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Pietas and *impietas* as the characteristics of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ citizens and politicians in Rome during the decline of the Republic

Abstract: The article discusses the use of religious elements (the contrast between the concepts of *pietas* vs. *impietas*) in the characterisation of Roman politicians and citizens during the declining years of the Republic. *Pietas* symbolised people possessing virtues of divine character, which, consequently, ensured their exceptional position. Accusations of *impietas* covered a number of cases of violation of religious regulations: inter alia, negligence of rites or sacrifices (*neglegentia*), profanation of worship or a sacred place, encroaching on or destruction of temples (*templa, aedes, fana, sacella*), places (e.g. groves – *luci*) or objects (e.g. altars – *arae*, statues – *simulacra*) recognised as holy, as well as tombs (*violatio*), *sacrilegium* (sacrilege), violation of the principles of *divinatio* (*contra auspicia*), as well as waging a war contrary to religious principles (*bellum impium*).

Keywords: decline of the Roman Republic, Roman religion, *viri boni – viri mali*, *pietas – impietas*

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A characteristic manifestation of the political situation in Rome during the decline of the Republic is the increasing role of propaganda, which became the main form of communication between the ruling groups and society, the mode of shaping broad public opinion, influencing the course of voting at the assemblies, passing on ideology, etc. The use of propaganda also enabled the implementation of the immediate goals of individuals or groups fighting for power.¹ Diverse forms of political agitation and campaigning were used for the purpose. Propaganda activities were conducted in the streets, during religious feasts and celebrations, theatrical shows, *ludi* and gladiatorial games, through political publications, propagation of symbols and ideas in the coinage, in works of art, at construction sites, etc.²

The dominant role, however, was still played by speeches delivered at meetings, in the Senate and in courts.³ Their objective was not only to present one's own arguments but also to discredit opponents.⁴ The following juxtaposition was used: *viri boni* were politicians active for the good of the Republic and society, and *viri mali* – people whose objective was to act to the detriment of the state.⁵

¹ E. Flaig, *Entscheidung und Konsens. Zu den Feldern der politischen Kommunikation zwischen Aristokratie und Plebs*, in: *Demokratie in Rom? Die Rolle des Volkes in der Politik der römischen Republik*, hrsg. M. Jehne, Stuttgart 1995, pp. 77–127; H. I. Flower, *Consensus and community in republican Rome*, 20th Todd Memorial Lecture, Sydney 2014, pp. 1–35.

² Ch. Döbler, *Politische Agitation und Öffentlichkeit in der späten Republik*, Frankfurt am Main 1999 (Kapitel I: *Politische Topographie der römischen Öffentlichkeit*), pp. 18–167.

³ *Community and communication: Oratory and politics in republican Rome*, eds. C. Steel, H. van der Blom, Oxford 2013 (i.a. M. Jehne, *Feeding the plebs with words: The significance of senatorial public. Oratory in the small world of Roman politics*, pp. 49–62; H. I. Flower, *Beyond the contio: Political communication in the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus*, pp. 85–100).

⁴ K. J. Hölkeskamp, *Oratoris maxima scaena: Reden vor dem Volk in der politischen Kultur der Republik*, in: *Demokratie in Rom? Die Rolle des Volkes in der Politik der römischen Republik*, hrsg. M. Jehne, Stuttgart 1995, pp. 11–49; F. Pina Polo, *Contra arma verbis. Der Redner vor dem Volk*, Stuttgart 1996; R. Morstein-Marx, *Mass oratory and political power in the late Roman Republic*, Cambridge 2004.

⁵ 'Vir bonus'. *Un modello ermeneutico della riflessione giuridica antica*, ed. A. Lovato, Incontro di studio Trani, 28–29 ottobre 2011, Bari 2013 (i.a. G. Falcone, *L'attribuzione della qualifica 'vir bonus' nella prassi giudiziaria d'età repubblicana. Con un'Appendice su*

All propaganda means were used on these occasions, including religious factors. In the first half of the 1st century BC, there was a certain crisis of traditional religion, signs of skepticism being observable among the upper classes of society, especially among the intellectual elites.⁶ However, the recent literature stresses that during that period there was a noticeably increased interest in religious matters as well as the appearance of new elements both in religious ideology and in the forms of organisation of worship.⁷

This was also reflected in the sphere of propaganda. The prevalent view among scholars is that during the period in question religion was a part of public life dominated by politics: hence it was subordinated to political objectives in the sphere of propaganda.⁸ The use of religious references was a means aimed to facilitate the reception of political content by the general public, whose awareness and intellectual level were probably not too high. Among the lower classes, traditional religiousness and piety still prevailed, which was deliberately used for political purposes.⁹

'*optimus*', '*probus*', '*fortis*', pp. 39–90; C. Cascione, *Vir malus*, pp. 115–138). It appears earlier. Plautus and Terentius emphasize the differences in the social position of citizens.

⁶ J. M. A. Celada, *Crisis y decadencia de la religión romana en época tardorrepública*, "Studia Historica. Historia Antigua" 2012, vol. 30, pp. 51–70. Cf. A. Momigliano, *The theological efforts of the Roman upper classes in the first century B.C.*, "Classical Philology" 1984, vol. 79, pp. 199–211.

⁷ Inter alia M. Beard, J. North, S. Price, *Religions of Rome*, vol. 1, Cambridge 1998 (3: *Religion in the late Republic*), pp. 114–166; J. Scheid, *La religion romaine à la fin de la République et au début de l'empire*, in: *Die späte Römische Republik*, hrsg. H. Bruhns, J.-M. David, W. Nippel, Rome 1997, pp. 127–139.

⁸ L. Morawiecki, *Political propaganda in the coinage of the late Republic*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1983, p. 13: 'the so-called religious propaganda spread at the decline of the Roman Republic, was only part of the general political propaganda'. M. Beard et al., *Religions of Rome*, vol. 1, p. 134: 'As part of Roman public life, religion was (and always had been) a part of the political struggles and disagreements in the city'; cf. J. A. North, *Democratic politics in republican Rome*, "Past and Present" 1990, vol. 126, pp. 3–21 (17, notes).

⁹ This is confirmed by Cicero's words from *De divinatione* (II, 70): 'Retinetur autem et ad opinionem vulgi et ad magnas utilitates rei publicae mos, religio, disciplina, ius augurum, collegii auctoritas'. Cf. J. Scheid, *Religion et piété à Rome*, Paris 1985, pp. 17–22

Someone who exerted significant influence during the period in question, both in the domain of theory – philosophy, religion, political thought, etc. – and in public life was unquestionably Marcus Tullius Cicero.¹⁰ An excellent orator and politician, he was a master of political propaganda. His aim was not only to convince listeners to accept his arguments but at the same time to present opponents in the worst light possible.¹¹ Therefore, he often used the contrast: *virī boni – virī mali*.¹²

The most characteristic indications of the use of religious symbolism in Cicero's political propaganda are large-scale references to civic virtues (*virtutes*)¹³. To the orator (i.e. Cicero), *virtutes* were the traits that should characterise a good citizen (*vir bonus, vir perfectus*). These included *aequitas, clementia, dignitas, fides, honestas, iustitia, auctoritas, amicitia, virtus*, etc.¹⁴ Their opposites were the characteristics and activity of his political opponents. In his second oration *In Catilinam* he juxtaposes:

Ex hac enim parte pudor pugnat, illinc potulantia; hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum; hinc fides, illinc fraudatio; hinc pietas, illinc scelus; hinc constantia, illinc furor; hinc honestas, illinc turpitudine; hinc continentia, illinc libido; hinc denique aequitas, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia, virtutes omnes certant cum iniquitate, luxuria, ignavia, temeritate, cum vitiis omnibus; postremo copia cum egestate, bona ratio cum perdita, mens sana cum amentia, bona denique spes cum omnium rerum desperatione confligit.¹⁵

¹⁰ Out of the ample literature on Cicero, see i.a. M. Fuhrmann, *Cicero und die römischen Republik*, München–Zürich 1990; Ch. Habicht, *Cicero der Politiker*, München 1990; A. Everitt, *Cicero. A turbulent life*, London 2001.

¹¹ N. Jacob, *Öffentliche Kommunikation bei Cicero. Publizistik und Rhetorik in der späten römischen Republik*, Baden-Baden 2005.

¹² G. Achard, *L'emploi de boni, boni viri, boni cives et de leurs formes superlatives dans l'action politique de Cicéron*, "Les études classiques" 1973, vol. 4, pp. 207–221.

¹³ P. Kuklica, *Ciceros Begriff virtus und dessen Interpretation*, "Graecolatina et Orientalia" 1975/1976, vol. 7–8, pp. 3–23.

¹⁴ Cicero, *In Verrem*, II, 5, 115; *De imperio Cn. Pompei*, 36–46; *De domo sua*, 101. W. Görler, *Cicero zwischen Politik und Philosophie*, "Ciceroniana" 1900, no. 7, pp. 61–73.

¹⁵ Cicero, *In Catilinam*, II, 25.

A similar combination: *virī boni* – people distinguished by *virtus*, acting for the good of the state; *virī mali* – people without *virtus* were also used by Sallustius.¹⁶

Their use and importance was not only political but also religious, which was connected with new tendencies concerning the cult of *virtutes*.¹⁷ Personification and the cult of these ideas go back as far as the Period of Kings. The heyday of the cult of *virtutes* (virtues) was the 4th–2nd century BC, when most of the temples devoted to them were erected (inter alia *Concordia, Salus, Victoria, Ops, Spes, Fides, Libertas, Mens, Pietas*). Their development coincides with the beginnings of Roman imperialism as well as with the adoption of some Greek patterns. Like other deities, *Virtutes* had their own forms of worship: rites, sacrifices, festivities, etc.¹⁸

Their importance increased during the period of the Republic's decline, when politicians began to refer to these ideas on a large scale. Their new interpretations and applications also emerged. For eminent leaders/commanders laying the ground for their political power, references to *virtutes* and the cult of virtues became a crucial factor propagating their superhuman or even divine capabilities.¹⁹ The symbolism and references to *virtutes* were propagated by Sulla (inter alia *Felicitas, Victoria, Fortuna, Pietas*). His continuator was Pompey (inter alia *Victoria, Concordia, Pietas*).²⁰ The indisputably greatest innovator in this field was Gaius Julius Caesar, in whose propaganda the following appear: *Clementia, Libertas, Pax, Concordia, Victoria, Salus, and Pietas*.²¹

¹⁶ See: J. Korpanty, *Studia nad łacińską terminologią polityczno-socjalną okresu republiki rzymskiej*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1976, pp. 75–85.

¹⁷ C. J. Classen, *'Aretai' und 'Virtutes': Untersuchungen zu den Wertvorstellungen der Griechen und Römer*, Berlin–New York 2010, pp. 193–229.

¹⁸ J. R. Fears, *The cult of virtues and Roman imperial ideology*, ANRW, II, 17, 2 (Berlin 1981), pp. 827–948.

¹⁹ M. Jaczynowska, *La genesi repubblicana del culto imperiale da Scipione L'Africano a Giulio Cesare*, "Athenaeum" 1985, vol. 73, pp. 285–295.

²⁰ Cf. P. Jal, *La propagande religieuse à Rome, au cours des guerres civiles de la fin de la république*, "L'Antiquité Classique" 1961, vol. 30, pp. 395–414.

²¹ S. Weinstock, *Divus Iulius*, Oxford 1971, recognised Caesar as an innovator in religious policy. Cf. J. A. North's remarks, *Praesens Divus* (review of Weinstock, *Divus*

On the other hand, apart from irony, Cicero often introduced turns of phrase in his speeches that were meant to characterise his adversaries in pejorative terms and present their negative traits.²² In his speeches against Clodius, he refers to him *inter alia* as: *audax, belua, demens, furiosus, improbus, latro, pestis, perditus*, while his adherents are: *scelerati, furiosi, audaces, nefarii*.²³ Over a dozen years later he described Mark Antony as follows: ‘Tu ne verbo quidem violatus, ut audacior quam Catilina, furiosior quam Clodius viderere’.²⁴ Cicero repeatedly characterised Antony’s associates with pejorative terms that were supposed to show their ‘criminality and godlessness: *nefarii cives*,²⁵ *scelerati cives*,²⁶ *audaces, facinerosi*’²⁷, the result of which was to present Antony’s followers as *latrones*.²⁸

One of such forms of opposites invoking religious elements is the juxtaposition of concepts of *pietas* vs. *impietas*. The term *pietas* is usually translated as ‘piety, devotion’.²⁹ In his treatise *De natura deorum*, Cicero

Iulius), JRS, 1975, vol. 65, pp. 171–177 and Chapter 3.4: *Divus Iulius: becoming a god?* in the study: *Religions of Rome*, vol. 1, pp. 140–149.

²² A. Corbeill, *Ciceronian invective*, in: *Brills companion to Cicero: Oratory and rhetoric*, eds. J. M. May, Leiden–Boston–Köln 2002, pp. 197–217; *Cicero on the attack. Invective and subversion in the orations and beyond*, ed. J. Booth, Swansea 2007; I. Hammar, *Making enemies. The logic of immorality in Ciceronian oratory*, Stockholm 2013.

²³ F. Pina Polo, *Cicéron contra Clodio: el lenguaje de la invectiva*, “Gerión” 1991, vol. 9, pp. 131–150 (144–150: *Apendice: El vocabulario de la invectiva Ciceroniana contra Clodio*).

²⁴ Cicero, *Phillippicae*, II, 1,1.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, IV, 4, 9: ‘Quamquam ne ii quidem ipsi, quod loquuntur, id sentiunt nec ab iudicio omnium mortalium, quamvis impii nefarii que sint, sicut sunt, dissentire possunt’; VII, 1, 3: ‘Utrum igitur in nefariis civibus uiscendi’.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, XIII, 1, 1: ‘A principio huius belli, patres conscripti, quod cum impiis civibus consceleratis que suscepimus’.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, XII, 7, 15: ‘Quamquam ne ii quidem ipsi, quod locuntur, id sentiunt nec ab iudicio omnium mortalium, quamvis impii nefarii que sint, sicut sunt, dissentire possunt’.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, IV, 4, 9: ‘Quis illum igitur consulem nisi latrones putant?’.

²⁹ Greek: *eusebeia*. Cf. J. Liegle, *Pietas*, in: *Römische Wertbegriffe*, hrsg. H. Opperman, Darmstadt 1983, pp. 229–273 (= “Zeitschrift für Numismatik” 1932, vol. 42, pp. 59–100); H. Waagenvoort, *Pietas*, in: *idem, Pietas. Selected Studies in Roman Religion*, Leiden 1980, pp. 1–20.

defines it as: 'Est enim pietas iustitia adversum deos'.³⁰ It was manifested first of all in worshipping and in the absolute observance of religious rites and principles, which also regulated the forms of coexistence in society in the early period of Rome's history. This imposed a special interpretation of the term in question: the chief principle was obedience to, and worship of, the gods (*pietas erga deos*). The piety of the Romans was considered exemplary in the ancient world; Polybius recognised them as such, claiming that the Romans were superior to other peoples in this respect.³¹ Also Cicero maintained that: 'pietate ac religione atque hac una sapientia, quod deorum numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus'.³²

Of a somewhat different meaning and of a partly sacred character was obedience, observance of dictates and reverence within the family e.g. children's reverence towards their parents (*pietas erga parentes*), parents' reverence towards their children (*pietas erga liberos*), or the veneration of ancestors (*pietas erga maiores*).³³ A special religious and political form was obedience to, and veneration of, the state (fatherland) *pietas erga patriam*.³⁴

The cult of *Pietas* appeared probably in the 3rd–2nd c. BC, and it is associated, like the cult of other *virtutes*, with the beginnings of Roman

³⁰ Cicero, *De natura deorum*, I, 116. Cf. Cicero, *Topica*, 90; *De officiis*, II, 11. Cf. H. Fugier, *Recherches sur l'expression du sacré dans la langue latine*, Paris 1963, p. 331.

³¹ Polybius, VI, 56, 6–8. Cf. H. Dörrie, *Polybius über Pietas, Religio und Fides* (Zu Buch 6, Kap. 56), in: *Mélanges de philosophie, de littérature et d'histoire ancienne offerts à P. Boyancé*, Rome 1974, pp. 251–272.

³² Cicero, *De haruspicum responsis*, p. 19. Cf. J. Korpanty, *Pietas Romana*, in: *Studia Archeologica. Studies dedicated to Professor Janusz A. Ostrowski on his 60th birthday*, eds. E. Papuci-Władyka, J. Śliwa, Kraków 2001, pp. 189–196.

³³ R. P. Saller, *Pietas, obligation and authority in the Roman family*, in: *Alte Geschichte und Wissenschaftsgeschichte: Festschrift für Karl Christ*, hrsg. P. Kneissl, V. Losemann, Darmstadt 1988, pp. 393–410; J. Champeaux, '*Pietas*: piété personnelle et piété collective à Rome', "Bulletin Budé" 1989, vol. 3, pp. 263–279.

³⁴ P. Berdowski, '*Pietas erga patriam*': *Ideology and politics in Rome in the early first century BC. The evidence from coins and glandes inscriptae*, in: *Within the circle of ancient ideas and virtues studies in honour of professor Maria Dzielska*, eds. K. Twardowska et al., Krakow 2014, pp. 143–159.

imperialism.³⁵ In 191 BC, after the battle of Thermopylae with Antiochus III, M. Acilius Glabrio vowed to build a temple for *Pietas*. It was completed 10 years later in Forum Holitorium near Porta Carmentalis.³⁶ *Pietas* symbols also appear on coins. The M. Herrenius coin (109–108 BC) presents the head of the female deity wearing a diadem, ear-rings and a necklace with the word PIETAS, and on the reverse – an image of a male carrying an old man, related to the story about brothers from Catania, who carried out their father during Etna’s eruption, and the inscription M.HERENNI.³⁷

76–74 BC is the probable date of the inscriptions on two lead missiles (acorns) found in Spain (Navarra), featuring the words: Q(uintus) Sertor(ius) proco(n)s(ul) Pietas. F. Beltrán Lloris suggests that they referred to Sertorius’s propaganda connected with *pietas erga patriam*, resulting from his attempt to lend credence to his proconsulate and to oppose the Senate’s declaration recognising him as *hostis publicus*.³⁸

References to *Pietas* were introduced by the above-mentioned eminent commanders of the period of the Republic’s decline, inter alia by Sulla, Pompey and Caesar. As one of their *virtutes*, it evidenced extraordinary charismatic power.³⁹

An equivalent of *pietas* was the nickname *Pius*.⁴⁰ In the period in question the best-known personage is Quintus Cecilius Metellus Pius, *pontifex maximus* in 81–63 BC.⁴¹ He allegedly received his *cognomen* after he secured his father’s right to return to Rome from exile. On his coin of 81

³⁵ J. R. Fears, *The cult of virtues and Roman imperial ideology*, p. 864.

³⁶ Livius, 40.34.4; Valerius Maximus, 2,5,1. J. R. Fears, *The cult of virtues and Roman imperial ideology*, p. 865, thinks that it symbolized *pietas erga deos*. Cf. B. Pouille, *Sur la signification du temple de Pietas*, “Dialogues d’Histoire Ancienne” 1997, vol. 73, no. 2, pp. 125–137.

³⁷ M. H. Crawford, *Roman republican coinage*, vol. 1, Cambridge 1974, p. 317, no. 308/1.

³⁸ F. Beltrán Lloris, *La ‘pietas’ de Sertorio*, “Gerión” 1990, vol. 8, pp. 211–226.

³⁹ H. Kowalski, *Początki kultu wodzów i władzy charyzmatycznej w Rzymie w okresie późnej republiki*, “Klio. Czasopismo poświęcone dziejom Polski i powszechnym” 2014, vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 101–111.

⁴⁰ Th. Ulrich, *Pietas (pius) als politischer Begriff im römischen Staate bis zum Tode des Kaisers Commodus*, Diss. Phil. Breslau 1930.

⁴¹ G. J. Szemler, *The priests of the Roman Republic*, Bruxelles 1972, p. 129.

BC, beside the head of *Pietas* with a diadem, there is a stork symbolising the love of children. The reverse features the letters Q.C.M.P.I and an elephant, which refers to the killing of Hasdrubal's elephant in 251 BC by L. Cecilius Metellus.⁴² The nickname *Pius* was also borne by Sextus Pompey, son of Pompey the Great, and L. Antony, brother of Triumvir Mark Antony. This is evidenced by the coins with the representation of *Pietas*; in the Sextus Pompey coin the deity is shown as a standing figure with an olive branch in the right hand and a sceptre in the left.⁴³

In his writings and speeches Cicero often referred to *Pietas*.⁴⁴ She symbolised people who possessed virtues that were of a divine character and consequently endowed them with an exceptional position: the most frequent were *virtus* and *iustitia*. In addition, H. Fugier names the following: *conscientia*, *officium*, *dignitas*, and *honestum*.⁴⁵ Such people are, according to Cicero, *pii* and *boni viri*. In a letter to Atticus, he writes: 'bonus vir, gratus, pius denique in maximi benefici'.⁴⁶

This applied first of all to *pietas erga deos* and was connected with the religiousness of the Romans. In the treatise *De natura deorum* Cicero lists three principal components of Roman religiousness: *pietas*, *sanctitas* and *religio*.⁴⁷ The famous orator and philosopher explains the term *sanctitas* in

⁴² M. H. Crawford, *Roman republican coinage*, vol. 1, Cambridge 1974, p. 390, no. 374/1–2. n.

⁴³ Ibidem, vol. 1, 486, no. 477/1–3; p. 524, no. 516/1–5. Cf. K. Kopij, *Pietas in the propaganda of Sextus Pompey*, "Studies in ancient art and civilization" 2011, vol. 15, pp. 203–218.

⁴⁴ A list of references in Cicero: H. Merguet, *Lexicon zu den philosophischen Schriften Cicero's*, Bd. 2, Hildesheim 1961; idem, *Lexicon zu den Reden des Cicero*, Bd. 2, Hildesheim 1962. Cf. G. Emilie, *Cicero and the Roman Pietas*, "Classical Journal" 1944, vol. 39, pp. 536–542.

⁴⁵ Inter alia Cicero, *Pro Cluentio*, 42; *Pro Flacco*, 104; *In Vatinius*, 26; *Pro Plancio*, 3, 96, 98; *De oratore*, II, 46; II, 67; *De inventione*, II, 65–66; II, 70. For a complete list and commentaries, see Th. Ulrich, *Pietas (pius) als politischer Begriff im römischen Staate bis zum Tode des Kaisers Commodus*, p. 22. Cf. H. Fugier, *Recherches sur l'expression du sacré dans la langue latine*, p. 386.

⁴⁶ Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, IX, 11a, 3.

⁴⁷ Idem, *De natura deorum*, I, 3: 'quae potest esse pietas, quae sanctitas, quae religio? Haec enim omnia pure atque caste tribuenda deorum numini ita sunt'. More on Cicero's religious views: R. J. Goar, *Cicero and the state religion*, Amsterdam 1972; L. Troiani,

the following way: ‘sanctitas autem est scientia colendorum deorum’. Cicero adds here the duties of people towards gods: *cultus, honores, preces*.⁴⁸ The interpretation of the concept of *religio* is in turn based on Cicero’s famous statement: ‘religione, id est cultu deorum’. He names the following forms of worship: sacrifices, bird auguries, and interpretations of signs sent by gods.⁴⁹

The foregoing constituents of religiousness have corresponding equivalents used by Cicero: *pious, sanctissimus (sanctus), religiosus*. Characteristically, he describes the above-mentioned Quintus Cecilius Metellus Pius as *vir sanctissimus et summa religione ac modestia Q. Metellus Pius*. In addition to the term: *pious*, the expression *vir sanctissimus* is used.⁵⁰ The term *sanctissimus* appears repeatedly in Cicero’s writings. He also frequently used the phrase *vir sanctissimus*, both in a general sense and in reference to specific persons. In his speech, delivered to the people after his return from exile, Cicero calls his followers ‘sanctissimi homines pietate erga deos immortalis’.⁵¹ *Sanctissimi viri*, according to Cicero, also include Quintus Mucius Scaevola, Quintus Catullus, Aulus Torquatus, Marcus Terentius Varro, Lucius Lucceius, P. Nigidius Figulus.⁵²

La religione e Cicerone, “Rivista storica italiana” 1984, vol. 96, pp. 920–952; *Cicero and Roman religion. Eight studies*, eds. C. Beltrão da Rosa, F. Santangelo, Stuttgart 2020.

⁴⁸ Cicero, *De natura deorum*, I, 116. Cf. *ibidem*, I, 3: ‘quid est quod ullos deis immortalibus cultus, honores, preces adhibeamus’. The discussion is presented more broadly by: R. Muth, *Vom Wesen römischen ‘religio’*, ANRW, II, 16, 1, Berlin–New York 1978, pp. 290–354 (341).

⁴⁹ Cicero, *De natura deorum* II, 3, 8; *ibidem*, III, 5: ‘Cumque omnis populi religio in sacra et in auspicia divisa sit, tertium adiunctum sit, si quid praedictionis causa ex portentis et monstis Sibyllae interpretes haruspicesve monuerunt’. Cf. R. Schilling, *L’originalité du vocabulaire religieux latin*, w: *idem, Rites, cultes, dieux de Rome*, Paris 1979, pp. 30–53 (p. 40); R. Muth, *Vom Wesen römischen ‘religio’*, p. 338; J. Scheid, *Religion et piété*, pp. 129–133.

⁵⁰ Cicero, *Pro Balbo*, 50. Cf. *Pro Archia*, 9; *De oratore*, II, 167.

⁵¹ *Idem, Post reditum ad populum*, 18.

⁵² *Idem, Pro Sextio Roscio Amerino*, 33 (Scaevola); *Pro Plancio*, 12: ‘sapientissimo et sanctissimo viro’ (Katullus); *ibidem*, 27: ‘gravissimo et sanctissimo viro’; *In Pisonem*, 47 (Torkwatus); *Phillippicae*, II, 103 (Warron); *Pro Caelio*, 52; 54: ‘sanctissimo homini’ (Lukcejusz); *Ad Familiares*, IV, 13, 3: ‘P. Nigidio doctissimo et sanctissimo’ (Nigidius Figulus).

The use of the designation *religiosus* was of somewhat different nature. The term appears both in a positive and negative sense.⁵³ Cicero also used this adjective to describe deities, temples, places and objects. The expressions *vir religiosus* and *homo religiosus* also occurred.⁵⁴

The terms *pius*, *sanctissimus*, *religiosus* were also used by Cicero ironically in order to ridicule his opponents. In the thirteenth *Philippic* Cicero tries to discredit Mark Antony by referring to the phrases in his (Antony's) letter to Hirtius and Octavian: 'Tu porro ne pius quidem sed piissimos quaeris et quod verbum omnino nullum in lingua latina est, id propter tuam divinam pietatem novum inducis'. In his speech *In Verrem* Cicero addresses Verres: 'tu, homo sancte et religiose', and calls the latter's associates 'sanctissimi homines'. Also Clodius is 'homo religiosus, sanctus, pius'⁵⁵ in this ironic sense.

Pietas appears in Cicero's political propaganda also in reference to his mother country (*erga patriam*). In this sense Cicero contrasts it in the above-mentioned section of speech against Catilina: 'hinc pietas, illinc scelus'.⁵⁶ He also uses it with a similar meaning in the *Philippics*: 'Antonii igitur promissa cruenta, taetra... nostra contra honesta, integra, gloriosa, plena lactitiae, plena pietatis'; 'Quo maior adulescens Caesar (Octavian – H.K.) maioreque deorum immortalium beneficio rei publicae natus est, qui nulla specie paterni nominis nec pietate abductus umquam est et intellegit maximam pietatem conservatione patriae contineri'; 'Illi igitur impii, quos

⁵³ Nigidius Figulus in Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, IV, 9, 2: 'religentem esse oportet, religiosus nefas'. Cf. Festus, 348 L: 'Religiosus est ... deorum sanctitatem magni aestimans'. More: Schilling, *Vocabulaire*, 41 nn.

⁵⁴ Cicero, *In Verrem*, II, 1, 11; II, 1, 46; II, 1, 57; II, 4, 94; II, 4, 97 (*fana religiosissima*); *Pro Rabirio*, 7; *De haruspicum responsis*, 9; 11; 30 (*loca sacra et religiosa*). *Pro Caelio*, 55, *In Pisonem*, 28 (*vir, homo*). Cf. V. Sauer, *Religiöses als Argument im politischen Alltag der späten römischen Republik*, in: *Zwischen Krise und Alltag. Antike Religionen im Mittelmeerraum*, hrsg. P. Barceló et al., Stuttgart 1999, pp. 187–196.

⁵⁵ Cicero, *Philippicae*, XIII, 43; *In Verrem*, II, 5, 49. Cf. *ibidem* II, 2, 110; II, 3, 182; *De domo sua*, 105; 116 (Clodius).

⁵⁶ Cicero, *In Catilinam*, II, 25.

cecidistis, etiam ad inferos poenas parricidi luent, vos vero, qui extremum spiritum in victoria effudistis, piorum estis sedem et locum consecuti'.⁵⁷

In addition to irony, Cicero often introduced contrasts in his orations, which were to characterise his opponents and present their negative traits. A form of such an opposite of *pietas* is the term *impietas*. According to this orator and philosopher, *impius* = *adversus deos immortales* in the religious sphere. Equivalents of *impietas* are: *scelus* and *nefas* – violation of divine laws. Like *pietas*, it can apply to gods, fatherland, ancestors, parents, etc.⁵⁸ Its Greek equivalent was ἀσεβεία – ‘asebeia’.⁵⁹ The cases of *impietas* required taking special measures – both religious and also political.⁶⁰ Purification acts were performed by pontifices. These consisted inter alia in *instauratio* – repetition of incorrect ceremonies *lustratio* – a purifying procession, *piaculum* – propitiatory offerings, public prayers, holidays, games, etc.⁶¹

In Cicero's political propaganda, the terms *impietas* and *impius* are repeatedly used; one could even say that they were part of the constant repertory of pejorative epithets defining his opponents,⁶² who are called

⁵⁷ Idem, *Phillipicae*, VIII, 10; XIII, 46; XIV, 32. See also: XIV,6 : *summa militum pietas*. Cf. Ulrich, *Pietas (pius) als politischer Begriff im römischen Staate bis zum Tode des Kaisers Commodus*, p. 23.

⁵⁸ Cicero, *De officiis*, III, 28. Ae. Forcellini, *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*, T.III, Prati 1865, p. 401: ‘Impietas: sceleratus inhumanusque affectus adversus Deum, patriam, parentes, cosve, qui parentum loco sunt: et generatim scelus, fraus, peccatum’; pp. 402–403: ‘Impius: proprie est sceleratus, saevus, ferus, nefarius, non pius’. Cf. J. Hellegouar'h, *Le vocabulaire latin des relations et des partis politiques sous la République*, Paris 1963, p. 530; J. Scheid, *Religion et piété*, p. 22.

⁵⁹ *Thesaurus graecae linguae*, vol. 2, Paris 1931, pp. 2150–2152. A different term is used by Cornelius Nepos (Alcibiades, 6, 4), who, when writing about the profanation of Eleusinian festivities by Alcibiades, translates the term *asebeia* as *sacrilegium* rather than *impietas*.

⁶⁰ J. Scheid, *The expiation of impieties. Committed without intention and the formation of Roman theology*, in: *Transformations of the inner self in ancient religions*, eds. J. Assman, G. Stroumsa, Leyden–Boston–Köln 1999, pp. 331–347.

⁶¹ J. Scheid, *Le délit religieux dans la Rome tardo-républicaine*, in: *Le délit religieux dans la cité antique*, Rome 1981, pp. 117–171 (121–133, 151–157).

⁶² For a list of appropriate references, see H. Merguet, *Lexicon zu den philosophischen Schriften Cicero's*, Bd. 2, Hildesheim 1961, pp. 242–243; idem, *Lexicon zu den Reden des Cicero*, Bd. 2, Hildesheim 1962, pp. 602–603.

impii homines, viri, cives. Sometimes, to intensify their meaning, they are combined with other equivalents *scelerati, nefarii, perditii, periuri*.⁶³ Interestingly enough, Cicero also applied these expressions to refer to historical personages: '...impie Coriolanus, qui auxilium petit a Volscis, [...] nefarius Hippas, Pisistrati filius, qui in Marathonica pugna cecidit arma contra patriam ferens'.⁶⁴

Several categories of *impietas* can be distinguished:

1. Denial of the existence of gods.
2. Violation of religious rituals and ceremonies as well as sacred places and objects (these included: a) *neglegentia* – the term referred to the negligence of rituals and sacrifices.; b) *profanatio* – profanation of worship or a sacred place; c) *violatio* – the term denoted encroaching on or destruction of temples (*templa, aedes, fana, sacella*), places (e.g. groves – *luci*) or objects (e.g. altars – *arae*, statues – *simulacra*) regarded as holy; d) *sacrilegium* – theft (*furtum*) of objects dedicated to the gods (*res sacrae*) from a sacred place.
3. Introduction of new cults and deities and celebration of rites legally prohibited by the state.
4. Magic and sorcery.
5. *Contra auspicia* – failure to observe signs sent by the gods or violation of the principles of *divinatio*.⁶⁵

A separate charge was the waging of a war recognised as a *bellum impium*. Cicero writes that Tullus Hostilius ordered that any undeclared war

⁶³ Cicero, *In Verrem*, II, 1, 47; *Pro Sestio*, 9; *Pro Rege Deiotario*; 2; *Philippicae*, XI, 16; XIII, 1; *Paradoxa stoicorum*, IV, 31; *De officiis*, III, 37 (*scelerati*); *In Verrem*, II, 1, 6; *Post reditum ad senatum*, 18; *Philippicae*, IV, 9; XI, 6; *De officiis*, II, 51 (*nefarii*); *De natura deorum*, I, 63 (*periurii*).

⁶⁴ Idem, *Ad Atticum*, IX, 10, 3.

⁶⁵ More on the category of *impietas* see H. Kowalski, *Impietas w religii rzymskiej w okresie schyłku republiki*, "Res historica" 2002, vol. 14: "Graecorum et Romanorum memoria II", pp. 103–123. Cf. Th Mommsen, *Der Religionsfrevel nach römischen Recht*, „Historische Zeitschrift" 1890, vol. 64, pp. 389–402; J. Scheid, *Le délit religieux*, pp. 117–171.

or waged contrary to truces be regarded as unjust and godless (*iniustum esse atque inpium iudicaretur*).⁶⁶

Commanders who violated religious principles were referred to as *impius bellator*.⁶⁷ This most often concerned the non-observance of signs sent by deities or the violation of the principles of *divinatio*. In his *De divinatione* Cicero regards the ignoring of auspices (*auspicia*) as *impietas*.⁶⁸ In *De natura deorum* he lists the most spectacular examples of disregard for *auspicia*: Publius Claudius Pulcher, a consul of 249 BC, who, as the commander of the fleet in the Punic war, when the chickens that augurs used to perform *auspicia ex tripudiis* would not eat, which was a bad omen, ordered them to be thrown into the sea, saying ‘if they do not want to eat, they shall drink’, and then lost the battle; and Lucius Junius, co-consul of 249 BC, who, similarly, set sail contrary to the predictions of the augurs, and lost most ships of his fleet in the storm. They were both punished for that: Claudius was sentenced to death, and Junius committed suicide.⁶⁹ Also the consul of 217 BC, Gaius Flaminius, neglected to conduct auspices and prescribed offerings, and lost the Battle of Trasimeno Lake as a result, having been killed in it. This caused panic in Rome, compounded by the appearance of ominous *prodigia*. Consequently, after consulting the Sibylline Books, it was decided to take many propitiatory measures, including a special offering (*ver sacrum*).⁷⁰ During the period of the late Republic the best-known is the case of omens being ignored by M. Licinius Crassus before he set off for war against the Parthians.⁷¹

Other offences for which commanders were named *impius bellator* were *violatio* – destruction of temples, places or objects regarded as sacred, as well as *sacrilegium* – the theft of objects dedicated to gods or from

⁶⁶ Cicero, *De republica*, II, 31. Cf. *ibidem*, III, 34.

⁶⁷ F. Blaive, *Le mythe indo-européen du Guerrier Impie et le péché contre la vertu des femmes*, “Latomus” 1987, vol. 46, fasc. 1, pp. 169–179.

⁶⁸ Cicero, *De divinatione*, I, 4, 7.

⁶⁹ *Idem*, *De natura deorum*, II, 3, 7; *De divinatione*, I, 16, 29; II, 8, 20. Cf. Polybius, I, 49–51 (Claudius), I, 54 (Junius).

⁷⁰ Livius, XXI, 63; XXII, 1; XXII, 10; Cicero, *De natura deorum*, II, 3, 7.

⁷¹ Plutarch, *Crassus*, 16. Cf. M. Meulder, *Crassus Guerrier Impie*, “Ollodagos” 1995, vol. 8, pp. 123–142.

a sacred place. The best-known cases of temple plundering are the affairs of Pleminius – 204 BC, who plundered the temple of Proserpine in Locri (southern Italy), and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, who ordered the marble roof tiles to be taken off the temple of Hera *Licinia* in Croton in 173 BC.⁷² In both cases the Senate ordered the stolen objects to be returned and propitiatory offerings made.⁷³ The perpetrators were accused in trials, in which they faced the death penalty (Pleminius died in prison awaiting trial, and Fulvius hanged himself).⁷⁴

A special offence was the act of starting a civil war.⁷⁵ The sources unambiguously refer to this as *bellum impium, scelerum, nefandum*. The grounds are given by Cicero. In his work *De officiis*, written in 44 BC, he states, 'Secutus est qui in causa impia, Victoria etiam foediore non singulorum civium bona publicaret, sed universas provincias regionesque uno calamitatis iure comprehenderet'.⁷⁶ Victories in a civil war could not be awarded with *supplicationes, ovatio* and *triumphus*, because such a war is unpleasant to gods.⁷⁷ In his poem *Pharsalia*, the poet Lucan recognised gods as the driving force behind civil wars, proscriptions, and casualties suffered by innocent people.⁷⁸ Furthermore, in Tacitus's works the causes of civil wars are called *causa scelera*.⁷⁹ Cicero also emphasised that none of the

⁷² J. Wells, *Impiety in the Middle Republic: The Roman response to temple plundering in southern Italy*, "Classical Journal" 2010, vol. 105, no. 3, pp. 229–243.

⁷³ J.-M. Pailler, *Religio et affaires religieuses : de l'expiation du sacrilège de Locres à l'accueil de Cybèle, "Pallas"* 1997, vol. 46, pp. 131–146.

⁷⁴ Livius, XXIX, 8–9; 17–22 (Pleminius); XLII,3; 28. J. Scheid, *Le délit religieux*, pp. 138–139. Cf. I. K. Köster, *How to kill a Roman villain: The deaths of Quintus Pleminius*, "Classical Journal" 2014, vol. 109, no. 3, pp. 309–332.

⁷⁵ F. Santagelo, *Pietas y guerra civil*, "Auster" 2019, vol. 24, pp. 9–26.

⁷⁶ Cicero, *De officiis*, II, 27.

⁷⁷ P. Jal, *Les dieux et les guerres civiles dans la Rome de la fin de la République*, "Revue des études latines" 1962, vol. 40, pp. 170–200. Cf. C. H. Lange, *Triumph and civil war in the late Republic*, "Papers of the British School at Rome" 2013, vol. 81, pp. 67–90.

⁷⁸ Lucan, *Pharsalia*, VII, 447–448; I, 21; I, 135 (*bellum nefandum*). Cf. Jal, *Les dieux*, pp. 181–188.

⁷⁹ Tacitus, *Historiae*, II, 6, 4.

commanders during the previous civil wars – neither Sulla, nor Oktavius or Cinna sought the award of *supplicationes*.⁸⁰

Charges of *impietas* were a part of Cicero's permanent repertory used both in political as well as in court speeches. The orator not only accused his enemies of general *impietas*, but also of actions against the Roman religion and its gods. He regarded himself and his adherents as defenders of traditional values and religion, whereas the activity of persons who did not side with Cicero was impious and aimed to destroy the Roman gods, temples and cults. In the eighth *Philippic* he states: 'Nos deorum immortalium templa, nos muros, nos domicilia sedesque populi Romani, aras, focos, sepulchra maiorum, nos leges, iudicia, libertatem, coniuges, liberos, patriam defendimus; contra M. Antonius id molitur, id pugnat, ut haec omnia perturbe'.⁸¹

These traits characterised, inter alia, Verres, Catilina, Clodius, and Antony.⁸² The first of them was Verres. In addition to general epithets like *impius*, *nefarius*, *sceleratus*, specific accusations appeared. The most frequent were: *violatio* and *profanatio*. Cicero writes: 'Religiones vero caerimoniaeque omnium sacrorum fanorumque violatae, simulacraque deorum, quae non modo ex suis templis ablata sunt sed etiam iacent in tenebris ab isto retrusa atque abdita'.⁸³ The most serious charge was the violation of the sacred character of the temples of Athena (Minerva) in Athens, Apollo in Delos, Hera (Juno) in Samos, Artemis (Diana) in Perga, and of many others in Greece and in Asia Minor.⁸⁴ In Sicily, Verres profaned, inter alia, the temples of Ceres in Henna, of Diana in Segeste, and Hercules in Agrigentum

⁸⁰ Cicero, *Philippicae*, XIV, 22–24.

⁸¹ Ibidem, VIII, 8.

⁸² Cf. Hellegouar'h, *Le vocabulaire latin des relations et des partis politiques sous la République*, p. 530.

⁸³ Cicero, *In Verrem*, II, 1, 7; II, 4, 71: 'deos tota Asia Graeciaque violatos'; II, 4, 88: 'quod religiones maximas violavit'.

⁸⁴ Ibidem, II, 1, 45 (Athena), II, 1, 46 (Apollo), II, 1, 50–52 (Hera), II, 1, 54 (Artemida). Cf. II, 4, 71.

(Agrigento).⁸⁵ Verres was also guilty of *sacrilegium* – the theft of statues of gods from temples.⁸⁶

Another adversary presented by Cicero as *impius* was Catilina. Cicero described Catilina and his followers as adversaries of the ruling religion and gods, and also as destroyers of temples.⁸⁷ He represented himself in turn as the man who saved Rome and its temples from burning.⁸⁸ Cicero regards Catilina's conspiracy as *impia coniuratione, bellum impium ac nefarium*.⁸⁹ The tactic used by Cicero in his fight against Catilina and his followers was also based on invoking the support of immortal gods.⁹⁰ Its manifestations were calls to prayers and propitiations that the people should address to gods.⁹¹ A practical expression thereof were *supplicationes*, passed by the Senate.⁹²

Unquestionably, the most godless person and enemy of the Roman religion, according to Cicero, was Publius Clodius. In his speech *De domo*

⁸⁵ Ibidem, II, 4, 72–74 (Diana); II, 4, 107–109 (Ceres), II, 4, 94. For more, see: M.-K. Lhommé, *Verrès l'impie: objets sacrés et profanes dans le 'De signis'*, "Vita Latina" 2008, vol. 179, pp. 58–66.

⁸⁶ Ciceron devoted to them the fourth book of the second speech *In Verrem* titled *De signis*. Cf. A. Vasaly, *Representations images of the world in Ciceronian oratory*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1993, pp. 104–130.

⁸⁷ M. Meulder, *Catilina: un guerrier impie occulte?*, "Ollodagos" 2010, vol. 24, pp. 129–146.

⁸⁸ Cicero, *In Catilinam*, I, 2: 'Nunc iam aperte rem publicam universam petis: templa deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium, Italiam totam ad exitium ac vastitatem vocas'; III, 2: 'Nam toti urbi, templis, delubris, tectis ac moenibus subiectos prope iam ignes circumdatosque restinximus'; Cf. III, 22; IV, 2.

⁸⁹ Idem, *In Catilinam*, IV, 18; I, 33. Similarly: III, 16: 'belli nefarios duces'; I, 23: 'impio latrocinio'; *De domo sua*, 92: 'tantum homines impios ex vetere illa coniuratione inustum nefariis mentibus bonorum odium tenebat', *Pro Plancio*, 98: 'impium ferrum' (to describe the dagger, which Catilina allegedly consecrated to kill Cicero with it). Cf. *In Catilinam*, 16.

⁹⁰ Ibidem, II, 12; II, 15; II, 19; III, 1; III, 18; III, 22; IV, 1; IV, 3.

⁹¹ Ibidem, II, 29: 'Quos vos, Quirites, precari, venerari, implorare debetis, ut, quam urbem pulcherrimam florentissimamque esse voluerunt, hanc omnibus hostium copiis terra marique superatis a perditissimorum civium nefario scelere defendant'. Cf. III, 29.

⁹² Ibidem, III, 15: 'Atque etiam supplicatio dis immortalibus pro singulari eorum merito meo nomine decreta est'. On the occasion, honors for Ciceron were passe: 'quod urbem incendiis, caede civis, Italiam bello liberasset'.

sua he describes Clodius as ‘impurus atque impius hostis omnium religionum’. In the speech *De haruspicum responsis*, Cicero in turn states that Clodius allegedly boasted that the Senate had already passed 200 resolutions concerning his religion.⁹³

The next accusations of *impietas* against Clodius were about the disrespect for rituals and profanation of worship. In his speech *De haruspicum responsis* delivered in the Senate in 56 BC, Cicero states: ‘De religionibus sacris et caerimoniis est contionatus, patres conscripti, Clodius: P. inquam Clodius sacra et religiones negligi, violari, pollui questus est. Non mirum, si hoc vobis ridiculum videtur: etiam sua contio risit hominem, quo modo ipse gloriari solet, ducentis confixum senati consultis, quae sunt omnia contra illum pro religionibus facta’.⁹⁴

The most characteristic example from the period in question can be the case of violation by Publius Clodius of the sanctity and secrecy of the rite in honour of the Good Goddess (Bona Dea) in December 62 BC. As a result of this affair, the pontifices declared this a profanation of worship and a proposal for the resolution *de religione Clodiana* was brought to the Senate. The resolution provided for lodging an accusation on the grounds of ‘magna invidia et infamia caerimontiarum’. Eventually, he was accused under ‘quaestio extraordinaria de incestu’.⁹⁵

The next charge that documented P. Clodius’s godlessness was the desecration of the cult of Magna Mater and the *ludi Megalenses* devoted to her in 56 BC. When presiding over these ceremonies as an edile, Clodius let in slaves into the theatre during the *ludi scaenici*. Cicero recognised that this was a conscious and deliberate insult to the cult of Magna Mater, the more significant as the Claudius family had special relationships with this

⁹³ Cicero, *De domo sua*, 139; *De haruspicum responsis*, 8: ‘hominem, quo modo ipse gloriari solet, ducentis confixum senati consultis, quae sunt omnia contra illum pro religionibus facta’.

⁹⁴ Cicero, *De haruspicum responsis*, 8. J. C. Wells, *De religionibus sacris et caerimoniis est contionatus: Piety and public life in republican Rome* (presented for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy), The Ohio State University 2004.

⁹⁵ For the list of relevant sources and analysis of Clodius’s trial, see C. Moreau, *Clodiana Religio. Un proces politique en 61 av.J.-C.*, Paris 1982.

cult, inter alia through Claudia Quinta, who took part in the introduction of the statue of Cybele to Rome.⁹⁶

Cicero also accused Clodius of destroying temples.⁹⁷ In 57 BC, armed troops commanded by Sextus Clodius robbed and burned the Temple of Nymphs. The issue was not the temple itself but the archives it kept, which also stored lists of censors. It was therefore a political rather than a religious act.⁹⁸

The second case concerned the partial destruction and desecration of the Temple of Castor and the attack against the official performing 'auspices'. Cicero accused Clodius that in 58 BC and by force of arms he barged into the Temple of Castor and had the steps demolished to prevent the performance of auspices in it.⁹⁹ On 25 January 57 BC, when the case of Cicero's return from exile was to be considered, the tribune Sestius went to the Temple of Castor located at the Forum Romanum and said he would observe the sky to possibly announce 'obnuntiatio'. However, he was attacked by Clodius's followers and battered.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, this was not a deliberate action against religion but a result of political conflicts.¹⁰¹

The accusations of *impietas* against Clodius are reflected in contemporary literature. In 1962, an article by C. Gallini *Politica religiosa di Clodio* was published, in which the author hypothesised that Clodius aimed to attack the state religion dominated by the higher echelons of society.¹⁰² It appears, however, that Clodius's religious policy was not meant to profane the official religion but it was a reference to traditional cults and plebeian rites, while religious propaganda may have played a significant role in moulding

⁹⁶ Cicero, *De haruspicum responsis*, 22–27. Cf. Th. Köves-Zulauf, *Ciceros Todfeind Clodius – ein Spielverderber*, "Acta classica Universitatis Debrecenensis" 1995, vol. 31, pp. 141–152.

⁹⁷ Cicero, *De haruspicum responsis*, 39: 'Tu, [...] cum aedes sacras inflammas'.

⁹⁸ Ibidem, 57; *Pro Milone*, 73; *Pro Caelio*, 78.

⁹⁹ Cicero, *De domo sua*, 54; *Pro Sestio*, 34; *In Pisonem*, 23. Cf. S. M. Cerutti, *P. Clodius and the stairs of the Temple of Castor*, "Latomus" 1998, vol. 57, fasc. 2, pp. 292–305.

¹⁰⁰ Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 79–83; *Post reditum in senatu*, 7; *Ad Quintum fratrem*, II, 3, 6.

¹⁰¹ Cf. T. Łoposzko, *Mouvements sociaux à Rome dans les années 57–52 av. J.-C.*, Lublin 1980, pp. 44–47.

¹⁰² C. Gallini, *Politica religiosa di Clodio*, "Studie Materiali di Storia delle Religioni" 1962, vol. 32, pp. 257–272.

the image of the plebeian tribune himself.¹⁰³ An interesting observation on the subject was presented by W. J. Tatum, who maintained that Clodius's religious policy was later drawn upon to some extent by Augustus (restoration of Lares Compitales, the idea of Libertas etc.), based certainly on different ideological and political concepts.¹⁰⁴

Charges of *impietas* were also levelled against Caesar. They can be divided into several categories:

a. Denial of the existence of the gods: The greatest number of controversies was provoked by Caesar's famous statement in 63 BC during the trial of the Catilinarians, which was passed on by Sallustius: 'De poena possum equidem dicere, id quod res habet, in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse, eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere, ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse'.¹⁰⁵ It is difficult, however, to regard Caesar's statement as a manifestation of atheism and *impietas*, because similar concepts were probably espoused by a large portion of the senators.¹⁰⁶

b. Caesar was also guilty of violating the *sacrosanctitas* of the plebeian tribunes. The accounts by Suetonius and Appian testify that when the plebeian tribunes Epidius Marullus and Cesecius Flavus ordered the white ribbon adorning the wreath to be removed and the perpetrator of the incident sent to prison, then Caesar sharply reprimanded the tribunes and stripped them of power.¹⁰⁷

c. Profanation of the worship of gods and temples. This referred to honours granted to him after the victories of Thapsus and Munda: in the

¹⁰³ H. Kowalski, *Publiusz Klodiusz a religia rzymska w I wieku p.n.e.*, "Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Historia" 1992, vol. 27, z. 254, pp. 67–75; H. Kowalski, *Propaganda religijna Publiusza Klodiusza*, in: *Ideologia i propaganda w starożytności*, red. L. Morawiecki, P. Berdowski, Rzeszów 2004, pp. 217–230.

¹⁰⁴ W. J. Tatum, *The patrician tribune, Publius Clodius Pulcher*, Chapel Hill and London 1999, pp. 244–246.

¹⁰⁵ Sallustius: *De coniuratione Catilinae*, 51, 20. Cf. A. Drummond, *Law, politics and power. Sallust and the execution of the Catilinarian conspirators*, Stuttgart 1995, pp. 23–50, 51–78.

¹⁰⁶ A. Momigliano, *The theological efforts of the Roman upper classes in the first century B.C.*, pp. 199–211.

¹⁰⁷ Suetonius, *Caesar*, 79. Cf. Appian, *Bella civilia*, II, 108.

Roman Capitol, opposite to statue of Jupiter, a new statue of Caesar was erected. It was placed in a quadriga, at Caesar's feet there was a globe, while his picture with the inscription 'To the invincible god' (*Deo invicto*) was placed in the Temple of Quirinus.¹⁰⁸

d. *Violatio luci*. Caesar was accused of deforestation of the 'sacred grove' in the vicinity of Marseilles. In the poem *Pharsalia* the poet Lucan mentions that Caesar, seeing the soldiers hesitate to act against the gods, 'himself grabbed the axe and brandished it boldly, felling a sky-high oak with the iron'. Seeing the fears of the crowd he said 'Let none of you be afraid to cut down this forest, believe that the sin is mine'.¹⁰⁹

e. *Bellum impium*. The most serious accusations of *impietas* leveled against Caesar were those concerning the wars he waged. The principal one was that of starting a civil war. The propaganda of a civil war as a *bellum impium* and Caesar's undeserved triumph appears first of all in Cicero's writings. In his letter to Atticus of 49 BC, Cicero states: 'Quamquam genus belli quod sit vides. ita civile est ut non ex civium dissensione sed ex unius perditu civis audacia natum sit. is autem valet exercitu, tenet multos spe et promissis, omnia omnium concupivit. huic tradita urbs est nuda praesidio, referta copiis. quid est quod ab eo non metuas qui illa templa et tecta non patriam sed praedam putet?'.¹¹⁰

f. Posthumous *impietas*. The greatest controversies were, however, aroused in Cicero by Antony's activities connected with the process of the 'deification' of Gaius Julius Caesar.¹¹¹ A decisive event on the path to rec-

¹⁰⁸ Cassius Dio, 43, 21, 2; 43, 42, 2; 43, 42, 3; 44, 6, 2; 44, 6, 4; 44, 4, 1–6,

¹⁰⁹ Lucan, *Pharsalia*, III, 399–452 (433–436): 'primus raptam librare bipennem, ausus et aeriam ferro proscindere quaerum, effatur merso violatae in robora ferro: Iam ne quis vestrum dubitet subvertere silvam, credite me fecisse nefas'; Caesar: *De bello civile*, I, 36. Cf. M. Leigh, *Lucan's Caesar and the sacred grove: Deforestation and enlightenment in antiquity*, in: *Interpretare Lucano*, cur. P. Esposito, L. Nicastrì, Napoli 1999, pp. 167–205.

¹¹⁰ Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, VII, 13. In the work *De officiis*, II, 27, written in 44 BC, he states: 'Secutus est qui in causa impia, Victoria etiam foedior non singulorum civium bona publicaret, sed universas provincias regionesque uno calamitatis iure comprehenderet'. Cf. *Philippicae*, II, 24; XIV, 22–24.

¹¹¹ K. Matijević, *Marcus Antonius und die Vergottung Caesar*, in: *Rom, Germanien und das Reich: Festschrift zu Ehren von Rainer Wiegels anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages*, hrsg. R. Wiegels; et al., St. Katharinen 2005, pp. 46–79.

ognising Caesar's divinity was the resolutions of the Senate of 1 September 44 BC. Their main point was to commemorate Caesar by holding special *Parentalia* in Caesar's honour, and *supplications*.¹¹² Cicero named these rites 'inexpiabiles religiones' and called out: 'adduci tamen non possem, ut quemquam mortuum coniungerem cum deorum immortalium religione, ut, cuius sepulcrum usquam extet, ubi parentetur, ei publice supplicetur'.¹¹³

In this case too is it difficult to regard Caesar as a 'godless person'.¹¹⁴ Caesar indisputably treated religious aspects with a dose of skepticism and there were certainly cases when he manipulated and used religious elements for political ends.¹¹⁵ His religious policy was subordinated to creating his own charismatic power and the elements of his personal cult.¹¹⁶

A characteristic example of utilising accusations of *impietas* in Cicero's propaganda is also his speeches against Mark Antony – the *Philippics*.¹¹⁷ The first kind of accusations was charges of 'godlessness' and general *impietas*. In the third *Philippic* Cicero likened Antony to the last king of Rome, Tarquin the Proud, the comparison being definitely to the consul's disadvantage.¹¹⁸ General *impietas* characterised not only Mark Antony, but

¹¹² Cicero, *Philippicae*, I, 12: 'De supplicationibus referebatur, quo in genere senatores deesse non solent. Coguntur enim non pignoribus, sed eorum, de quorum honore agitur, gratia, quod idem fit, cum de triumpho refertur'. Cf. ibidem, I, 13. On the interpretation of the foregoing excerpts from Cicero's *Philippics* and the significance of the presented resolutions of the Senate, see J.-L. Ferrary, *À propos de deux passages des Philippiques (1, 11–13 et 2, 110). Remarques sur les honneurs religieux rendus à César en 45–44 et sur la politique d'Antoine après les Ides de Mars*, "Archiv für Religionsgeschichte" 1999, vol. 1, pp. 215–232; C. Beltrão da Rosa, *Diuis Iulius: Cícero e a divinização de Júlio César (Philippica 2)*, "Caliope Presença Clássica" 2013, año 30, no. 26/2, pp. 31–46.

¹¹³ Cicero, *Philippicae*, I, 13.

¹¹⁴ Cf. H. Kowalski, *Impietas Gajusza Juliusza Cezara*, "Wieki Stare i Nowe" (in press).

¹¹⁵ W. J. Tatum, *Always I am Caesar*, Blackwell 2008, pp. 61–79 (3: *Pontifex Maximus: Caesar and the manipulation of civic religion*).

¹¹⁶ D. Wardle, *Caesar and Religion*, in: *A Companion to Julius Caesar*, ed. M. Griffin, Oxford 2009, pp. 100–111.

¹¹⁷ G. Ch. dos Santos, *Análise do vocabulário da crise da República Romana em 44 A.C. A partir das Filípicas, de Cícero*, "Revista Hélaide" 2017, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 135–163.

¹¹⁸ Cicero, *Philippicae*, III, 4, 9: 'non crudelis, non impius, sed superbus est habitus et dictus'. Ibidem, 'D.Brutus sceleratum atque impium regnare patietur Antonium?'.

also his associates described as *impii cives*,¹¹⁹ *nefarii cives*,¹²⁰ *scelerati cives*,¹²¹ *audaces*, *facinerosi*,¹²² and consequently being recognised as *latrones*.¹²³

Specific charges concerned violations of religious rites. The first accusation referred to the festival of Lupercalia in 44 BC, during which Antony, as a member of the college of the *Luperci*, tried to place a crown on Caesar's head.¹²⁴ A manifestation of *impietas*, consisting, according to Cicero, in the *violatio* of the temple, was Antony's activity on 1 September 44 BC, when Antony closed the Temple of Concord (*Concordia*), had it surrounded by armed soldiers, some of whom consisting of the worst criminals (*armatos*, *latrones*, *sicarios*) he led inside, and on the Forum he positioned barbarians – Iturean archers.¹²⁵ Antony did likewise on 19 September 44 BC, when

¹¹⁹ Ibidem, II, 1, 1: 'tuamque a me alienationem commendationem tibi ad impios civis fore putavisti'; III, 14, 36: 'Sunt impii cives, sed pro caritate rei publicae nimium multi, contra multitudinem bene sentientium admodum pauci'; IV, 4, 9: 'Quamquam ne ii quidem ipsi, quod locuntur, id sentiunt nec ab iudicio omnium mortalium, quamvis impii nefarii que sint'; XII, 3, 7: 'Illa impios civis iudicavit, eiecit, exclusit. Illi, illi, inquam, urbi fortissime conanti e manibus est ereptus Antonius'; XII, 7, 15: XII, 7, 15: 'si tot tam impii, tam audaces, tam facinerosi recepti sint'; XIII, 1, 1: 'A principio huius belli, patres conscripti, quod cum impiis civibus consceleratisque suscepimus'.

¹²⁰ Ibidem, IV, 4, 9: "Quamquam ne ii quidem ipsi, quod loquuntur, id sentiunt nec ab iudicio omnium mortalium, quamvis impii nefarii que sint, sicut sunt, dissentire possunt"; VII, 1, 3: "Utrum igitur in nefariis civibus uiscendi".

¹²¹ Ibidem, XIII, 1, 1: 'A principio huius belli, patres conscripti, quod cum impiis civibus consceleratisque suscepimus'.

¹²² Ibidem, XII, 7, 15: 'Quamquam ne ii quidem ipsi, quod locuntur, id sentiunt nec ab iudicio omnium mortalium, quamvis impii nefarii que sint, sicut sunt, dissentire possunt'.

¹²³ Ibidem, IV, 4, 9: 'Quis illum igitur consulem nisi latrones putant?'.

¹²⁴ For a detailed description of the event, see: ibidem, II, 34, 85–87. Cf. ibidem, XIII, 8, 17; 15, 31; 19, 41; Plutarch, *Caesar*, LXI, 2; *Antonius*, XII, 1–3; Suetonius, *Caesar*, LXXIX, 9; Appian, *Bella Civilia*, 2, 109; *Dio Casius*, XLIV, 11, 2; *Velleius Patriculus*, I, 56, 4.

¹²⁵ Ibidem, V, 7, 18: 'Illud vero taeterrimum non modo aspectu, sed etiam auditu, in cella Concordiae conlocari armatos, latrones, sicarios, de templo carcerem fieri, operis valvis Concordiae, cum inter subsellia senatus versarentur latrones, patres conscriptos sententias dicere'. Cf. ibidem, II, 44, 112.

he came to the Temple of Concord with an armed troop and delivered a speech against Cicero.¹²⁶

The largest number of religious reservations were voiced by Cicero about Antony's activity as an augur. Controversies were aroused by the actions of Mark Antony, who opposed the election of Cornelius Dolabella as consul in 44 BC. When on 1 January, in the Senate, Caesar proposed Dolabella's candidacy as consul, Antony announced that he would try, under his powers (as consul and augur), to prevent this choice by means of augury.¹²⁷ The continuation took place during the election meeting. When it turned out that the majority of centuries voted for Dolabella, Antony as augur said the formula *alio die*, denoting the announcement (*nuntiatio*) of adverse predictions and a motion to terminate the meeting and repeat the election at some other date.¹²⁸ Cicero's next accusation against Antony's action *contra auspicia* was the passing of legislation in 44 BC in defiance of the announced predictions: *lex Antonia agraria*: 'amid tempest, thunder and lightning' and *lex Antonia iudiciaria* 'in the greatest rain, in storm and tempest, with the accompanying whirlwind, amid lightning and thunder'.¹²⁹

The most serious accusation against Antony was the starting of a civil war. Cicero repeatedly stressed that the war waged by Antony was *impia, nefaria, scelera*.¹³⁰ Mark Antony, who left Rome without conducting prescribed auspices, prayers and sacrifices.¹³¹ The orator contrasts him with Octavian, whose deeds were appreciated by the Senate on Cicero's initiative, and declared divine and immortal.¹³² While exalting Octavian's merits, Cicero moved that Antony be recognised as 'an enemy of Rome'.¹³³ This became

¹²⁶ Ibidem, V, 7, 20.

¹²⁷ Ibidem, II, 32, 80–81.

¹²⁸ Ibidem, II, 33, 82–84.

¹²⁹ Ibidem, V, 6, 15: 'En causam, cur lex tam egregia tamque praeclara maximo imbri, tempestate, ventis, procellis, turbinibus, inter fulmina et tonitrua ferretur'.

¹³⁰ Ibidem, VIII, 1, 2–3, 10; III, 1, 3; IV, 12; 2, 4; 4, 10; VI, 1, 2.

¹³¹ Ibidem, III, 4, 11. Cf. V, 9, 24: 'Post autem neque sacrificiis sollemnibus factis neque votis nuncupatis non profectus est, sed profugit paludatus'.

¹³² Ibidem, I, 2, 4: 'Cuius de laudibus et honoribus, qui ei pro divinis et immortalibus meritis divini immortalesque debentur, mihi senatus adsensus paulo ante decrevit ut primo quoque tempore referretur'.

¹³³ Ibidem, IV, 1, 2; 2, 4.

a precedent, with Cicero referring to Catilina's case, who was recognised as *hostis* and *impius bellator*.¹³⁴

Cicero's also extended his accusations to the afterlife. In his treatise *De legibus* he makes reference to Plato, who believed that good people would be awarded after death, and the godless would be punished.¹³⁵ In the *Philippic* he says that the *impii* (towards the mother country) will receive posthumous punishment provided for the *parricidii*.¹³⁶ In the speech *In Pisonem* he says that the punishments for the godless and for great criminals are as follows: 'homines consceleratos impulsu deorum terri furialibus taedis ardentibus; sua quemque fraus, suum facinus, suum scelus, sua audacia de sanitate ac mente deturbat; hae sunt impiorum furiae, hae flammae, hae faces'.¹³⁷

To sum up the presented discussion, it should be emphasised that in Rome, during the period of the Republic's decline, the terms *pietas* and *pius* and accusations of *impietas* were part of the repertoire of political competition, with the dominant contrasts between the traits of 'good' and 'bad' politicians and citizens. They were intended to strengthen the elements of propaganda, especially among the lower classes, at which politicians and orators excelled, particularly Marcus Tullius Cicero, who tried to take advantage of religious factors for his own ends, while at the same time he reproached his opponents for doing the same. Ursula Heibiges even asked a characteristic question in the title of her article *Cicero, a Hypocrite in Religion?*¹³⁸

¹³⁴ H. Kowalski, *Marc Antony – 'vir impius?'*, in: *Marcus Antonius. History and tradition*, eds. D. Słapek, I. Łuć, Lublin 2016, pp. 73–88.

¹³⁵ Cicero, *De legibus*, II, 27, 68: 'Deinceps dicit eadem illa de immortalitate animorum et reliqua post mortem tranquillitate bonorum, poenis impiorum'. Cf. Cicero, *De lege agraria*, II, 92: 'omnis acerbissimas impiorum poenas pertulerunt'.

¹³⁶ Cicero, *Philippicae*, XIV, 32: 'illi igitur impii, quos cecidistis, etiam ad inferos poenas parricidii luent'.

¹³⁷ Idem, *In Pisonem*, 20, 46.

¹³⁸ U. Heibiges, *Cicero, a Hypocrite in Religion?*, "American Journal of Philology" 1969, vol. 90, no. 3, pp. 304–312.