple.[192]

With regard to urban religious structures, three types have been identified: smaller urban temples located within towns and cities which served the urban communities and were predominantly classical or neoclassical hybrid structures,[193] major urban temples usually located in *fora*[194] and sectarian temples such as mithraea for urban use.[195] The final type is identified as the military temple located within a fort. Such structures have a distinctive type of plan and can be seen along frontiers such as Hadrian's Wall in the form of the Corbridge scholae and Carrawburgh Mithraeum.

---

[187] Frere 1972
[188] Adams 2005, 102-3
[189] Rodwell 1980, 233
[190] e.g. Titsey, Surrey
[191] Crummy 1980, 258
[192] Rodwell 1980, 234
[193] Silchester, Verulamium 1 & 2, Caistor-by-Norwich 1 & 2
[194] Verulamium 3 & 4, Colchester 1. Lewis 1966, fig. 64-66; Crummy 1980, fig. 11.5
[195] London Mithraeum

In addition to temple archaeology, burial practices are worth examining as a means of discovering continuity and quite possibly revival of pagan practice in the fourth century within Britain. The Romans, although bringing a degree of change to Britain, were often prepared to merge their beliefs with existing customs of native cultures and adapt them, as noted above. It is quite likely that much of British ritual life was unchanged in the early years of the Roman occupation, despite the historically attested crushing of the Druids.[196] During the first and second centuries AD, cremation was the most common burial practice in the Roman Empire. Later, changes within the Roman Empire itself, such as the increasingly widespread adoption of Christianity, brought about further change to ritual practice. The majority of both pagan and Christian burials in this period were inhumations. Generally speaking, pagan burials continued to include grave goods of a similar type to earlier cremations - drinking and eating vessels, sometimes personal ornaments and dress accessories, coins in the mouth or on the eyes, and hobnail boots on the feet. However, grave goods become less common in fourth century burial contexts and therefore make entire cemeteries and individual graves difficult to date. Stratigraphic sequencing is the predominant method of dating these sites.

Most late Roman inhumations are extended on their backs (supine), but occasionally some are found in a prone (face down) position, or a crouched position.[197] The most common burial position in the cemeteries of the later Roman period is the supine extended position.[198] Prone burials are considerably rarer than supine or crouched burials. One curious practice seems to resurface during the late Roman period in Britain, that of decapitated burials. There are only a few examples of this practice from the preceding centuries in post-conquest Britain and further examples from sub-Roman Britain. Decapitations and prone burials occur in both rural and urban extra-mural contexts, but they appear to be more common in rural or small town cemeteries in the fourth century. As with prone bodies, decapitated burials appear to have retained the right to an otherwise outwardly normal burial. Almost a quarter of the recorded

[196] Tac. *Ann.* 14.29-30
[197] Chambers & McAdam 2007, 22
[198] Chambers & McAdam 2007, 22. e.g. Radley 1 and 2, Oxon.

examples for the whole of Britain are concentrated in the Upper Thames Valley area, an area which is also devoid of any evidence of Christian practices.[199] Burials and grave goods from a number of late Roman cemeteries around Britain will be discussed in greater detail. The possible motives for decapitated and prone burial will be discussed in relation to the specific examples which arise from the various cemeteries.

Romano-British Temples

Lewis' *Temples in Roman Britain* is the logical starting point for any study on this topic.[200] With reference to the aforementioned typology as formulated by Rodwell, Lewis excludes by intention domestic and regimental shrines as well as open air altars and instead concentrates on providing a definitive catalogue of two hundred and four temple structures[201] divided into i) Romano-Celtic temples, ii) other temples whose structure is known, iii) Oriental cult buildings (including Christian churches) and iv) other temples whose structure is not known but whose existence is reliably attested. This extensive work is lacking in one area, however. Lewis fails to present his data in a comparative format, leaving the reader without any sense of having gained a complete picture on the subject. With this amount of detail regarding a vast number of temples in Roman Britain, no attempt has been made to even estimate the extent to which particular designs were influenced by other temples elsewhere in the country, nor any comparable statistics with, for example, Gallo-Roman temples on the Continent. Furthermore, the inclusion of Christian churches within the Oriental cult category leads to some confusion and could be elaborated upon further, especially when the author has identified thirteen of these temples as urban, thirty as military and two as rural, an observation made all the more extraordinary when one finds that these two rural temples were in fact Christian churches.[202] Although no claims are being made that this study will rectify that which is lacking in Lewis' work, some form of attempt will be made to unify the results. The temples whose structure is not known will not be included in the

[199] Harman *et al* 1981 and Philpott 1991
[200] Lewis 1966
[201] Bearing in mind this work was compiled in 1966 and several sites have since been discovered and old ones reappraised.
[202] Lewis 1966, 138

detailed analysis, but finds from these sites are worthy of mention and will be discussed separately.

Before embarking upon a thorough survey of temples surviving to the late fourth century AD in Roman Britain, it is necessary to establish the essential features of the types of temples that existed in the late Romano-British period. Rodwell's typology of temple architecture categorises the different types of religious structure that were in existence, but in this study, three main architectural styles predominate the Romano-British landscape and one more so than the others, each style being classified by a number of criteria. Firstly, and there are only a few examples of this style in Britain, there exists the classical style temple. The temple at Bath was built in said classical style and is unusual in Britain as only a few other truly classical temples – the temple of Claudius at Colchester, for example – are known. Secondly, there exists in Britain the simple circular, square, rectangular or polygonal type of temple.[203] These have been demonstrated as belonging to the Romano-Celtic type[204] but are quite uncommon in Britain. Such buildings occurred more frequently in Gaul, for example the Tempelbezirk, Trier is of the simple rectangular style, as is the altar dedicated to Nantosuelta from Saarburg.[205] Some examples can be found in Britain, such as the third century centurion's shrine at Bowes dedicated to Vinotonus (equated to Silvanus) as well as Nettleton 1 and Wycombe 1, the latter underlying a Romano-Celtic temple of later date.[206]

The standard Romano-Celtic type of temple existent in Britain consists of two concentric square, rectangular, polygonal or circular structures with a smaller inner square or cella set centrally where statues and other cult images were housed, within a larger portico of the same shape surrounding the building (see Appendix III). It is believed that this type of temple could have been imported into Britain by Belgic populations, as most examples of this type are confined to areas that were dominated by

[203] Green 1976, 37
[204] Koethe 1933
[205] Drury 1980, 62
[206] Drury 1980, 62

Belgic people immediately before the conquest; that is, the Atrebates, Belgae, Cantiaci, Catuvellauni, Regnenses and Trinovantes.[207] This type of temple did reach other areas later, but the earliest temples from the first and second centuries are mainly concentrated in the south-eastern parts of Britain. Several scholars have debated the nature of the walkway surrounding the structure. In particular, Frere, Richmond, Collingwood and Haverfield set a precedent for the general consensus regarding the nature of the surrounding portico or external cloister of the temple, believing these structures to be open to the air. [208] It has since been argued that the great majority of temples in Britain had enclosed surrounding ambulatories.[209] Lewis also presented a case against the previous consensus since he identified fourteen out of a total of forty-two temples considered in which an enclosed ambulatory appeared probable. However, he does seem to agree with earlier ideas in his concluding statements in saying that 'the fact that Celtic religion was basically an open air religion, with none of the secrecy of the esoteric oriental cults, supports this view.'[210] Given that there are no examples of Romano-Celtic temples in Britain where the surviving remains exceed one metre in height, whether the walkway surrounding the temple was open to the air or enclosed is a difficult feature to identify. Taking into consideration the fact that this study is not concerned solely with the architectural features of particular types of Romano-British temple, a detailed account of the features which led these scholars to their conclusions will not be attempted here. It would suffice to say that, whether an open or closed ambulatory existed, what is left of the internal structure in the archaeological remains satisfies the criteria of the Romano-Celtic temple type for identification purposes.

The temple archaeology presented here has been divided into three sections; i) temples showing evidence of destruction or abandonment in the first half of the fourth century, ii) temples showing evidence of continuous activity to the second half of the fourth century and iii) those displaying signs of renewed activity during the second half of the fourth century AD. Such a division serves the purpose of providing a better

---

[207] Lewis 1966, 11; Green 1976, 40
[208] Frere 1967, 329; Collingwood & Myres 1936, 267
[209] Muckleroy 1976, 173
[210] Lewis 1966, 24

understanding of the religious landscape in Britain during the fourth century, in light of the anti-pagan legislation passed by the Christian emperors and the general spread of Christianity which was taking place at this time throughout the Roman Empire. An examination of continuity and revival, along with abandonment and destruction can provide a clearer picture regarding the impact such legislation and Christianisation had in real terms, to the peoples inhabiting the Roman provinces.

Destruction or abandonment of temples during the fourth century

In the period 341-361 AD, there is no archaeological evidence to suggest any large scale attacks on pagan places of worship having been carried out, but there are signs of gradual but not necessarily general conversion to Christianity. There is some evidence of destruction or abandonment of temples in the mid-fourth century; perhaps a few may have been casualties of the 341 and 356 decrees of Constans and Constantius respectively,[211] but the reasons behind the ill-fate of certain temples is unclear. Several temples were converted to churches and changed burial practices in the vicinity may indicate the adoption of Christianity. As previously mentioned, it must also be taken into account that attacks on pagan places of worship may have had little to do with official legislation and could be attributed to the spread of Christianity and the actions of overzealous Christians taking the law into their own hands. There appears to be general consensus on this view, especially when taking into consideration that there is no literary evidence for any official destruction of temples until the reign of Constans and Constantius and even then the directives were not carried out systematically throughout the Empire.

The mithraeum in London may have suffered at the hands of random attacks. The large temple dedicated to Mithras was built on the east bank of the Walbrook stream at some point in the mid-third century,[212] and came under attack in the first half of the fourth century. Religious statuary was destroyed, but several objects such as a

[211] *C.Th.*16.10.2; *C.Th.* 16.10.6
[212] Lewis (1966, 100) dated it to the second half of the second century

white marble bust and head of Mithras along with other ritual objects survived.[213] It is quite likely that the London Mithraeum remained in use, or that activity was resumed there, during the early fourth century. Evidence for renewed activity comes in several forms. Firstly, the structure appears to have been renovated, the floor of the central aisle being brought to the same level as that of the apse. During these operations the floor was partly reinforced by burying several sculptures of the original mithraeum, hence the preservation of these objects.[214] It has been suggested that some threat of trouble resulted in the chief treasures being deliberately buried in the north-east corner of the nave. Fragments of statuary at this level and the removal of columns could indicate that the cause of this trouble was zealous Christians.[215] At a higher level, more pagan sculpture was found, along with remnants of animal sacrifice, showing that some form of worship continued.[216] The presence of Dionysus statuettes with a possible fourth century date indicate that the mithraeum was quite possibly rededicated as a Bacchic schola at this time.[217] A naked Dionysus figure with outstretched hand grasping vine-tendrils above his head was found. To his left is a standing satyr behind which is a Maenad with a sacred basket in her left hand and a panther at her feet; to the right, a tree-trunk before which a Silen riding on an ass with Pan above it. On the tree-trunk one goat's foot is visible. The base of the group also carries an inscription.[218] A head of Minerva was also found, along with a head of Serapis, a reclining river god, a Bacchic group and his followers, a relief of Cybele, one of Cautopates, another of Dioscuri, as well as a silver casket and strainer, both of which were hidden in the wall of the temple.[219]

A further mithraeum from Carrawburgh seems to have been destroyed in the first half of the fourth century and a date of around 324 AD has been given; this date has already been mentioned as significant due to Eusebius' claim that Constantine banned

---

[213] Watts 1998, 18
[214] Vermaseren 1955, 140
[215] Lewis 1966, 101
[216] Ibid.
[217] Henig 1984, 221
[218] Vermaseren 1955, 142
[219] Lewis 1966, 101

all sacrifices during this year.[220] At both Carrawburgh and Rudchester, the Tauroctony was removed or destroyed, the figures of the dadophori were smashed, but the altars were left alone.[221] Rudchester had been destroyed in the early fourth century and other shrines or small temples near military sites along Hadrian's Wall had been attacked or abandoned before the middle of the fourth century. Two shrines near the Roman fort at Bowes dedicated to the local god Vinotonus Silvanius were used only until the early fourth century, while a small apsidal shrine for a cult of a spring at Housesteads was abandoned in approximately 320 AD.[222]

The notion that zealous Christians targeted mithraea specifically stems from the ideas of historians such as Luther H. Martin and Franz Cumont who believed that an intense rivalry existed between the two religions, and they were seen as the main competitors for religious affiliation during this time in the Roman world.[223] This view is now considered to be too sweeping and more than likely inaccurate. Whether the threat of Mithraism upon Christianity was a concern to anyone aside from the second century Church fathers such as Justin is not known.[224] Assuming that concerns did exist, whether they were real or perceived is an entirely different matter; the cult of Mithras was exclusive in nature, its membership comprising of only males and, more specifically, mainly soldiers and traders. In Britain, dedications to Mithras were all made by soldiers and mainly officers.[225] Because there is no evidence of Mithraism having widespread appeal among the native Britons, it is quite plausible to suggest that the small mithraea close to military sites along Hadrian's Wall were more likely destroyed during barbarian invasions at the close of the third century or dismantled by the followers of the cult because of some perceived or actual threat.[226]

In rural areas, there is also some evidence of abandonment of religious structures, but considerably less than in urban areas. The temple at Gosbeck's Farm near

---

[220] Eus. *vita Const.* 2.45.1
[221] Lewis 1966, 106
[222] Birley 1961
[223] Martin 1989, 2; Cumont 1956
[224] Justin *Ap.* 65-67
[225] Watts 1998, 10;
[226] Lewis 1966, 106 has argued against this, claiming it was 'probably the result of Christian activity.'

Colchester fell out of use by approximately 350 AD.[227] Three temple structures at Springhead, and those located at Harlow and Chedworth also fell into disuse by the mid-fourth century.[228] The latter two display evidence of a Christian presence.[229] The circular temple at Frilford appears to have been burnt down and the finding of a coin of Valens amongst the destruction debris places its demise no earlier than the late fourth century AD. The octagonal temple at Pagans Hill was damaged after 333 (possibly closer to the middle of the century). Perhaps such rural sites were spared by the revised edict of 342, which states:

> "Although all superstitions must be completely eradicated, nevertheless, it is Our will that the buildings of the temples situated outside the walls shall remain untouched and uninjured. For since certain plays or spectacles of the circus or contest derive their origin from some of these temples such structures shall not be torn down, since from them is provided the regular performance of long established amusements for the Roman people."[230]

These temples, although spared earlier, may have been the targets for the 356 edict.[231] However, it must be taken into consideration that destruction or abandonment correlating with the anti-pagan legislation is, firstly, difficult to date precisely and more importantly, an uncommon occurrence in rural areas.

Several temples suffered a similar end in urban areas; for example, at Wroxeter, the second century classical temple was already derelict and had its sculptures smashed

---

[227] Hull 1958, 229-30
[228] Detsicas 1983, 60-76; Watts 1991, 173-8
[229] Watts 1998, 20.
[230] *C.Th.* 16.10.3 (342) AD CATVLLINVM P(RAEFECTVM) V(RB1). Quamquam omnis superstitio penitus eruenda sit, tamen volumus, ut aedes templorum, quae extra muros sunt positae, intactae incorruptaeque consistant. Nam cum ex nonnullis vel ludorum vel circensium vel agonum origo fuerit exorta, non convenit ea convelli, ex quibus populo Romano praebeatur priscarum sollemnitas voluptatum.
[231] *C.Th.*16.10.6 (356) Idem a. et iulianus caes. poena capitis subiugari praecipimus eos, quos operam sacrificiis dare vel colere simulacra constiterit. dat. xi kal. mart. mediolano constantio a. viii et iuliano caes. conss.

early in the fourth century.[232] This large structure measuring fifty feet across the front by ninety-eight feet long overall, stands just south of the Wroxeter forum facing east onto the Watling Street. The temple consisted of a rectangular cobbled court enclosed by walls two feet thick. The facade was supported upon six columns spaced roughly ten feet apart, which would suggest a height of around fifteen feet; this also provides a good indication as to the height of the enclosure wall. A colonnade is suggested by a set of narrow, linear stone foundations in the eastern half of the court which are a spaced approximately six feet from the outer wall and may have supported a series of wooden pillars and a timber roof above a covered walkway. The appearance of this central cella is in dispute, but the finding of a two-and-a-half foot tall Corinthian capital nearby suggests that the facade may have sported Corinthian columns in tetrastyle, that is, with four columns equally spaced across the front of the shrine. Two three foot square bases found close to the north-east and south-east corners of the shrine may have supported statues of the deity.[233] Insula XIV at Verulamium was quite possibly out of use by the mid-fourth century.[234] The adjoining theatre here was used as a rubbish dump around 360 AD. The temple on the main road from the fort in York was in use from the second to the fourth century, but possibly out of use by 350.[235]

The Jupiter temple at Colchester was maintained until at least 333 AD before it fell into disuse. It was then deliberately dismantled in the late fourth century. There is no evidence to suggest that the fate of urban temples was a direct result of the legislation of 341 and 356, although urban abandonment of temples could have been a response to these laws. Urban centres were more thoroughly Romanised than populated places in the countryside and also possessed a greater Christian presence. However, it would be too narrow to assume that all destruction and abandonment was the result of the growing new religion or a response to imperial edicts. The prime problem with examining urban centres in particular rests in the fact that socio-economic and political systems were subject to a greater degree of dynamism in these areas and the archaeological evidence

[232] Bushe-Fox 1914
[233] Lewis 1966, 70
[234] Hull 1958, 229-30
[235] Watts 1998, 19

is, obviously, static. One must bear in mind that the abandonment of temples could have been motivated by economic decline. For example, the suburban settlement of Colchester decreased in size drastically by the end of the third century and there does not appear to be a corresponding growth in the urban population. The archaeological evidence supports this and it has been stated that by approximately 325, whole streets of houses here had disappeared.[236] A similar situation may have occurred in London; the large settlement and capital of Upper Britain saw its amphitheatre derelict by the mid-fourth century and by the end of the century, the city was comprised of a smaller area enclosed by new walls. Furthermore, quays were no longer maintained here.[237] An interruption to trade during the third century economic crisis may have caused decline that was difficult to recover from in the following century.

Evidence for this decrease in the size of urban areas occurs throughout Britain. Lincoln became the provincial capital and was therefore on the incline in the last century of Roman occupation (c. 350), however, by the last quarter of the fourth century, some (if not all) houses of the civic fathers were no longer in use.[238] The town of Gloucester contracted towards the River Severn from the third century onwards. In addition, this theory may extend to urban centres with a strong military presence, such as York. The prosperity of the town was heavily dependent on the presence of the army and, during the second half of the fourth century; rising sea levels affecting port installation combined with the withdrawal of a large number of legions to Gaul may have led to a decline here. It is also plausible that Saxon invasions disrupted the functioning of urban centres. There are exceptions to this pattern of decline and most are located further away from the Saxon Shore; examples can be found at Cirencester, Caerwent, Exeter and Wroxeter.[239]

---

[236] Watts 1998, 96
[237] Wacher 1995, 88-111
[238] Watts 1998, 97
[239] Ibid.

Continuity & revival during the second half of the fourth century

At least thirty-five temple sites displaying evidence of pagan cult activity are known to have existed from 361 to 391 AD.[240] There appears to be some inconsistency between the results of Lewis - who includes sites where no structure is known - and Watts, the latter author appearing to present inconsistencies when converting chart data to distribution map format.[241] An attempt has been made to rectify this matter (see Appendix IV) by converting Watts' chart data (inclusive of all thirty-five sites) to a distribution map showing only the temples displaying activity up to the year 391. Sites with archaeological evidence of religious activity but with no known structure have been omitted intentionally. From this total of thirty-five structures, nineteen were out of use before 391 (nine urban, two military and eight rural), but four out of these nineteen produce evidence of continuity in religious activity up to, and beyond, the year 391. Such continued activity mainly comes in the form of votive offerings. Out of the twenty sites, as opposed to individual structures that continued after 391, seven were associated with healing and/or hunting, two with war gods such as Mercury, two with Jupiter type deities, two urban sites with a salvation cult and one with trade or merchants, also situated in an urban setting.[242]

The temple of Sulis-Minerva at Bath displayed some evidence of continuity into the late fourth century, quite possibly after repairs were carried out due to some earlier Christian desecration.[243] A smaller shrine continued well into the fifth century, where coins, votives and *defixiones* (curse tablets) continued to be left.[244] In this period, a small room or shrine, which incorporated reused material from the earlier temple, seems to indicate continued activity on a much smaller scale than the preceding era of the structure, and the later building seems to have also been constructed of timber. Post-hole evidence indicates that this was the case.[245]

---

[240] Lewis 1966
[241] Lewis 1966, 140-142; Watts 1998, 40, 41
[242] Watts 1998, 60
[243] *RIB* 152
[244] Cunliffe & Davenport 1985, 184-5
[245] Watts 1998, 110

In the towns, a temple near the theatre at Verulamium seems to have been renovated after 379 and one at Caerwent had repairs carried out which sealed in a coin of Valentinian (364-75).[246] The triangular shaped temple at Verulamium 2 (possibly dedicated to Cybele) displays evidence of a greater number of coins lost or deposited after the building ceased to be used in the mid-fourth century. This may indicate a continuity or revival of potentially covert devotion to the eastern goddess. An inscribed pot from the nearby Dunstable cemetery confirms at least one guild of Cybele or Magna Mater still existent at Verulamium in the late fourth century.[247] The uncertainty of the fourth century which came about after the crisis of the preceding century could have motivated people to become affiliated with salvation cults which provided solace, especially in urban areas where the greatest amount of disruption after the third century seems to have taken place. It is interesting to note that salvation cults are rarely found in rural areas where Celtic religion was stronger. No such cults of this particular type exist in any Celtic mythology or epigraphy. Excavations at Caerwent on the north-west polygonal tower indicate that this structure had been added to the existing town wall some time before the mid fourth century. A hoard of coins having a terminal date of approximately 350 was found beneath the floor of this tower, so it can be inferred that the tower was an addition made to the original structure at a date later than 350.

Excavations at Chelmsford in 1970 uncovered a temple which was built at some time in the fourth century. The temple was octagonal in outline with a cella of approximately thirty-six feet in diameter, including an eight foot wide niche in the west wall. This was surrounded by a porch fifty-eight feet across. The temple was built upon the same site as earlier structures and has been given a terminus post quem of approximately 320-325 AD, with a small porch having been added at a later date on the east side.[248] Of particular note is an isolated post of approximately fourteen inches in diameter which was found within the sacred enclosure in association with a number of pieces of jewellery including brooches, rings and a bracelet. It has been suggested that

[246] Brewer 1997
[247] Watts 1998, 61
[248] Drury 1972, 23

this was some sort of native votive totem-pole. Possible use into the fifth century may be indicated by coins recovered from the site.[249]

The temple structures of Silchester 1, 2, 3 remained in use until the late fourth century, Silchester 1 being the largest known Romano-Celtic temple in Britain. All three were built during the late first century AD and Silchester 1 shows signs of having been rebuilt at a later stage, while Silchester 2 had its plaster renewed at some point.[250] The discovery of fragmented statuary indicates a potentially violent end for Silchester 3.[251] The urban and military town of York housed several temples to a variety of gods. Evidence of votives being offered at a temple already abandoned has been found. This particular temple includes a number of altars and statue bases and is located in a prominent position within the town. *RIB* 678 confirms the existence of the Imperial Cult in the town and suggestions have been made that the number of statue bases could indicate this temple as a place of worship for the Imperial Cult.[252] Coins dating to 402 AD have been found here also.[253]

The majority of evidence for continuation of pagan cult activity in Britain comes from rural areas, a total of twenty-one structures displaying evidence of continued use throughout the second half of the fourth century and some even beyond. The majority of these structures are identified as belonging to the Romano-Celtic design type and this is an important detail to take note of, its wider implications being discussed in greater detail below.

The apparent resurgence of pagan activity in Britain in the late fourth century has been discussed by several scholars over the years. Toynbee attributes the restoration of the Jupiter column at Cirencester[254] to 'the pagan revival under Julian the

---

[249] Wacher 1995, 207-214
[250] Lewis 1966, 54
[251] Watts 1998, 42
[252] Fishwick 1961, 170
[253] Watts 1998, 55
[254] *RIB* 103

Apostate.'[255] Similarly, Henig views the restoration of pagan cults as a return to normality for the Britons.[256] A reappraisal of archaeological evidence from south-west Britain notes that two temples were commenced in use during the period from 360 to the early decades of the fifth century and others were revived at that time or continued to be used, some into the period beyond the Roman occupation.[257] Rahtz even suggests that disillusionment with Christianity led people to return to their former religious practice.[258]

In light of the historical events and imperial policies outlined above, the archaeological evidence in Britain does, indeed, indicate that there was some sort of renewal of cult activity in rural Roman Britain, possibly stimulated by the reign and policies of Julian and continuing for one or two decades after his death. The paganism which had been revived after 360, however, was far removed from the religion that had been promoted by the emperor or the aristocracy in Rome. Furthermore, it is difficult to determine whether the resurgence in Britain was a direct result of Julian's decrees as less than two years passed until his death. However, it is possible to detect a revival in the broader period from the year 360 to the 380s. After approximately 360 AD, a number of temples were refurbished or reinstated as pagan cult centres after being used as Christian churches for a period of time. There was also some investment in new buildings.[259] Some continued in use until the end of the century and beyond, while others which had survived the decrees of Constant and Constantius only lasted another two or three decades before being defeated by the pressures of Christianity. With few exceptions, most of the renewed pagan activity took place at Romano-Celtic or native shrines, and in rural areas. At Lydney, for example, renovations on the temple of Nodens were carried out in 367 AD. At another site in the south west, pagan practice resumed after a period of inactivity following Christian desecration.[260]

---

[255] Toynbee 1953, 3
[256] Henig 1984, 13-14
[257] Rahtz and Watts 1979
[258] Ibid.
[259] Watts 1998, 39
[260] Watts 1998, 45

In some cases, churches reverted to pagan temples or simply ceased to operate; Rahtz' suggestion that some Christians became disillusioned with the new religion could possibly apply here. The former shrine of Apollo Cunomaglus at Nettleton had been converted to a church and then resumed as a pagan place of worship around the year 370. At Witham too, pagan activity was revived between 360 and 370 after the oratory and baptistery were dismantled.[261] There is also evidence for a Romano-Celtic temple and at least one new rural shrine built during or after Julian's reign. At some point after 367 AD, a Romano-Celtic temple was built at Maiden Castle [262] and a square enclosure was constructed at Great Dunmow in Essex on a site which included three votive pits. The pits, dated to around 350, pre-dated the shrine, which was in use from approximately 360 to 390.[263] The votive material from this site suggest a native deity was worshipped here, possibly a genius loci.[264] The octagonal temple at Pagans Hill was damaged sometime after 333 but activity was resumed after 367 for a period of time.[265] Parallels can be seen in the eastern portion of the Empire, where Libanius mentions that some temples survived anti-pagan laws at least until 360 AD, while others lasted longer.[266] It has been proposed by Richmond (1963) that as Christianity grew in the towns, pagan cults were forced into the country; the new building at Maiden Castle, he argued, was a result of Christian growth in nearby Dorchester. Temples already in existence continued, with some experiencing renewed activity in the second half of the fourth century. Many of the arguments for continued pagan activity revolve around increased votive offerings or coin deposition found at these sites in the later part of the fourth century.

While pagan shrines are known to have been in use at the end of the century and beyond, such instances were now in the minority. On the other hand, some temples which had been existent during Julian's reign and the reigns of his immediate successors were being dismantled from 380 onwards. At Coventina's Well, Carrawburgh votives

---

[261] Watts 1998, 42
[262] Wheeler 1943; Drury 1980, 68
[263] Wickenden 1988
[264] Watts 1998, 56
[265] Rahtz 1991, 12
[266] Lib. *or.* 18.129

continued to be offered into the late fourth century and possibly beyond, but the altars were no longer visible. The sculptures, altars and dedication stones from the temple do not appear to have been broken or destroyed deliberately; rather, they had been carefully placed in the well which could indicate once again some real or perceived threat in the area. In any case, the well continued to be venerated. Evidence from coin hoards and stones which covered them and suggest a fairly abrupt end around 388.[267] The coinage ranges from the early Augustan period to those of the late fourth century.

Finds from the site of Brigstock, mostly from Brigstock 1, include two hundred and seventy eight Roman coins ranging from the first to fourth centuries as well as a number of items of bronze; the head of a female, a model axe, several votive leaves, a number of pole-tips (some of iron) and three pairs of equestrian statues which are thought to portray a mounted war god. The presence of late fourth century coins indicated that the site may not have lasted to 391 AD but did remain being used until the 380s.[268] Other sites seem merely to have failed and taken over for Christian use. In the south west, the Romano-Celtic temples of Lamyatt Beacon and Brean Down were abandoned and the materials used for the construction of small oratory-type buildings around 360-70.[269] However, several pagan shrines seem to have continued in the same region from this time onwards. Jordon Hill shows evidence of increased coin loss, with a date range from 388 to 395, while the site at South Cadbury seems to have been deserted by the end of the fourth century.[270] This may indicate the conservatism and deep-rooted beliefs of rural Romano-Britons and their desire to preserve their native pre-Roman traditions despite a Roman presence.

There is evidence to suggest desecration of the temple and temenos at Henley Wood during the first decades of the fifth century. The presence of west-east aligned burials occurring here around the same time may indicate that it was converted to a Christian place of worship, although it will be discussed in further detail below that this

---

[267] Allason-Jones McKay 1985, 12, 15-19
[268] Lewis 1966, 138; Watts 1998, 43
[269] Leech 1986, 278
[270] Watts 1998, 54

is not an exclusive feature of Christian burials and therefore it cannot be known for certain.[271] Of a contemporary date, the circular structure 2 at Cadbury Congresbury (one hundred and forty metres away from Henley Wood) was believed to be a pagan shrine which continued into the post-Roman period.[272] This one example highlights the lack of uniformity appearing in the Romano-British religious landscape. The site of Uley displays signs of progressive deterioration during the end of the fourth century, followed by a hiatus and then a separate wooden basilical plan building was erected on the site, possibly in the fifth century.[273] Sites displaying evidence of having continued into the fifth century as pagan places of worship include Farley Heath (destroyed by fire during the first half of the fifth century) and Bourton Grounds.[274] At Frilford 2, it has been suggested that the site continued in use during the first half of the fifth century.[275] However, the coin evidence does not support this view; the coins indicate a final date of approximately 385 AD.

Possible explanations for a revival

The effectiveness of the anti-pagan legislation was heavily dependent upon local officials and there is little evidence to suggest that these edicts were enforced widely in Britain. The praetorian prefect for Gaul was responsible for the implementation of imperial policy in Britain. During the sole rule of Constantius (353-61), the prefects were Rufinus (354), Volusianus (355), Honoratius (355-7), Florentius (357-60) and Nebridius (360-361). The *vicarius* in Britain for 353-4 was Martinus and for 358 to approximately 360, Alypius.[276] Volcacius Rufinus was a pagan, as was Volusianus and Martinus likely so. Honoratius and Florentius' religion is not recorded and Alypius was a pagan associated with the later Emperor Julian. It was during Florentius' term in office that the more severe anti-pagan legislation of Constantius was introduced. Alypius, his *vicarius*, does not seem to have carried out the legislation with much zeal. Alypius may

[271] Rahtz 1992, 242-6
[272] Ibid.
[273] Woodward and Leach 1993, 316, 318
[274] Green 1966, 360
[275] Bradford & Goodchild 1939, 35, 63, 69
[276] Amm. 14.5.8, 28.1.7; Jones 1964; Jones, Martindale & Morris 1971

have been one of Julian's confidants who had been aware of his plans of a coup.[277] There is also documented animosity between Florentius and Julian and it is possible that Julian's influence and contact with Alypius aided in the lax attitude towards enforcing the edicts in Britain during the 350s.[278] Ammianus commented on Julian having prevented Florentius from raising taxes, and also on Julian actually taking over as governor for the province of Belgica Secunda.[279]

In summation, there is very little uniformity to the archaeological data which makes it difficult to present an accurate picture of the shape religious worship was taking in the fourth century Romano-British context. Some pagan religious sites were converted to churches, some were destroyed in the first half of the fourth century and some continued to be used, restored and constructed well into the late fourth century and possibly beyond in a few rare cases (and perhaps in an altered form) such as that of the Carrawburgh Mithraeum which provides evidence of votive offerings being left at the site into the fifth century. There is a general pattern which presents a picture of paganism enduring longer in rural rather than urban contexts, the reasons for which are not clear. Some have argued that the growing prominence of Christianity in nearby towns forced pagan worship to the countryside, therefore necessitating the maintenance of pagan religious structures in rural areas in order to compensate for the decreasing number of places to worship within towns. It has also been posited that the decreasing size of urban areas due to the installation of ports and rising water levels, the waning military presence in these centres as well as Saxon invasions could have forced the population, not just their places of worship, to rural areas. Some have even suggested, with reference to sites which returned to pagan use after a period as Christian churches may signify a growing disillusionment among Christians with their new religion. It is extremely difficult to say with any certainty why places of worship were being closed or destroyed in some areas and not others, but what is being attempted here for the purpose of this thesis is to discover whether, not why, paganism was still in existence under the

---

[277] Julian's *letters to Alypius* 402D-403C where he mentions 'the gods'; 403C-404B for a reference to Mithras.
[278] Amm. 17.3; 18.2.7; Lib. *or.* 18.48.
[279] Amm. 17.3.1-6.

Christian emperors of the fourth century and the answer is that pagan religious practice had continued to survive the increasingly proscriptive laws passed during the fourth century.

It is of interest to note that two aforementioned sites and one further site from Britain display evidence of votive offerings being deposited in the late fourth century and possibly beyond and these sites have one thing in common with each other and also with sites in Gaul where similar patterns of ritual deposits have been found. The unifying factor between sites such as Sulis-Minerva at Bath and Coventina's Well at Carrawburgh is water. Sauer explores the extent to which spring veneration survived the Christianisation of the Roman Empire based mainly on the contributions which an analysis of the archaeological and in particular numismatic evidence has provided to the subject area.[280] Sauer has argued that, due to the diverse nature of pagan worship as an earth-based religion, the presence of structures and religious imagery was not entirely necessary for worship and rituals to take place. The natural phenomena behind the artifice were a more powerful, deep-rooted element to certain cults and could not be eradicated as easily as destroying a temple. There is little continuity to this practice of depositing artefacts in watery contexts; the European Bronze Age offers a large quantity of metal artefacts that were discovered in rivers, but very few from this time have been found in spring basins and there tends to be a fluctuation in deposits from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age.[281] It is not until after the Roman conquest in parts of Gaul, Germany and Britain that objects are found in springs on a large scale. The practice of depositing coins into springs appears to have originated in the Mediterranean and was brought to places such as Britain after the Roman conquest.[282]

A number of coins found at Bath show that a peak in deposition was reached in the fourth century between 330 and 348 and then the number of coins falls again somewhat around 363, but does not fall greatly below the 363 level until 378. Coin offerings from Coventina's Well at Carrawburgh declined faster than at Bath, possibly

[280] Sauer, forthcoming
[281] Sauer, forthcoming
[282] Sauer 2005, 110-16

because the custom did not develop momentum as strong as at Bath and because early to high imperial coinage generally tends to be more strongly represented on Hadrian's Wall than in southern Britain. One further site can be examined with reference to watery deposits, that of the spring at Buxton, Derbyshire. One hundred and thirty-two dated coins come from this site and, although it provides a smaller sample than Bath and Coventina's Well, the sample is large enough to display a distinct peak in deposits during the Valentinianic period (364-378).[283]

Patterns of coin deposition from particular spring sites in late Roman Britain can provide valuable information about how these sites continued to be used even after the deterioration of religious buildings began to take place. They highlight the presence of different customs being more prominent at certain points in time and also indicate regional variations within Britain. Much like the temple sites, some springs show evidence of continued coin deposition into the period of the Christian emperors, whereas others show that this practice waned even before the reign of Constantine. Furthermore, it is impossible to determine whether perishable items were being deposited at these sites well beyond the dates discovered from the numismatic evidence. In addition, the change in ritual practices from worshipping in temples to depositing offerings in springs and wells could indicate a shift to a more covert form of worship in areas where pagans could have potentially been met with hostility towards any overt displays of polytheistic adherence from Christian members of the populace.

Late fourth century burial practice – a return to pagan practice?

Pagan burials continued into the late fourth century and although the period up to 361 AD saw an increase in the number of Christian cemeteries set aside specifically for them, there is little evidence of an end or even a decline in pagan burial rituals in what have been identified as clearly pagan cemeteries. Several archaeologists have debated the criteria used to identify Christian burials, several believing that there is no automatic equation between east-west burials and Christian beliefs. In the publication of the

[283] Sauer forthcoming

Poundbury cemetery, Woodward compared the site to other Romano-British burial grounds and identified the characteristics that would mark the site as a Christian cemetery.[284] An attempt will be made to summarise first the documentary evidence for Christian burial customs followed by an outline of archaeological evidence to distinguish Christian and pagan burial practice. This will be ensued by a survey of several late Romano-British cemeteries displaying pagan burial practices, including an analysis of any relevant finds from these sites.

In the late Republican period, Lucretius mentions three choices for treatment of the dead in the Roman world - cremation, inhumation and embalmment.[285] The earliest literary evidence for Christian burial practice aside from mentioning the burial of Christ, where the Jewish rite of inhumation was employed, comes from second century Gaul. According to Tertullian regarding the treatment of the martyrs at Lyon in 177 AD, the persecutors believed that Christian practice required the preservation of the body for burial.[286] In third century Italy, Minucius Felix conveys carelessness for the physical remains of both the pagan Caecilius and the Christian Octavius, but still advocated the old custom of inhumation and alludes to a physical resurrection.[287] In brief, there was a widespread movement towards inhumation during the second and third centuries, possibly originating in the eastern Empire. In post-Roman Britain, inhumation appears to be a firmly established rite, cremation only reappearing as a distinctive custom of Germanic settlers in the fifth century.

In the first two centuries AD, there is no literary or archaeological evidence to prove with certainty that any distinctive burial rite was adhered to. Conflict between those following an ascetic view may have differed from those with a more liberal approach and this may be reflected in burial customs. The Church Fathers established the main features of treatment of the individual after death, but Tertullian had also mentioned, while it was allowed for Christians and pagans to mingle in life, in death

---

[284] Woodward 1993
[285] Lucretius *De Rerum Naturae*, 3, 915
[286] Tert., *apol.* 48, 2-6
[287] Minucius Felix *Octav.* 11, 4 and 34, 8-11

they should be separate.[288] This established the custom of distinct Christian cemeteries separate from pagan ones. By the time of Tertullian the Church in some cities was established enough to have organised and managed cemeteries along similar lines to the pagan *collegia funeratica*.[289] With the growth of the Church during the fourth century, burial customs and organised cemeteries became more formalised and the care the Christians took with the dead was even mentioned by Julian.[290]

In Romano-British cemeteries, archaeological evidence for special respect to individual graves or attempts to preserve the body is rare. In the neighbouring north-western provinces of the Empire, such cemeteries have been identified dating to the pre-Constantinian period. Such a scenario cannot be proposed in Britain even though the presence of four bishops from the province at the Council of Arles in 314 could indicate the existence of some standardised practices. It would be expected that over the course of the fourth century, cemeteries should begin to reflect the growing number of Christians in any particular area, with some increase in the level of organisation and regulations of funerary practice with the growing influence of the Church. Two cemeteries from Britain with a rigid layout and standard burial rite conforming to the Christian practice identified in other parts of the Empire can be found; the burial grounds at Poundbury, Dorchester and the Butt Road cemetery in Colchester.[291] Although, it must be noted that particular areas within these burial grounds do not conform to the standard, as will be further discussed.

Identification of a Christian cemetery dependent on burial rite and cemetery organisation is problematic. Factors other than Christian belief can explain the choice of inhumation over other forms of burial, the orientation of graves, or the absence of grave goods. Christian burials may have been overlooked because of this, or non-Christian burials wrongly identified. Philpott and others have interpreted organised cemeteries with standardised burial rites as having no religious overtones and indicating no more

---

[288] Tert. *De Idol.* 14, 5
[289] Tert. *apol.* 39, 6
[290] Julian *Ad Arsac.*, 429D; *Against the Galilaeans* 335c
[291] Crummy *et al*, 1993; Watts 1991, 78-89

than an efficient use of land by the urban administration.[292] This theory does not withstand scrutiny; the most efficient use of land would have been the reuse of individual burial plots (a characteristic of many standard Romano-British cemeteries) and not the use of standardised orientation. Furthermore, this theory does not take into consideration the lack of uniformity in burial practice in existence throughout Britain.

With reference to the absence of grave goods from Christian burials, there is no textual authority on the matter but it could possibly be seen as a reflection of an ascetic concept in life and the expectation of an afterlife in which material goods were of no use. Such goods are seen as relevant only to pagan ideas of travelling to the underworld; objects such as coins (often placed on the eyes) and hobnailed footwear commonly being included in pagan graves. Undecorated stone coffins have frequently been found in late Romans Christian cemeteries, both in Britain and on the Continent. Surface structures of rectangular plan occur in known Christian cemeteries, burials being placed beneath the floor or in coffins arranged around the walls. Parallels exist between Britain and the Continent with regard to such mausolea, between Poundbury and St Maximin's Church, Trier for example.[293] These matters continue to be open for debate and identification of Christian cemeteries in Britain have to depend solely on archaeological evidence, which leaves many uncertainties.

An analysis of the archaeological evidence produces a similar picture to the temple archaeology, that is, no pattern existing. The grave orientations at Butt Road, Colchester changed from north-south to east-west around 320 AD and this could possibly indicate a shift from pagan to Christian burial practice. Once again, it must be reiterated that this is only a possibility and in no way a certainty. Tertullian alluded to Christians facing east in prayer as a result of the association of Christ with the rising sun and belief in his appearance in the east at the resurrection,[294] but pagans also worshipped the sun.[295] At Icklingham in Suffolk, a notable example of a fourth century Christian

---

[292] Philpott 1991
[293] Sparey-Green 2003, 104
[294] *Matthew* 24, 27
[295] Tert. *apol.* 16, 9-10

cemetery has been excavated. Burials were oriented east-west with the head at the west end, and there was a central building that was probably a church. A lead christening tank was found with a chi-rho symbol on it. The sealing of an earlier pagan cemetery at a lower stratigraphic level is evident at this site and the sealing is dated to approximately 340-350.[296] Other contemporary sites displaying separate Christian and pagan burial rites are those of Poundbury Camp, Dorchester, Lankhills, Winchester and Ashton, Northamptonshire.[297]

Pagan burial sites at Dunstable, Bath Gate in Cirencester and Frilford continued as before during the late fourth century, seemingly unaffected by the growth of Christianity.[298] At Radley, however, one burial ground contained fourth century burials oriented north-south,[299] while another contained at least nine cremations, thirty eight north-south inhumations and a cluster of nine east-west burials.[300] This last group included decapitated bodies and hobnail boots within the graves. In all respects aside from the orientation, this burial site appears to possess typical pagan characteristics in that grave goods are an uncommon feature of Christian burials.

An examination of burial practices dated between 360 and 390 shows that, while Christian cemeteries had become larger and more prominent, pagans continued to be buried with their own rites. The cemetery at Butt Road, Colchester was located in a thoroughly Romanised part of Britain and the graveyard was closely associated with a church. Despite this fact, and bearing in mind that by approximately 340 AD the west-east burials here had practically no pagan characteristics (for example, no footwear, coins or pottery)[301], burials after 360 revealed a renewed presence of grave goods such as amulets,[302] possibly indicating a return to old pagan rituals.

---

[296] Watts 1998, 22
[297] Farwell & Molleson 1993; Watts 1991
[298] Matthews 1981
[299] Atkinson 1953, 3
[300] Frere 1984
[301] Crummy *et al* 1993, 134-62
[302] These items included coins, combs, jet beads and a key, an attribute associated with Epona.

Dunstable may provide evidence for a revival of another pre-Roman practice, that of burying animals such as dogs and horses with humans. The burial of animal remains (such as skulls and joints) occurred quite frequently in pre-Roman and Roman periods, but the practice became less common after the late third and early fourth centuries.[303] The cemetery at Dunstable contained over one hundred graves as well as the remains of four horses and one dog. Matthews (1981) has interpreted the site as a burial ground for a town that was occupied in the last half of the fourth century, abandoned for a while and then reoccupied. Grave goods with graffito point towards there being a burial club at Dunstable, whose members were associated with a cult of Cybele at nearby Verulamium.[304] Ditch burials belonging to a later period contained the remains of horses and a dog among human burials. They appear to have been purposely buried and were as carefully laid out as any human in the vicinity. Horses seem to have played an important role in Dunstable; the bones of twenty-eight were found in a Roman well in the town.[305] The town was quite likely a posting station, which would explain the large number of horses. Examination of the remains has suggested that most were slaughtered for meat, which makes the presence of whole animals given special care when buried with humans even more curious. There may be an association here with Epona, a chthonic deity whose imagery strongly related to horses.[306] The dog was buried above the remains of a human in prone position; these animals were a known feature of Celtic and Roman religion, having associations with death and healing. It may be of significance to note that the dog was also an attribute of Epona.[307]

Another cemetery in which there was an increase in particular types of burial rites was Lankhills in Winchester, a pagan site which also had a small enclosure of seventeen burials identified as Christian.[308] In the main cemetery, there were seven decapitated burials out of four hundred, six of which have been shown to occur after 350. The significance of decapitations is unclear; several have been found to occur in

[303] Philpott 1991, 203
[304] Watts 1998, 47
[305] Matthews 1981, 60
[306] Green 1989, 146-9
[307] Ross 1967, 423-6
[308] Watts 1991, 89

pre-Roman times and this particular burial ritual is generally found in rural areas during the third and fourth centuries, but it is more common in the late fourth, continuing into the fifth century and Anglo-Saxon period.[309] There are associations with Celtic mythology and the so-called cult of the head. Since decapitated burials are not found in the pre-350 part of the cemetery and the practice was there soon after 350, it would seem to confirm that this rite was either invented or reinstituted during this period. In addition, the practice of placing bodies in a prone position for burial increased in the later period of this particular cemetery after approximately 370. This practice does not seem to be an Iron Age custom and is not found in cemeteries that have been identified as Christian. As with decapitated burials, the practice appears to have become more widespread in cemeteries in the Late Roman period and beyond.[310] The significance of both decapitate and prone burial is not entirely clear, however, one possible interpretation is a display of anathema to the Christian rite of supine burial in accordance with the notion of resurrection. Again, there is little uniformity in the results of archaeological excavation and interpretation, the only pattern that forms is one of a concentration of such practices around the Upper Thames Valley. Continuity does not appear to be the case with these burial practices; it is more a case of these practices being reinstated or introduced to particular areas.

The 'pagan revival' has also been suggested as a possible reason for the abandonment of at least two Christian cemeteries at Nettleton and Ashton. At Nettleton, a rural site in Gloucestershire, the restoration of pagan practices at the shrine of Apollo in approximately 370 probably led to the abandonment of the west-east cemetery and the adjacent rectangular structure, interpreted as a cemetery chapel.[311] At Ashton, there is evidence of pagan practices such as decapitation, prone burial and burial with footwear dated to the late fourth or early fifth century.[312]

---

[309] Philpott 1991, 78-9
[310] Harman et al. 1981; Philpott 1991, 73; Watts 1991; 196
[311] Watts 1991; Wedlake 1982, 91
[312] Watts 1998, 49

Thetford in Norfolk provides important evidence for the continuity of paganism in late fourth century Britain, one of the few sites connected with the cults favoured by Julian and promoted by the Roman aristocracy. A hoard of late Roman jewellery and silverware was discovered in 1981. The jewellery had iconographical connections with popular pagan cults of the fourth century, such as Bacchus, Diana, Mercury, Mars and Pan.[313] In the jewellery, Bacchic visual references can be seen, some more ambiguous than others; they include a satyr (or faun) on a buckle, a Pan - or Faunus - head on a ring and a panther depicted on a spoon. The spoons found in the hoard were inscribed with names, quite likely linked with the individuals who formed part of the group of worshippers (or *collegium*). A number of inscriptions were connected with the god Faunus with Celtic epithets, his worship being an aspect of the Bacchic cult. From the syncretic iconography and inscriptions, it would seem that the owners had Celtic roots but possessed a Roman outlook.

There is one literary source from the fourth century which makes reference to Faunus; Arnobius of Sicca in *Adversus nationes* mentions the god several times. Aside from this, evidence for a Faunus type cult in this period was absent until the discovery of inscribed spoons from Thetford. The main problem lies in the fact that there are no visual images which would aid in recognising representations of Faunus, as the god is often equated with Silvanus or Pan and depicted similarly. If representations of Pan could alternatively be referred to as Faunus, the cult then fits into the context of Bacchic worship in this period. The nature of this find does display Celtic roots with some conscious association with its Roman counterpart. In this sense, it can be considered to possess an element of revival, but the basic religious worship of rustic fertility deities did not wane even with the growth of Christianity and had probably been constant and uninterrupted for many centuries.

[313] Johns and Potter, 1983

Evaluation of the finds

From an anthropological perspective, mortuary rituals are of great significance to the field of archaeology as they are social rituals structured by social relations. The patterning of mortuary remains reflects separation of an individual from the community in which they lived and also reinforces the intactness of the community despite the loss of one of its members. The social persona of the individual is defined through this process, as are the relationships between the dead and the living. The archaeological remains are usually an incomplete source of information as the material remains only provide insight into the disposal of the body and not of any ritual that took place immediately prior to the burial. One must also bear in mind that written records and archaeological data, particularly when dealing with mortuary rituals, can present a distorted picture especially in the case of the coming together of diverse and widespread populations. Essentially, role and status defining rituals such as that of burial provides an opportunity for role manipulation.

The burial evidence is very difficult to interpret as no real uniformity exists and there is no certain evidence that this increase in decapitated and prone burials was the direct result of a religious reinvention of tradition. There are many other factors to consider. Decapitated bodies in fourth century Roman cemeteries suggest the same range of possible explanations as for prone burials – superstitious fear of the dead walking, criminal execution, mutilation of a criminal's body after death and even religious sacrifice. The fairly even numbers of male and female seem to set these burial sites apart from typical execution sites such as that of Walkington Wold, Yorkshire[314] or Driffield Terrace, York,[315] which normally tend to include all male burials and display evidence of hands being positioned behind the back of the bodies, indicating that they were bound. In fact, some even had remaining iron shackles on their limbs when they were uncovered. These execution cemeteries tend to become more common in the early Anglo-Saxon period. Execution victims were commonly buried in twos and threes

[314] Buckberry & Hadley 2007, 309-329
[315] Hunter-Mann 2005-6. The Archaeology of York Web Series No.6

implying contemporary execution, and in general little care was taken with the burials of criminals, with no concern for grave orientation and the minimum effort invested in the digging of the graves. Yet, the majority of the burials analysed above from Romano-British cemeteries do not appear to display these characteristics. Sometimes the head is placed in its correct anatomical position, other times between the knees, thighs or feet. Aside from the severed head, these burials are otherwise completely normal and respectful, the bodies having been buried in coffins in many cases, placed with care in the grave, sometimes furnished with grave goods (which was a practice that was in decline in the fourth century). They were not buried away from, or on the edge of, an existing cemetery, but among other non-decapitated burials. This level of care and consideration for the deceased does not seem to provide satisfactory evidence for these being executions sites. These burials also differ from other seemingly sacrificial or cultic sites such as Springhead where decapitated infants had been placed in pairs in the floors of a religious structure.[316] These rare burials were normally linked to a religious site and were buried away from the normal confines of a cemetery.

The concentration of these types of burial in particular locations may be of the most significance, although a detailed study of this is yet to be presented. The practice of decapitation is much more prevalent in the Upper Thames Valley than any other region in Britain. Perhaps a study into the population of this area based on other material evidence as well as isotope analysis may provide an insight into who inhabited the Upper Thames Valley as there are many motivations behind using a specific kind of burial practice other than religion such as ethnicity, occupation, social status and wealth, as well as conforming to regional burial trends and fashions. Perhaps its use in one particular area indicates a stability of population in this region during a period of transition in Britain's history. An examination of this sort concentrated in one specific area would be of most benefit as one must be wary of comparing burial sites to others in different regional locations due to the fact that this could distort the findings by removing many of the local aspects that determine which particular burial rite is used. Baldwin has suggested that decapitated burials in certain cemeteries such as Lankhills

[316] Harman et al 1981, 164

indicate the presence of intrusive burials groups, that is, foreign ethnic groups were buried in this cemetery and can be identified by their different burial rites.[317] This may be worthy of further examination, however at present, there are no contemporary decapitation burials from other parts in the Empire so it is difficult to determine where the practice originated. There are two known examples of this practice from the late pre-Roman Iron Age cemetery of crouched burials at Harlyn Bay in Cornwall[318] and some evidence from Roman Britain also such as Driffield Terrace, York as previously mentioned.

Severed heads can be found quite frequently in several contexts from earlier periods in time, not all specifically relating to burials but this may indicate the importance of the head in the Celtic tradition. In Iron Age contexts as well as the first two centuries of Roman occupation, severed heads being deposited in watery settings such as lakes was not unheard of. 'Headhunting' and the display of the severed heads of enemies at fortifications such as Bredon Hill and Stanwick has also been documented. Their position suggests that they had been attached to poles beside the gateway or nailed onto the gate itself.[319] The severed head was venerated among the Celts as a continuing source of power, being seen as the seat of the soul and the source of life itself. There is a wealth of written and material evidence to suggest the existence of a Celtic cult of the head. Celtic mythology is rich with stories of the severed heads of heroes and saints, perhaps most prominently featured in the myth of Brân the Blessed, whose head was said to have been buried as a protective talisman at White Hill outside London. According to the myth, his face was turned towards France in order to protect the city of London from attack, while also ensuring the fertility of the countryside and warding off the plague.[320] Diodorus Siculus mentions Celtic headhunting in his *Bibliotheca historica* of the first century BC, mentioning the decapitation of enemies slain in battle and even embalming the heads of distinguished enemies, which they would preserve and

[317] Baldwin 1985
[318] Webster and Backhouse 1991, 275-6
[319] Ross in Cavendish 1970
[320] Mabinogion 1877 translation, www.sacred-texts.com/neu/celt/mab/index.htm

display.[321] With this veneration of the head in mind, it is difficult to think of the practice as an act of final indignity towards a criminal.

The wider historical context of Roman Britain combined with the temple archaeology seems to provide some evidence of the continued vitality of the Celtic religion throughout the Roman occupation. The degree of Romanisation that ever actually occurred in Britain is open to debate. Despite being under continuous Roman control from 43 to 410 AD, no specific policy of Romanisation existed and to a certain degree, its success depended upon the geographical location of the province and the willingness of the indigenous population to amalgamate their beliefs with the incoming beliefs of the Romans. As already discussed, there can be seen some degree of syncretism as was the case at Bath with the temple of Sulis-Minerva. With regard to the willingness of the population to become Romanised, evidence from earlier periods of the Roman occupation such as the Boudiccan Revolt in 60/61 AD suggests that the native Britons had no desire to welcome these incomers. Throughout the second century, Britain was occupied by three legions and one must consider what necessitated such strong military involvement on a relatively small island. With such a prominent military presence, it is unclear how much of a chance Romanisation could have to infiltrate and influence the social structures of the native Britons. A heavy military presence would have allowed for the creation of garrison towns more readily than standard urban development with the institutions and administrative bodies that usually followed. Roman influence, therefore, quite probably left when the troops were withdrawn from the province. Decapitated and prone burials are found predominantly in rural areas which may not have been Romanised to the same degree as larger towns and built up areas. This is also consistent with the survival of temples in Britain of the non-classical style, also in rural areas. Furthermore, Britain was geographically isolated from the rest of the Empire and received less cultural influences than other areas as a result. In summary, it appears that Romanisation in Britain was not as thoroughgoing as elsewhere in the Empire and the province maintained a degree of individuality throughout the occupation and beyond. It is therefore likely that burial practice and the

[321] Diodorus Siculus *Bibl. Hist.* 5.29.4- 5

continued use of Romano-Celtic syncretised temples in rural areas were a result of this lack of Romanisation, the same Romanisation which saw Christianity introduced to the province.

CHAPTER 4

THE PAGAN REVIVAL OF JULIAN THE APOSTATE: THE EXTENT OF HIS INFLUENCE

There has been much scholarly investigation into the reign of the Emperor Julian and his so-called pagan revival. Julian's reign, although short-lived (361-363), is of great importance to the history of the Roman Empire in this increasingly Christian period. Julian attempted to restore, or rather, reinvent paganism as a means of hindering the spread of Christianity. It is important to identify the steps which Julian took to return paganism to the fore in Roman religion after several years of a stronger Imperial alignment with Christianity during the reign of Constantine and his successors. Julian has been accused by some scholars of imitating Christian institutions in order to reinstate the old religion, but this is perhaps a rather harsh and narrow way in which to view the situation. Nock remarks that 'the religious policy was directed to the restoration of Greek traditional practice coupled with borrowed elements of ethical order, philanthropy, and organisation, as effective weapons of Christianity'.[322] Julian based most of his measures and views upon the teachings of Iamblichus and other Neo-Platonic philosophers and, in a sense, this philosophical tradition shared similarities with the Christian religion, particularly in the creation of a Noetic Triad by Plotinus and the belief in one higher principle (or being).[323] Henotheistic tendencies among rulers were not a new phenomenon in the fourth century.[324]

As the topic of Julian's reign has been discussed at great lengths and approached from varying angles, it is not necessary to repeat here all the details that have been covered already. The purpose here is to identify the key aspects of Julian's pagan revival as well as delving into the lesser researched areas in order to approach the topic from a different viewpoint. Primarily, the political reasons for Julian's failure to secure a foothold for the survival of paganism will be explored. In a number of passages, Libanius alludes to a revival of some description among the intellectual pagans of the

---

[322] Nock 1933, 147
[323] Plot. *Enn.* 9
[324] e.g. Sol Invictus played a central role for Heliogabalus (218-222 AD) and Aurelian (270-275 AD)

Greek east as a result of their growing awareness of Julian's apostasy. Yet, there is no evidence of Julian having received any form of support from this alleged 'pagan underground' movement in the east aside from a few surviving correspondences with vague references included therein. Due to this, it is also vital to examine Julian's reign with his western entourage in mind; that is, where his power base was physically located, beginning with his time as Caesar in Gaul from 355 to early 360 AD and dealing with the problematic issue of his usurpation. In addition, his relationship with the senatorial aristocracy in Rome will be briefly discussed in order to determine whether he was surrounded by a strong following of hopeful pagans longing for a return to the old ways. There is an important point to be made here, not exclusively belonging to Julian's reign but part of a larger phenomenon that occurred during the fourth century, that is, the increasing prominence of the army and their ability to influence political decisions. Julian's reign appears to be no exception to the trend; difficulties with his troops - especially the eastern troops loyal to Constantius - may have complicated the successful implementation of many of his policies and goals (religious or other) therefore hindering any chances of a successful revival of paganism. Julian was able to implement some legislation in order to further his cause, but a number of these laws, such as his rescript on Christian teachers, were remarked upon unfavourably even by pagan commentators such as Ammianus Marcellinus. Certain aspects of his beliefs were unappealing to Christian and pagan alike.

With this in mind, it is important to enquire into the reasons why Julian alienated the pagan populace he was apparently working for, and should have been working with, by associating himself with an intellectualised form of paganism, transforming worship into a remote pursuit far removed from the traditional pagan beliefs and practices of the general populace. The social perspective will be examined in order to determine whether Julian ever had a chance of reviving paganism in the form which he presented it. Further to this, some economic reasons will be discussed, with especial reference to the decline of blood sacrifice during Julian's reign. The emperor offers no explanation for reviving quite an excessive amount of blood sacrifice during his reign, especially when taking into consideration that it was a somewhat dated practice in the late fourth century and

even the Neo-Platonic schools of thought were divided on the subject. The decline of such practices and, indeed, other aspects of pagan ritual could have stemmed not only from religious motivations, but also as a result of the economic crisis of the third century amidst what seems to be an increasingly secularised society. By exploring the political, economic and social aspects of the failed pagan revival of the late fourth century AD, an attempt will be made to provide a theory regarding the role and influence of the emperor within his own Imperial circles, and on the wider populace of a large Empire. In addition, one must enquire into how much direct impact emperors in general had over the population of such a vast Empire, particularly during the later fourth century which was marked by barbarian invasions, economic decline, military coups and gradual religious transformation.

A brief discussion of Julian's influence in Britain and Rome

With regard to the evidence already presented, it is difficult to say with certainty whether Julian's reign had a direct impact upon the continuity of paganism in the city of Rome and province of Britain, as well as the rest of the Empire. However, the possible links between the reign of the pagan emperor and the renewed temple activity in Britain, as well as the epigraphical evidence from Rome, will be recapitulated here briefly before exploring some aspects of his short reign which could reveal whether he ever possessed a strong enough support base to fully carry out his intended programme, even if he had lived beyond 363 AD.

The epigraphical evidence from the Vatican Phrygianum in Rome is of particular interest as it is the only known occurrence of the senatorial classes associating themselves with the Mithraic cult, when it had been linked primarily with the military and merchants for centuries prior to this. Of course, it could be the case that they had been worshippers of Mithras long before the fourth century and the evidence is yet to come to light, but the fact that the majority of the inscriptions come from during or after the reign of Julian is at least worthy of mention. As already noted, the setting of the Phrygianum was extremely public, which in itself is contradictory to the fundamental

principles of this mystery cult. There could be several motivations behind these overt proclamations of religious affiliation. Firstly, they could be seen as an open act of defiance in the face of an increasing Christian presence in the city. As discussed earlier, it could have been a means by which senators could benefit in some social manner, for example, by displaying their power and authority in a public setting. In addition, it could have provided senators with a sense of importance at a time when their power was waning. Finally, specifically concerning the dedications made during Julian's reign, aligning oneself with Mithraism could have provided an opportunity for these senators to gain favour with the emperor and his court, as Julian's beliefs were based upon Mithraism in some form since his initiation into the cult. Aligning oneself with a form of worship the emperor himself adhered to may have been an important way of gaining favour, influence and power.

In Britain, the inconsistencies of the material evidence make it extremely difficult to interpret the finds even within their specific contexts, let alone with the wider historical context in mind. There does appear to be evidence of renewed activity at the sites of pagan temples in the 360s, but dating this directly to the years during which Julian was emperor is virtually impossible. Furthermore, there are many other factors determining changes in society and one cannot attribute these shifting patterns to one direct time or person. Bearing in mind that the extent to which Britain had been Romanised has already been questioned (particularly important here is the resistance to the Imperial Cult in earlier centuries, as it displays a reluctance to accept the ruler of the Empire), the renewed pagan activity in the province is more likely to have been influenced by the declining Roman presence and, essentially, can be seen as a return to normality for the native Britons. However, in the more Romanised areas, there are at least two potential sites associated with Bacchic cult worship, the London Mithraeum and Thetford in Norfolk and, although there are no direct links here with Julian specifically, there is a more general link to the Roman pantheon of gods. Furthermore, Julian's status and influence during his time as Caesar in Gaul may have ensured that the legislation of Constantius was not implemented with much vigour in the province by

the *vicarius*, thereby ensuring the continuity of paganism without much hindrance from officials trying to enforce legislation.

The political power base

Modern scholarship has generally accepted the view postulated by Libanius that there existed a movement in the east of some extremely vague description who were working towards replacing the ruling emperor and restoring the old religion since Julian's formal conversion in 351.[325] Drinkwater has refuted this theory on the grounds of it being historically unsound.[326] There are several issues to discuss with regard to Libanius' claims in order to establish whether or not they have any basis in truth. As Petit points out, there is only one document written by Libanius before 362 which might suggest the existence of a 'pagan underground' at the time, this letter being the one he penned to Themistius in spring 355 AD in which some have read an allusion to Julian's coming elevation as Caesar.[327] According to Petit, the prominent pagans of Antioch could have learned about Julian's coming promotion from visitors to their city, such as Philometer who is mentioned in *Letter 402*, who in turn may have received the information from Maximus of Ephesus.[328] According to this theory, these pagans would have been seriously concerned by the length of time Constantius was taking to deliberate on the matter of Julian's fate, which was allowing time for court sycophants, hostile to Julian, to plot against him. As a result, Themistius was called upon for his cooperation. At the same time, the pagans of Antioch, prompted by Libanius, had invited Themistius to teach in their city. However, to leave his seat of influence in Constantinople would weaken the pagan cause and therefore in *Letter 402*, Libanius instructed Themistius to stay in Constantinople. This is a highly speculative account. In order to accept this theory, one would have to group all the prominent eastern pagans into the same mould; the conservative Libanius, realistic Themistius and the radical Maximus of Ephesus, bearing in mind that Themistius had already parted company with

[325] See Bidez 1965, 95; Bowersock, 1978, 30
[326] Drinkwater 1983
[327] Lib. *Letter 402*; Piganiol 1972, 127
[328] Petit 1955, 204

the Neo-Platonists.[329] One must bear in mind that Libanius and Themistius were scholarly rivals and the fact that the praetorian prefect of the east, Flavius Strategius, desired Themistius to take up permanent residence in Antioch (Strategius was already a patron of Libanius'),[330] could have led Libanius to advise the scholar to stay in Constantinople for personal reasons above all else.

Furthermore, one must enquire into whether Libanius was privy to inside political information when his residence in Antioch placed him as far away from the centre of political events as he could have been. The political centre of the Empire at this time was in the west at Milan (354-57) and in the north at Sirmium (357-59).[331] A close relationship with Themistius may have enabled Libanius to be kept informed. However, professional interests as mentioned above appear to have strained their friendship.[332] It is also unlikely that Libanius could have obtained such information directly from Julian himself as the former's claims of a close relationship with the emperor have been generally accepted to be exaggerated. The fact that they were not close can be seen in Libanius' difficulty in penetrating the inner circle of the court when Julian was resident in Antioch in 362/3.[333] During an age when Christian and pagan peacefully coexisted, it would not have been deemed abnormal during his Christian upbringing for Julian to be surrounded by some pagan thinkers, but that they were active religious revolutionists is too bold a claim to make. Paganism did not produce martyrs and most were too conservative to have been involved in a plot to overthrow Constantius and force a return to the old religion.[334] It has even been suggested that if they had known Julian was already a practising Neo-Platonist and theurgist, most would have stayed away for fear of being implicated in any politically controversial goings-on.[335]

---

[329] Drinkwater 1983, 351
[330] Lib. *auto.* 106
[331] Drinkwater 1983, 355
[332] Seeck 1906, 352
[333] Lib. *auto.* 121
[334] Seeck 1906, 351
[335] Drinkwater 1983, 356

When Julian was appointed Caesar and travelled to Gaul, he was placed beyond the reach and support of his eastern acquaintances. Julian mentions this point on several occasions, one example can be found in his *Letter to the Athenians*:

> "Only with difficulty was I able to bring with me to court four of my own domestics for my personal service....I had entrusted with the care of my books, since he was the only one with me of many loyal comrades and friends, a certain physician who had been allowed to leave home with me because it was not known that he was my friend."[336]

Another revealing point to make relates to these allegedly loyal comrades and friends. Maximus of Ephesus, who is spoken of so highly as the man responsible for Julian's formal apostasy, preferred to stay quietly in the east instead of risking a trip to Paris following the Battle of Strasbourg, despite Julian displaying his leadership qualities here and demonstrating that he was a force to be reckoned with.[337] If there was a movement in the east, they had several opportunities to align themselves with the Caesar's increasing power but instead, there is a growing sense of anxiety and isolation in Julian's letters. He expresses this to Priscus and also mentions a desire to see Maximus.[338] Of the leading Neo-Platonists of the Pergamene School aware of Julian's religious convictions, only Priscus made the journey to Gaul and even then, he did not stop for long.[339] This suggests that either the friendships Julian formed in the east were greatly exaggerated, or his friends were more loyal to political realism than to Julian.

If there was a plot to promote Julian to Augustus, it occurred in the west among his troops, possibly influenced by Oribasius but more likely influenced by the desire of the Gallic army to remain in their native land. Julian had won support of the Gallic army after his success in the battle of Strasbourg in 357 and this is seen as a turning point in his career, an event which was in no doubt of having been met with hostility from

---

[336] Julian *Letter to the Athenians* 277A-C (the physician referred to is Oribasius).
[337] Drinkwater 1983, 360
[338] Julian *Letters 1 and 2*, 8
[339] Ibid; Eun. *Vit. Phil.* 477; Lib. *or.* 18.74; 12.55

Constantius. Julian was proclaimed Augustus by his army after the battle and he immediately refused the honour.[340] However, such an event could not have escaped the attention of Constantius and there was even an immediate attack on Julian at court:

> "[S]ome of Constantius' courtiers sought to please the emperor either by finding fault with Julian or by referring to him ironically as Victorinus...[T]his big talk by his toadies encouraged him to set forth in the edicts which he published then and later a number of arrogant lies; though he had not been present himself at an action, he often declared that he alone had fought and conquered and inclined a merciful ear to the entreaties of native kings.[341]

Military success brought Julian a greater deal of independence of action in Gaul; he virtually attained supreme military command and felt a growing confidence to become involved in matters of civil administration, for example, the fall of Marcellus and his replacement by Severus as well as the quarrel with Florentius.[342] Julian's confident status could well have seen him obtain the diocese of Britain for Alypius.[343]

The decisive moment came at a time when Julian's successes in the west and Constantius' failures in the east effectively led to a partition of the Empire which more than likely would have led to a similar outcome for Julian as suffered by Gallus in 354 at the hands of an increasingly suspicious Constantius. Not long after the fall of Amida in the east during the year 359, Constantius' praetorian prefect in Gaul wrote to the emperor advising the removal of a considerable portion of Julian's army.[344] Constantius despatched Decentius to carry out this action; the explanation given to Julian was that the forces were needed for the Persian campaign.[345] Florentius was more than likely aware of the growing political tension as well as the western army's loyalty to Julian,

---

[340] Amm. 16.12.64
[341] Amm. 16.12.67
[342] Amm. 16.7.1-3; 10.21; 11.1; 17.3
[343] Julian. *Letters 6, 7*
[344] Amm. 20.4.2
[345] Amm. 20.4.3

and possibly suggested the transfer of troops for this reason. By the time Decentius arrived in Paris, Constantius' administration in Gaul had decayed. Neither Florentius nor Lupicinus, *magister militum* in Gaul, were present to receive Decentius and without them, he was unable to carry out his orders effectively. Florentius was in Vienne rather curiously, considering he had kept as close an eye as possible on the Caesar prior to this.[346] Lupicinus was given a large force and sent to Britain; his actions upon arrival indicate that he was unsure what to do with himself and his troops, in the event he retired to London for the remaining part of the winter.[347] Several scholars agree that the British expedition was a pretext to remove him and men who might have been inclined to follow his lead from Gaul. Without the presence of his *magister militum*, Julian became *de lure* as well as *de facto* supreme military commander of Gaul. Decentius could not take sole command of the withdrawal of troops, with no knowledge of Gaul or its army. He decided to arrange for the immediate transfer of parts of the Palatine regiments (Scutarii and Gentiles) under the command of Sintula.[348] The remaining troops would have been far less willing to leave. They comprised Gallic troops and Germans who had enrolled on the express understanding that they would not be called upon to serve outside of Gaul.[349] This situation culminated in the production and distribution of a pamphlet among the troops, a piece of propaganda stating the grievances of the Gallic troops in order to motivate them to take action against their departure from Gaul.[350] Drinkwater argues that Julian was unaware of this plot, but such a line of enquiry is not necessary here. The actions of this small group working towards promoting Julian to Augustus quite possibly had their own interests in mind when doing so and not Julian's plans to reinstate the old religion in the Empire.

Indeed, the aforementioned scenario seems likely in the wider context of the fourth century with the growing prominence of the army in the influence of political matters. As already stated, this was not a new phenomenon. The army became a factor of increasing importance in social and economic life towards the end of the second

[346] Amm. 20.4; 20.1.2
[347] Amm. 20.1.3
[348] Drinkwater 1983, 380
[349] Amm. 20.4.10; 20.4.4
[350] Amm. 20.4.10; Julian *Letter to the Athenians*, 283B; Zos. 3. 9

century AD after a long period of attacks along its frontier, coupled with civil wars. Military officers gained political power only with the support of their army and Julian was no exception. He offered tangible benefits to his troops before marching against Constantius: five gold *solidi* and a pound of silver to each soldier.[351] The following day, he promised that personal merit alone would determine the future promotion of civilian and military office.[352] Following the capture of Sirmium in October, 361, Julian found that two legions of the local garrison were so unreliable after their surrender; he dispatched them immediately to serve in Gaul. His suspicions were well-founded; they seized the port of Aquileia and raised the standard of rebellion against him in the name of Constantius.[353] Julian attempted to win over the rebels using various means, but was unable to induce them to surrender until Agilo, *magister peditum*, was sent to them with news of Constantius' death.[354] Mamertinus presided over an enquiry into the Aquileia revolt and only Nigrinus, a cavalry commander who aided and encouraged the revolt, and two senators from Aquileia received the death penalty. Julian offered pardon to the other rebels, reflecting his moderation and also his political realism: a harsher punishment would no doubt have alienated them and deprived him of troops for his Persian expedition, and also could have caused unrest or low morale among his other troops. The revolt was the first indication of the lack of enthusiasm Julian was met with from the eastern troops loyal to Constantius.

Julian had appointed Claudius Mamertinus as first consul for 362 while still camped at Illyricum prior to Constantius' death. He added Nevitta as the colleague of Mamertinus for that year. The appointment of Mamertinus by Julian indicated his desire to appoint civilian candidates of the highest calibre, yet, his appointment of Nevitta as second consul seems to have been viewed upon unfavourably in high senatorial, intellectual and official circles. Ammianus reflects this hostility by stating:

---

[351] Amm. 20.4.8
[352] Ibid. 5.7
[353] Amm. 21.11.2
[354] Amm. 21.12.4-20

> "[T]o inspire confidence at a moment of crisis and encourage his loyal supporters, he nominated Mamertinus, the praetorian prefect of Illyricum, to the consulship with Nevitta as his colleague, although he had lately reproached Constantine in unmeasured terms for being the first to promote barbarians of low birth."[355]

While encamped at Naissus in November 361, Julian wrote to Maximus of Ephesus proclaiming that the majority of his army (that is, the troops accompanying him from Gaul) openly worshipped the gods, offered sacrifices publicly and were in favour of the old religion.[356] While it may have been the case that his troops were seemingly attached to paganism, it is more likely that they possessed no strong religious convictions and were easily swayed to advance their own interests, from one religion to another depending upon who was in power.

With the news of Constantius' death, Julian was only relatively certain of the loyalty from his Gallic troops. It is of worth to mention here that Ammianus (who was present at the time) makes claims that it was Julian's own troops who forced him to fight early at the battle of Strasbourg.[357] It would be fair to say that, following the success of this battle, he had won greater support from his Gallic troops. However, he also required support of the commanders and troops loyal to Constantius, who had been marching to oppose and defeat him, in order to consolidate his power over the Empire. As always in the Empire, the threat of other military units (in the east yet to come under Julian's control) electing a candidate from among their own commanders existed. Gregory Naziansus mentions that the former troops of Constantius persuaded, even compelled, Julian to greet and show respect to the corpse of Constantius.[358] There is no documentary evidence to confirm that Julian had reached an understanding with the eastern commanders to ensure they accepted his occupation of Constantinople, but this

---

[355] Amm. 21.12.16-20
[356] Julian *ep.* 26
[357] Amm. 16.12.10-16
[358] Greg. *or.* 5.17

is probably likely considering no other candidate was brought forward as a competitor. He was indebted to them in some way, as further events seem to indicate.

Only with this in mind can one make any sense of the events which took place at Chalcedon in December 361 and early 362 AD.[359] The defendants were all civilians who had held prominent positions under Constantius and charges varied from murder to corruption. Salutius Secondus, prefect of the east, presided over the tribunal with assistance from Nevitta and Jovinus, Agilo and the *magister equitum*, Arbitio. Ammianus fails to explain the appointment of Arbitio, who had contributed to the execution of Julian's half-brother Gallus in 354, remarking:

> "Julian's lack of confidence, or his ignorance of what was fitting, was demonstrated by his choice of Arbitio, an arrogant and incorrigible double-dealer, to preside over these trials; the others, including the legionary commanders, were associated with him merely to give a show of respectability. He knew that Arbitio had been the chief threat to his own safety, as was expected of one who had taken a leading part in the successes of the civil war."[360]

It is of equal significance to point out that military circles showed a strong interest in the outcome of the trials, as they took place in full view of the generals and tribunes of the Herculiani and Joviani.[361] Those defendants who received the harsher sentences were, rather unsurprisingly, those who had wronged the army in some way, indicating that their appeasement was the primary motivation for holding the trials. Ammianus mentions the sentence on Ursulus reflecting the army's vengeance and greed, while Libanius claims that Ursulus was sentenced harshly because he disliked the financial burden of so many soldiers and they were simply exacting revenge for poor pay.[362] A significant faction of Julian's Gallic army who had supported Magnentius quite possibly

---

[359] Kaegi 1967, 251
[360] Amm. 22.3.9
[361] Amm. 22.3.2
[362] Amm. 22.3.7; Lib. *or.* 18.152

had an interest in the proceedings relating to Paul the notary for his prosecution of these rebels during Constantius' reign.[363]

Ammianus finds it extremely difficult to provide a clear reason for the composition and conduct of the court. Julian had a reputation for promoting justice and yet, the proceedings at Chalcedon appear to be nothing more than show trials to ensure winning favour of the army. The proceedings even dissatisfied his partisans and he found it necessary to defend his appointment of the tribunal in his letter to Hermogenes.[364] It has been suggested that Julian failed to perceive what had taken place during the trials due to his political miscalculations and naïveté.[365] It is more likely that Julian was well aware of that which was taking place, but was not in a position to exceed any influence over the proceedings. His position early in his reign was not secure and he was in need of cultivating an accommodation with the army to ensure their continued support. It was extremely difficult for him to refuse the demands of the Gallic army as he was greatly indebted to them for their support in proclaiming him Augustus, and even more difficult for him to show defiance to the former troops of Constantius who had already demonstrated their reluctance to come under his leadership. The army asserted their influence very early in Julian's career as emperor.

Upon entering Constantinople, Julian strove to consolidate control over the army by restoring discipline and improving the condition of the army. Ammianus describes the degenerate conditions of Constantius' eastern troops, claiming that they had acquired wealth through flattery and idleness, and had become slothful and weak.[366] Julian repaired critical border positions by rebuilding the walls of Thrace and fortifications. He also sought to ensure that clothing, supplies and pay reached the soldiers who were guarding the Danube frontier.[367] Themistius' oration to Julian provides further support to the theory that the army was a significant political force during Julian's reign. Themistius warns Julian to take care to not let his troops become accustomed to luxury

[363] Amm. 22.3.11; Lib. *or.* 18.104
[364] Julian *ep.* 33
[365] Thompson 1947, 78
[366] Amm. 22.4.6-7
[367] Amm. 22.7.7

and ease and emphasises the importance of monthly inspections of the troops. He also advises the emperor to pay careful attention to the needs of his troops, since the army is the greatest source of strength for the state.[368] In January 362, Julian passed the first in a series of laws commanding soldiers to seek forage for their animals up to twenty roman miles in distance rather than obtain it from government supplies.[369] This was an economising measure, but also served to consolidate the emperor's authority over the army. His reforms appear to have made some impact, at least for a short time; according to Zosimus, when he led his troops from Constantinople to Antioch, they maintained perfect order. [370]

With reference to religion in the army during the reign of Julian, very little can be said with certainty, save for a few exaggerated references from Julian in his correspondence with Maximus of Ephesus, as already stated. It is quite likely that the troops were fickle in nature and swayed towards any religion that would guarantee them material advantages. Perhaps this is an extremely cynical point of view and some isolated events indicate that at least some aligned themselves with one particular religion quite strongly. The Joviani and Herculiani continued to carry the monogram of Christ on the *labarum* and the standard-bearers were executed as a result.[371] This incident reflects the uneven acceptance of Julian's attempts to impose religious uniformity within the army. In addition, two *scutarii* of the imperial guard openly criticised the emperor's religious program in January 363.[372] This incident was reported to the emperor, which displays the diversity of sentiment and loyalty among the troops. The guilty parties were imprisoned, but it has also been suggested that this was more than an outspoken criticism of Julian's religious affiliation and that what in fact transpired was a conspiracy to murder the emperor.[373] This plot may have had more political than religious significance, the actual charge being suggested as tyranny.[374] Julian, like many other Roman emperors, had some level of control over the army, but could not achieve

[368] Kaegi 1967, 256
[369] *C.Th.* 7.4.7
[370] Zos. 3.11.4
[371] Kaegi 1967, 259
[372] Theod. *HE* 3.16.6-7; Soz. *HE,* 5.17.4-12
[373] Lib. *or.* 18.199
[374] Kaegi 1967, 260

complete mastery of it. Ammianus mentions misconduct of the emperor's troops in Antioch, comparing Julian unfavourably with Constantius who successfully maintained strict controls over the army. This, of course, completely contradicts what he said earlier about the state of the eastern troops when Julian came to power.[375]

When Julian embarked on his Persian campaign in March 363 AD, there is further evidence to suggest that the army still did not unanimously support him or his authority. Upon arrival at Pirisabora, the troops mutinied at the news of insufficient pay. Julian succeeded in controlling the army's readiness to stir by reminding them of the Persian wealth which lay before them.[376] In gaining the favour of his troops, Julian alienated the intellectual and senatorial elite, as expressed in Ammianus, due to the fact that these groups of society were extremely hostile towards the army.[377] Julian relied upon the civilian elite too, for the successful implementation of his policies. The aristocracy resented the power of army officials and disliked the heavy taxes which paid the soldiers.[378]

As has become evident, Julian needed to ensure support from several different groups of people in order to implement all of his policies, including religious ones. It is quite likely that there was no 'pagan underground' in the east, scheming to ensure Julian became sole emperor and it becomes quite evident that Julian had very little support, being met with hostility and pressure from many directions. The necessity to appease the army meant that Julian was restricted and, evidently, preoccupied with matters other than religion while he tried to ensure the support of his troops. This, in turn, alienated the senatorial aristocracy who were a vital ally in ensuring the success of his policies. This scenario is not exclusive to Julian by any means, political success is gained by finding an equilibrium which is extremely difficult first to achieve and then to maintain.

---

[375] Amm. 21.16.2-3
[376] Amm. 24.3.8
[377] Amm. 21.10.8; 22.3.9
[378] Ibid.

Julian managed to pass some religious laws directed against the Christians during his time as emperor. He removed any exemptions Christians could previously claim from duty based on their religious beliefs and attempted to reconstruct the Jewish Temple at Jerusalem in a direct attack against Christian ideology.[379] In addition, Ammianus mentioned legislation which forbade Christians from teaching rhetoric and grammar.[380] Julian himself claimed those who are educators must be truthful, in that they should only teach what they believe in. He accused Christian teachers of being impious as they taught the traditional forms of worship but did not adhere to the beliefs of past generations.[381] As a result, Christian teachers should be removed on the grounds that subjects taught were entirely based upon classical Greek literature which conflicted with Christianity. In all his praises of Julian, even Ammianus Marcellinus cannot find it within himself to agree with this measure taken by the emperor. One must ask if Ammianus is representative of pagans of his time and whether they too disagreed with this action.

Julian also embarked on a pro-pagan directive. Towards the end of his reign, in 362 AD, Julian wrote to Arsacius, high priest of Galatia. In this letter, Julian expressed his desire to improve the image of the pagan church by advising his clergy on matters of character and ethical position. The role of the priest was of great importance to Julian, who emphasised their need to display righteousness, piety towards the gods and respectability by refraining from frequenting theatres and taverns. Julian continues in this letter to advise hostels be set up in every city for strangers to take advantage of the benevolence of the pagan church.[382] This letter raises some important issues about patronage. Julian was concerned that Christian practices were distancing the population from the emperor and that the people were now looking elsewhere for a feeling of security and protection. Julian felt that it was his duty as emperor to provide for them through the actions of this pagan church, which would serve to display the traditional

[379] Amm., 23.1.7; Julian, *ep.* 25.398A
[380] *C.Th.* 12.1.50; Amm., 22.10.7
[381] Julian, *ep.* 36.423.A-D
[382] Julian, *ep.* 22.429.C-D, 430a-d, 431A-D, 432A

Roman values of *philanthropia* and *civilitas*. In his letter to Alypius, Julian mentioned how he wished social elites to act as intermediaries between himself and the populace.[383]

The reception of Julian from a social perspective

Unfortunately, the only account of the reception of Julian from a social perspective comes from the eastern Empire in the form of his visit to Antioch in 362 AD on a detour towards his ill-fated Persian Campaign. However, the whole experience seems to highlight some more general aspects of his character, policies and religious practice that may have caused unpopularity elsewhere in the Empire. Ammianus Marcellinus mentions the mixed population of Antioch and makes no reference to any major conflicts within this diverse city.[384] Julian's nine month stay there was quite a disappointment for him, as he had high hopes for the visit, in particular for its famous shrine of Apollo at Daphne. Julian claimed when he visited the sacred site, he encountered only one old priest who had brought a goose from home to sacrifice.[385] Although it is quite likely that this amusing mental image is an exaggeration, a lack of respect and prevailing impiety towards Julian from the inhabitants of the city becomes evident in several other ways.

The Christian population criticised Julian for the favour he showed towards Jewish and pagan rites and were outraged by the closing of the Great church of Constantine. Julian's own religious practices were also distasteful to the Antiochenes. His desire to restore the traditional cults seemed to be met with indifference from Antiochene pagans as well as hostility from Christians.[386] Christian and pagan had peacefully co-existed for several centuries by the later fourth century, Christianity having reached the city through the efforts of missionaries such as Saint Paul, and even the pagan community seemed disinterested in Julian's attempts to revive an aspect of their cultural life they seemed comfortable to do without. The emperor's form of

[383] Julian, *ep.* 7
[384] Amm. 14.8.8
[385] Julian, *misop.*
[386] Smith 1995, 6

worship was very much unique to himself, with little support from outside of the most intellectual Neo-platonist circles. He also gained no admiration for his personal involvement in excessive amounts of sacrifices, particularly in light of the city's worsening food shortage, partially due to the burden of supporting his troops. Julian had attempted to restore the ancient oracular spring of Castalia at the temple of Apollo during his visit. After being told that the bones of the third century martyred bishop Babylas were suppressing the god, he ordered the removal of the bones from the vicinity of the temple. This resulted in a Christian procession.[387] Ammianus remarks that Julian did very little to improve his popularity by participating in ceremonials such as blood sacrifice.[388] The general consensus seems to be that Julian was undignified and did not share in the interests of the wider population.[389]

Economic decline and transition

Blood sacrifice was the one aspect of pagan worship that aroused the greatest hostility amongst Christians. Bradbury has examined Julian's motives for reviving public sacrifice and the reasons for his failure to win support in trying to restore this traditional part of Roman religious worship.[390] The Neo-Platonic tradition was divided on the subject; Porphyry stressed the importance of spiritual over physical sacrifice in his treatise *On Abstinence*, and shares similar views to Christians on the matter. Porphyry mentioned a hierarchy of material sacrifices, different sacrifices were seen as appropriate to different levels of divinity and the higher gods are, to him, more fittingly worshipped with spiritual sacrifices. To the High God and intelligible gods, Porphyry claims one should only offer pure thoughts in either deep silence of through the utterance of prayers and hymns; to the visible gods, material objects such as incense and to daemons, blood sacrifices or nothing at all.[391]

---

[387] Amm. 22.12.8 - 22.13.3
[388] Amm. 22.14.3
[389] Potter, 2004, 515
[390] Bradbury 1995
[391] Porph. *De abst.* 2.34

Nilsson mentioned parallels between pagan and Christian liturgies in late Antiquity; the appearance of various types of daily service in addition to the traditional annual festivals with a greater prominence of using lamps, hymns and incense in pagan cult practices. He claims that, by the fourth century, blood sacrifice was not the dominating rite in cult practices anymore.[392] Indeed, daily divine service of bloodless form is attested in the cult of Asclepius, Zeus, Dionysus, Isis and Hecate. Libations of wine, incense, hymns and lamps were preferred among the more spiritual worshippers.

Julian was no doubt familiar with the debate on the matter of blood sacrifice and could have possibly benefited from identifying and accommodating the shifts which were taking place in the Empire by developing a bloodless cult in order to ensure a greater level of popularity and success. Julian offers no explanation for reviving blood sacrifice during his reign, although he does mention that performing a public sacrifice under a Christian emperor would be bold and confrontational. Sallustius offers justification derived from the Iamblichean tradition, stating that sacrifice is not for God's benefit, but for the people who perform the act. He also states that God should be repaid with offerings.[393] Ammianus and Libanius both commented on Julian's excessive sacrifices, remarking on the financial burden his ceremonies were becoming.[394]

One must also take into account the existing religious atmosphere of certain cities in relation to blood sacrifice. Julian's restoration of altars in Antioch resulted in the Christian populace removing them again, so the continuation of a traditional practice in certain places must have been intimidating, especially in larger towns and cities. Sacrificing publicly involved a fair amount of risk at this period in time. Places such as Carrhae and Gaza had virtually no Christian presence and adhered to traditional religion, but this was not the case elsewhere. Once again, it is very difficult to generalise about blood sacrifice in the Empire during Julian's reign, as it very much depends upon geographical location; differences were present at every level, east to west, and urban to rural.

---

[392] Nilsson, 1950, 96-111
[393] Sallustius 15-16
[394] Amm. 25.4.17; Lib. *or.* 12.80

Bradbury suggests that Julian may have decided to revive the practice because it was the one aspect of traditional cult the Christians found loathsome and as such, it provided a powerful tool of alienation and discomfort to the Christians.[395] Maximinus Daia, too, ordered all citizens to offer sacrifice. Julian's confrontation was unpopular even among pagan contemporaries. Generally speaking, communities were religiously diverse during the fourth century and on the whole, as already mentioned, Christianity and paganism peacefully co-existed. There was no real desire to force divisions where there existed some sense of unity.

Furthermore, civic notables were becoming less willing or able to fund traditional festivals along the same lines as earlier periods. Traditionally festivals were funded from three sources: sacred funds, civic funds and private benefaction. Sacred funds were a reliable source of revenue, but insufficient to cover the cost of sanctuary maintenance and festivals. Civic funds were allocated to assist, but still fell short of the sum necessary to stage festivals. Private benefaction, therefore, was relied upon heavily. Social prestige and the ability to ease financial burdens were important criteria in selecting pagan priests. This system lasted well into the third century until economic decline, barbarian invasions and military anarchy put a strain on civic life. Again, these factors varied between regions, but it would be fair to say that, when some level of prosperity began to return under the Tetrarchs, resources were still greatly reduced compared to the time before the crisis and public as well as private spending had to be curtailed.

Pagan priesthoods declined due to the fact that civic notables were less willing and able to provide financial assistance and civic and sacred funds were no longer available, thus placing greater financial burden on private benefactors. This reduction in resources meant that not all festivals could be funded and in some cases, not all elements (for example the costly practice of sacrifice) could be paid for. In addition, there seems to have been a gradual process of secularisation of civic life in the fourth century. Although there are accounts of sporadic conflict, some level of harmony had time to

[395] Bradbury 1995, 343

develop in the more diverse areas of the Empire between people of different races and religious beliefs. Whether this was brought about by the legislation of the Christian emperors who gradually removed pagan forms of worship from the official sphere is not clear. It was more likely the result of social interaction and the realisation of the need to adapt to the changes taking place.

Summary

Julian's failure to gain support for his religious policies becomes clear when examining the necessity he faced in maintaining the support of his troops. Immediately following his succession, he was preoccupied with trying to appease those he needed to be a successful leader. In realising the urgency with which he had to act in order to ensure the support of his army, he managed to alienate the senatorial classes whose support he also needed. From a social perspective, bearing in mind the limited nature of the available sources,[396] Julian's personal brand of pagan worship was met with hostility and indifference from Christian and pagan alike. His 'intellectual paganism' was not the same sort of paganism which the population of the Empire understood or identified with. Even in preceding centuries, intellectualised forms of worship had been confined to the realms of scholarly and philosophical circles. Furthermore, society generally appears to have become more secularised during the fourth century, possibly as a result of the restrictive Christian legislation having removed the aspects of pagan cult practice by which people defined their religion and quite likely due to the increasing dependence of cults upon local patronage, with these members of society being unable to maintain religious practice due to the financial burden of supporting local cults and festivities.

In addition, it could be said that Julian's fears regarding loss of patronage may have been well founded. The way in which the Antiochenes ridiculed Julian may well be explained by his own character and mannerisms, but it could also indicate a general loss of faith in emperors during the later fourth century. This could be true also of the Christian emperors and one cannot rule out the possibility of growing indifference,

[396] Confined to the east and, even further, to the city of Antioch specifically

apathy and even dissidence towards officials in the face of invasions, and general decline. People may not have associated the image of the emperor with security and protection any longer.

CONCLUSION

The diverse religious climate in the later fourth century becomes greatly evident when exploring the city of Rome and the province of Britain, both within these two locations and comparatively speaking. A wide range of evidence has been presented in order to gain as clear a picture as possible about the changes that were taking place to the extent and forms of worship existing in the later Empire. It is quite clear that the anti-pagan legislation of the Christian emperors from the defining Edict of Milan in 313 to the imperial decrees of Theodosius in 391 was not enforced evenly throughout the Empire and the emperors were reliant upon local officials to carry out their policies. In addition, the inconsistent nature of the legislation exemplifies the notion that before 391, there was no systematic attack on pagan forms of worship in existence, which could be the result of priorities shifting from one ruler to the next. It may also indicate that outlawing pagan practices was not a primary concern or a politically viable option for the rulers. There can be seen a progressively more proscriptive approach toward certain practices, in particular sacrifice and *superstitio*, however, other forms of pagan religious practice continued despite this.

With regard to Rome, there is definite evidence of gradual religious transformation but not necessarily a significant decline in pagan worship. The Codex Calendar of 354 provides evidence of pagan cult activities still occupying the prominent position in the Roman social calendar, with Christianity gaining enough momentum by the mid fourth century to have its own section for non-official Christian holidays. The restoration efforts made by certain members of the senatorial aristocracy, as well as the epigraphic evidence attesting to some being adherents to the Mithraic cult indicates not only a desire of notables such as Praetextatus and Symmachus to preserve the traditional religious buildings of Rome, but also the adaptability of pagan worshippers to align themselves with a cult previously not associated with senators. The motivations behind their actions are unclear; this may have been a gesture with political aims in mind, an open defiance to the growth of Christianity or a genuine religious act highlighting a possible renewal of enthusiasm for worship in the second half of the fourth century. One

gains a sense of tradition and transition co-existing in a fairly peaceful manner and mingling within the city of Rome. The gradual process of change is evident, as is the prominence of the long-standing religious institutions of the city of Rome which were important to the entire Empire.

In Britain, there is a wealth of archaeological evidence from Romano-British temple sites as well as funerary remains, which is useful in light of the scarce historical sources related to this period in the history of Britain. The decline in pagan worship at temple sites definitely appears to have come later in Britain than elsewhere in the Empire, such as in the east and in Gaul. In such areas subjected to the missionary efforts of bishops such as Martin of Tours, among others, the process of Christianisation was more thoroughgoing than the isolated isle of Britain. The apparent lack of successful Romanisation in Britain has been mentioned several times as an important factor in the continuity and revival of pagan practices in the province, when taking into consideration that the predominant type of temple to have been built was of the Romano-Celtic type and this type seems to have survived longer, particularly in rural areas. Two examples from Britain for worship of the Roman pantheon can be seen in the possible Bacchic scholae of London and Thetford. The survival to the end of the fourth century, and in some cases beyond, of pagan cult centres in rural areas could indicate a number of factors determining this pattern: it may be the case that economic decline in nearby towns created population movement to the countryside or even the increasing prominence of Christianity in urban centres could have forced pagans to the periphery.

Late fourth century burial practices in Roman Britain do not provide any conclusive evidence of an increase in pagan burial types, as the difficulty in determining a conclusive criteria to set apart Christian and pagan burials has become apparent. The orientation of graves does not define a burial as possessing a particular religious association, and the general trend of less grave goods in the later fourth century does not necessarily indicate an increase of Christian burial practice. Furthermore, the scarcity of grave goods makes these burial sites hard to date conclusively and stratigraphy is therefore heavily relied upon. There are obvious problems associated with this form of

dating as external factors such as plough disturbance can distort the findings significantly. The otherwise normal decapitated and prone burials (in some cases with grave furnishings, carefully placed in coffins and buried among other seemingly normal non-decapitated burials) seems to rule out the possibility of these being execution cemeteries which become more common in the early Anglo-Saxon period. The examination into burial practice has added very little to the enquiry into pagan continuity and revival as there are many plausible theories as to what this practice could indicate; a further study into the concentration of these burial types in the Upper Thames Valley may help to shed some light on the subject area.

Julian's pagan revival of 361-363 was examined in order to explore the extent to which his attempts to reverse the growth of Christianity impacted the Empire in the wider geographical context. It appears that his reign could potentially have impacted events in Britain and Rome indirectly, but again, there is nothing to confirm this conclusively. His short-lived reign made it difficult for him to implement religious policies fully, particularly when met with constant concerns of appeasing several sections of his support base. The hostility and indifference he encountered from pagans and Christians in Antioch provides some insight into the wider opinions of the pagan emperor and indicates, not only a dislike of him as a ruler, but perhaps of rulers on the whole during the later fourth century.

In general, it can be said that society had become more embracing of the transition than has previously been argued, possibly because Christians and pagans lived side by side in areas where overt religious practices such as sacrifice had come to an end due predominantly to economic decline and also partly due to the legislation of the Christian emperors, but this latter point can only be said of the places where the laws were enforced consistently. As a result of state spending being curtailed after the Empire never recovered to its former glory following the third century crisis, cults had started to decline, and rather ironically, had to be sacrificed by the state. While some people were hostile to this transformation, the majority seemed to be more embracing. One must not forget that the state and religion were intrinsically linked in the Roman Empire and the

decline of one implies the decline of the other. The wider picture shows decline in several areas aside from the state religion such as the economy and control over frontiers with increasing barbarian invasions. This does not necessarily mean that pagan worship declined, however. The state supported cults suffered as a result of this, but other forms of worship continued. As paganism was primarily an earth-based religion, the necessity for purpose built structures of worship is questionable. The continuation of votive offerings being left at springs throughout the Roman Empire indicates that, like other aspects of life during this time, religion was susceptible to change and could display some continuity, albeit in an altered form.

APPENDIX I

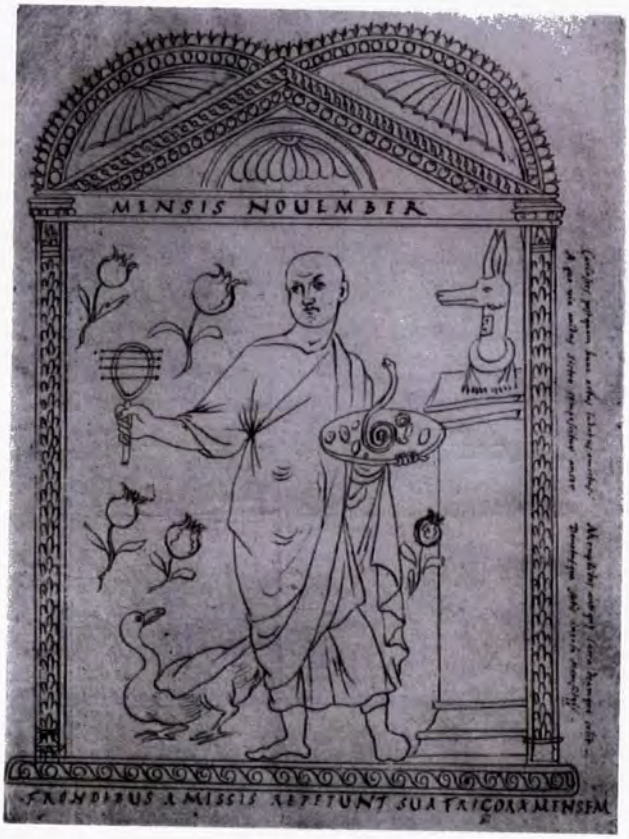
SELECTED IMAGES FROM THE CODEX CALENDAR OF 354 AD

March

April

July

September


MENSIS NOVEMBER
FRONDIBUS A MISSIS RETETUNT SUA TRICORA MENSEM

November

APPENDIX II

COINAGE OF JULIAN FROM THE SIRMIUM MINT DEPICTING TAUROCTONY

Julian II AE2.

Obverse: D N FL CL IVLIANVS PF AVG, diademed, draped & cuirassed bust right

Reverse: SECVRITAS REIPVB, Bull standing right, two stars above, BSIRM & wreath in exergue.

Sirmium, 362-3 AD.

APPENDIX III

SOME EXAMPLES OF THE DIFFERENT ARCHITECTURAL TYPES OF ROMANO-BRITISH TEMPLE

Fig. 1. Brigstock 1

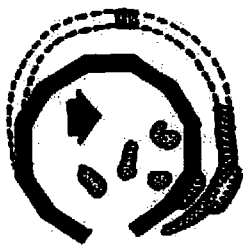


Fig. 2. Brigstock 2

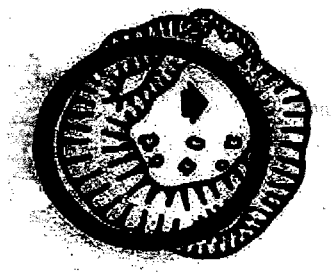


Fig. 3. Frilford 1

Fig. 4. Maiden Castle 1

Fig. 5. Woodeaton

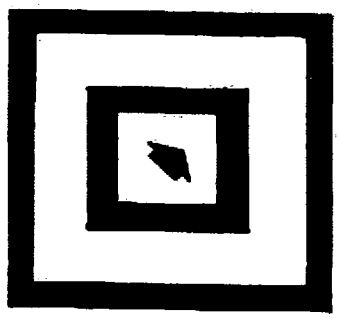


Fig. 6. Worth

Fig. 7. Pagans Hill

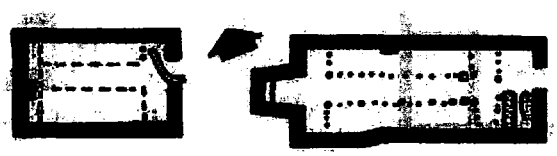
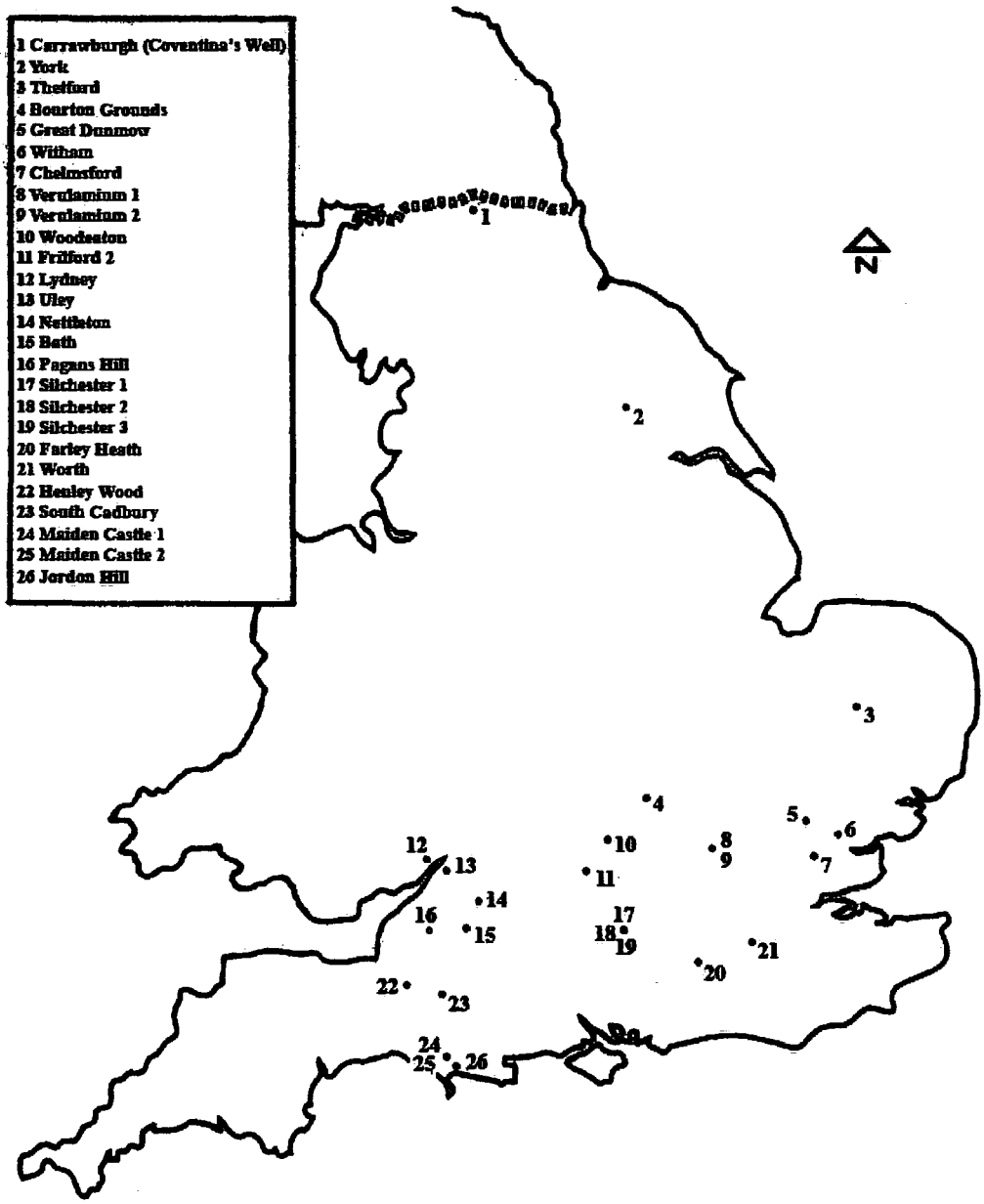


Fig. 8. Carrawbrugh Mithraeum

Lewis 1966

APPENDIX IV

MAP OF TEMPLES SHOWING EVIDENCE OF SURVIVAL TO 391 AD



Taken from Watts 1998, 41 (modified)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Ammianus Marcellinus. *The Later Roman Empire, AD 354-378.* Wallace-Hadrill, A (ed.) & Hamilton, W. (transl.). 1986. London: Penguin.

Ambrose. *Epistula ad Sororem.* The Latin Library [online]. [Accessed 9th September, 2007]. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/ambrose.html>

Epistulae Variae. The Latin Library [online]. [Accessed 9th September, 2007]. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/ambrose.html>

Arnobius. *Adversus Nationes Libri VII.* The Latin Library [online]. [Accessed 30th May, 2007]. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/arnobius.html>

Augustine. *Sermo de Vetere Testamento.* The Latin Library [online]. [Accessed 9th September, 2007]. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/ambrose.html>

Enematio in Psalmum. The Latin Library [online]. [Accessed 9th September, 2007]. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/ambrose.html>

Epistulae de libris de civitate dei. The Latin Library [online]. [Accessed 9th September, 2007]. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/ambrose.html>

Bede. *Ecclesiastical History of the English People,* Colgrave, B. & Mynors R. (eds.), 1969. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Caesar. *de Bello Gallico.* Perseus.Tufts. [online]. [Accessed 23rd July, 2007]. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0002>

Cassius Dio. *Roman History.* Cary, E. (transl.), 1914-1927. Loeb Classical Library, 9 volumes, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Cicero. *de Natura Deorum.* The Latin Library [online]. [Accessed 12th August, 2007]. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/cic.html>

The Codex Theodosianus. Medieval Sourcebook [online]. [Accessed 5th September, 2007]. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/codex-theod1.html>

Diodorus Siculus. *The Library of History, Volume 3, Books 4.59-8.* 1930. Loeb Classical Library No. 340, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Ephraem. *Carm. contra Iulianus.* Lieu, S.N.C., 1986. The Emperor Julian. Panegyric and Polemic, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Eunapius. *Vitae Philosophorum et Sophistarum.* Wright, W.C. (ed.), 1922. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Eusebius. *The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine.* Medieval Sourcebook. [online]. [Accessed 4th November, 2007]. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/vita-constantine.html>

Gildas. *The Ruin of Britain and Other Works.* Winterbottom, M. (ed. And transl.), 1978. Arthurian Period Series 7. London: Phillimore.

Gregory the Great. *Oratio Catechetica 3.* Mühlenberg, E. (ed.), 1996. Leiden: GNO 3/4.

The Holy Bible. King James Version [online]. [Accessed 5th September, 2007]. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.bartleby.com/108/>

Jerome. *Epistulae.* The Latin Library [online]. [Accessed 9th September, 2007]. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/jerome.html>

Julian. *Works of the Emperor Julian.* Wright, W.C. (transl.), 1913, 1919, 1923. Loeb Classical Library, 3 volumes, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Justin, St. *Apologia.* Barnard, L.W. (tranls.), 1996. St. Justin Martyr: The First and Second Apologies (Ancient Christian Writers). NJ: Paulist Press.

Lactantius. *Divinae Institutiones.* Radius, W. T. (ed.), 1959. Selections from Lactantius: Divinae Institutiones. With Introduction, Commentary and Vocabulary. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.

Libanius. *Oratio.* Early Church Fathers. [online]. [Accessed 19th September, 2007]. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/index.htm#Libanius_Oration_30_Pro_Templis>

Selected Letters of Libanius. Bradbury, S. (tranls.), 2004. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Autobiography and Selected Letters, I, II, Letters 51-193. Norman, A.F. (ed. & transl.), 1992. Loeb Classical Library No. 478, 479. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Lucan. *Pharsalia.* Online Medieval & Classical Library. [online]. [Accessed 17th March, 2008]. Available from World Wide Web: <http://omacl.org/Pharsalia/>

Lucretius. *De Rerum Naturae.* The Internet Classics Archive. [online]. [Accessed 17th March, 2008]. Available from World Wide Web: <http://classics.mit.edu/Carus/nature_things.html>

The Mabinogion. The Mabinogion Index. Lady Charlotte Guest (transl.), [online]. [Accessed: November 29th, 2007]. Available from World Wide Web: <www.sacredtexts.com/neu/celt/mab/index.htm>

Macrobius. *Saturnalia.* Lacus Curtius. [online]. [Accessed 23rd November, 2007]. Available from World Wide Web: <http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Macrobius/Saturnalia/home.htm>

Minucius Felix. *Octavius.* Octavius of Minucius Felix (Roberts-Donaldson). [online].[Accessed 12th December, 2007]. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/octavius.html>

Orosius. *Seven Books of History against the Pagans.* Bately, J.M. & Ross, D.J.A., 1961. A Check List of Manuscripts of Orosius 'Historiarum Adversum Paganos Libri Septem', Scriptorium 15.2.

Philocalus. *The Chronography of 354 AD.* The Chronography of 354 AD, Part 6. [online]. [Accessed 11th November, 2007]. Available from World Wide Web: <www.tertullian.org/fathers/chronography_of_354_06_calendar.htm>

Pliny the Elder. *Natural History.* Lacus Curtius [online]. [Accessed 11th June 2007]. Available from World Wide Web: <http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Pliny_the_Elder/home.html>

Plotinus. *The Enneads.* Dillon, J. (ed.) & McKenna, S. (transl.), 1991. Abridged Edition. London : Penguin.

Porphyry. *On Abstinence from Killing Animals.* Clark, G. (transl.), 2000. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Sallustius. *On the Gods and the World.* The Encyclopaedia of the Goddess Athena. [online] [Accessed 25th May, 2008]. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.goddessathena.org/Encyclopedia/Friends/Sallustius/index.htm>

Seneca. *On Clemency.* The Latin Library. [online]. [Accessed 4th June, 2007]. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/sen/sen.clem.shtml>

Sozomen. *Historia Ecclesiastica.* Christian Classics Ethereal Library. [online]. [Accessed 7th May, 2008]. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf202.toc.html>

Symmachus. *Q. Aurelii Symmachi quae supersunt.* Seeck, O. (ed.), 1883. Berlin: Monumenta Germaniae Historica.

Tacitus. *Annals.* Sacred Texts Online. [online]. [Accessed 16th July, 2007]. Available at World Wide Web: <http://www.sacred-texts.com/cla/tac/index.htm#section_000>

Germania. Sacred Texts Online. [online]. [Accessed 16th July, 2007]. Available at World Wide Web: < http://www.sacred-texts.com/cla/tac/index.htm#section_000>

Agricola. Sacred Texts Online. [online]. [Accessed 16th July, 2007]. Available at World Wide Web: < http://www.sacred-texts.com/cla/tac/index.htm#section_000>

Tertullian. *Apologeticum.* Tertullian. [online]. [Accessed 20th March, 2008]. Available at World Wide Web: <http://www.tertullian.org/works/apologeticum.htm>

De Corona Militis. Tertullian. [online]. [Accessed 20th March, 2008]. Available at World Wide Web: <http://www.tertullian.org/works/de_corona.htm>

De Idolatria Tertullian. [online]. [Accessed 20th March, 2008]. Available at World Wide Web: <http://www.tertullian.org/works/de_idololatria.htm>

De Spectaculis. Tertullian. [online]. [Accessed 20th March, 2008]. Available at World Wide Web: <http://www.tertullian.org/works/de_spectaculis.htm>

Theodoret. *Historia Ecclesiastica.* Church Fathers – New Advent. [online]. [Accessed 26th April, 2008]. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/2702.htm>

Zosimus. *Historia.* Tertullian. [online]. Accessed 24th March, 2008]. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/zosimus01_book1.htm>

SECONDARY SOURCES

Adams, G.W., 2005. *Romano-Celtic élites and Their Religion: A Study of Archaeological Sites.* Armidale: Caeros Pty Ltd.

Akerstrom-Hougen, G., 1974. *The calendar and hunting mosaics of the Villa of the Falconer in Argos: A study. in Early Byzantine Iconography.* Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Athens.

Alcock, L. 1966-7. 'Roman Britons and Pagan Saxons: An Archaeological Appraisal.' Welsh History Review, **3**, pp. 228-249.

Alfoldi, A., 1969. *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Allason-Jones, L. & McKay, B., 1985. *Coventina's Well. A shrine on Hadrian's Wall, Chesters.* Hexham, Chesters Museum: Trustees of the Clayton Collection.

Armstrong, A.H., 1990. *Hellenic and Christian Studies.* Aldershot: Variorum Publications.

Ando, C. 2000. *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Athanassiadi, P., 1981. *Julian and Hellenism. An Intellectual Biography.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Athanassiadi, P., 1999. *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Atkinson, R.J.C., 1953. 'Excavations in Barrow Hills Field, Radley, Berks. 1944-1945' *Oxoniensia,* **17** and **18**, pp.14–35.

Baldwin, B. 1975. 'The Career of Oribasius', Acta Classica, **18**, pp. 85–97

Baldwin, R., 1985. 'Intrusive burial groups in the late Roman cemetery at Lankhills, Winchester – a reassessment of the evidence.' *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* **4**(1), pp.93-104.

Bangley, B., 2005. *Butler's Lives of the Saints.* Orleans, MA: Paraclete Press.

Barnes, T.D., 1973. 'Lactantius and Constantine' *Journal of Roman Studies*, **63**, pp. 29-46.

Barnes, T.D., 1974. 'Who were the nobility of the Roman empire?' *Phoenix*, **28**, pp. 444-449.

Barnes, T.D., 1975. 'Patricii under Valentinian III' *Phoenix*, **29**, pp. 155-170.

Barnes, T.D., 1976. 'Imperial campaigns, AD 285-311' *Phoenix*, **30**, pp. 174-193.

Barnes, T.D., 1978. 'Emperor and bishops, AD 324-344: some problems' *American Journal of Ancient History*, **3**, pp. 53-75.

Barnes, T.D. 1984a. 'Constantine's Prohibition of Pagan Sacrifice' *American Journal of Philology*, **105**(1), pp. 69-72.

Barnes, T.D., 1984b. *Constantine and Eusebius*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Barnes, T. D., 1985. 'The Conversion of Constantine' *Echos du Monde Classique/Classical Views*, **4**, pp. 371-391.

Barnes, T.D., 1989. 'Emperors on the move' *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, **2**, pp. 247-261.

Barnes, T.D., 1994. *From Eusebius to Augustine, Part Two.* Aldershot: Variorum Publications.

Barnes, T.D., 1998a. 'Constantine, Athanasius, and the Christian Church' in Lieu, S.N.C. & Montserrat, D. (eds.), *Constantine. History, Historiography and Legend.* London: Routledge, pp. 7-20.

Barnes, T.D., 1998b. 'Constantine and Christianity: Ancient Evidence and Modern Interpretation' *Zeitschrift fuer antikes Christentum* **2**, pp. 274-294.

Barnish, S.J.B., 1988, 'Transformation and survival in the western senatorial aristocracy, c. AD 400-700' Papers of the British School at Rome, **65**, pp. 120-155.

Beard, M. & North, J. (eds.), 1990. *Pagan Priests*. London: Duckworth.

Beard, M., North, J., Price, S., 1998. *Religions of Rome Vol I: A History.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Beard, M., North, J., Price, S., 1998. *Religions of Rome Vol II: A Sourcebook.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bidez, C. 1965. *La vie de l'Empereur Julien.* Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Birley, E., 1961. *Research on Hadrian's wall.* Kendal: Titus Wilson.

Birley, E. 1978. 'The Religion of the Roman Army' *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* **II**(16.2), pp. 1506-1541.

Birley, E., 1986. 'The deities of Roman Britain' *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt II*, **18**(1), pp. 3-112.

Bloch, H., 1945. 'A new Document of the Last Pagan Revival in the West, 393-394 AD.' *Harvard Theological Review*, **38**, pp. 199-244.

Bloch, H., 1963. 'The pagan revival in the West at the end of the fourth century', *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, Momigliano, A. (ed.), Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Blumenthal, H.J. & Markus, R.A., 1981. *Neoplatonism and Early Christian Thought.* Aldershot: Variorum Publications.

Boas, M.I., 1961. *God, Christ and Pagan.* Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

Boissier, G., 1891. *La Fin Du Paganisme. 2 Volumes.* Paris: Hachette.

Bowersock, G.W., 1978. *Julian the Apostate.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bowersock, G.W., 1986. 'From Emperor to Bishop: The Self-Conscious Transformation of Political Power in the Fourth Century A.D.' *Classical Philology,* **81**, pp. 298-307.

Bradbury, S., 1994. 'Constantine and the Problem of Anti-Pagan Legislation in the Fourth Century.' *Classical Philology.* **89**(2), pp. 120-139.

Bradbury, S. 1995. 'Julian's Pagan Revival and the Decline of Blood Sacrifice' *Phoenix,* **49**(4), pp. 331-356

Bradford, J.P.S. & Goodchild, R.G., 1939. 'Excavations at Frilford, 1937-8' *Oxoniensia,* **4**, pp. 1-70.

Brauch, T., 1993. 'Themistius and the Emperor Julian' *Byzantion*, **63**, pp. 79-115.

Brewer, R., 1997. *Caerwent Roman Town.* Cardiff: Cadw Welsh Historic Monuments.

Brown, P., 1961. 'Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman Aristocracy.' *Journal of Roman Studies,* **51**, pp. 1-11.

Brown, P., 1998. *Late Antiquity.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Browning, R., 1976. *The Emperor Julian.* London: Weidenfield & Nicholson.

Buck, D. F., 1990. 'Some Distortions in Eunapius' Account of Julian the Apostate' *Ancient History Bulletin*, **4**(5), pp. 113-115.

Buck, D. F., 1993. 'Eunapius on Julian's Acclamation as Augustus' *Ancient History Bulletin*, **7**(2), pp. 73-80.

Bushe-Fox, J.P., 1914. *Second report on the excavations on the site of the Roman town at Wroxeter, Shropshire, 1913.* Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, **1**(2).

Cameron, A., 1966. 'The Date and Identity of Macrobius.' *Journal of Roman Studies,* **56**, pp. 25-38.

Cameron, A., 1991. *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire. The Development of Christian Discourse.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cameron, A., 1993. *The Later Roman Empire, AD 284-430.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Caseau, B. 1999. 'Sacred Landscapes'in Bowersock, G., Brown, P. & Grabar, O. (eds.) *Late Antiquity. A Guide to the Postclassical World.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. pp. 21-59.

Caseau, B. 2004. 'The Fate of Rural Temples in Late Antiquity and the Christianisation of the Countryside' in: Bowden, W., Lavan, L. & Machado, C. (eds.) *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside.* Late Antique Archaeology vol. 2. Leiden: Brill. pp. 105-144.

Casey, P.J. (ed.). 1979. *The End of Roman Britain.* Oxford: BAR Brit. Ser. **71.**

Cavendish, M., 1970. *Man, Myth and Magic: An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of the Supernatural.* New York : Marshall Cavendish Corp.

Chambers, R. & McAdam, E., 2007. *Excavations at Barrow Hills, Radley, Oxfordshire, 1983-5: v.2: The Romano-British cemetery and Anglo-Saxon settlement.*Oxford: Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph, **25**.

Chastagnol, A., 1960. *La prefecture urbaine a Rome sous le Bas- Empire.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Chastagnol, A., 1962. *Les fastes de la prefecture de Rome au Bas-Empire.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Chastagnol, A., 1994. *L'évolution politique, sociale et économique du monde romain, de Dioclétien à Julien. La mise en place du régime du Bas-Empire (284-363).* Paris: Sedes.

Chuvin. P., 1990. *A Chronicle of the Last Pagans.* Trans. Archer, B.A., Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Collingwood, R.G. & Myres, J.N.L., 1936. *Roman Britain and the English Settlements.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Collingwood, R.G. & Wright, R.P. 1965. *Roman Inscriptions of Britain.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Crummy, P., 1980. 'The Temples of Roman Colchester'. In W. J. Rodwell (ed.) *Temples, Churches and Religion: Recent Research in Roman Britain* Oxford: BAR. Brit. Ser. **77**, pp. 243-83.

Crummy, N., Crummy, P. & Crossan, C., 1993. *Excavations of Roman and later cemeteries, churches and monastic sites in Colchester, 1971-88.* Colchester Archaeological Report **9**.

Cumont ,F., 1956. *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism.* New York: Dover.

Cunliffe, B.W. & Davenport, P., 1985. *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath. Volume 1: The Site.* Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.

Curran, J., 1996. 'Constantine and the Ancient Cults of Rome: The Legal Evidence.' *Greece & Rome Second Series* **43**(1), pp. 68-80.

Curran, J., 2000. *Pagan City and Christian Capital.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dagron, G., 1984. *Constantinople imaginaire: Etudes sur le recueil des Patria.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Daly, L. J., 1971. 'Themistius' Plea for Religious Tolerance' *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* **12**, pp. 65-79.

Daly, L. J., 1980. 'In a Borderland': Themistius' Ambivalence Toward Julian', *Byz. Zeitschr.*, **73**, pp. 1-11.

Degrassi, A., 1963. *Inscriptiones Italiae - XIII: Fasti et Elogia.* Rome: La Libreria dello Stato.

Detsicas, A., 1983. *The Cantiaci.* Stroud: Sutton Pub. Ltd.

Dill, S., 1933. *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire.* London: Macmillan.

Dodds, E.R., 1965. *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety.* Cambridge: Cambridge University press.

Drinkwater, J., 1983. 'The 'pagan underground', Constantius II's 'secret service', and the survival and the usurpation of Julian the Apostate' in Deroux, C. (ed.). *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History Volume 3*, Brussels: Collection Latomus 180, pp. 348-87.

Drury, P.J., 1972. *Preliminary Report on the Romano-British Settlement at Chelmsford, Essex.* Caesaromagus. Essex Archaeol Hist. **4**.

Drury, P.J. 1980. 'Non-classical religious buildings in Iron Age and Roman Britain: a review, in Rodwell, W. (ed.), 1980. *Temples, churches and religion: recent research in Roman Britain with a gazetteer of Romano-Celtic temples in Continental Europe.* Oxford: BAR Brit. Ser. **77**(2).

Dumville, D. N., 1977. 'Sub-Roman Britain: History and Legend' *History*, **62**, pp. 173-192.

Eckhel, J.H., 1798. *Doctrina Nummorum Veterum.* Vienna.

Edbrooke, R.O., 1976. 'The visit of Constantius II to Rome in 357 and its effect on the pagan Roman senatorial aristocracy' *American Journal of Philology*, **97**, pp. 40-61.

Elsner, J., 1995. *Art and the Roman Viewer : The Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Errington, R.M. 2000. 'Themistius and His Emperors' in In: Chiron. *Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.* **30**, München, pp. 861-904.

Errington, R.M., 1988. 'Constantine and the pagans' *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, **29**, pp. 309-318.

Farwell, D.E. & Molleson, T.I. 1993. Excavations at Poundbury 1966-80. II: The Cemeteries. Dorchester: Dorset Natural History and Archaeology Society.

Fishwick, D., 1961. 'The Imperial Cult in Roman Britain' *Phoenix,* **15**, pp. 159-173.

Fowden, G., 1988. 'Between Pagans and Christians' *Journal of Roman Studies*, **78**, pp. 173-182.

Fowden, G., 1994. 'The Last Days of Constantine: Oppositional Versions and Their Influence', *Journal of Roman Studies*, **84**, pp. 146-170.

Frend, W.H.C., 1972. 'The monks and the survival of the East Roman Empire in the fifth-century' *Past and Present*, **54**, pp. 3-24.

Frend, W. H. C., 1992. 'Pagans, Christians, and the 'Barbarian Conspiracy' of AD 367 in Roman Britain', *Britannia*, **23**, pp. 121-131.

Frere, S. 1972-1984. *Verulamium Excavations, 3 Volumes.* Oxford: Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, **28**, **41** & Oxford university committees for archaeology monograph **1**.

Gatti, G. & Annibaldi, G., 1943-45. 'Il mitreo Barberini I: topografia e monumenti del luogo; II: il santuario mitriaco' *BCR*, **71**, pp. 97-108.

Geffcken, J., 1978. *The Last Days of Graeco-Roman Paganism.* Amsterdam: North-Holland.

Gilliard, F.D., 1964. 'Notes on the Coinage of Julian the Apostate' *Journal of Roman Studies*, **54**, pp. 135-36.

Glover, T.R., 1929. *The influence of Christ in the Ancient World.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grant, F.C. 1953. *Hellenistic Religions: the age of syncretism.* Indiana: Bobbs-Merrill.

Green, M.J., 1976. *The Religions of Civilian Roman Britain.* Oxford: BAR Brit. Ser. **24.**

Green, M.J., 1986. 'The Iconography and Archaeology of Romano-British Religion.' *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt II* **18**(1), pp. 113-62.

Green, M.J., 1989. *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend.* London: Thames & Hudson.

Griffith, A.B., 2000. 'Mithraism in private and public lives of the 4th-c. senators in Rome' **Vol. I**, [Accessed 19th April, 2008], Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.uhu.es/ejms/papers.htm>

Grimes, W.F. 1944. 'Excavations at Stanton Harcourt 1940' *Oxoniensia* **8** and **9**, pp. 19-63.

Haarhoff, T.J., 1958. *Schools of Gaul: A Study of Pagan and Christian Education in the Last Century of the Western Empire.* Johannesburg: Witwatersand University Press.
Henig, M. & King, A. (eds.), 1986. Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire. Oxford: Committee for Archaeology Monograph **8**.

Harman, M., Molleson, T.I. & Price, J.L., 1981. 'Burials, bodies and beheadings in Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries' *Bulletin of the British Museum Natural History (Geol.)*, **35**(3), pp. 145-188.

Henig, M., 1984. *Religion in Roman Britain*. NY: St. Martin's Press.

Hopkins, K., 1999. *A World Full of Gods: pagans, Jews and Christians in the Roman Empire*. London: Weidenfield & Nicholson.

Horne P.D., 1981. 'Romano-Celtic temples in the third century' in King, A. & Henig, M. (eds.), *The Roman West in the Third Century i*, Oxford: BAR Int. Ser. **109**(i), pp. 21-6.

Horne P.D. 1986. 'Roman or Celtic temples ? : a case study' in Henig, M. & King, A. (eds.), *Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire*. Oxford: Committee for Archaeology Monograph **8**, pp. 15-24.

Hull, M.R., 1958. '*Roman Colchester*' London: Soc. of Ant. Research Report **20**.

Humphries, M., 2003. 'Roman Senators and Absent Emperors in Late Antiquity' *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*, **17** (3), pp. 27-46.

Hunt, E.D., 1993. 'Christianising the Roman Empire: The Evidence of the Code' in Harries, J. and Wood, I. (ed.), *The Theodosian Code*. NY: Cornell University Press. pp. 143-58.

Hunt, E.D., 1977. 'Review: From Dalmatia to the Holy Land: Jerome and the World of Late Antiquity' *The Journal of Roman Studies*, **67**, pp. 166-171.

Johns & Potter, 1983. *The Thetford Treasure*. London: The British Museum Press.

Jones, A.H.M., 1964. *The Later Roman Empire 284–602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey, 2 Volumes*. Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press.

Jones, A.H.M., Martindale, J.R. & Morris, J., 1971. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire: Volume 1 A.D. 260-395*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kaegi, W., 1966. 'The Fifth Century Twilight of Byzantine Paganism' *Classica et Medievalia*, **27**, pp. 243-75.

Kaegi, W., 1967. 'Domestic Military Problems of Julian the Apostate' *Byzantinische Forschungen*, **2**, pp. 247-64.

Kaegi, W. 1993. 'An Investigation of the Emperor Julian' *The Ancient World*, **24**(1) , pp. 45-53.

Kahlos, M. 2002. *Vettius Agorius Praetextatus - A Senatorial Life in Between*. Rome: Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae no. 26.

Kartsonis, A.D., 1986. *Anastasis: The Making of an Image*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Koethe, H., 1933. 'Die Keltischen Rund- und Vieleck-tempel der Kaiserzeit' *Bericht der Rom-Germ Kommission*, **23**, pp. 10-108.

Labriolle, P., 1948. *La Reaction Paienne.* Paris: L'Artisan du livre.

Laistner, M.L.W., 1951. *Christianity and pagan culture in the later Roman Empire.* NY: Cornell University Press.

Lanciani, R., 1892. *Pagan and Christian Rome.* London: Macmillan.

Lancon, B., 2001. *Rome in Late Antiquity: AD 313 – 604.* London: Routledge.

Lane Fox, R., 1988. *Pagans and Christians.* London: HarperCollins.

Larsen, C.S. 1999. *Bioarchaeology: Interpreting Behavior from the Human Skeleton.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lee, A.D., 2000. *Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity.* London: Routledge.

Leech, R. 1986. 'The excavation on Lamyatt Beacon, Somerset' *Britannia* Vol. **17**, pp.259-328.

Lenski, N. 2000. 'The Election of Jovian and the Role of the Late Imperial Guards' *Klio,* **82**, pp. 492-515.

Lewis, M.J.T., 1966. *Temples in Roman Britain.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Liebeschuetz, J.H.W.G., 1979. *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lim, R., 1995. *Public Disputation, Power, and Social Order in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press.

MacCormack, S., 1981. *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

MacMullen, R., 1964. 'Social mobility and the Theodosian Code.' *Journal of Roman Studies,* **54**, pp. 49-53.

MacMullen, R., 1981. *Paganism in the Roman Empire.* Newhaven: Yale University Press.

MacMullen, R., 1984. *Christianising the Roman Empire.* Newhaven: Yale University Press.

MacMullen, R., 1997. *Christianity and Paganism in the fourth to eighth centuries.* Newhaven, Yale University Press.

Mango, C., 1963. 'Antique statuary and the Byzantine beholder' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* **17**, pp. 55-75.

Martin, L.H., 1989. 'Roman Mithraism and Christianity', *Numen* **37**, pp. 2-15.

Mathisen, R.W., 1989. *Ecclesiastical Factionalism and Religious Controversy in Fifth Century Gaul.* Washington: Catholic University of America.

Matthews, C.L., 1981. 'A Romano-British Cemetery at Dunstable' *Bedfordshire Archaeology Journal*, **15**, pp. 1-73.

Matthews, J.F., 1975. *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court A.D. 364-425.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Metcalf, P. 1991. *Celebrations of Death. The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McCormick, M., 1986. *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West.* NY: Cambridge University Press.

Merkelbach, R., 1984. *Mithras.* Main: Konigstein.

Millar, F. 1983. 'Empire and City, Augustus to Julian: Obligations, Excuses and Status' *Journal of Roman Studies*, **73**, pp. 76-96

Momigliano, A., 1963. *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mommsen, T. (ed.), 1892. *Monumenta Germania Historica Auctorum Antiquissimorum, Volume 9.* Berlin: Weidmannos.

Gordon, A.E. & Jansen, U. (eds.). 2006. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.* Vol. VI: Inscriptiones Urbis Romae. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Morris, I., 1992. *Death-ritual and social structure in classical antiquity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Muckelroy, K. W., 1976. 'Enclosed Ambulatories in Romano-Celtic Temples in Britain.' *Britannia*, Vol. 7. pp. 173-191.

Nicholson, O., 1994. 'The 'Pagan Churches' of Maximinus Daia and Julian the Apostate.' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, **45**, pp. 1-10.

Nillson, M.P., 1950. 'Lampen und Kerzen im Kult der Antike' *Opuscula archaeologica,* **6**, pp. 96-111.

Nock, A.D., 1933. *Conversion.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Novak, David M., 1979. 'Constantine and the Senate: An Early Phase of the Christianization of the Roman Aristocracy' *Ancient Society*, **10**, pp. 271-310.

O'Donnell, J. J., 1979. 'The Demise of Paganism.' *Traditio.* **35**, pp. 45-88.

Paschoud, F., 1967. 'Roma Aeterna: études sur le patriotisme romain dans l'occident latin a l'époque des grandes invasions' *Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana,* **7**, pp. 14-15.

Petit, P. 1955. *Libanius et la vie municipale a Antioch au IVe siecle apres J.-C.* Paris: P. Geuthner.

Phillips, C.R., 1986. 'The Sociology of Religious Knowledge in the Roman Empire to AD 284.' *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt,* **2**(16/3), pp. 2677-2773.

Philpott, R., 1991. *Burial Practices in Roman Britain. A survey of grave treatment and furnishing, A.D. 43-410.* Oxford: BAR Brit. Ser. **219**.

Piganiol, A., 1972. *L'Empire chretien.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Potter, D.S. *The Roman Empire at Bay AD180-395.* London: Routledge.

Rahtz, P., 1977. 'Late Roman cemeteries and beyond' in Reece, R. (ed.), *Burial in the Roman World,* London: C.B.A. Res. Rep. 22, pp. 53-64.

Rahtz, P. & Watts, L., 1979. 'The End of Roman Temples in the West of Britain' in Casey, P.J. (ed.), *The End of Roman Britain.* Oxford: BAR Brit. Ser. 71, pp. 183-202.

Rahtz, P. & Watts, L. 1991. 'Pagans Hill Revisited' *Archaeological Journal,* **146**, pp. 330-71.

Rahtz. 1992. *Cadbury Congresbury 1968-73: a late/post Roman hilltop settlement in Somerset.* Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, Oxford: BAR Brit. ser. **223**.

Rahtz P., 2000. *Cannington cemetery : excavations 1962-3 of prehistoric, Roman, post-Roman, and later features at Cannington Park Quarry, near Bridgwater, Somerset.* London: Society for the promotion of Roman studies, Britannia monograph series **17**.

Rich, J. (ed.). 1992. *The City in Late Antiquity.* London: Routledge.

Rodwell, W. (ed.), 1980. *Temples, churches and religion: recent research in Roman Britain with a gazetteer of Romano-Celtic temples in Continental Europe.* Oxford: BAR Brit. Ser. 77(2).

Ross, A., 1967. *Pagan Celtic Britain.* NY: Columbia University Press.

Russell, N. & Ward, B., 1981. *Lives of the Desert Fathers: The Historia Monachorum in Aegypto.* Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications.

Salway, P., 1981. *Roman Britain.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Salzman, M.R., 1987. ''Superstitio' in the "Codex Theodosianus" and the Persecution of Pagans.' *Vigiliae Christianae,* **41**(2), pp. 172-188

Salzman, M.R., 1990. *On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Salzman, M.R., 1992. 'How the West was Won: The Christianization of the Roman Aristocracy in the West in the Years after Constantine,' in Deroux, C. (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History,* 6. Brussels: Collection Latomus 180, pp.451-79.

Sauer, E., 1996. *The end of paganism in the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire. The example of the Mithras cult.* Oxford: BAR Int. Ser. 634.

Sauer, E., 1996. 'An inscription from northern Italy, the Roman temple complex in Bath, and Minerva as a healing goddess in Gallo-Roman religion.' *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, **15**(1), pp. 63-93.

Sauer, E., 2005. *Coins, cult and cultural identity: Augustan coins, hot springs and the early Roman baths at Bourbonne-les-Bains.* Leicester: Leicester Archaeology Monographs 10.

Sauer, E., 2008. *Religious Rituals at Springs in the Late Antique and Early Medieval World.* Unpublished.

Seeck, O., 1906. *Die Briefe des Libanius zeitlich geordnet.* Leipzig: Teubner.

Smith, R., 1995. *Julian's Gods.* London: Routledge.

Sparey-Green, C., 2003. 'Where are the Christians? Late Roman Cemeteries in Britain' in Carver, M. (ed.). *The cross goes north : processes of conversion in northern Europe, AD 300-1300.* York: Woodbridge.

Stern, H., 1953. *Le Calendrier de 354. Etude sur son texte et sur ses illustrations.* Paris: Guenther.

Stevenson, J., 198. *A New Eusebius.* London: SPCK.

Storch, R. H., 1970. 'The Trophy and the Cross: Pagan and Christian Symbolism in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries', *Byzantion*, **40**, pp. 105-117.

Thompson, E.A. 1947. *The Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Toynbee, A.J., 1953. *The World and the West.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Trinkaus, K.M. 1984. 'Mortuary Ritual and Mortuary Remains' *Current Anthropology*, **25**(5), pp. 674-679.

Trombley, F.R., 1993-4. *Hellenic Religion and Christianization c. 370-529. In Two Volumes.* Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Turner, R. 1999. *Excavations of an Iron Age settlement and Roman religious complex at Ivy Chimneys, Witham, Essex 1978-83.* East Anglian Archaeology 88.

Van der Horst, P.W., 1994. *Hellenism, Judaism and Christianity: essays on their interaction.* Netherlands: Kok Pharos.

Vanderspoel, J., 1998. 'Julian and the Mithraic Bull', *Ancient History Bulletin*, **12**(4), pp. 113-119.

Vermaseren, M.J., 1955. 'The New Mithraic Temple in London' *Numen* **2**(1/2), pp. 139-145.

Vermaseren, M.J., 1982. *Corpus Cultus Cybelae* Attidisque, 2, Leiden.

Wacher, J., 1995. *The towns of Roman Britain.* London: Batsford.

Ward-Perkins, B. 1984. *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages Public Building in Northern and Central Italy, Ad 300-850.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Watts, D., 1991. *Christians and Pagans in Roman Britain.* London: Routledge.

Watts, D., 1998. *Religion in Late Roman Britain: Forces of Change.* London: Routledge.

Webster, L. & Backhouse, J.(eds.), 1991. *The Making of England. Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600-900.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Wedlake, W.J., 1982. *The Excavation of the Shrine of Apollo at Nettleton, Wiltshire, 1956-1971,* W. J. Wedlake, Dorking: Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, **40**.

Weitzmann, K. 1977. *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination.* NY: George Brazillier.

Welch, M. G., 1971. 'Late Romans and Saxons in Sussex' *Britannia*, **2**, pp. 232-237.

Wheeler, R.E.M., 1928. 'The Roman amphitheatre at Caerleon, Monmouthshire' *Archaeologia*, **78**, pp. 111-218.

Wheeler, R.E.M. & Wheeler, T.V., 1932. *Report on the Excavations of the Prehistoric, Roman and Post-Roman Site in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wheeler, R.E.M., 1943. *Maiden Castle, Dorset.* Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 12.

Wickenden, N.P., 1988. *Excavations at Great Dunmow, Essex: a Romano-British. Small Town in the Trinovantian Civitas.* East Anglian. Archaeology, 41.

Wildwinds. [online]. [Accessed 5th May, 2008]. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/julian_II/_sirmium_RIC_105.jpg>

Wissowa, G., 1912. *Religion und Kultus der Romer.* Munich: Beck.

Wood, I., 1984. '*The End of Roman Britain: Continental Evidence and Parallels*' Lapidge, M. & Dumville, D. N. (eds.), *Gildas. New Approaches*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-22.

Wood, I., 1987. 'The Fall of the Western Empire and the End of Roman Britain' *Britannia*, **18**, pp. 251-262.

Woods, D. 2000. 'Julian, Gallienus, and the Solar Bull' *American Journal of Numismatics*, **12**, pp. 157-169.

Woodward, A. & Leach, P.E., 1993. *The Uley shrines : excavation of a ritual complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire, 1977-9*, London: English Heritage in association with British Museum Press, *Archaeological report - Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England* 17.

Woodward, P.J., Davies, S.M. & Graham, A.H., 1993. *Excavations at the Old Methodist Chapel and Greyhound Yard, Dorchester, 1981-1984* Dorchester: Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society Monograph Series 12.

Wormald, P., 1976. 'The Decline of the Western Empire and the Survival of Its Aristocracy' *The Journal of Roman Studies*, **66**, pp. 217-226.

DUNELM