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Chapter 8

Roman Ritual in the Italian Countryside? The *Paganalia* and the *Lustratio Pagi*

The Religious Role of the Pagus and the Vicus in Roman times

Notwithstanding the difficulties with the *pagus-vicus* system outlined above, it is clear that both *pagus* and *vicus* were at least in some period of importance for the organisation of the territory. To summarise, the main problems with the *pagus-vicus* system were:

1) the supposed pre-Roman date and 'Italic' nature of both institutions in Italy outside Rome, which are difficult to support;

2) the relation between *pagus* and *vicus*, since the evidence does not seem to allow a hierarchical relationship, viz. a *pagus* containing one or more *vici*.

It is clear from epigraphical and literary sources that both *vicus* and *pagus* performed specific specialised functions at least in some contexts and periods. Amongst these functions the religious aspect is particularly conspicuous. The *pagus*, for example, had its own *sacra*.[1] In the following chapters the main religious activities that were performed in or overseen by *pagi* and *vici* will be discussed.

I shall argue that the religious dimension of both *vicus* and *pagus* was of considerable importance, not for the pre-Roman situation – *pagi* and *vici* did not exist then – but precisely for the new Roman situation. *Vicus* and *pagus* seem to have performed religious functions in specific 'Roman' contexts: i.e. in Rome, and in parts of Italy after their incorporation by Rome during the Republican period, and presumably in large parts of Italy after the Social War. Indeed, I think this religious dimension was fundamental for the creation and definition of the new communities that found themselves in the Italian landscape as a result of colonisation and/or the reorganisation of the territory and its population.

In modern literature on Roman religion the romantic aspect of the 'rustic' rituals associated with the rural *vicus* and the *pagus* are often highlighted. Most important of these were the religious festival of the *pagi*, the *Paganalia*, and that of the *vici*, the

[1] Fest. L 284; Sic. Flac. *de condicionibus agrorum*, 14-15, mentioning *sacra diversa*, apparently aware of the diversity of cults practiced within *pagi*. Cf. DELATTE 1937, 106.

Compitalia. But were they truly rural, harmless rituals of olden days? I shall argue that the extant evidence points us in a different direction, and that the festivals could have been related to Roman administrative control. In this way, the rituals connected to the *vicus* and the *pagus* appear as important elements for the definition of the newly formed groups, and at the same time as vehicles for the making and controlling of Roman Italy.

Pagus and Paganalia: Between Rusticity and Administrative Control

pagus agat festum: pagum lustrate, coloni (Ov. *Fast.* 1.669)

Fig. 8.1. Wall-painting with 'sacro-idyllic' landscape from Boscotrecase, Red Room, North wall (VON BLANCKENHAGEN and ALEXANDER 1990, pl. 24).

Elements of rustic cult abound in Augustan literature, poetry, and art, such as the wall painting from Boscotrecase illustrated here (fig. 8.1). Both *vicus* and *pagus* are often explicitly linked to it. Most often the *pagus* seems to have been predilected as a means to situate a cultic scene by association in a 'rural' context. This rustic image of *pagus* religion has found fertile ground in modern scholarship. For example Horace's Ode 3.18, in which a *pagus* seems to constitute the background for the celebration of a festival in honour of Faunus, has provoked lyrical reactions by modern scholars because it would give us insight into 'true country religion'.

Faune, Nympharum fugientum amator,
per meos finis et aprica rura
lenis incedas abeasque parvis
aequus alumnis,
si tener pleno cadit haedus anno
larga nec desunt Veneris sodali
vina craterae, vetus ara multo
fumat odore.
ludit herboso pecus omne campo
cum tibi nonae redeunt Decembres,
festus in pratis vacat otioso
cum bove pagus,
inter audacis lupus errat agnos,
spargit agrestis tibi silva frondes,
gaudet invisam pepulisse fossor
ter pede terram

'Faunus, lustful pursuer of the fleeing Nymphs, come gently onto my land with its sunny acres, and as you depart look kindly on my little nurslings, seeing that a tender kid is sacrificed to you at the end of the year, plenty of wine is available for the mixing bowl (Venus' companion), and the old altar smokes with lots of incense. The whole flock gambols in the grassy meadow when your day comes round on the fifth of December. The village in festive mood is on holiday in the fields along with the oxen, which are also resting. The wolf wanders among the lambs, and they feel no fear. The forest sheds its woodland leaves in your honour. The digger enjoys beating with his feet in triple time his old enemy, the earth.' (translation Loeb)

According to William Warde Fowler, "no picture could be choicer or neater than this … We are for a moment let into the heart and mind of ancient Italy, as they showed themselves on a winter holiday".[2] Even more poetically, Howard Scullard writes on the poem (as usual closely following Fowler):

"Here we have the essence of true Roman country religion: the appeal to the vague and possibly dangerous spirit that guards the flocks to be present, but not to linger too long; the smoking altar of earth; the simple offering of wine and kid; the gambolling sheep; the quiet relaxation after the year's toil, and the dance on the hated land which had demanded so much labour. Horace knew the conventions of pastoral poetry, but here he is surely depicting what he himself had seen and perhaps shared in. This annual festival was held in the *pagi* and not in Rome, so that it is not registered in the calendars, but it is included here [*scil.* in *Roman festivals*] because it must have played a significant part in the lives of many Romans, especially in early days."[3]

As discussed in Chapter 6, the rural *pagus* has often been seen as a typically Italic institution, existing from times 'immemorial'. The religious role of the *pagus* has also been emphasised in modern literature, if not taken for granted. The above cited examples[4] attest to a general attitude to religion associated with the *pagus*, which is essentially one of rusticity and rurality.[5] This rusticity is implicitly or explicitly equated with a supposed ancient, or perhaps better said 'timeless' character of this religious aspect of the *pagus*. The image of the foremost religious aspect of the *pagus*, the festival of the *Paganalia* evoked by modern interpretators of ancient texts seems to fit well into this rustic, agricultural ideal. But a brief reassessment of the sources shows that this image is more complex than usually assumed; the main source even tells us a quite different story. Indeed, both the incentive behind the creation of the festival and the actions undertaken during the festival appear to have been quite pragmatic and functional for the Roman administrative system.

PAGANALIA, SEMENTIVAE AND *LUSTRATIO PAGI*

Only few references to the *Paganalia* are known to us. Modern scholarship has attempted to supplement our knowledge about the festival by equating the *Paganalia* to other rituals and festivals, especially the *lustratio pagi* and the *Sementivae*. This rather confusing amalgamation of evidence has consequently been used to identify the character of the *Paganalia*. Therefore, it is useful to go briefly through the relationship of *Paganalia*, *Sementivae*, and *lustratio pagi*.

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[2] FOWLER 1925, 257.
[3] SCULLARD 1981, 201.
[4] Of course, Horace comes from the Italic region Lucania; but it should be remembered that it is in the same Odes (3.2.13) that the famous line *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* appears... On the ambiguous relation of Roman poets and writers with regard to their background, see GASSER 1999. Cf. also YNTEMA *forthcoming* on Ennius.
[5] Cf. TODISCO 2004a for the image of *vici* and *pagi* in the sources.

The discussion is prompted by a description of the winter festival of the *Sementivae* in Ovid's *Fasti* (1.657-696). In this context, at line 1.699, Ovid recalls a *lustratio pagi*. Some have equated it with the *Paganalia*: especially the triple repetition of *pagus*, *pagum*, *paganis* has suggested to many that actually the *Paganalia* are meant, which has led to the assumption that the *Paganalia* can be equated with the *Sementivae*.[6] Particularly popular has been the suggestion that the *Sementivae* represented the official 'state' festival, whereas the *Paganalia* would represent its rural equivalent.[7]
Others, amongst whom Georg Wissowa, are inclined to distinguish the *Paganalia* from the *lustratio pagi*, as if they were two equal and separate entities.[8] But a *lustratio* seems to have been a common element, not an equivalent, of certain festivals.[9] In fact, it does not seem improbable that Ovid compared and blended details from different festivals, which is in line with the representation of religious rites in a Callimachean tradition.[10] It is thus possible to dismiss the idea that Ovid's *lustratio pagi* relates to the *Paganalia* proper, whilst retaining the possibility that during the *Paganalia* a *lustratio* was held.[11] Ultimately, this non-exclusive relation seems to be proved by the fact that a *lustratio pagi* is known epigraphically for June 5, another for May or March 11; but not winter, which would be the period of the *Sementivae*.[12]
Another short passage has been adduced as well to sustain the connection between *Paganalia* and *Sementivae*. Varro speaks of the *Paganicae* after having treated the *Sementivae*, and considers both festivals as agricultural feasts.[13] Most scholars have understood *Paganicae* as a synonym for *Paganalia*. However, the possibility that *Paganicae* does not relate to the *Paganalia*, but rather to another ritual or festival held in the *pagus*, from which it takes its name, should perhaps be considered, especially

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[6] E.g. SCULLARD 1981, 68; FOWLER 1925, 294, n. 3: "But the distinction is perhaps only of place; or if of time also, yet not of object and meaning." Cf. also following note.
[7] E.g. FOWLER 1925 who assumes that the *Sementivae* were celebrated under the "less technical" name of the *Paganalia* in "the country" (294, cf. also preceding note), and BAILEY 1932, 147. Other bibliography in DELATTE 1937, 104-105. Recently, the argument has been restated by BAUDY 1998, 186-187, who sees the *Paganalia* as "ein eigenständiges ländliches Äquivalent [zum staatsrömischen Aussaatfest]" (however not citing the previous and similar conclusions by e.g. Fowler and Bailey, nor the criticisms by Delatte).
[8] Ov. *Fast*. 1.669 would refer to the *lustratio*. ROHDE 1942, 2294: "… die *lustratio pagi*, die als besonderes Fest neben den *P*.[*aganalia*] anzumerken ist"; WISSOWA 1912, 143 and 439 n. 7 ("Erwähnt von Varro, *Ling*. 6.26 unter dem Namen *paganicae* (*feriae*) … Sie sind ein agrarisches Fest … verschieden sowohl von den Feriae Sementivae, mit denen sie oft zusammengeworfen werden, wie von der *lustratio pagi*." The elegy on a rustic festival from Tib. 2.1, which inspired Ovid´s lines, does not consider the *Paganalia* either. Cf. MALTBY 2002, 359: "Many of the individual details crop up again in Ovid's description of the January festival of the *Paganalia* or the *Feriae Sementivae* (*Fast*.1.657ff.). But the fact that Ovid was imitating T[ibullus] does not prove that T[ibullus] was describing the *Paganalia*." Cf. on Tibullus' elegy, BAUDY 1998, 127-147.
[9] And other occasions: cf. *infra*.
[10] See GREEN 2004, 309; MILLER 1991, 117 with n. 23.
[11] DELATTE 1937, 104-107.
[12] *CIL* IX, 1618: on occasion of the birthday of a benefactor (BAUDY 1998, 187 explains this as an exception: "Demnach konnte anscheinend der winterliche Ritus – unter geänderten Vorzeichen – im Sommer wiederholt werden") and *CIL* IX, 5565.
[13] Varro, *Ling*. 6.26. According to him, the *Paganicae* were *agriculturae causa susceptae*; i.e. their date would be established according to the agricultural calendar.

since Varro uses the word *Paganalia* two lines earlier (in an apparently unrelated context).[14] In any case Varro does not equate the *Sementivae* and the *Paganicae* (/*Paganalia*); he rather compares them on the basis of the connection with agriculture and their status as *feriae conceptivae*.[15]

Now that the relationship between *Paganalia* and other festivals, and the *lustratio pagi* has been defined more precisely, it becomes clear that explicit evidence in the literary sources that the *Paganalia* were in the outset an *agricultural* festival is actually rather poor. Especially once it is admitted that the *Paganalia* and the *Sementivae feriae* are not identical, and therefore references to the latter cannot be used to clarify the character of the former.[16] Of course festivals could perform different roles within society, and attempts to try to pin down 'the character' of the *Paganalia* would be in vain. Notwithstanding this general multiformity or malleability, it seems legitimate to question the typically agricultural character of the *Paganalia* that has been accepted almost unanimously in studies on the *Paganalia*.[17]
Ovid's text stages a general *lustratio pagi* in the context of the *Sementivae*, and Macrobius states that the *Paganalia* were *feriae conceptivae* (i.e. a mobile feast and not part of the *feriae stativae*, the fixed public calendar), listing the festival together with the *Latinae*, *Sementivae*, and the *Compitalia*.[18] But even if it were true that many agricultural festivals were *feriae conceptivae*, it would be perverse to turn the argument around and state that the *Paganalia* were an agricultural festival because they are *feriae conceptivae*. Clearly, the *feriae Latinae* in honour of *Juppiter Latiaris*, announced on the mons Albanus by the new consuls, cannot be considered agricultural, and neither can, as I will argue in the next chapter, the *Compitalia*. The only text possibly linking the festival explicitly to agriculture seems to be Varro, who states that the date of the *Paganicae* was established according to the agricultural

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[14] BAUDY 1998, 187 argues in defence of the equation *Paganicae* = *Paganalia* that in this context (*Ling*. 6.26) an intended (*feriae*) *Paganicae*, in consonance with the *feriae Sementivae*, would explain the difference. Varro, *Ling*. 6.24: *Dies Septimontium nominatus ab his septem montibus, in quis sita Urbs est; feriae non populi, sed montanorum modo, ut Paganalibus, qui sunt alicuius pagi.* Varro, *Ling*. 6.26: *Sementivae Feriae dies is, qui a pontificibus dictus, appellatus a semente, quod sationis causa susceptae. Paganicae eiusdem agriculturae causa susceptae, ut haberent in agris omnis pagus, unde Paganicae dictae*.

[15] Cf. also Macrob. *Sat*. 1.16.6, where the *Sementivae* and *Paganalia* are listed apart from one another. Cf. MILLER 1991, 117 n. 23 on the comparative character of the statements in Varro and Ovid.

[16] Cf. WISSOWA 1912, 143 and 439 n. 7; DELATTE 1937, 104-105. Cf. FRASCHETTI 1990, 159 with n. 59.

[17] Although Delatte points out with clarity that Dionysius is the main source, he still recognises an agricultural aspect to the *Paganalia*: "… aux yeux de Denys … les *Paganalia* sont une fête de la vie agricole" (DELATTE 1937, 106). Cf. BAUDY 1998, esp. 188-189 and 190: "Die Paganalia hatten also nicht nur eine agrarische, sondern zugleich eine wichtige soziale Bedeutung," consequently stating that Dionysius did not consider the former but was only interested in the latter. TARPIN 2002 treats Dionysius' account in detail, but his study is not concerned with the character of the festival in general, and in light of the other sources.

[18] Macrob. *Sat*. 1.16.6: *conceptivae sunt quae quotannis a magistratibus vel sacerdotibus concipiuntur in dies vel certos vel etiam incertos, ut sunt Latinae Sementivae Paganalia Compitalia.*

calendar.[19] However, as mentioned earlier one should be careful in identifying the *Paganicae* with the *Paganalia*, and we should therefore refrain from reading too much into the passage of Varro. The only pertinent texts that relate securely to the *Paganalia* proper do not give the slightest hint of an agricultural function or character of the festival, as the following will show.

THE *PAGANALIA* ACCORDING TO DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

In his *Roman Antiquities* (4.14-15), Dionysius of Halicarnassus provides the only detailed narrative of the festival of the *Paganalia* available to us. He informs us that the *Paganalia*, just as the *Compitalia* that will be considered in the next chapter, were instigated by king Servius Tullius (trad. 578 to 535 BC) while making the new *tribus* division of Rome.[20] Dionysius tells us that Servius Tullius extended the division of the city proper to four instead of three urban *tribus*, and divided the countryside in an unknown number of rural *tribus*. *Pagi* would have constituted the subdivisions of these rural tribes. All *pagi* would have had altars (βωμούς) for the celebration of the *Paganalia*. His description contains of course little historicity,[21] but may echo a historical situation in some way and is of importance for the understanding of the religious role of the *pagus*.[22] Some general important features in Dionysius' account

[19] Varro, *Ling*. 6.26.

[20] In 2.76.1, Dionysius attributes the installation of *pagi* to king Numa, also in this passage an administrative function becomes clear. In the passage on Servius this is much more elaborated, and the relation with the *tribus* and the *Paganalia* is made.

[21] Cf. THOMSEN 1980, 251-252, who dismisses the idea that Servius installed the *pagi* and *Paganalia*, arguing that these were much older…

[22] Loeb translation of Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom*. 4.15 (see for 4.14 Chapter 9): "Tullius also divided the country as a whole into twenty-six parts, according to Fabius, who calls these divisions tribes also and, adding the four city tribes to them, says that there were thirty tribes in all under Tullius. But according to Vennonius he divided the country into thirty-one parts, so that with the four city tribes the number was rounded out to the thirty-five tribes that exist down to our day. However, Cato, who is more worthy of credence than either of these authors, does not specify the number of the parts into which the country was divided. After Tullius, therefore, had divided the country into a certain number of parts, whatever that number was, he built places of refuge upon such lofty eminences as could afford ample security for the husbandmen, and called them by a Greek name, *pagi* or "hills". Thither all the inhabitants fled from the fields whenever a raid was made by enemies, and generally passed the night there. These places also had their governors (*archontes*), whose duty it was to know not only the names of all the husbandmen who belonged to the same district but also the lands which afforded them their livelihood. And whenever there was occasion to summon the countrymen to take arms or to collect the taxes that were assessed against each of them, these governors assembled the men together and collected the money. And in order that the number of these husbandmen might not be hard to ascertain, but might be easy to compute and be known at once, he ordered them to erect altars to the gods who presided over and were guardians of the district, and directed them to assemble every year and honour these gods with public sacrifices. This occasion also he made one of the most solemn festivals, calling it the *Paganalia*; and he drew up laws concerning these sacrifices, which the Romans still observe. Towards the expense of this sacrifice and of this assemblage he ordered all those of the same district to contribute each of them a certain piece of money, the men paying one kind, the women another and the children a third kind. When these pieces of money were counted by those who presided over the sacrifices, the number of people, distinguished by their sex and age, became known. And wishing also, as Lucius Piso writes in the first book of his *Annals*, to know the number of the inhabitants of the city, and of all who were born and died and arrived at the age of manhood, he

can be pointed out. First of all, Dionysius connects the installation of the *Paganalia* from the outset to the administrative division of Rome, and in this case its peri-urban area. Indeed, this passage (4.14-15) is part of a description of Servius' *res gestae*, which culminates in the installation of the *census* (4.16).

Related to the numbering procedures described by Dionysius, there seems to be a hierarchy in the sequence of actions. First a division is made, both of the urban and the rural area, and then magistrates are appointed to ascertain the number of inhabitants, and their land property. This, as is explicitly stated, serves the military levy and the taxation. Only then, in order to *facilitate* the counting procedure both the festival of the *Compitalia* (4.14) and the *Paganalia* (4.15) were created.[23] With regard to the *Paganalia*, Dionysius states that in order to establish the number of inhabitants of the *pagi* easily ("…but might be easy to compute and be known at once"), these were ordered to erect altars, upon which yearly sacrifices were to be made. This yearly festival was consequently established under the name of *Paganalia*.

Dionysius then proceeds to explain how the counting was facilitated by the creation of the festival; every man, woman and child had to offer a different type of coin. In this way, "those who presided over the sacrifices" could establish the population numbers distinguished by sex and age.[24] In the arrangement of his general narrative, Dionysius of Halicarnassus establishes a dichotomy between the urban and the rural population, since he first considers in 4.14 the rituals of the *Compitalia*, also instigated by Servius Tullius, in relation to the division of the city of Rome in four *tribus*. The next section, cited here (4.15), is explicitly devoted to the countryside directly outside the city (τήν χώραν 'άπασαν), and it is in this context that the *Paganalia* are treated. In this way, a distinction between urban and non-urban is made, because the *Compitalia* would perform functions for the urban tribes and the *Paganalia* accordingly for the rural tribes.[25]

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prescribed the piece of money which their relations were to pay for each into the treasury of Ilithyia (called by the Romans Juno Lucina) for those who were born, into that of the Venus of the Grove (called by them Libitina) for those who died, and into the treasury of Juventas for those who were arriving at manhood. By means of these pieces of money he would know every year both the number of all the inhabitants and which of them were of military age. After he had made these regulations, he ordered all the Romans to register their names and give in a monetary valuation of their property, at the same time taking the oath required by law that they had given in a true valuation in good faith; they were also to set down the names of their fathers, with their own age and the names of their wives and children, and every man was to declare in what tribe of the city or in what district of the country he lived. If any failed to give in their valuation, the penalty he established was that their property should be forfeited and they themselves whipped and sold for slaves. This law continued in force amongst the Romans for a long time. [4.16.] After all had given in their valuations, Tullius took the registers and determining both the number of the citizens and the size of their estates, introduced the wisest of all measures, and one which has been the source of the greatest advantages to the Romans, as the results have shown…[the *census*]."

[23] Cf. DELATTE 1937, 103. The *Compitalia* and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom*. 4.14 are discussed in Chapter 9.

[24] Cf. however THOMSEN 1980, 210-211 according to whom Dionysius' description of the offering of different coins "bears the stamp of legend".

[25] Another example of this distinction is the idea that the festivals were not listed in the Roman calendar: cf. FOWLER 1925, 16 who argues that all rites which did not concern the state as a whole but only parts of it, such as *pagi*, could not be included in the state calendar. One of the central ideas in

RUSTIC IMAGES OF ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL

As has become clear, in modern scholarship on Roman religion the romantic aspects of the 'rustic' rituals of the *pagus* and the *Paganalia* are often highlighted, citing Dionysius' text together with the Odes by Horace and other 'rusticising' idealised descriptions of simple, frugal cult activity.[26] Similarly, the conflation of evidence for what are actually distinct rituals and festivals has favoured an agricultural interpretation. These traditions have formed and image of the *Paganalia* festival as an agricultural, rustic feast of vetust origins. Reading the relevant lines of Dionysius of Halicarnassus in their broader context however, the conclusion must inevitably be that, at least from Dionysius' point of view, the *Paganalia* were basically a ritualisation of the administration of the rural population on behalf of the Roman state.[27] For the city of Rome, this administrative aspect has long been recognised by modern scholarship; especially the creation of the *pagi* themselves and their relation to the 'Servian reform' of the *tribus* have received due attention.[28] But the consequences of this specific administrative character of the religious festivals of both *Paganalia* and, as we will see, *Compitalia*, for the rural *pagi* and *vici* in the rest of Italy are yet to be evaluated. Tarpin has discussed the administrative character of both festivals in the city of Rome in relation to the creation of *pagi* and *vici*, and has drawn important conclusions on the character of *pagi* and *vici* in the western Mediterranean world. Within this new framework, however, the role of festivals and religion in general in the *pagi* and *vici* outside Rome remains to be studied.

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modern scholarship derived from, amongst other things, Dionysius' description, is that the *Paganalia* at Rome are to be understood as the festival of the *pagani* as opposed to that of the *montani*, whose festival in turn would have been the *Septimontium*. In this way, both *Paganalia* and *Septimontium* would be state festivals for complementary parts of society, the urban population as opposed to the rural population (implicated also by Fest. L 284; cf. Varro, *Ling*. 6.24), e.g. ROHDE 1942. Cf. CAPOGROSSI COLOGNESI 2002, 43-49, 228 n. 9. This distinction may also exist in the functioning of the *census*, since the procedure is different for the rural and the urban tribes. Tarpin interestingly suggests that at least in Dionysius' description the urban *census* was more directed at the military levy, whereas the rural *census*, organised in *pagi*, seems to have been oriented primarily on taxation: TARPIN 2002, 187-188 and esp. 193-211.

[26] Or Dionysius is even omitted altogether; e.g. SCULLARD 1981, 68.

[27] This observation, of course, does not favour an 'instrumentalist' view of the festival, or religion in general: this administrative 'function' could have been embedded deeply in 'religious' behaviour. Cf. PIERI 1968, 28 who argues: "Cette méthode de dénombrement par le truchement d'offrandes apportées à un culte ou au cours d'une fête religieuse … trouve peut-être son explication dans la croyance assez répandue chez les peuples anciens que le dénombrement d'une population était une opération impie et fort dangereuse qui nécessitait par là-même une céremonie de purification."

[28] On the *stadtrömische pagi* and their relation to the Servian reforms and/or *census* cf. e.g. LAST 1945, 38-42; PIERI 1968, 23-34; THOMSEN 1980 (who thinks the *Paganalia* existed much earlier, 251-252); FRASCHETTI 1990, 148-160; GABBA 1991, 181-185; HUMM 2001; SCHUBERT 1996, 99-100, who thinks that the *census* function is Augustan, but states: "Die religiösen Funktionen der *pagi* sind unbestritten und weisen auf ein hohes Alter dieser Einrichtung hin" (99). Cf. Chapter 6.

Lustratio Pagi and Paganalia in Italy outside Rome

As to the supposed origin and character of the festival in archaic Rome, it is impossible to be certain – and it is not of direct interest to the present discussion. But with regard to Italy outside the Archaic city-state of Rome, it seems to me highly improbable that the *Paganalia* and *Compitalia* existed there before the installation of *pagi* and *vici*. If the festivals were being performed in the 'Italic' countryside as well, could it be that they had a similar administrative incentive, or at least aspect, to them, as described in Dionysius for the *chora* of Rome? If the evidence for Rome itself was already meagre, it will perhaps not come as a surprise that the evidential situation for the Italic areas is even worse. In this section therefore more questions will be posed than answered, but with the hope that these will stimulate the discussion.

In the first place, we should acknowledge that there is no direct (epigraphical) evidence that the *Paganalia* proper were indeed celebrated in the Italian countryside.[29] But it should be noted that this is neither the case for Rome itself. Therefore, all arguments are by necessity more or less derivative. I think, however, that there is reason to suppose that the *Paganalia* were celebrated in the *pagi* in the Central-Italian, 'Italic' areas. It is true that Dionysius' account relates to the mythical regal period, but apparently he describes at least in part a later or contemporary situation,[30] and also explicitly states (4.15.3) that the laws, according to which the *Paganalia* are to be performed, are still observed in his time, i.e. early imperial Rome. Since *pagi* are by definition located outside urban areas, and the *Paganalia* are also located in the countryside by Varro (*Ling*. 6.24; in opposition to the urban *Septimontium*), it is certain that the festival was celebrated in the later *pagi* in 'a' countryside. Even if the evidence does not specify the location of the celebration within Italy (or rather: precisely *because* it does not), it seems implausible to me that the celebration of the *Paganalia* was confined to the old peri-urban *pagi* of Rome.[31] In conclusion, I think it would be hypercritical to refrain from the conclusion that probably the *Paganalia* were celebrated in the *pagi* of Italy, wherever they were installed.

THE LOCATION OF THE FESTIVAL

The question that presents itself subsequently, concerns the location of the celebration of the *Paganalia*. What we can say, on the basis of Dionysius' narrative, is that the *Paganalia* seem to have consisted, for the inhabitants of the *pagi*, in the coming together of the people (σύνοδον; 4.15.4), the payment of the apposite coins (νόμισμα;

[29] If the solution *paganic[is]* in *CIL* V, 4148 (from Perdegnaga, Brescia, of the late Republican period) is dismissed as a reference to the *Paganicae* (*feriae*). Discussion in TODISCO 2004b, 189-196. On the relation between the *lustratio pagi*, attested epigraphically in various places in Italy, and the *Paganalia* cf. *infra*.

[30] There are various anachronisms; cf. SCHUBERT 1996, 99-100.

[31] On these *pagi* (the *pagus Succusanus*, *pagus Montanus*, and those of the Aventine, Janiculum, and ss. Quattro Coronati ('*pagus Caelemontanus*'), all apparently one time outside the city borders), see FRASCHETTI 1990, 148-160.

4.15.4), and a communal sacrifice (θυσίαις κοιναίς; 4.15.3).[32] With regard to the location of these rituals, it is often suggested that the festival took place at the central sanctuary of the *pagus*.[33] This may seem self-evident, but the location is nowhere explicitly indicated nor is it qualified as a sanctuary, since Dionysius talks only of "altars" (βωμούς; 4.15.3) for each *pagus*.[34] The description in Dolabella (L 302.1) of an intriguing field sanctuary with four open sides would, according to Louis Delatte, deal with such a *pagus* sanctuary, but this seems unfounded because there is no reference to the *Paganalia* nor to a *pagus* (cf. also the discussion on *compitum* sanctuaries in Chapter 9).[35]

Perhaps it is not too far-fetched to suppose that the sanctuaries where *magistri pagi* were active, or where the influence of *pagi* is otherwise attested (*de pagi sententia* vel sim.), indeed formed the appropriate places for some of the rituals connected to the *Paganalia*, but this is not documented.

LUSTRATIO PAGI

It has been suggested that a *lustratio pagi* could be part of the *Paganalia*, even if Dionysius does not mention it directly in his description.[36] But also the fact in itself that there existed such a thing as the *lustratio pagi* is highly important; it attests to the ritual definition of territory and territoriality.[37] At the same time, the group of people living within it was defined. Importantly, we are certain that the *lustratio pagi* was performed in the *pagi* of Italy: Siculus Flaccus, who was a land surveyor active in the second century AD, comments in his *de condicionibus agrorum* (9-10), on the importance of the *lustratio pagi*. He even asserts that the extent of the territory of the *pagus* could be deduced from the area that was covered by this ritual. According to Siculus, the *lustratio* would be performed by the *magistri pagorum*.[38]

Lustrationes pagi are also attested epigraphically in the *pagi* in the Italic areas.[39] However, their relation to the *Paganalia* remains unclear, since, as has been seen,

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[32] FRASCHETTI 1990, 160 suggests moreover that the *ludi* mentioned in *CIL* VI, 30888 = *CIL* I², 984 (first century BC) might have been part of the *Paganalia* as well, and, referring to *CIL* VI, 2219 = *CIL* I², 1000 (around 100 BC) "non è improbabile che, sempre nel corso dei Paganalia, i pagani del Gianicolo banchettassero insieme, utilizzando anche a questo scopo la *culina* fatta approntare da un loro *magister*" (ibid.).

[33] E.g. ROHDE 1942, 2294: "Dass die Feier der *P.[aganalia]* an dem sakralen Zentrum des *Pagus* stattfand, dass wohl ebenfalls mit *Pagus* bezeichnet wurde, geht aus Dion. Hal. deutlich hervor."

[34] Unless they are to be understood as a *pars pro toto* of course.

[35] DELATTE 1937, 109-110; cf. WISSOWA 1901b, 793, who considers this a *compitum*; both theories are regarded suspiciously by ROHDE 1942, 2294.

[36] Cf. evt. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.76.1 on the installation of *pagi* by Numa, where the magistrates of the *pagi* make their rounds in order to establish the condition of the fields.

[37] See BAUDY 1998 on the role of the *lustratio*. Cf. esp., e.g. 96-99, seeing 'römische Umgangsriten' as 'symbolische Reviermarkierung'.

[38] Grom. Lat. L 164.64. *magistri pagorum quod pagos lustrare soliti sint, uti trahamus quatenus lustrarent.* It does not seem possible to establish whether the *archontes*, organisers of the *Paganalia*, mentioned by Dionysius (4.15.3) can be equated with *magistri* or rather *praefecti pagi* (nonetheless: DELATTE 1937, 106; cf. on the titles TARPIN 2002, 188, 196-197 and in general on the officials of the *pagus* 285-290).

[39] For the sources, cf. WISSOWA 1912, 143 n. 2; BÖHM 1927, 2032-2033; LATTE 1960, 41 n. 2.

lustrationes could also be performed on other occasions, as attested by *CIL* IX, 1618 from Beneventum.

In a problematic inscription found between Castelvecchio Subequo and Secinaro in Paelignian territory, a *lustratio pagi* has been recognised by some. The inscription, dated to the first century BC,[40] mentions three *magistri pagi* who *iter / paganicam fac(iunda/um) / ex p(agi) s(citu) c(uraverunt) eidemq(ue) p(robaverunt)*.[41] The discussion has centered on the interpretation of *iter* and *paganicam*, and their relation. Some read *iter paganicam*, i.e. some sort of road of the *pagus* or in the direction of a *Paganica*, others are inclined to integrate *iter*(*um*) as referring to the office-holding *magistri* and think *paganicam* is an adjective to an omitted substantive (*lustrationem*, *ara*, *aedes*, vel sim.).[42] Depending on the accepted solution, a relation with the rituals connected to the *pagus* is not to be excluded, but a proper *lustratio pagi* or the celebration of the *Paganalia* is not attested.

In Picene territory another example of a true *lustratio* is documented. A small bronze tablet (13.5 x 13 cm), which was perforated for the purpose of hanging it, was found in the area of Tolentinum.[43] The text, which can be dated to the third century AD, reads: *tesseram paga/nicam L(ucius) Vera/tius Felicissi/mus patronus / paganis pagi / Tolentine(n)s(is) hos/tias lustr(um) et tesser(as) / aer(eas) ex voto l(ibens) d(onum) d(edit) / V Id(us) Ma(rtia, -ia)s felicit(er)*, which could be translated as "*tessera* of the *pagus*. Lucius Veratius Felicissimus, patron, offered to the inhabitants of the *pagus* of

[40] LA REGINA 1967-68, 433.

[41] *AE* 1914, 270 = *CIL* I², 3255.

[42] The editor, PERSICHETTI 1914, 131, read *iter Paganicam* (*scil. versus*), i.e. a road leading to Paganica, a modern place name in the area which according to him was identical in antiquity (followed by LA REGINA 1967-68, 376). LATTE 1960, 42 n. 2. however recognised a *lustratio pagi*, reading *paganicam* (*scil. lustrationem*), and *iter* as *iter(um)*, i.e. 'again, a second time' and relating to the *lustratio*. In other words, the *magistri* would have cared for the *lustratio pagi* [that was held] again. Latte's reading is refuted by van Wonterghem, who favours an interpretation of *iter paganicam* as road again; according to him a '*tratturo*' would have been meant, which would explain the use of the word *iter* rather than *via* vel sim. (VAN WONTERGHEM 1984, 98-99). Buonocore on the other hand has suggested to interpret *iter* as *iter(um)*, but according to him this would relate to the office held again by the three *magistri*, and he proposes to amend a forgotten object *paganicam* (*aedem* vel sim.). Thus, three *magistri pagi* who were in office for the second time, would have cared for the construction of an *ara paganica*, *aedes paganica*, *aedicula paganica* or *porticus paganica* (in *Suppl.It.* n.s. V, 116; BUONOCORE 1993, 52 = BUONOCORE 2002a, 34). On his turn, Letta thinks that the *magistri* constructed an *iter paganicum*: "cioè una strada che attraversava tutto il territorio del *pagus*, collegando i vari *vici* tra loro e col santuario comune"; LETTA 1993, 37. In fact, both solutions, *iter* or *iterum*, require the acceptance of grammatical inconsistencies: *iter paganicam* instead of correctly *paganicum* on the one hand (LETTA 1993, 37 explains the female *paganicam* instead of neutrum *paganicum* with a mental association with *viam*) or the omission of a substantive where *paganicam* relates to (BUONOCORE 1993, 52 = BUONOCORE 2002a, 34 suggests that *paganica* is perhaps an otherwise unknown substantive). An additional problem is that the integration *iter*(*um*) would implicate a recurrence of the board of three *magistri pagi*, which seems improbable to LETTA 1993, 37. TODISCO 2004b, 186-189 suggests that the *magistri* saw to the construction of both a road and an object defined *paganicam* (*aedes* vel sim.).

[43] *CIL* IX, 5565.

Tolentinum the sacrificial animals, the lustration, and the bronze *tesserae*, as a result of a vow, with pleasure. 11 March / May, auspiciously." [44]

Although there has been discussion on the object of dedication, it seems now accepted that a *lustratio pagi* is meant here, during which sacrificial animals were led around the *pagus*.[45] The form and size of the *tessera* resembles a *tessera frumentaria*, and therefore probably also this *tessera paganica* served personal purposes rather than as commemorative *tabula*. Probably these *tesserae* were used as tokens to indicate the membership of the *pagus*. In the context of the festivities of the *pagus Tolentinensis*, it might therefore seem that Veratius not only paid for the animals and the *lustratio*, but also for the admission tickets of the *pagani* to the celebration.[46]

THE PAYMENT FOR THE RITUALS AND *THESAURI*

Another element which might shed light on the rituals and usages of the members of the *pagus* is an inscribed *thesaurus* that has been found at Carpineto della Nora, in the Vestine area (fig. 8.2). The conserved calcareous block (h. 44 x l. 86 x w. 60 cm) is hollowed out in order to contain the coins that were to be thrown into the *thesaurus*. The inscription dates to the first century BC and mentions four people who restored the object and dedicated it to *Juppiter Victor decem paagorum*.[47]

Fig. 8.2. *CIL* I², 3269, *thesaurus* from Carpineto della Nora (DEGRASSI, *Imagines*, 213, no. 299).

[44] Following CANCRINI, DELPLACE and MARENGO 2001, 123-125.

[45] CANCRINI, DELPLACE and MARENGO 2001, 123-125 with previous literature, e.g. SCHEID 1990, 449.

[46] CANCRINI, DELPLACE and MARENGO 2001, 125; cf. VIRLOUVET 1995, 344 n. 96.

[47] *CIL* I², 3269; *ILLRP* 1271c. La Regina has interpreted the apparent meeting of different *pagi* in one sanctuary as part of a structuration process, a "normale processo sinecistico", whereas the 'final stage' of *municipium* was never reached here (LA REGINA 1967-68, 414; cf. also the description of the sanctuary of Hercules Curinus as the "santuario tutelare del sinecismo": COARELLI and LA REGINA 1984, 132). The notion of an evolutionary development from single *pagi* to *municipium* can now however be dismissed, cf. Chapter 6.

The appearance of *thesauri* in Italy is a relatively late phenomenon that seems to start only at the beginning of the second century BC.[48] Most Italian *thesauri* date to the end of the second and the first centuries BC.[49] The inscriptions sometimes bear just the names of the instigators, as in Carpineto and Ferentillo,[50] but in other cases the titles reveal actions undertaken by *duoviri*, such as in Luna,[51] *praetores* in Anagnia,[52] and *magistri*, such as in Hatria.[53] In the territory of Pausulae, a *municipium* in the Picene area,[54] a *thesaurus* was found together with ca. 5000 Republican silver denarii. The inscription, a dedication to Apollo, can be dated to the second half of the second century BC.[55]

I think that the date of introduction, in the second century BC, the Latin language used, and the magistrates and the gods involved (Jupiter Victor, Apollo, Fortuna,[56] Minerva,[57] Vesta,[58] Hercules[59] and possibly Venus[60]) could suggest that these *thesauri* are a new phenomenon in the Italic areas, apparently in some way related to Roman / Latin influence. The geographical distribution of the *thesauri* seems to sustain this impression:[61] Fregellae (second century BC),[62] Beneventum (second century BC), Hatria (second-first centuries BC) and Luna (end second century BC) are colonies.[63] The Hernician city Anagnia was under Roman control since 306 BC,[64] whereas the *thesaurus* can be dated to the second half of the second century BC. The Picene area, where the second century BC *thesaurus* dedicated to Apollo comes from, was already

[48] KAMINSKI 1991, 106.

[49] On Italian *thesauri*: DEGRASSI 1967; DEGRASSI 1967; CIAMPOLTRINI 1993; CATALLI and SCHEID 1994; NONNIS 1994-1995; CRAWFORD 2003b; LETTA 2004.

[50] Ferentillo (first half first century BC): *CIL* XI, 4988. According to LA REGINA 1967-68, 414 the people mentioned in the Carpineto *thesaurus* are "dei semplici *magistri Iovis Victoris*, addetti all'amministrazione del culto" and not *magistri pagi*. LETTA 1993, 43 n. 44 dismisses this idea and thinks rather of individuals acting on their own behalf.

[51] *CIL* XI, 1343, cf. CIAMPOLTRINI 1993, dating it to the end of the second or rather the beginning of the first century BC.

[52] *CIL* I², 2536, dated to the second half of the second century BC. Cf. NONNIS 1994-1995, 160.

[53] *CIL* I², 3293, dated to the second century BC by TORELLI 2005, 355, but see NONNIS 2003, 48 for a first century BC date.

[54] The inscription comes from località S. Lucia, between S. Claudio al Chienti and Morrovalle.

[55] *CIL* IX, 5805; GASPERINI 1983, 16; cf. KAMINSKI 1991, 165-167 and CRAWFORD 2003b, 78-79.

[56] *CIL* XIV, 2854 from Praeneste and *CIL* XI, 6307 from *Pisaurum*.

[57] *AE* 1985, 266 from Sora (79-40 BC).

[58] *AE* 1904, 210 from Beneventum (second century BC).

[59] LA TORRE 1989a, 140, from the sanctuary of Hercules Curinus near Sulmona.

[60] In Anagni, since *p*(*ecunia*) *Venerus* has been used, cf. NONNIS 1994-1995, 164.

[61] *Thesauri* appear in some Latial sanctuaries, but these are quite late. Cf. Praeneste: *CIL* XIV, 2854 (Caligula) (but cf. criticism by CRAWFORD 2003b, 76); Lanuvium (*CIL* XIV, 4177) (end first century BC).

[62] LIPPOLIS 1986, 32, from the sanctuary of Asclepius. Cf. for a *thesaurus* in the city: COARELLI 1981a, 41.

[63] The Latin colony of Sora (303 BC) could be added, but this *thesaurus* is dated to the first half of the first century BC (CATALLI and SCHEID 1994).

[64] HUMBERT 1978, 214. The city was possibly made *praefectura* in that year.

in the third century BC incorporated by Rome.[65] In Arpinum, under Roman control since 305 BC, a second century BC *thesaurus* was found.[66] If a block with a dedication to Valetudo, dating at least as early as the second century BC, which apparently came from the *vicus Aninus* was indeed a *thesaurus*, this would be another example.[67]

Few are the exceptions to this connection with Roman or Latin influence, and the evidence remains, furthermore, somewhat suspicious. A *thesaurus* found in the sanctuary of Hercules Curinus at Sulmona could possibly form an example of a *thesaurus* in allied territory, but only if it dates before the municipalisation of Sulmo, which does not seem probable.[68] A *thesaurus* is, however, mentioned in line 29 of side B of the late second century BC treaty between Abella and Nola, otherwise written in the Oscan language.[69] Another possible exception of a *thesaurus* in an 'indigenous' context is formed by a block revealed in a sanctuary of the second to first centuries BC at Pescosansonesco in the Vestine area.[70] The rectangular calcareous block presents an iron ring on top, and an inscription in the Vestine or a Vestine-Latin language, which reads: *T. Vetis C. f.t.cule t. p*. Letta suggests that the block was the lid of a *thesaurus* and reconstructs *t*(*hesaurum*) *p*(*osuit*).[71] However, both the identification of the object and the interpretation of the text in this way do not appear to be compelling, as Letta himself admits.

There remains the question of what this apparent correspondence between Roman political influence and the appearance of *thesauri* means. Torelli connects their appearance in time and place to the "definitiva ellenizzazione delle architetture religiose e profane di Roma e dei *socii italici*",[72] which may indeed seem attractive since the phenomenon is well known in earlier Greek contexts. At the same time it is somehow strange that the earliest Italian *thesauri* seem to be restricted to areas where Roman political influence was strong, whereas the hellenisation of Italy does not seem

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[65] HUMBERT 1978, 237-244. An inscribed *thesaurus* comes from the Umbrian town Amelia, which may have retained allied status until the Social War (BRADLEY 2000, 120-122), but the *thesaurus* is dated to the first century BC; the same goes for the first century *thesaurus* from Ferentillo. The *thesaurus* of Pettino near Amiternum (*CIL* IX, 4325 = *CIL* I², 1856) is not dated, but appears in *ILLRP*, no. 532. At Collepietro, near Superaequum, a *thesaurus* was found with coins, including one reading *Diovis* / *stipe* (*CIL* I², 2484). The lid of a possible *thesaurus* was found in a votive deposit at S. Pietro in Cantoni: MATTEINI CHIARI 2000, 284.

[66] For the *thesaurus* SOGLIANO 1896, 370, according to whom the *thesaurus* had "l'aspetto di un enorme uovo" and HÜLSEN 1907, 237 n. 1 with fig. 1. on p. 239. Apparently a Roman *praefectura* was installed in 305 BC, it became *municipium* in 90 BC.

[67] *CIL* IX 3812 (= *CIL* I², 390; cf. *CIL* IX, 3813), now lost. CATALLI and SCHEID 1994, no. 12, marked 'uncertain' by CRAWFORD 2003b, 79.

[68] Cf. COARELLI and LA REGINA 1984, 127-129 and LA TORRE 1989a (on the *thesaurus*: 140 and 143 fig. 55). An earlier incorporation of the entire area is however not excluded. On the status of the Paeligni see COARELLI and LA REGINA 1984, 113: in 305 BC part of their territory was apparently annexed by Rome (Diod. Sic. 20.90.3), probably the area around Superaequum. See also Chapter 7.

[69] Ve. 1. According to LA REGINA 2000, post-Gracchan.

[70] The status of this area is not clear in all respects, but it was conquered already in 290 BC (HUMBERT 1978, 226-233). The *thesaurus* of Carpineto della Nora, only ca. 10 km distant from Pescosansonesco, also belongs to this territory.

[71] LETTA 2004.

[72] TORELLI 2005, 355.

to have been linked directly to Roman influence. Perhaps another suggestion of Torelli, that the phenomenon may have been linked to the "sostanziale monetizzazione del regime delle offerte",[73] in the second half of the second century BC, could be better related to Roman influence, but it is still striking that the evidence is restricted to particular areas of Central Italy.

In any case, the appearance of a *thesaurus* in a sanctuary to 'Jupiter Victor of the ten *pagi*' taps into a new fashion which seems in one way or another related to Roman influence. Generally, these *thesauri* will have served as receptacles for the contributions of the participants of the cult, which were to be used, amongst other things, to finance the festivals and associated *ludi*. This calls to mind the above quoted assertion of Dionysius (4.15.4) that for the funding of the activities during the *Paganalia* all inhabitants of the *pagus* had to throw in their apposite νόμισμα ("Towards the expense of this sacrifice and of this assemblage he ordered all those of the same district to contribute each of them a certain piece of money, the men paying one kind, the women another and the children a third kind"). Whether the second suggestion by Dionysius that "When these pieces of money were counted by those who presided over the sacrifices, the number of people, distinguished by their sex and age, became known" is also true, remains impossible to prove.

Conclusion: The Ritual Definition of New Communities

To sum up, we have seen that in modern literature on ancient religion the *pagus* is often evoked as a locale of rusticity and rurality. This is partly justified by a similar attitude in early imperial poetry, where the countryside is being exalted as a part of Augustan ideology. Along the same lines, the most important religious festival associated with the *pagus*, the *Paganalia*, has been conceptualised as an agricultural feast of great antiquity. Yet, this image is not backed up by the evidence. The sources tell us little else than that the *Paganalia* involved a specific group located in the countryside, and that the festival was designed for administrative purposes.

Part of the *Paganalia* was probably a *lustratio* of the *pagus*. Such a *lustratio* was however not exclusively performed on the occasion of the *Paganalia*. During the *lustrationes* the inhabitants of the *pagus* made a circumambulation around their territory, and thereby ritually enhanced its borders. At the same time the group that was included within this territory was being redefined by this ritual. The *lustratio* will have had an important integrative function for the community. By re-emphasising or constructing the community ritually, previous relations and boundaries will have been erased, and the new community will have established and augmented its authority by divine legitimisation. This process of group formation also becomes apparent in the archaeological and epigraphical record, in the form of *tesserae paganicae* which express the affiliation of individuals to the *pagus*, and the communal sanctuaries installed *ex pagi decreto* vel sim., where the inhabitants of the *pagus* probably also paid their contributions to the festivities.

[73] TORELLI 2005, 355.

It should not be excluded that these group formation processes, and perhaps related administrative purposes, informed the main rituals celebrated in the countryside *pagi*, albeit concealed behind general references to rusticity by early imperial poetry, and not the least modern interpretation. Indeed, we should try to put images of rustic and frugal cult into perspective, just as in the case of the 'sacro-idyllic' landscape shown at the beginning of this chapter. The image has to be understood within a new, very Roman decorative scheme belonging to a *villa* of the last decade BC, the ensemble being typical for the Augustan age (fig. 8.3).

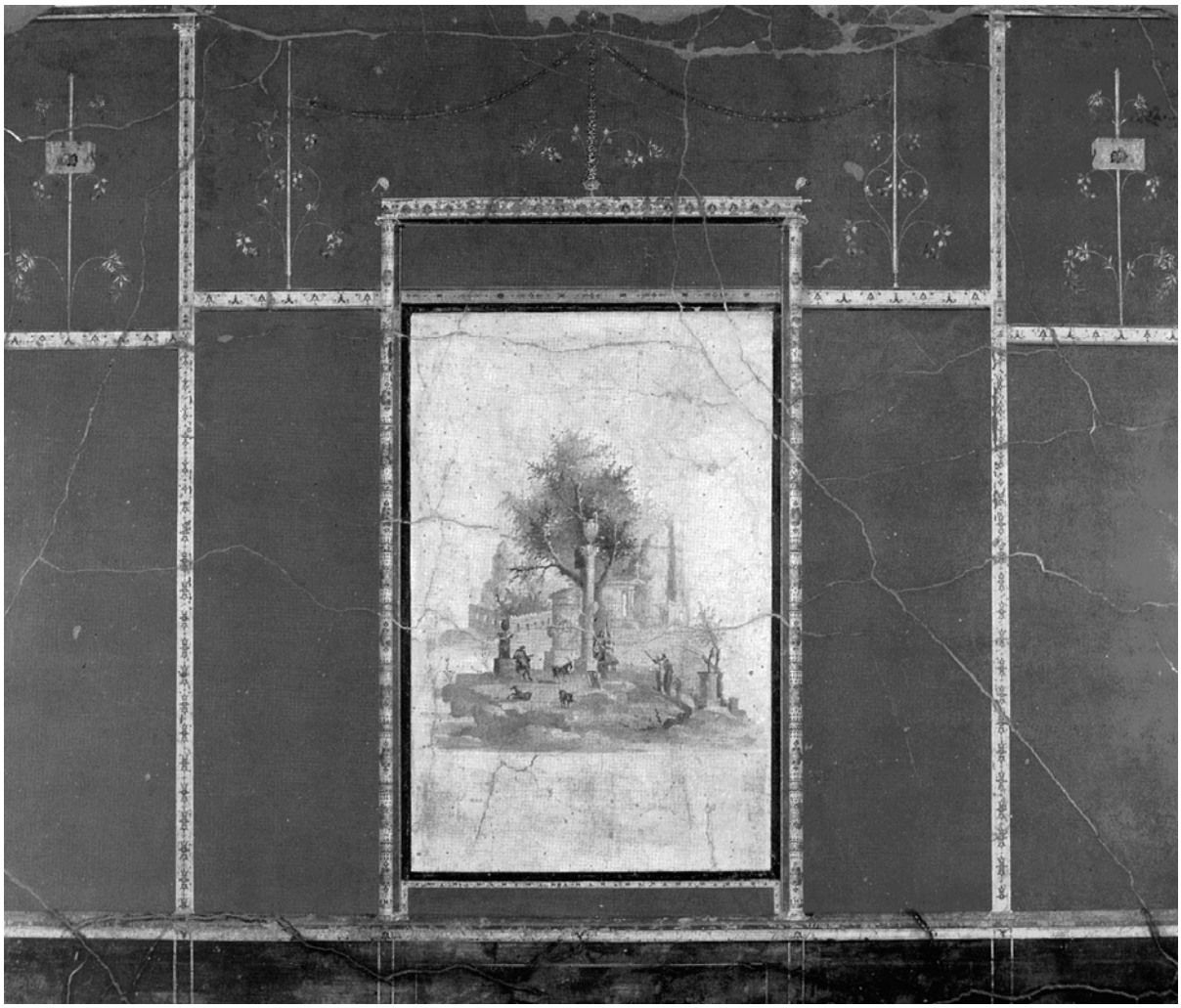

Fig. 8.3. Wall-painting with 'sacro-idyllic' landscape within decorative scheme from the *villa* of Agrippa Postumus at Boscotrecase, Red Room, North wall (VON BLANCKENHAGEN and ALEXANDER 1990, pl. 21).