Artykuł został zdigitalizowany i opracowany do udostępnienia w internecie przez Muzeum Historii Polski w ramach prac podejmowanych na rzecz zapewnienia otwartego, powszechnego i trwałego dostępu do polskiego dorobku naukowego i kulturalnego. Artykuł jest umieszczony w kolekcji cyfrowej bazhum.muzhp.pl, gromadzącej zawartość polskich czasopism humanistycznych i społecznych.

Tekst jest udostępniony do wykorzystania w ramach dozwolonego użytku.
PAX DEORUM?

The essence of Roman religion was to maintain the pax deorum, the favour of the gods\(^1\), podstawową kategorią rzymskiej «teologii państwowej» był (sic!) pax deorum\(^2\). The pax deorum is to be find in almost every book on Roman religion. It is strange that the conception has not become a subject of research yet, and this fact was a little bit puzzling only for Jerzy Linderski\(^3\).

Pax is a notion of special interest to modern historians of ancient Rome. It is a keyword for understanding the history of Rome and her empire. It could be a synonym for a peaceful domination that respects its subjects, or, on the other hand, a byword for imperialism connected with extermination and acculturation. Both points of view resulted from the European experiences of the last 250 years.

Pax (Romana or any other) can be seen as one of the powerful metaphors coined and used by contemporary historians. Such metaphors can be dangerous, because if one will tear them away from the sources the metaphor determines the interpretation.

Pax deorum is less famous than pax Romana, but it is thinkable that every student of the Roman history knows what it is – strangely enough it is rare to think what it was. Almost every book on the Roman religion starts with a short discussion on the pax deorum, or with a simple mention of it. It is seen as the fundamental value for all Roman rituals, the sole aim of the Romans and their religion\(^4\), and sometimes for the Romans or a Roman\(^5\). The notion functions as the first brick or a cornerstone for the modern interpretations of the Roman religion. This is why pax deorum is often left without any footnotes, remarks etc. – it acts like a definition of a point.

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The most important and frequent among the footnotes (if there are any) is Georg Wissowa’s famous handbook\(^6\). The latest works cite also other books, mostly these by Natan Rosenstein, Veit Rosenberger, John Scheid\(^7\). Usually the same pages of above mentioned works are quoted. From among the sources Cicero and Livy are generally cited, as if they were the only ones to write anything about pax deorum. Wissowa had cited Cicero and Livy, and sent back for the rest to Barnaba Brissonius’ work\(^8\). Afterwards Wissowa became the first authority used to underpin the pax deorum theory. It seems to me that Wissowa created the modern notion (his handbook was first published in 1902).

The ideas of what pax deorum was, and what it became, can be seen separately. It is tempting to juxtapose (and analyse) modern definitions with the sources. As it was mentioned above, Wissowa’s book was a turning point. Before him pax deorum appeared from time to time. In an article published in 1881 H. Jordan explained, that pax deorum was a Verzeihung die Menschen und Göttern gewähren\(^9\). In his view, the word pax in the earliest Roman inscription was a part of a formula used when asking a god / gods for forgiveness, and to make a god / gods pleased. So asking for pax meant using a magic formula that made gods ready to accept one’s sacrifice\(^10\). Pax was a heavenly gift. Brissonius stressed a connection between pax and venia\(^11\).

Wissowa changed that meaning. According to this famous German scholar pax deorum was a state (Zustand) that needed to be kept (Erhaltung). The notion described the normality within the relations between gods and humans. It was possible to change its conditions or to renew it when it was broken. For these reasons the Romans introduced a set of rituals: especially lustrum, but also auspicia. More, even gods were careful about keeping the existence of pax and sent prodigia and other omens to indicate a breach of the pax\(^12\).

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10 Jordan, *op. cit.*, loc. cit: *Denn pacari Opi Toitesiae wird nichts anderes heißen können: die Göttin muss für eine Sühnleistung von dem Fehlenden „Frieden geben“, er selbst so zu sagen ihr „befriedigt werden“."
11 Brisonius, *op. cit.*, 81–82.
Wissowa’s view dominated modern vision of the Roman religion. This understanding of *pax* was attractive, because it showed the ultimate aim of all rituals, gave an explanation for the Roman obsession with omens and expiation.

Wissowa’s definition was of course improved, but it has not been changed. For Bailey *pax deorum* was equilibrium (a word commonly used when describing *pax deorum*) of the normal relation of god and man, and the most important mean to achieve it was *lustrum*. He also added a note, that *pax* had a connection with *amicitia*, friendship for profits\(^{13}\). The same was repeated by Ward Fowler with some additions – *pax* could also describe a territory\(^{14}\) (following A. Rudorff’s remark\(^{15}\)), and, after a century of civil wars, the old *pax* had been renewed by Augustus as *Pax Augusta*\(^{16}\). According to this historian *pax* was originally under the supervision of *rex*, and then *pontifices*. Very important are verbs used to describe *pax* – *restore*, *secure*, *obtain*, *maintain*\(^{17}\). Kurt Latte defined *pax deorum* a little bit differently – according to him it was *Gnade der Götter*\(^{18}\), and a synonym for *venia*, grace\(^{19}\). For him it was also some kind of a settled state.

Once established and supported by scholars of great authority the notion of *pax deorum* as a state based on proper cult, *lustrum*, looking for omens, flourished. It is – as was already stated – to be found in almost every work on Roman religion. The last 20 years have not changed anything. Nathan Rosenstein defined *pax* as the condition resulting when benefits were mutually and reciprocally conferred between the Romans and their heavenly protectors, or as a state, that can be scanned\(^{20}\). For Jorg Rüpke *pax deorum* was *Friedenszustand zwischen dem römischen Volk und den Göttern*\(^{21}\). Veit Rosenberger noticed, that *pax* meant also help or grace (in the 2\(^{nd}\) century BC), but unfortunately he has not developed this idea\(^{22}\). Roberto Fiori, after (a very interesting) description of *ordine giuridico – religioso* of the Romans, stated that it should have its name, and the best one was *pax deorum*, because it was a state of harmony and equilibrium\(^{23}\). He underpinned his theory on the premises, that the Persians had their notion of *aša*, the

\(^{13}\) C. Bailey, *The religion of ancient Rome*, Berkeley 1907, 22.
\(^{17}\) *Ibidem*, 286, 300, 302, 328.
\(^{18}\) Latte, *op. cit.*, 40–41, 147.
\(^{19}\) *Ibidem*, 183, n. 4.
\(^{20}\) Rosenstein, *op. cit.*, 56.
\(^{21}\) J. Rüpke, *Domi militiae: die religiöse Konstruktion des Krieges in Rom*, Stuttgart 1990, 125.
\(^{22}\) Rosenberger, *op. cit.*, 21.
Greeks – of μοῖρα and τιμή. The traditional and settled understanding resumed Jerzy Linderski.

Such understanding is also present among the historians of the Roman law. They added few remarks. According to their views pax deorum was connected with the rule do ut des, and with the amicitia. The most important among these works are these by Francesco Sini, but he also treated pax deorum as given.

Resuming, pax deorum is seen as a state, an equilibrium between men and their gods (or vice versa). This state could be checked, restored, renewed, tested, scanned, obtained via different media (sacrifices, or observing the prodigia). It earned a very great importance, and became to be used to describe different phenomena. If the pax deorum ruled the relations between men and gods, it could also rule for example the stability of dynamic competition among governing aristocrats. It was possible to see it as a key to understand the Roman religious liberty. It is usually stressed, that pax deorum was a common value. What is significant, all these conclusions are supported not by the sources, but by the secondary literature, beginning with Georg Wissowa’s work (always the same pages).

This understanding of pax deorum is very comfortable, because it gives an ultimate aim of the Roman cult, and it allows to introduce an explanation for the very Roman religious customs like auspicia, prodigia, and lustrum. It also suits very well the widely accepted view of scrupulous observation of rituals by the Romans – they acted so to avoid breaking the pax deorum, or not to cause the opposite, ira deorum.

Another prod was given by the literature on the early Christianity. It was tempting to see Christians introducing their own pax, pax Dei, as opposite to the old Roman and pagan pax deorum. Pax was indeed very important to Jesus and to

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24 Fiori, op. cit., 177–178.
25 Linderski, Pax, 456.
26 P. Voci, Diritto sacro romano in età arcaica, SDHI, 19, 1953, 49: [pax deorum] è la situazione per cui gli dei sono in amicitia con gli uomini, ai qua il concedono i benefici che essi si aspettano da loro (...), cf. 50, 53. See also Fiori, op. cit., 173–174.
Pax deorum?

the early Christians. The studies on Christian pax only consolidated traditional definition of pax deorum.

So it can be asked whether the modern understanding of pax deorum serves as a magic formula (or magic metaphor), like many others (e.g. pax Romana). May it be caused by petrification of this understanding in our handbooks, especially in the most important ones, which the numerous scholars were weaned on? The sources also force a reader to think about the Roman religion as a set of constant rules, as a way of even not seeking, but maintaining, the equilibrium.

Modern conception of pax deorum can be summarized as follows: 1) it was central for the ancient Roman religion; 2) it was an ultimate aim of the Roman rituals; 3) it was a state; 4) it was possible to scan or examine this state; 5) the Romans developed a sophisticated system of checking the pax deorum (especially searching for prodigia); 6) it could be broken, renewed (e.g. as Pax Augusta); 7) it was a harmony, or an equilibrium; 8) it was connected with amicitia.

Pax deorum is to be found at the very beginning of the Roman literary tradition. The word pax is a very old one. Its derivate, *paco, appeared already in the Duenos' inscription. Etymologically pax is connected with roots *pāk / *pēk and *pāg / *pēg that mean uniting, sticking, combining. The ancient etymologies almost unisono derived pax from pactum, and it is to be noticed (even if such „etymologies“ were arbitrary). It is believed that pax originally meant an act, and

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34 Festus 230 Müller: pacem a pactione condicionem putat Sinnius Capito, que uetrque inter se populo sit observanda; Ulpian., Dig. II 14, 1,1: pactum (...) a pactione dicitur, inde etiam pacis nomen apellatum est; Mar. Viet., Rhet. I 1: pax (...) a pacto; Isidor., Orig. XVIII 1, 11 Lindsay: Pacis vocabulum videtur a pacto sumptum. Cassiodorus is the exception: pax (...) a parcendo sive a pascendo dicta est (in psalm. CXXI 7).

35 H. Wolanin, Słowotwórstwo w myśli językoznawczej starojęzyckiej Grecji: od Homera do Dionizjusa Traka, Kraków 1996, 12,162.
secondary – a state. Ancient grammarians stressed that pax is one of the feminina semper singularia, and thought the pluralis to be an archaism. Pax is derived from an archaic verb *paco, -is, known from the Law of the Twelve Tablets. This verb was replaced by another one – paciscor (pac is-c-or). *Paco and its meaning is a very important point. In the Laws of the Twelve Tablets this verb described an act ending a litigation. Pax (as a synonym of pactum) can be seen as an effect of the *paco. This shows us the oldest possible sense of the pax – it was an act that ended a period of hostilities and stopped the possibility of the revenge.

But most cases of its use are supplied by Plautus’ comedies. His characters often ask gods for pax. In Rudens Ampelisca (and her friend) seeking Venus’ help kneeled at the goddess’ altar and prayed: (...) Venus alma, ambae te obsecramus / Aram amplexantes hac tuam lacrumanentes, genibus nixae, / In custodiam nos tuam ut recipias et tutere: / illos scelestos, qui tuam pecurant fanum parui, / Fac ut ulciscere nosque ut hanc tua pace aram obsidere / patiare (...) Another Plautus’ heroes asked for pax from Aesculapius (pacem ab Aesculapius / petas, ne forte tibi eveniat magnum malum), Venus, and Apollo. A storm was a sign of a lack of Neptune’s pax (ni pacit praesto), A deum pax was also mentioned, and pax cum mortuis as well. According to the evidence it was normal to ask gods for pax. But it was not thought as a state, rather it was an act. A god / goddess gave his / her / their pax to a petitioner. There is no trace of fear that pax can be broken, there is no trace of restoring it. What is more surprising, Amphitruo is going to ask for Iovis’ pax in a moment of his prosperity – after his sons were born.

37 See Sall., Iug. XXXI 21.
39 XII Tab. I 6 Zabłocki: Rem ubi pacunt, orato; I 7: Ni pacunt, in comitio aut in foro ante meridiem caussam coiciunt; VIII 2: ni cum eo pacit, talio esto.
40 On the connection between the pactum (pax) and the revenge see J. Zabłocki, Rozważania o procesie rzymskim w „Noctes Atticae” Aulusa Gelliusa, Warszawa 1999, 69–76.
41 Rudens 694–699 Goetz, Schoell.
42 Curculio 270 – 271 Goetz, Schoell.
43 Poenulus 1181–1186 Goetz, Schoell.
44 Mercator 678–680 Goetz, Schoell: Apollo, quaeo te, ut des pacem propitius, salute et sanitatem nostrae familiae, meoque ut parcas gnato pace propitius.
45 Trinummus 837 Ritschl.
46 Poenulus 252–253 Goetz, Schoell: sed hoc nunc responde / mihi sunt hic omnia / quae ad deum pacem aportet adesse?
47 Mostellaria 514 Lorenz. It can be a pun – the public knew that in fact the mortui were feasting living men.
Plautus knew also a similar word – *pāx*49. This short loanword from Greek language, a calque of πάξ50, in the 19th century earned a religious interpretation, but Ch. Lobeck proved51 that it was an effect of misunderstanding of Hesychios’ information on the word52. *Pāx* was so called *interiectio*, and expressed certain emotions (Ritschl’s theory, that *pāx* quickly adopted the meaning of *pâx* was rejected)53. Besides Plautus *pax* of a given god / goddess is mentioned by Ennius: Priamus in search of *pax* sacrificed at an altar of Apollo54. This case is important, because Priamus was skirted by his wife’s dream, so it could be in accord with the modern understanding of the *pax deorum*. Another instance is an inscription of certain L. Aufidius – he asked Hercules for *pax*: [...] *hocet utl* libē[t] don[u / ... d]edit L. Auffid(ius) D. / [f. ... decum]a facta / [Hercol]i mer(eto) iterum / [simul] te orat tu es / [sanctus] deus quei tou / [tam a te] pacem petit / [eum] adiouta55. Hersilia’s prayer is also thought to be archaic – *Neria Martis, te obsecro, pacem da*56.

This short survey of the evidence earlier than Cicero and Livy shows that *pax deorum* was not in any case a state. It was a gift from a heavenly protector, a grace, an individual act – and nothing more. What is more surprising, these sources should have been in accord with the modern definitions of *pax deorum* more than the later sources. It is often claimed that *pax deorum* was a feature especially of the archaic Roman religion (e. g. Voci, and every scholar dealing with the Roman religion in Livy). The phrases *pacem da*, *peto pacem*, *des pacem propitious* find their parallels in Umbrian *futu fos pacer paše tua*, id est *esto fauens propitious pace tua*57. *Pacer – propitious* is here a quality of a god, and *paše – pace* is his / her blessing, boon, that makes god’s *propitiatio* effective (abl. instrumentalis). There is no proof that *pax* was derived from the *libri Sybillini* or if it was exclusively used by the pontiffs58.

49 *Miles gloriosus* 808 Goetz, Schoell; *Stichus* 771 Goetz, Schoell; *Trinumnummus* 891 Ritschl.
50 Prisc., *Gramm.* III 29,28 Hertz: *pax adverbium comicum, quo utitur Terentius, quod simili ter graecum est.*
52 Hesychios II 433 Albertus, Schmidt.
55 CIL I 2 1290 = IX 3569 = CLE 5.
58 Brissonius, op. cit., 81–82.
It is now necessary to check if Cicero, Livy, Vergil and other authors understood *pax deorum* in a different way. For Catullus *pax* is still a grace – of Nemesis (*pace tua fari hic liceat, Rhamnusia urgeo*)\(^{59}\) to show wishes of his heart – or a grace that could protect him against the wrath of the gods, because for him Roscius was more beautiful than Aurora (*pace mihi liceat, caelestes, dicere vestra mortalis visus pulchior esse deo*)\(^{60}\). Cicero was not very interested in the *pax deorum*. He asked for *pax ac venia* in the case of Rabirius\(^{61}\), and he meant nothing more than help. This meaning and juxtaposing *pax ac venia* are present in another place\(^{62}\). Lucretius asked Venus to persuade Mars to send down his *pax* (*petens placidam Romanis, incluta, pacem*)\(^{63}\). Of course Venus’ *pax* is also needed\(^{64}\). According to Lucretius *pax deum* is gods’ internal peace, *quies*\(^{65}\). *Pax* is also a desired feature of a human soul.

Livy is the most abundant source – eleven instances\(^{66}\), but his usage of the *pax deorum*, as was stated already by Jerzy Linderski, was in fact infrequent and rare. All those cases deal not with personal pleas, but collective, in the name of the whole nation. The scenario is more or less the same: terrifying omens from the gods (*prodigia*), signs of their wrath (e. g. *pestilentia*), next fear among the Romans and concrete actions to win (*impetro, exposco*) their gods’ *pax* (or *pax veniamque*)\(^{67}\). Is Livy’s understanding really different? The order and the aim are the same as in the earlier cases above. *Pax* is nothing more than grace or help, but now its recipient is collective. There are not any trace of defining *pax deorum* similarly to the modern historians. There are no phrases like „breaking the *pax* with gods”, „maintain the *pax* with gods”, and this absence is significant. What

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59 Catullus, *Carm.* LXVI 70–73.
61 Rab. perd. 5: *Quae cum ita sint, primum, quod in tanta dimicatione capitis, famae fortunaramque omnium fiery necesse est, ab in Optimo Maximo ceterisque dis deabusque immortalibus, quorum ope et auxilio multo magis haec res publica quam ratione hominum et consilio gubernatur, pacem ac veniam peto precque ab eis ut hodiernum diem et ad huius salute conservandum et ad rem publicam constituendam inluxisse patiantur.* It is possible to see *pax ac venia* as a synonym of the earlier *ope et auxilio*.
62 Font. 30: (...) *ille in bellis gerendis ab dis immortalibus pacem ac veniam petunt, istae ipsis dis immortalibus bella gesserunt.*
63 RN I 40 Martin.
65 RN II 1093–1094; III 18 Martin.
66 Liv. (ed. Weissenborn, Müller) I 16, 3; I 31 7 (*pax veniamque inpetrata esset because of pestilentia*); III 5, 14 (public prayers for *pax deum* because of *portenta*); III 7, 7; III 8, 1 (*pestilentia*); IV 30, 9–11; VI 12, 7; VII 2, 2; VII 7, 12; XXVII 23, 4; XXXIX 10, 5; XLII 2, 3. The first case is very similar to the Umbrian phases: Liv. I 16,3 Weissenborn, Müller: (...) *universi Romulum iubent; pacem precibus exposcunt, uti volens propitius suam semper sopsitet progeniem.*
67 I 31; XXXIX 10 cf. III 7,7.
Pax deorum?

is more important, Livy reported that to gain *pax deum* even foreign cults and rituals were thought to be appropriate (IV 30.9–11).

The „Augustan poets“ provided next cases. Vergil quoted *pax deorum* when describing sacrificing at altars and asking for *pax* (*pacem exorare, exquirere*)\(^68\). Another case makes Jupiter’s *pax* a necessary condition to reach and settle in Italia\(^69\). What is more important Servius commented this last fragment. According to this grammarian *pax* in this case was a synonym for *benevolentia, venia,* and *suffragio*\(^70\). Also Grattius knew *pax* as a part of a prayer to Vulcanus\(^71\) – and a synonym for grace.

Later *pax deorum* appeared rather infrequently and rarely. It was quoted by Valerius Maximus\(^72\) without any different meaning than grace or help. More interesting is short remark from the *Aetna*. After suppressing the rebel of the Giants *pax est reddita mundo* – *pax* of Jupiter and other gods\(^73\). Here *pax* got a cosmic dimension. Another important source is Pliny the Younger’s praise of Trajan – the Caesar is able to secure the *pax* – *quasi pacisceris cum dis*\(^74\). Similar in meaning is a quotation from Silius Italicus – Hasdrubal *pacificans divos*\(^75\).

*Pax deorum* was used infrequently and rather rarely – especially when compared with the modern literature on the subject. Only Plautus and Livy made the phrase more important within their texts. It is strange that sources are almost consistent in the usage. *Pax deorum* was nowhere defined as a state, or central to the religion of the Romans. The modern understanding is based on a false premise: *pax* is thought as our peace, without any autonomy. The second false premise is to see *pax deorum* similarly as *pax* – end of war. These were different things, and it was stated in the evidence\(^76\). *Venia* and *benevolentia* were the most often cited synonyms for *pax*. There is no mention about breaking the *pax* with gods – if the modern conception of *pax deorum* was correct, such mentions should have occurred. The influence of the Christian *pax* must also be stressed: founded

\(^{68}\) *Aen*. III 356 Hirtzel: *Hic Helenus, caesis primum de more iuvencis / exorat pacem divom (...); IV 56–59: *principio delubra adeunt pacemque per aras / exquirunt; mactant lectas de more bidentis / legiferae Cereri Phoeboque patrique Lyaeo, / Iunoni ante omnis, cui vincla iugalia curae.*

\(^{69}\) *Aen*. X 30–31 Hirtzel: *si sine pace tua atque invite numine Troes / Italiam petiere (...).*

\(^{70}\) Serv., ad *Aen*. X 31: *si sine pace tua si sine tua benevolentia, ut orantes pacem, veniamque precantes, item exorat pacem divum: ergo pace benevolentia, suffragio.*

\(^{71}\) *Cynegetica* 436–437 Warmington: *te primum, Vulcane, pacemque precamur, / incola sancte, tuam (...).*

\(^{72}\) *Argon*. IV 476–477: *nam vestra voluntas / quid, iuvenes, sine pace deum?*


\(^{74}\) *Paneg*. 67, 5–7.

\(^{75}\) *Pun*. XV 421 Bauer.

\(^{76}\) Porphyrr, in *Hor.*, *Epist*. II 1, 137 Holder: *Utrum deorum pacem an uere pacem, id est, finem belli.*
Pawel Madejski

on the Hebrew שֶׁם which was rendered with Greek εἰρήνη77, and eventually, by Latin pax.

_Pax deorum_ was a part of prayers, so it has a particular meaning. _Pax_ in the archaic Roman law was an act that served to protect oneself against the possibility of revenge. The archaic Roman law was founded on the revenge78, and traces of this rule are to be find even much more later79. The community of the Roman gods acted similarly to the community of the Romans: when they were harmed, they gained the right to take a revenge (_deorum iniuria deorum cura_)80. Here it is possible to find parallels among the way the Roman gods reacted and the practices of the _fetiales_ or a procedure of the _deditio noxae_. This is clear especially for Livy’s usage. Every prodigy, drought, war misfortune were signs of divine wrath, _ira_. The gods, feeling harmed, sent signs or even punishments – took the revenge or announced their readiness to do so. It was then necessary to earn their _pax_ to stop the revenge or the next punishments – just like between humans or human communities. _Pax_ in such context was a divine grace. Originally the blood revenge was a normal practice, then there was a set of rituals developed to limit this suicidal phenomenon. The evidence proves also that it was possible to ask for _pax_ in advance. This is shown in invocations to a reader of a given book81. _Pax deorum_ could mean its effects as well. It is possible to understand it as a blessing. This last case is especially distinct in the _Ara Pacis Augustae_. The sacrifices at the altar were submitted not to Pax, but for the _pax_, a blessing. After a century of civil wars the Romans and their land could feel that they were cursed. The curse was caused by fratricidal fights and gods’ wrath effected by them. The mechanism here is similar to the Greek tragedies. _Pax_, earned thanks to Augustus, was a cleansing of the sins. It is shown by the floral reliefs underneath the „procesion”: the Romans have their feet on the ground that was freed from the curse and regained its power or fertility82 (compare also the idyllic landscape under the feet of Trajanus on his column). The blessing was reached by _pax_ from the gods, so

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77 Dinkler, _op. cit._, 8 passim.
78 Zabłocki, _op. cit._, 65–81; M. Jońca, _Blood revenge and murder trial in the early Roman law_, „Eos”, 91, 1, 44–51.
81 E. g. _De rebus bellicis_, praef. 15 Ireland: (...) _pace uesta dixerim_ (…).
pax could be assimilated with the effect. This is also proved by the fact, that from the end of the 1st century B. C. *pax* became one of the *feminina semper singularia*. Interpreting a source needs metaphors. Metaphors can put in order the process of interpretation and fix an interpreter’s position. Historical narration is full of such metaphors. Some of them are „empty” or artificial, but they possessed a great influence – [nobody] understands [them], *but which everybody uses and most people will also fight for, live for, or even die for, fancying they mean this or the other of things dear to them*83. This is why a historian should pay attention to usage of these notions, and be aware of their inner content (or its lack). *Pax deorum* was not a state, it was not an ultimate aim of the Roman rituals, of *lustrum*, *auspicia* and so on (they served to clean the people, to know the will of the gods, or just their opinion). The Roman religion and our understanding of it loses nothing when the modern conception of the *pax deorum* is rejected84.

84 The arguments described here will be developed in my forthcoming *Pax w religii i ideologii wczesnego cesarstwa rzymskiego* (*Pax in the religion and ideology of the early Roman empire*).