

where some stones with a dedication indicated that the ceremonies took places near parade areas or in special areas of cult near military camps.

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Adrian Dmowski

Private religious cults in the Roman army

In the Roman Empire, as it turns out, private religious cults in addition to cult practiced by the local population were also visible in the Roman army and they were not homogeneous, because the Roman Empire was a vast creation. So cults as well as the gods and the ways to implement the cults differed depending on which provincial lands the soldiers came from. The legions varied from each other in the way of cult and the type of cults religious.

In addition to the official Roman religion that was in force in the Roman Empire, there were private religious cults that any Roman soldier could cult. These cults were

permitted and accepted in the Roman army. However, how did it happen and why did Roman soldiers accept different cults throughout their lives? Soldiers when they were out of military service or settled somewhere near their own military units, could observe the cult of the local population in a given province. Sometimes a legionnaire, during his military service, got to know a very wide spectrum of religious ideas outside place of residence or a place of birth. Legions, in due to their location, adhered local gods from the province in which they were placed and with time began to attach to the new environment. Every army, which was located in the province, through the construction of forts, contacted the local population of the province, e. g. Illyria, and it gave the beginnings of integration processes and broadcast the specific character of this legion and his religious identification. An example is worship Matron (maternal deities) by soldiers of the 1st Legion of Minerva. This is nothing but the Aufoniae cult that came from the Rhine and was received by the soldiers of this legion. Regional cults of the civilian population strongly influenced Roman soldiers. An example would be the emperor's cult or the judges' ceremonies, which differed depending on imperial province. For example, in Egypt, the prefect regularly acted on behalf of the “Emperor of the Pharaoh”, presenting the Nile with the victims of pottery vessels in Pilae. Cohorta Cubernorum honored the cult the local deity Dea Loventina as guardian of the legion. At the same time, soldiers often carried out the cult of local deities and participated in them to ensure their protection. For example, garrison towns and long-lasting social integration prompted soldiers to stay there to participate in urban and local regional cultures. During the battle of Cremona, the soldiers of the Syrian legion greeted “Rising sun”. As it turned out later, these soldiers were deployed in Raphanaea in the 3rd century AD. They were also constantly visiting the sanctuary of the Sun God, located in near the camp. Often, in the whole existence of the Empire, centurions built local temples. A great role in the diffusion of cults was also played by the fact that local the cults did not change the faith of the Romans, but rather they complemented or influenced the attitude of soldiers to the surrounding gods. With the increasing mobility of the Roman army, especially in later centuries, it contributed to the development of the diffusion of given cults religion. Due to constant transfer of people and units in the Roman army, proliferation of religious traditions and cults with limited local tradition was carried out (that is, was spread) even to the furthest corners of the Empire [1, p. 464–468]. It should also be mentioned that in the Roman army there were so-called Cult traditions that were a special case of relocation cult. Cultures, which were characteristic of regiments, were the guardian deities serving as “cultflag”. In general, there were two elements of religion in the Roman army: the official religion military, which was obligatory for all soldiers, and private cults selected by soldiers depending on the place of recruitment or permanent stay in the fort on a given territory (for example, the cult of Mitra or Jupiter Dolichenus).

We know that every Roman could choose worship and privately worship him. Roman Empire from the beginning of its existence intended to use the army to expand its state religion to the conquered provinces, all the more to the east, but here it was the

other way round. The Roman soldiers, who were mainly responsible for introducing the cult difficulties in the romanization of the territories conquered by Rome on the contrary began take oriental cults from the time of arrival in Syria or Persia in the first century AD. The capital of the Empire itself played a huge role in their dissemination. Especially there were four important god cults in the Roman army: Cybele, Mithra, Jupiter Dolichenus and Sol Invictus (the god of the sun).

The cult of the Great Mother of Cybele, which was the earliest, functioned on the East and was accepted cult in Rome. This type of cult, however, did not find special interest from the side of the army, but it was popular among women [2, p. 33–35]. The cult of Cybele was the first eastern cult that reached Rome. The proponents of the cult were the emperors of the Roman Empire Caligula and Claudius. The cult of Cybele was greatly offended by the Romans at the turn of the second and the first year, but in spite of this, it did not prevent the spread of worship through the establishment of fraternities, but for Romans cults were disturbing and disgusting. In the second century BC, Romans, which have already brought this kind of cult but did not yet know what practices were used by Galloi priests, discovered it and began to minimize contact with Roman citizens by limiting priests to the temple complex and forbidding citizens to join the priesthood. Cybele's cult was cult of a great mystery, it was a enigmatic cult with which it covered mystical rituals and initials that promised the cultivating resurrection. Its original temple was on the Palatine, which was built just after her cult was introduced Rome. Consecrated in 191 BC by Marcus Junius Brutus, it was completely burnt in 111 BC. The following year, after the destruction of the temple, it took place construction of the second, next Matellus temple. Interestingly, Cybele was originally Phrygian goddess, which the Romans connected with the legendary Trojan roots. Cult, despite the difficulties it encountered in Rome, played a very important role in Roman religion as a defender of Rome and its independence and the Romans quite easily accepted it along with their traditional Roman religion.

God's cult of Mithra was born in Asia, and specifically in Iran. It came from Persian religious tradition, which, according to Cumont, had strong ties with the Roman Cult of Mithra and was the continuation of the original Persian cult [3, p. 65–95]. This kind of cult has been left widespread among the Roman soldiers during the Invasion of the Kingdom of the Parthians and for a long period of staying in the eastern areas of the Empire. Mithraism spread in the second century, and gained its splendor in the third century (crisis times for Empire). The first contact with the cult of Mithra had soldiers under Pompey, which fought with pirates in the province of Cilicia. First traces of the cult of God Mithra we can observe already during the rule of the Flavian authority. Through careful analysis we can deduce from the investigators' evidence that the Roman cult of Mithra, was probably created shortly before 75–125. In these years, we can assume, it was the earliest period of the existence of cult and the evidence can be dated during the earliest period of existence from which they originated. At this time, the cult was distributed in different parts of the Empire: Rome, Germania Superior,

Pannonia Superior, Maesia Inferior and Judea. Centers of cult, established by densely preserved material evidence, were in Italy and in the Danube provinces. They were distributed throughout the Roman Empire small temples, (even in Rome itself), where he was placed a sculpture where Mitra kills a bull (gr. tauroktonia). The sacrifice was carried out in the temple by various animals, and animal meat was later consumed. The most common and most frequently used victim for the sacrifice were chickens. The Romans adopted this cult, transforming it into a Romanized version, the so-called Mithraism, which was the developed Eastern cult. The Roman cult of Mithra was the so-called “veil” for subsequent Hellenistic or Roman inaccuracies. Different processes of the formation of Persian worship led to the emergence of Roman cult Mithra, which was also gradually changing into a new form of religious tradition, included also a lot of cultural and religious elements from different cultures. The Greek tradition of Hellenistic was an inseparable element of the still-forming process of cult Mithra. Mithra for the Romans was often seen as the “genius” or being sunny. It was a mysterious cult.

To find out the main idea of Mithra, it was necessary to obtain seven levels of initiation, in which was dedicated the mystic, who took on a new life and name. In addition, representatives of seven initiation groups wore masks, colored costumes that were rewritten to the given degree to which the member belonged (even a soldier). However, what had the cult of Mithra that the soldiers began to cult him in their chapels and spread? The popular doctrine of this cult in the Roman army, according to Cumont, was struggle between good and evil, which fitted for a soldier’s life (e.g. fighting with barbarians or with rebels). The second reason, why the soldiers so eagerly cultivated, it was the promise of immortality, which was a very important thing in those days, when the soldier’s life was fragile at that time and everything depended on his skills, especially when the soldiers were convinced of the upcoming battle or even if the battle for some of the soldiers were unfavorable and they knew that victory was more likely to be possible. The third reason was that the cult of Mithra explained the meaning of the existence of the world and life of human, who could participate in the life of God. Soldiers found consolation in promised protection by god Mithra, and even life after death. Mithraism in the army was exempt from other pagan ceremonies, which were quite often used by the Christians. The Roman soldiers also began to identify the god Mithra with Orion, who was the ideal soldier, and that is why Mithra was always armed with a knife or sword. The Roman soldiers perceived him as his protector, giving them divine power. God Mithra was also venerated by those officers, which were often transferred to an administrative position or to another legion. All these factors contributed to the spread of worship. An example can be a dedication near the forts in Great Britain, which were made by the prefect and centurion. Even in the province of Panonnia, the cult of Mithra was visible through the soldiers of the Legion of the 15th Apollo, that was stationed in this province. Previously this legion was stationed in the Eastern lands of the Empire, specifically in Armenia and Judea. Interestingly, even the Britannia did not avoid the popularity of the eastern cult, that was worshiped by soldiers in London and Eburacum. After retirement, the soldiers

could take their cult home and privately worship him, that shows the fact that they were still worshipping him. In military forts were erected the temples, where the Soldier could cultivate the god Mithra and sanctify others in cult. Mithraism supplemented official military cults like imperial cult and banner cult and it was popular only in later centuries. The state itself provided financial support and was in favor of cultivating this kind of God, because the benefits were seen. Legionnaires thus gained courage, loyalty and reduced the the level of desertion in their units. Despite the popularity and benefits of this Religion (supported by the state authorities), it was never officially recognized even by Emperor Commodus, who himself was interested in this cult and was supporter of the Mithra cult. During the time of Emperor “mithraism” moved to the state religion and the god Mithra was cultivated from 100 BC to around 400 AD until the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the Roman Empire. The existence of mithraism continued until the times of Emperors Honorius (Western Roman Empire) and Arcadius (Eastern Roman Empire) and this cult never pursued a rivalry with the Christian religion.

Another eastern deity that was cultivated by the Romans in their army was the cult of so-called Jupiter Dolichenus that was popular as well as the cult of Mithra. The cult of Jupiter Dolichenus came from the town of Doliche in Asia in today’s south-eastern Turkish Republic (the ancient town was located in Syria between the Euphrates River and the Tigris) and was adopted by the army in the first century. This cult was found on the northern and eastern borders of Roman provinces such as Dacia, Pannonia Superior and Inferior, Moesia, Raetia, Noricum and Britain. The earliest evidence for this kind of cult comes from the second century AD. Jupiter Dolichenus was depicted by the Romans as a Roman military god who was dressed in military clothes, which emphasized his warlike character, similar to the character of the soldiers of the Roman army. After a while he became the official half-god for the Roman army [4; 5, p. 33–42]. It is also worth emphasizing the fact that not only the military cultivated this type of deity, which was also cultivated by civilians. Only because of the great popularity of this cult in the army there are many thoughts (erroneous) that these cults were used only in the Roman army and that the Roman soldiers themselves spread this cult. Nothing could be more wrong. Civilians also had their share in spreading the cult, after all, the Syrians helped in the spread of cult in the army through trade and society. In general, we can say that not only the army must be attributed the spread of this cult, but also the common commercial, military and social activities, which caused the rapid spread of worship to the border of the Roman Empire over the Danube. 60 percent of the inscriptions, deductions were made by civilians, and 40 percent of the deductions were made by Roman soldiers and veterans. Jupiter Dolichenus was identified as the god of heaven and the universe. Military chapels were built in military camps. The chapel dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus functioned in Austria in the Roman province of Noricum, where there was a Roman fort. As you can see the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus spread to the West. This cult could be adopted to other existing deities. According to the soldiers, the cult did not demand priority, that is why in the chapels Dolichenus’

statues and depictions were found among other religious objects, images and statues that belonged to other deities. These ritual objects were stone altars, plates. The Romans combined cults with each other and worshiped many deities. That is why their presence in the temple of Jupiter Dolichenus is justified, so as Arnaldo Momigliano said: “the cult of Dolichenus was the most popular under the rule of Emperor Septimius Severus (146–211)”. Why was worship Jupiter Dolichenus popular in the Roman army, and why were soldiers so eager to cult him? The first reason was the support of the cult by the Roman emperor, since the emperor himself worshiped him. It meant that this cult was adopted throughout the Roman Empire. The second reason for popularizing this kind of cult in the Roman army was that Jupiter Dolichenus was associated with iron, and iron, as we know well, was used in the army, because of the production of weapons and armor. The third reason was the recruitment of people which lived in Syria to the Roman legions. These people originally cultivated Jupiter Dolichenus, and this fact allowed to spread this type of cult among other legionaries, not to mention that the army itself helped in extending this cult in other lands of the Empire, through moving to threatened areas, or even transferring the same centurions which passed from one legion to another. The fourth and last reason was the influence of officers on their subordinates, which made the cult a significant influential among the soldiers. Dolichenus as well as Mithra was popular among soldiers on the battlefield, which, according to soldiers, gave them protection during military service. Interestingly, the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus was often associated with the cult of Mithra and the chapel of two cults were built in the Roman fort quite close to each other.

The fourth and also the last eastern cult was the so-called Sol Invictus [6, p. 381–427], or the invincible sun, the cult of the sun, which we know well, was the oldest cult in Ancient Rome. This cult lost its significance in the later period of the Roman Republic and at the beginning of the Roman Empire. Only in the later period of the Roman Empire the interest in this cult increased again, that allowed its revival. Before the Emperor Aurelian, Sol Invictus was promoted by Baal of Emesa when the 14-year-old ruler Heliogabal sat on the imperial throne. The most characteristic aspect in the Mithra religion was the moral code, which outranked far what other eastern cults and cults belonging to the Greek-Roman world had created. As in the previous types of cult, the eastern cult of the Sun God was brought into the army by stationing Roman troops in the eastern part of Empire. This cult was officially adopted only in the II century AD. We see the cult of the sun in Legion III Gallica, where a lot of soldiers came from the east, which again shows that the spread of worship was due to the recruitment and influence of eastern cult on soldiers, which mixed there. The cult, as it was mentioned, was promoted only in the later period, specifically in the second and third century AD, and the popularity of sun cult could be seen even in the Roman province of Aegyptus (Egypt) in the II AD, where the statue of Horus was found in military clothing, some statues were drawn the right hand, which showed the imperial gesture to the Legions. It can be suggested that these statues of Sol Invictus were worshiped by many emperors in the II AD. Even the emperor Had-

rian, who himself personally traveled on the eastern borderlands of the Empire, wanted to personally identify with the god himself as it was shown by the coins in his time. Why did Sol Invictus appear in the army and why was it revered by soldiers? Just like in the case of Jupiter Dolichenus, the cause of cultivating the sun god (Syrian) was the promise of an afterlife, a guarantee of life after death and the idea of fighting with darkness and evil spirits. It was very attractive to soldiers. As I mentioned above, soldier's life was very fragile, but it is also necessary to take into account the fact that the "psychology of the crowd" may have worked, and some of the soldiers went behind the crowd. Another reason why the Sol Invictus cult was popular was the very large population from which soldiers were recruited to the army in Syria. The cult of Sol Invictus was officially adopted while Jupiter Dolichenus and Mithra were the cults informally allowed in the army, so it was the only Eastern cult that was officially admitted to the Roman army. It is shown by Arch of Constantine, where is a description of the statues of Sol Invictus, the party itself officially by the army held under the reign of Emperor Aurelian, who himself hoped that thanks to this cult would unite the Roman Empire politically. The propagation of the sun god's cult took place again thanks to the army. At the end of discussing the Eastern cults in the Roman army, it can be stated that since the capture of the Middle East, we can observe growing interest in eastern cults by legionnaires. This was made possible by the fact that by recruiting people from Syria, Judea or Egypt, as well as due to prolonged stationing in camps, and through contacts with the local population, the soldiers were given freedom to worship the eastern deities, that is demonstrated by the numerous dedication written by soldiers. As Hoey claims, the eastern cults were not only tolerated in the Roman army, but they were also encouraged to do so, except for one cult that was officially accepted by the state.

The Jews were reluctant to be occupied by the Romans, which occupied Jerusalem and the former Kingdom of Israel, which resulted in numerous uprisings; however, the Jews also joined the Roman army, as it was shown by numerous documents, had their religious practices in the military throughout the Empire, rather than only in Judea. In Jerusalem alone, the loyal Jews, who were in favor of Rome, prayed twice in the Temple of Jerusalem twice a day to God for the good of the Emperor. The cult of the Emperor was present even among Jews, which satisfied the Roman authorities, from this state of affairs. However, the question arises as to why the Jews cultivated the Emperor's cult and served in the Roman army, as they had caused two large uprisings, the first uprising ended with the burning of the Jerusalem Temple. The reason was to gain a social position in the Roman Empire, and obtaining Roman citizenship was a big motivation for military service. Jews very often came to the auxiliary army, but there were also exceptions, when they were sent to the main Roman armies. A large number of Jews in the Roman army began to assimilate and accept Latin or Greek Roman names and culture. What did transpire in the cultivation of the gods? They called themselves Roman Jews, for example: Tiberius Alexander. The visibility in the diversity of religious culture among Jews, which used pagan motifs in decorating the synagogue, was very significant. Not

all Jews were orthodox, which had a big impact in participating in the Roman army and assimilation of Jews and cults in the Roman army [7, p. 56–74].

Although it is hard to believe, but the Christians, which, unfortunately, were supposed to conceal their convictions until they finished their service, also served as part of the Roman army. The Romans in the army with hostility referred to Christian soldiers, they persecuted them for their lack of worship of the emperor and the lack of worship of the pagan gods. The Christians were thought to bring defeat and misfortune for the lack of devotion to the gods. The famous Christian writers themselves were negatively oriented towards the service of Christians in the army. Justin Martyr wrote that since Rome persecutes Christians and tries to fight them, they should not take part in the Roman army. Tertilion talked about the pacifism of Christians, and that a Christian should not kill and have contact with a killing tool, e.g. a sword. He urged Christians to pacifism. In spite of this, the first mentions of the service of Christians in the Roman army came from records regarding the Markoman war. Cult in the only god for the Romans was unacceptable to the army. Emperor Decjan himself tried to fight this religion and make Christians reject their beliefs and begin to worship the emperor and heathen gods. He wanted to do it by decree, which declared that the sacrifice was to be made before the gods and the statue of the Emperor Decjan himself, which put the Christians in constant pressure against military. The attitude of the Christians in the Roman army was different. There were some Christians, which immediately worshiped the heathen gods to avoid persecution and those, who risked themselves by staying faithful. The strongest persecution of the army for those, who resisted was during the reign of Diocletian in 299. Christians were also high in the army, such as the centurion's office, but here they also opposed the pagan rites. During the Markomanan war, which I mentioned, as we know from the Christian and pagan historians, XII Legion fought with the barbarians, when the Christian was pushed to the wall and suffered from hunger and thirst, so they found themselves in a desperate situation. By Historian Erebin, the legion prayed to God for help, to save them from thirst and hunger. God responded to the call and sent them rain. After this incident Christian writers were proud of this event, saying that it showed how God helped his faithful when it was needed. Nevertheless, the Christian soldiers had to wait for their public cultivation until the time of Constantine the Great, who established the Christian religion as permissible and legal in the Roman Empire. In discussing Christians, it is shown that Christians in the army, having difficulty with cultivating their beliefs, had to hide from pagan colleagues in the army and by persecution or even killing, they were forced to cult the emperor. However, this is also shown with what determination people fought for their religious affiliation. Their resistance lasted until the very legalization of their religion [8].

During the Roman Empire a very important role was played by religion, which, in opinion of local residents, not only solved their life, health, wealth, but also brought prosperity and grace to the gods, and gave impetus to a very important religious cults and various gods depending on the province of the Empire. In the Roman army, without

worship of gods Roman soldiers would not withstand the hardships of the war, and perhaps the Roman Empire would not reach the size that we know today. Freedom of choice of worship by soldiers shows great freedom in worshipping their private deities. Rome did not fight them, and in some cases even promoted some cults. The exception was Sol Invictus, which was not only promoted, but also admitted to the official religion.

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Світлана Дудка

**Родина православного сільського священика
в другій половині XVIII ст.
(за матеріалами сповідних розписів села Повстин
Пирятинської протопопії Київської єпархії)**

Сучасні українські історики в своїх дослідженнях все більшу увагу звертають на таку важливу ланку суспільства, як сім'я (родина). Відбувається це на хвилі зростання інтересу до напрацювань західної історіографії, насамперед, у сферах соціальної історії та історичної демографії. Разом з тим стан розробки проблеми еволюції інституту сім'ї на українських землях досі залишається в незадовільному стані. Особливе зацікавлення в даному контексті викликає період XVIII–XIX ст., тобто час, якого сягають етнографічні уявлення про традиційну