## Contents

List of Tables —— XV

List of Illustrations —— XVII

List of Abbreviations —— XIX

### 0 Introduction —— 1
0.1 The Lupercalia: sources and topics —— 1
0.2 To Compare or not to Compare? Beyond Eurocentrism —— 8
0.3 In Defence of Lost Causes —— 15
0.4 Human and Non-Human Animals —— 24
0.5 Overview —— 28

### 1 Caesar and the Lupercalia —— 30
1.1 The Sources and the Circumstances —— 35
1.2 Caesar, God or King? —— 45
1.3 Conclusion —— 55

### 2 Rites of Passage —— 57
2.1 Following the Wolf —— 58
2.2 Initiation —— 62
2.3 The Bloodrite and *luvenes* —— 70
2.4 Sexuality —— 74
2.5 Structure —— 80
2.6 Parallels and Definitions —— 84
2.7 Conclusion —— 89

### 3 Liminal Times and Spaces —— 91
3.1 Liminality —— 94
3.2 Wolves and Outlaws —— 103
3.3 Bloodrite: Myth and Ritual —— 109
3.4 *Flamen Dialis* and the Luperci —— 112
3.5 *Flamen Dialis* and *Brahmin* —— 116
3.6 Conclusion —— 123
4  Young Men and Wild Ideas: Indo-European Studies, Wolves, and Civilisation — 125
   4.1 Wolves and Aryans: The Discourses of Imperialism — 125
   4.2 Warbands or Männerbünde — 134
   4.3 Conclusion — 144

5  Youthbands, Migrants, and Wolves — 146
   5.1 Animality — 146
   5.2 Cattle: Raids and Myths — 148
   5.3 The Vrātyas — 152
   5.4 Mahāvrata: A Liminal Festival — 154
   5.5 The Wandering Youth — 157
   5.6 Migrants and Wolves — 162
   5.7 Conclusion — 171

6  The Savage Gods — 173
   6.1 Pan and Faunus — 173
   6.2 The Wild God of the Lupercal and Vedic Rudra — 176
   6.3 Savagery — 187
   6.4 Cattle and Other Non-Human Animals — 191
   6.5 Healing and Fertility — 192
   6.6 Multiplicity — 195
   6.7 Singing and Prophecy — 196
   6.8 War and Initiation — 198
   6.9 Conclusion — 200

7  Beyond Nature and Culture: Analogies with the Non-Human — 202
   7.1 Beyond Nature and Culture — 203
   7.2 A System of Analogies — 207
   7.3 Substitution and Metonymy — 215
   7.4 Horses, Chariots, and Royal Rituals — 218
   7.5 Dawn, Sun, and Night — 226
   7.6 Sacrificial Competition — 231
   7.7 Ennius’ Auguries and Roman Sovereignty — 234
   7.8 Conclusion — 240
8 The Long Republican Period: Warbands, Equestrians, and the Fabian gens — 242

8.1 Equestrians — 243

8.2 The Fabii and the battle of Cremera — 249

8.3 The Quick and the Slow: Horses and Dawn — 256

8.4 Roman Imperialism and the Gentilicial Cults in the Mid-Republic — 264

8.5 Conclusion — 269

9 Conclusion — 271

Wolves of Rome Bibliography — 277

Index — 306