

ALBA LONGA: LEGACY AND AUTHORITY

by

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(Under the Direction of Thomas Biggs)

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores how Alba Longa played a role in shaping Roman identity and self-perception. It first considers the ways that Roman rites and ceremonies held at Alba, primarily the *Feriae Latinae* and the Alban Mount triumph, provided and affirmed the legitimate authority of the Roman state and its officials. It then interrogates various locations and monuments in Rome, including the Tiber River and the Forum of Augustus, to show their functions as places of Alban memory. These marked sites serve both to point Rome back to Alba and to center Alban legitimacy in Rome. In conclusion, this thesis demonstrates that the connection between Rome and Alba was important to the perception of Roman hegemony that rests upon its claim as the successor to Alba.

INDEX WORDS: Alba Longa, Roman memory, *Feriae Latinae*, Forum of Augustus, triumph

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INTRODUCTION

The Impact of Alba on Roman Identity

*Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
Italiam, fato profugus, Laviniaque venit
litora, multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
vi superum saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram;
multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem
inferretque deos Latio, genus unde Latinum,
Albanique patres, atque altae moenia Romae.*

“I sing of weapons and a man, exiled by fate, who was the first to come from the coasts of Troy to Italy and Lavinian shores, tossed about through land and sea by the power of the gods and the unforgetting wrath of fierce Juno. He also suffered many things in war, until he was able to found a city and carry his gods to Latium, whence came the Latin race, the Alban fathers, and the walls of high Rome.”¹

In the opening lines of the *Aeneid*, a reader learns that it is through Alba Longa that Jupiter’s later promise to grant *imperium sine fine*² to the descendants of Aeneas makes its way through history from Aeneas to Rome. In the epic, Alba Longa is treated as a historical kingdom, born of joint Trojan and Latin heritage, part of a teleology that carries Jupiter’s promise through the generations to Augustus. Vergil was not the only writer to discuss what Alba Longa meant to Roman identity and heritage, however, nor was his the only interpretation of its meaning.

On the one hand, as part of a distant past that ended before the birth of the republic, it was difficult for the Romans to gain a firm grasp on what Alba Longa really was or meant. In Dionysius of Halicarnassus’ *Antiquitates Romanae* Alba Longa is the foil to Rome. In a conversation between Tullus Hostilius and the last Alban dictator, Mettius Fufetius, Alba

¹ Verg. *Aen.* 1.1-7; translations are the author’s where not otherwise stated.

² Ibid 1.279.

represents the very ideas that would hold Rome back from greatness, such as an unwillingness to assimilate, adapt, and improve one's own self and state.³ Similar sentiments are found in Livy, for whom Alba Longa is a double for Rome, one of many such doubles in his account.⁴ For Horace and Propertius Alba merits its position of honor in an Augustan vision of history as the place of origin for Rome's laws and for the genealogies of important leaders, especially Augustus.⁵ In the Flavian era Statius writes of Alba Longa as a place unspoiled by the blood spilled in civil wars.⁶ Even in late antiquity, the Christian writer Prudentius remembers Alban figures and rites as examples of pagan superstition.⁷ From the beginnings of Roman literature in the days of Naevius and Ennius, of Pictor and Cato, until at least the time of Prudentius Alba Longa was a part of the Roman consciousness, but the interpretations of its meaning and impact are as varied as the writers who discuss it.

On the other hand, Alba still held a very real and definitive place in Roman society during the republic and its transition to empire. Through various rites, political ceremonies, monuments, even temples and place names, the Romans encountered reminders of Alba Longa and its importance to their identity every day. One of the most influential ways this occurred was through the traces of Alban memory scattered throughout the physical layers of the city itself. In these various *lieux de mémoire* every Roman had a common encounter with the idea of Alba Longa, and it was around these places of memory that the broader interpretations of writers such as Vergil, Dionysius, or Propertius were built.⁸ As the "real" Alba was long gone by the time of

³ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.9-11; cf. Sciarrino 2011, 80.

⁴ Cf. Ogilvie 1965, 43.

⁵ Hor. *Saec.* 54 and *Ep.* 2.1.27; Prop. *Eleg.* 3.3.3, 3.22.25, 4.1.35, and 4.6.37.

⁶ Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.38.

⁷ Prud. *Contr. Sym.* 1.193-196.

⁸ Within this thesis I employ the concept of "places of memory" as it has been brought into Roman cultural memory studies by the work of Galinsky, Nora, and others. I use the term "places of Alban memory" to mean the various monuments, structures, sites, and place names associated with Alba Longa that the Romans encountered on a regular basis, keeping alive the idea of Alba Longa as a real part of their history and identity.

the middle and late republic, and so could not have the same daily impact on the Romans as these more concrete places of memory, this thesis will focus on the more immediate and accessible aspects of Alba in Roman life. The various interpretations of Alba by Rome's many authors will still be treated, as no discussion of Alban *lieux de mémoire* would be complete without engaging their interpretations, but they shall be considered in light of the more concrete places of Alban memory. This exploration of what Alban memory meant to the Romans centers around two concepts: Rome at Alba and Alba at Rome. It examines how these concepts were interpreted and reinterpreted by the Romans during the republic and its transition to empire.

The first chapter ("Alba and Authority") considers the impact of Roman rites and celebrations on the Alban Mount. Its overall premise is that Alba Longa was perceived as the source of Latin identity. Through the worship of the chief god of the Latins, Jupiter Latiaris, whose cult was preserved on the Alban Mount in the time of the republic, Alba Longa was the place to which the Romans and other Latins must travel to unite under the banner of Roman leadership and hegemony. At first, Alba appears to have two conflicting identities in the Roman consciousness, both as a source of *pax* and, through the development of the Alban Mount triumph, a place of protest and opposition to perceived senatorial injustices. Over time, however, particularly under Julius Caesar and Augustus, the sense of opposition and contrast gives way to a greater emphasis on Alba as a source of *pax* and *concordia*. "Alba and Authority" is an exploration of what the initial contrast meant, how the transformation of meaning came about, and how the course of that transformation impacted the idea that legitimate authority derives from Alba.

The chapter begins with a discussion of the *Feriae Latinae*, the religious festival held every year in honor of Jupiter Latiaris. The most common version of the festival's origins places

its creation in the time of Rome's last king, Tarquinius Superbus.⁹ These stories depict the central purpose of the *Feriae Latinae* as establishing Roman hegemony over the Latin League, and the opening of this chapter explores how republican and early imperial evidence supports this interpretation. By centering Latin identity on the god Jupiter Latiaris, who was believed at times to be the deified Latinus, much as Aeneas becomes Jupiter Indiges, the *Feriae Latinae* associate authority with Alba and Jupiter, while Rome's creation of the rites and the emphasis of the various Latin states praying for the Roman people centers that authority in Rome. The *Feriae Latinae* were also seen as a symbol of harmony and essential to the preservation of the *pax deorum*.¹⁰ Examples from various sources are considered, in particular the expansion of the *Feriae Latinae* to a four day celebration and their association with the temple of Concord, which is said to belong to the end of Camillus' age in the early fourth century.¹¹ The association with *pax* and concord is later exploited by Julius Caesar and Augustus. This section of the chapter also makes brief mention of the Julian interpretation, in preparation for its larger discussion later in the chapter.

The first section of the chapter concludes with a more in-depth treatment of the nature of the *Feriae Latinae* as a ceremony bestowing authority on the Roman state and its consuls. In particular it interrogates two important episodes from Roman history. The first is the death of the consul Flaminius and the defeat of his army at Lake Trasimene in 217 BC, where Livy ascribes the blame chiefly to Flaminius for his neglect of the *Feriae Latinae*.¹² The second example is the death of the consuls Hirtius and Pansa at Mutina in 43 BC. Although the overall situation at Mutina was not as disastrous to the republic as Lake Trasimene had been in terms of manpower

⁹ Cf. Livy 1.50-52 and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.49.

¹⁰ Pina Polo 2011 (1), 57.

¹¹ Plut. *Cam.* 42.

¹² Livy 21.63-22.7.

or ramifications, the death of two consuls was nevertheless a very serious affair, and Cassius Dio follows Livy's pattern, noting that Hirtius and Pansa left for the battle without celebrating the *Feriae Latinae*. He foreshadows their deaths with a remark that nothing good has ever happened when the *Feriae Latinae* were neglected.¹³

The second part of the chapter focuses on the custom of the Alban Mount triumph. This custom arose in the middle republic as a form of protest after the Senate would not grant a triumph to a general who believed he was worthy of the honor. The Alban Mount triumph served as a way for the general to glorify himself and assert his own authority in opposition to the Senate that had refused him. Within a span of sixty-four years the Alban Mount triumph appeared five times and then vanished. The first four instances were actual triumphs: Papirius Maso in 231, Claudius Marcellus in 211, Minucius Rufus in 197, and Gaius Cicereius in 172. Of these four, Marcellus' Alban triumph and subsequent Roman ovation was the best known, and would later serve as a model for Julius Caesar. In light of this fact, and later interpretations of Marcellus in the Augustan age, his Alban triumph receives particular attention in this thesis. The final Alban triumph to be considered is that of Aemilius Paullus. Five years after Cicereius' Alban triumph, Paullus was nearly denied a triumph in Rome, but the threat of an Alban triumph led the Senate to acquiesce. As a result, Paullus received a Roman triumph, and so did not actually celebrate an Alban triumph. Nevertheless, the significance of the threat and the apparent disappearance of the custom thereafter merits treatment.

The chapter closes with a discussion of the reintroduction and reinterpretation of the Alban Mount triumph by Julius Caesar and then by Augustus. Whereas the Alban Mount triumphs of the middle republic had been staged in opposition to the Senate and in competition

¹³ Dio 46.33.

with Rome, Caesar's new take on the ceremony linked it to the *Feriae Latinae* and the message of peace. Caesar is uniquely recorded in the *Fasti Triumphales* as *ovans ex Monte Albano*, ovationing from the Alban Mount. The language and manner of his procession recalls the joint Alban triumph and Roman ovation of Marcellus, but changes the tone from one of opposition and protest to one of peace and authority. Caesar's ovation is the first of only three such processions to celebrate peace, not war. Octavian and Antony further build upon this model in 40 BC when they jointly hold the two remaining examples of peaceful processions. Their joint ovation, each explicitly stated in the *Fasti Triumphales* as celebrating peace with the other, recall Caesar's ovation, and with it to some degree Marcellus' joint procession as well. Finally, attempts by Augustus to associate his would-be successors Marcellus and Drusus with Alba are considered, particularly the planned Alban triumph that Drusus would have celebrated, and the triumphal funeral held in its stead, which also contained allusions to Alba, including the *imagines* of the Alban kings. The chapter ends with a discussion of how Drusus' ceremonies, both his planned triumph and actual funeral, brought the age of the Alban triumph to a close.

The second chapter ("Places of Alban Memory") examines various locations in Rome that recall some aspect of Rome's Alban connection. The Romans believed that some of these places, such as the Tiber or the Aventine hill, were the burial places of Alban kings who then gave their names to these locations. There are also locations to which something Alban was transported, such as the cults of Diana and Vesta, or the *Pila Horatia*. In many cases, particularly in relation to augury and to the cult of Jupiter, there is a sense of looking back to Alba, rather than bringing Alba to Rome. While not distinctly Alban themselves in the way that the Tiber or the *Pila Horatia* were believed to be, these places still have a strong connection to Alba. As with

the first chapter, the second closes with a discussion of the way that Augustus united Rome and Alba as a symbol of *pax*, this time in the Forum of Augustus.¹⁴

The chapter focuses first on instances of bringing Alba to Rome, of which the Tiber is a strong example with broad coverage in the ancient sources. While there are several variant traditions that attempt to explain the origin of the name “Tiber,” the ancient sources are in general agreement that the river was originally named “Albula” before receiving its now familiar name. The chapter considers the various ancient discussions about how the Albula came to be called the Tiber and what each of these different stories meant for the Romans and their understanding of their identity as the heirs of Alba Longa. Special attention is given to the tradition that has the river named for the Alban king Tiberinus, who ostensibly drowned in the river, giving it his name since it became his *sepulcrum*, his burial place.¹⁵ This story is of particular importance as it relates to the story of Tiberinus’ descendant, Aventinus, a later Alban king, who is also supposed to have been buried at Rome. Livy records that the Aventine hill was named for him because he was buried there, using the same root word that Varro uses to explain the Tiber as the burial place of Tiberinus.¹⁶ Ovid adds more to the story, saying that Aventinus actually ruled his kingdom from the Aventine hill, and his son Proca ruled from the Palatine,¹⁷ transporting the idea of Alban rule and authority to the site of Rome in a very real and significant manner. There is also a discussion of the Aventine’s augural role in the Roman foundation myth and how this connects to Alba.

¹⁴ Due to the nature of several sites possessing both a sense of Alba at Rome and Rome looking back to Alba, those locations with more sense of Alba coming to Rome will be treated, *in toto*, in that section, while those with more sense of Rome looking back to Alba will be treated in the latter section, also *in toto*.

¹⁵ Varro *Ling.* 5.30.

¹⁶ Livy 1.3.9.

¹⁷ Ov. *Met.* 14.620-622, cf. *Fast.* 4.51-52.

The first section concludes with a discussion of the more concrete instances of Alba at Rome. The temple of Diana is considered first, as it is placed upon the Aventine. The significance of Diana is found in her status as the patron goddess of the Latin League, as well as the transfer of her cult from Alba to Rome. Placing this Alban cult upon the already Alban Aventine strengthens the connection between these cities. Treatment is also given to the related temple of the Dioscuri. Although there is currently no evidence that a cult of the Dioscuri existed at Alba, their connection to Rome's hegemony of the Latin League also connects them to Diana and to Alba as a further proof of Rome's leadership.¹⁸ While Diana and the Dioscuri were brought to Rome after Alba ceased to exist, two other monuments stood in Rome that represented the transfer of authority to Rome before the end of Alba. The first is the *Pila Horatia*, which was a marble column in the late republic, but Livy reports that the original monument was erected with the actual spoils taken when Horatius defeated the Curatii and subjected Alba to Rome.¹⁹ The second monument is the temple of Vesta on the Via Sacra, which in both the literary sources and the archaeological record is older than the *Pila Horatia* and is perhaps the oldest verifiable example of Alba at Rome. Vesta and her cult have many connections to Alba and the foundation of Rome, which are considered in some detail at the close of this section of the chapter.

The second part of the chapter focuses on places that look back to Alba from Rome. Both the Palatine and the Capitoline hills look back to Alba through the ritual practice of augury, and each in their own way represent a transfer of authority to the site of Rome. In most versions of Rome's foundation myth that include augury, Romulus takes his auspices from the Palatine while Remus takes them on the Aventine. Romulus is, of course, the winner of the augural

¹⁸ Smith 2007, 36-37.

¹⁹ Livy 1.26.

contest and the city is founded upon the Palatine, receiving his name. An older tradition does exist where both auguries are taken from the Aventine, but this tradition gives way to the centrality of the Palatine. This centering of authority on the Palatine is also reflected in Ovid, as mentioned before in connection with the Aventine. Proca succeeds Aventinus to the throne of Alba Longa, but rules his kingdom from the Palatine, where his great-grandson Romulus will later also be king. This sets a precedent for centering Alban authority in Rome. The Capitoline likewise looks back at Alba through both the Arx, as the primary *auguraculum* (the place where augury is practiced) in the historical period, and through the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, which parallels the Alban sanctuary of Jupiter Latiaris. Both Jupiters are central to the authority of the Roman state, especially the consuls, who must take oaths before Jupiter Optimus Maximus and celebrate the *Feriae Latinae* in honor of Jupiter Latiaris. Likewise, as is discussed in greater detail in the previous chapter, Roman triumphs concluded at the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, while Alban triumphs concluded at the shrine of Jupiter Latiaris.

The second part of the chapter closes with a discussion of other examples of Rome looking back to Alba. The Via Sacra follows the *spectio* of augury from the Capitoline to Alba,²⁰ and this line is paralleled in the town of Satricum, where the *via sacra* leads directly to Alba and the entire town is oriented along that road.²¹ This section includes a discussion of the parallels between Rome and Satricum as they look back to Alba, including the possibility that Mater Matuta, whose temple “dominated” Satricum,²² and whose cult was also brought to Rome along with Diana by Servius Tullius, has Alban connections and likewise looks back to Alba. A consideration of the Via Latina, which lead directly to the Mons Albanus and Jupiter Latiaris,

²⁰ Smith 1996, 254.

²¹ Attema, de Haas, and Tol 2011, 53.

²² Smith 2000, 136.

and the Via Appia, which passed right by the former site of Alba Longa on its way to its first stop, Aricia, concludes the second part of the chapter.

The final discussion in the chapter looks at the Forum of Augustus and how Augustus uses it, much like the Alban Mount triumph, to symbolically unite Rome and Alba to preserve the *pax deorum*. Of particular interest is the forum's Gallery of Heroes, which includes on one side the many heroes of Roman history, both kings and republican leaders, and on the other side the ancestors of the Julian clan, including the fourteen Alban kings. These heroes are all centered on the temple of Mars Ultor, which becomes the new place where military commands are appointed, making it a "new Alba" of sorts. While all previous places of Alban memory were focused in some way on centering the authority and legitimacy of Alba at Rome, the Forum of Augustus builds upon that idea and centers authority and legitimacy around Augustus himself. In this way, the Forum of Augustus unites the ideas of Rome and Alba in the person of the *princeps* as the *pater patriae*, ideas which grant him legitimacy and authority even outside the public office of consul or king.

CHAPTER 1

ALBA AND AUTHORITY

Alba Longa played a significant role in shaping the Roman understanding of the legitimate authority of their government and the place of the *Senatus Populusque Romanus* at the head of the Latin League, and later of a larger empire. Beyond simply their mythological and historical importance to the Romans, Alba Longa and the Alban Mount had a profound impact on the Romans' collective identity through the religious rites of the *Feriae Latinae* and the later development of the Alban Mount triumph. In the case of the former, the rites were believed to be ancient, and to provide the Roman state with the authority to command armies and to maintain the *pax deorum*, uniting the Latin people by centering their identity on Rome as the successor to Alba Longa. The latter was a development of the late third century BC in protest against the Senate's refusal to grant certain triumphs, and so was initially a more divisive and confrontational affair. The first part of this chapter explores the centrality of the *Feriae Latinae* to the legitimacy of the Roman state. The second part considers the meaning and impact of the five Alban Mount triumphs²³ of the middle republic, before discussing the ways in which Caesar and Augustus reinterpreted the Alban Mount triumph in conjunction with the *Feriae Latinae* as a symbol of *pax* rather than protest.

²³ Four of which were actual events, the fifth and final to be discussed, that of Aemilius Paullus, was only threatened, as will be explained in that part of the chapter.

1.1 The *Feriae Latinae*

The *Feriae Latinae*, the Latin Festival Days, were perhaps the most visible, accessible, and longest lasting example of the centrality and importance of Alba Longa to establishing a Latin identity centered around Rome and its right to supremacy and authority. The Romans believed that the origins of the *Feriae Latinae* belonged to the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, who sought to unite the Latins permanently under Roman hegemony. The festival was established at Alba, ostensibly *cum omnes Latini ab Alba oriundi sint*, “because all of the Latins descended from Alba.”²⁴ Varro adds to this that the festival was named for the Latins because all of the Latin cities had an equal right with the Romans to a share of the sacrificial meat offered on the Alban Mount.²⁵ Dionysius provides the most detailed version of the festival’s origins in *Antiquitates Romanae* 4.49. He begins by noting that Tarquin instituted the *Feriae Latinae* *τυχῶν δὲ τῆς Λατίνων ἡγεμονίας*, “when he had gained the hegemony of the Latins.” By opening with this phrase, Dionysius is contextualizing the creation of the *Feriae Latinae* as a means for Tarquin to keep hegemony and authority centered in his person. The festival was held at Alba Longa, and was intended as common worship of Jupiter Latiaris for the following reason:

τοῦ δὲ μένειν εἰς ἅπαντα χρόνον τὰ συγκείμενα ταῖς πόλεσι πρόνοιαν ὁ Ταρκύνιος λαμβάνων ἱερὸν ἔγνω κοινὸν ἀποδεῖξαι Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Λατίνων καὶ Ἑρνίκων καὶ Οὐολούσκων τῶν ἐγγραφασμένων εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἵνα συνερχόμενοι καθ’ ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τὸν ἀποδειχθέντα τόπον πανηγυρίζωσι καὶ συνεστιῶνται καὶ κοινῶν ἱερῶν μεταλαμβάνωσιν.

And as a means of providing that the treaties made with those cities might endure forever, Tarquinius resolved to designate a temple for the joint use of the Romans, the Latins, the Hernicans and such of the Volscians as had entered into the alliance, in order that, coming together each year at the appointed place, they might celebrate a general festival, feast together and share in common sacrifices.²⁶

²⁴ Livy 1.52.2; for Livy’s full account of the origin of the *Feriae Latinae*, see 1.50-1.52.

²⁵ Varro *Ling.* 6.25.

²⁶ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.49.1, trans. Cary 1978, 429-431. For the full account, see 4.45-4.49.

There are no extant documents or inscriptions from the late sixth century to confirm or challenge this explanation, although there is a general agreement among scholars that the *Feriae Latinae* played an important role in public life from the earliest days of Roman history.²⁷ It was the Romans' claim that the *Feriae Latinae* granted them legitimacy and authority over the Latins and their other allies. This festival's primary function, then, was centering the allegiance of the Latin community on Rome, who was to be seen as the successor to Alba Longa, protected by the chief deity of the Latins, Jupiter Latiaris.

The *Feriae Latinae* were, at their core, a festival worshipping Jupiter Latiaris, who for the Latins was *deus antiquissimus*,²⁸ the most ancient god. Cornificius Longus, a contemporary of Vergil, presents an alternative origin story for the *Feriae Latinae* in connection to the antiquity of this god's worship at Alba. Cornificius claims that Latinus actually became Jupiter Latiaris and connects many of the customs associated with the *Feriae Latinae* to the memory of Latinus.²⁹ There are challenges with this interpretation, however. Christopher Smith notes that linking the memory of Latinus to the *Feriae Latinae* is "profoundly complicated" primarily because Latinus is known in myth to be king at Lavinium, and to predate Alba Longa. Recalling Grandazzi, he says that what we see in this connection are "layers of mythology." Three great founder figures are blended together, who were all connected to Rome's origins and were all believed to have disappeared and become gods: Latinus, Aeneas, and Romulus.³⁰ The connection between Latinus and Aeneas is particularly interesting, as both become Jupiter as a result of their apotheosis: Latinus becomes Jupiter Latiaris and Aeneas becomes Jupiter Indiges. Some hint of

²⁷ Cf. Scullard 1981, 111; Sumi 2005, 66; and Simón 2011, 118-120; for the possibility that some form of the *Feriae Latinae* date to the beginnings of the Latins as a people, see Smith 2012, 268-269.

²⁸ Serv. *ad Aen.* 12.135.

²⁹ Fest. 212 L; cf. Simón 2011, 121, Fraschetti 2002, 97, and Pasqualini 1996, 222-224.

³⁰ Smith 2012, 269; cf. Grandazzi 1988, 481-497.

this joint identity may even appear in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*. In a scene that depicts Jupiter watching over rites of the *Feriae Latinae*, he is described as *Iliacae numen... Albae*, the god of Trojan Alba.³¹ Nevertheless, as Smith concedes, we may never know exactly how the connection of Latinus to Jupiter Latiaris and worship on the Alban Mount came to be. The association is present, however, even if the more common explanation of the *Feriae Latinae*'s origins ascribes them to the Romans.

Although their origins were most commonly attributed to the time of the monarchy, and to Tarquinius Superbus in particular, there is no evidence that the *Feriae Latinae* had any negative connotation under the republic. On the contrary, they have been described by some as a *fundamentum rei publicae*,³² "a foundation of the republic." As a public religious celebration, one of the main purposes of the *Feriae Latinae* was to maintain or restore the *pax deorum*.³³ The festival was important enough for the Romans that all of their magistrates were expected to be present. Even the tribunes, who were not to leave the city under normal circumstances, were expected to be present at the celebration.³⁴ The significance of the *Feriae Latinae* increased over the centuries until they became a festival of "outstanding" importance in the late republic.³⁵

According to Christopher Smith, nothing illustrates the importance of Alba Longa better than the longevity of the *Feriae Latinae* in Roman history, enduring for more than a millennium as a central institution of the state.³⁶ In addition to their long-lived importance as an annual celebration, the *Feriae Latinae* were believed to have grown in length over time. According to

³¹ Luc. *Phars.* 5.403. Although the adjective *Iliacae* is directly modifying Alba, not Jupiter, Alba is Trojan because of its descent from Aeneas, who becomes Jupiter Indiges. Just as Alba is both Trojan and Latin, so is Jupiter who watches over Alba and the *Feriae Latinae*.

³² Cf. Simón 2011, 116.

³³ Pina Polo 2011 (2), 97.

³⁴ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 8.87.6, Livy 21.1.6, and Str. 5.3.2; cf. Simón 2011, 117.

³⁵ Scullard 1981, 114; cf. Pina Polo 2011 (1), 254 for a discussion about the certainty of the importance of the *Feriae Latinae* in the post-Sullan age, despite a relative paucity of textual evidence for them in that era.

³⁶ Smith 2012, 267; cf. Scullard 1981, 115.

the tradition, the festival was originally established as a single day of sacrifice and feasting. The second was added at the birth of the republic in ca. 509 BC, and the third a few years later in ca. 494 to celebrate the reconciliation at the end of the first plebian secession. The fourth and final day was added in ca. 367, after the success of Camillus' final campaign against the Gauls and his reclamation of Velitrae.³⁷ The expansion of the festival to commemorate each of these foundational moments in the history of the republic show that, as Simón has said, the *Feriae Latinae* were a *fundamentum rei publicae*, and did not carry any negative connotations from their regal or Tarquinian origins.

1.1.1 The *Feriae Latinae* as a Celebration of Peace and Concord

The *Feriae Latinae* endured despite their connection to Tarquinius Superbus because of their clear expression of Latin unity and harmony. In place of the king, the celebration was led by the consuls, acting as agents of the republic for the preservation of the state and of the *pax deorum*.³⁸ The celebration was one of peace and concord, of the shared culture and religion of the Latins, serving to unite them.³⁹ This connection between the *Feriae Latinae* and concord is made explicit by Plutarch, who links the fourth day of the celebration to the establishment of the temple of Concord at the end of Camillus' life.⁴⁰ By bringing all of the Latin states together at the place of their common origin to share in common sacrifices, and with all internecine conflict forbidden during the festival, Alba Longa served as a place where the Latins could forge an identity that superseded local rivalries and divisions, in much the same role that Delphi served

³⁷ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.49 and 6.95, Plut. *Cam.* 42.5; cf. Pina Polo 2011 (1), 30.

³⁸ Pina Polo 2011 (1), 57.

³⁹ Sumi 2005, 65-67.

⁴⁰ Plut. *Cam.* 42.4-5; the addition of the third day in 494, after the end of the first plebian secession, also points to this association with peace and harmony.

for the Greeks.⁴¹ The importance of *pax* continued to grow during the age of civil wars in the late republic,⁴² and the association of the *Feriae Latinae* with *pax* seems to have played a role in Caesar's decision to connect his *ovans ex Monte Albano* to the celebration of these rites, as will be discussed in more detail later.

Recently Christopher Smith has suggested that the *Feriae Latinae* were actually about preparation for war, as the consuls could not depart for their provinces until the festival had been celebrated.⁴³ This contention need not contradict the emphasis on peace, however. For the Romans, peace does not necessarily mean the complete absence of war. There was a common theme in Rome, particularly in the late republic, "that peace was contingent on war."⁴⁴ In the words of Cicero, *si pace frui volumus, bellum gerendum est; si bellum omittimus, pace numquam fruemur*, "If we wish to enjoy peace, war must be waged; if we disregard war, we will never enjoy peace."⁴⁵ This concept remained constant into the Augustan age as well. According to Cornell, "what the principate brought about was an end to political crisis and civil war, not a radical change in foreign policy."⁴⁶ Augustus himself celebrated the *Feriae Latinae* in 23 BC when he stepped down from his last consulship, after excusing himself from previous celebrations.⁴⁷ This served to link him once again to Alba and its connotations of *pax*, which he and Caesar had cultivated and strengthened. The strong connections between Alba and the *pax deorum* established through the *Feriae Latinae* made Alba more valuable to Augustus, as will be demonstrated later in this thesis.

⁴¹ Smith 2012, 271 and Potts 2015, 113; cf. Cornell 2000, 219-220; cf. also Smith 1996, 216-222 and Fraschetti 2002, 97 for the idea of a Latin amphyctionic league centered at Alba, exclusive only to the Latins.

⁴² Sumi 2005, 196.

⁴³ Smith 2012, 276.

⁴⁴ Cornwell 2017, 2-4; cf. Momigliano 1942, 228-231.

⁴⁵ Cic. *Phil.* 7.19; cf. Sall. *Ad. Caes. Sen.* 1.6.2 and Livy 6.18.7 for similar sentiments.

⁴⁶ Cornell 1993, 160; cf. Cornwell 2017, 4-5.

⁴⁷ Degraffi, *In. It.* 143ff; cf. Scullard 1981, 114 and Simón 2011, 125-126.

1.1.2 The *Feriae Latinae* Bestow the Authority to Command

In Roman religion, ritual observance, as part of the *mos maiorum*, was extremely important. The correct observation of the rites mattered more than the individual's own belief.⁴⁸ The *Feriae Latinae* were no exception. They were one of the first duties of the consuls each year, and the consuls could not leave Rome to command their armies or govern their provinces until the rites had been properly observed.⁴⁹ This primacy of place in consular proceedings is matched by the necessity that both consuls be present at the rites. Livy reports an extreme case that occurred in 176 BC. During the sacrifice at the festival, the representative from Lanuvium forgot to pray for the Roman people. This procedural error alone was enough to warrant a repetition of the festival. However, one of the consuls, Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispallus, fell from his horse and died shortly thereafter. His death necessitated the election of a new consul, and the rite could not be repeated until his successor had been elected. The festival was therefore not able to be held until the 13th of August, and it was only after this that the consuls were at last able to depart for their provinces.⁵⁰ This account underscores the importance of the *Feriae Latinae*. In addition to its clear demonstration that an error in the performance of the rites necessitated their repetition, it also shows the necessity of both consuls' presence and their inability to leave Rome until the rites had been properly performed.⁵¹ The need for both consuls to be present, and to perform the rites before departure, is further illustrated by the fact that the *Feriae Latinae* were celebrated as soon as possible in 168 BC when there was urgent need for Paullus to depart for Macedonia.⁵²

⁴⁸ Scullard 1981, 31-32; cf. Bourque, 2000, 20. Belief, however, was still important and should not be separated from ritual, cf. Carandini 2011, 5.

⁴⁹ Livy 38.44.8, 43.15.3, and 44.22.16; cf. Cic. *Fam.* 8.6.3, Nic. *Dam. Aug.* 5.13, Scullard 1981, 111, and Pina Polo 2011 (1), 30-35.

⁵⁰ Livy 41.16.1-7.

⁵¹ Pina Polo 2011 (1), 34-35; but cf. Simón 2011, 124 for a counterargument that the possibility exists to perform the rites with only one consul, although this possibility may be exceptional.

⁵² Livy 44.17.7-8, 44.19.4, and 44.22.16.

The reason for the importance of the consuls' presence and participation in the rites of the *Feriae Latinae* lies in the notion that authority is derived from Alba.⁵³ As the consuls replaced the kings, and are even described by Polybius as wielding power typical of a monarch,⁵⁴ so the festival linked the consuls to the early kings of Latium, and hearkened back to the treaties which the Latins had made with the Romans after the end of Alba. In so doing, the *Feriae Latinae* granted authority and legitimacy not only to the Roman state as a whole, but to the consuls as agents of the state.⁵⁵ This principle is likewise demonstrated by Livy in the account of the consul Flaminius during the Second Punic War. In Livy's account, Flaminius deliberately neglects to perform the *Feriae Latinae*, fearing the political machinations of his enemies, and slips away in secret to his army, only to be killed along with the majority of his soldiers at the Battle of Lake Trasimene.⁵⁶ Livy also mentions explicitly the Roman complaint against Flaminius:

ibi cum de re publica rettulisset, redintegrata in C. Flaminium invidia est: duos se consules creasse, unum habere; quod enim illi iustum imperium, quod auspiciū esse? magistratus id a domo, publicis priuatisque penetibus, Latinis feriis actis, sacrificio in monte perfecto, uotis rite in Capitolio nuncupatis, secum ferre; nec priuatum auspiciā sequi nec sine auspiciis profectum in externo ea solo noua atque integra concipere posse.

On his then referring the state of the nation to the senate for discussion, their anger at Gaius Flaminius was renewed. They had chosen two consuls, they said, but had only one; for what proper authority or right of auspices did Flaminius possess? Magistrates, they urged, carried with them this prerogative when they set out from home—from their own and the nation's hearth—after celebrating the Latin Festival, sacrificing on the Alban Mount and duly offering up their vows on the Capitol; but a private citizen could neither take the auspices with him, nor, if he had left Rome without them, receive them new from the beginning on foreign soil.⁵⁷

⁵³ Smith 1996, 218.

⁵⁴ Polyb. 6.12, esp. 6.12.9; cf. Pina Polo 2011 (2), 97.

⁵⁵ Sumi 2005, 65; cf. Pina Polo 2011 (1), 57 and Simón 2011, 124.

⁵⁶ For Flaminius' deliberate disregard of the *Feriae Latinae*, see Livy 21.63.5-9; for the full account of his campaign and death, see 21.63-22.7.

⁵⁷ Livy 22.1.5-7, trans. Foster 1929, 199-201.

By not performing the rites of the *Feriae Latinae*, Flaminius had forfeited all authority and *imperium*; he had no legitimacy to act as an agent of the state or to command armies. The direct result of his failure to uphold the rites and secure his *imperium* was the defeat of the Roman forces at Lake Trasimene.⁵⁸ Cassius Dio tells a similar story about the Battle of Mutina in 43 BC when the consuls Hirtius and Pansa depart for battle without celebrating the *Feriae Latinae*. To foreshadow their deaths, Dio remarks, οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅποτε τούτου γενομένου καλῶς ἀπὴλλαξαν, “and there is no instance where this has happened and the Romans have fared well.”⁵⁹ Although the battle itself was not a disaster on the scale of Lake Trasimene, the failure of both consuls to celebrate the *Feriae Latinae* before acting upon their *imperium* echoes the failure of Flaminius to do so in Livy, and Dio links that failure to their deaths in a similar manner to Livy’s account of Flaminius.⁶⁰

A young Octavian was present at Mutina and took command of the republican forces after the deaths of the consuls.⁶¹ Smith believes that this danger of *instauratio* mentioned in both Livy and Dio, and witnessed first-hand by Octavian at Mutina, led to the apologies for his absence from the rites in the 20s BC, and may even have contributed to his holding the festival again in 23 when he abdicated from public office.⁶² Belief in such a danger certainly lent itself to the idea of the importance and centrality of the *Feriae Latinae* in vesting the Roman state in

⁵⁸ Pina Polo 2011 (1), 22. However, Pina Polo also notes that according to an inscription of the *Fasti Feriarum Latinarum*, Flaminius did in fact perform the rites, CIL I² 1, p.57. Polybius’ parallel account (3.77-85), which generally agrees with Livy, makes no mention of Flaminius disregarding the *Feriae Latinae*, although it also does not state that he *did* perform the rites either. The extant text of Dio’s account of the battle is likewise silent on the matter. It is therefore possible that Flaminius did not neglect the rites. Regardless of the truth of Livy’s account of his neglect, the story gives emphasis to the idea that legitimate authority in Rome comes from Alba and the performance of the *Feriae Latinae*.

⁵⁹ Dio 46.33.4, trans. Cary 1969, 65.

⁶⁰ Sumi 2005, 173-174.

⁶¹ Dio 46.39.1. Note that Dio also mentions the rumors that Octavian had killed Hirtius and Pansa himself, or at least had plotted their deaths, cf. Suet. VC 2.11. It still remains that the consuls did not celebrate the *Feriae Latinae*, and there is precedent for the idea that ignoring bad omens leads to disaster, cf. the account of P. Claudius Pulcher at Drepanum in Val. Max. 1.4, Suet. VC 3.2, and Cic. ND. 2.7.

⁶² Smith 2012, 274; cf. Dio 53.32.2-6 and Sumi 2005, 238.

general, and the consuls in particular, with legitimate authority. As the center of Latin religion and the source of the Latin people, Alba Longa was central to the perception that Rome's authority was rightful and divine. As Simón noted:

By means of their ascent of the Mons Albanus and of their presidency over the ceremonies, the new consuls received the divine sanction of their charismatic *imperium* from the divine patron of the state and, alongside it, the legitimizing of their campaigns to reach the *imperium sine fine* promised by Jupiter, while they secured the continuity of successful communication with the divine world.⁶³

The rites of the *Feriae Latinae* secured for Rome and its consuls the authority to rule over and command not merely Romans, but also the Latins and other allies.⁶⁴ In this festival peace and authority were united, and though the ceremony itself happened at Alba, the effects of the ceremony pointed all eyes to Rome.

Chapter 1.2 The Alban Mount Triumph

The *Feriae Latinae* were not the only way in which the Alban Mount and the memory of Alba Longa gave prestige and authority to Rome and her consuls. In the middle republic, the Alban Mount took on a new, controversial air of authority in opposition to the authority and power of the Roman Senate, rather than in support of it. Over a span of sixty-four years, beginning with Papirius Maso in 231, and ending with Aemilius Paullus in 167, the Alban Mount triumph would be used to assert the right of a victorious commander to celebrate a triumph when the Senate had refused to grant one.⁶⁵ After Paullus, the idea of the Alban Mount triumph disappeared for over a century until it was revived and reinterpreted by Julius Caesar and the

⁶³ Simón 2011, 132; cf. pp. 123 – 132.

⁶⁴ Smith 2012, 277.

⁶⁵ Although Aemilius Paullus did not actually celebrate an Alban Mount triumph, the threat of an Alban triumph helped to leverage his claim to merit a proper triumph in Rome. The significance of this threat as it relates to Alba and authority will be explained in detail later in this section.

emperor Augustus, who were able to capitalize on the pre-existing associations of Alba and its historical authority to strengthen the legitimacy of their rule. This part of the chapter begins by demonstrating the use of Alba as a source of political legitimacy during the middle republic. Next it considers Caesar's reinterpretation of the Alban triumph in context with the other Alban connections he draws upon. Finally, it explores the use of Alba and the Alban triumph by Octavian to establish his dynastic legitimacy, first retroactively to establish his authority as a young man, then proactively to demonstrate the legitimacy of his heirs, especially Marcellus and Drusus.

1.2.1 The Establishment of the Alban Mount Triumph in the Middle Republic

In 231 BC, Gaius Papirius Maso annexed Corsica for the republic and used the spoils to build a temple of Fontus.⁶⁶ When he requested a triumph, the Senate refused him. Not willing to be denied, Maso did something without precedent: he celebrated a triumph anyway, but on the Alban Mount.⁶⁷ Both Valerius Maximus and Pliny remark that he was the first to do so, but neither gives a rationale—beyond that his triumph was refused—for the decision to celebrate a triumph on his own initiative or to hold it at Alba. The probable reasons for Maso's innovations will be discussed shortly. What is clearly attested is that, as Valerius Maximus says, he set a precedent for others to follow and that he wore only the myrtle wreath of an *ovatio*, not the laurel of a *triumphus*.

⁶⁶ Plin. *NH* 15.38, Cic. *ND* 3.20, and Val. Max. 3.6.5.

⁶⁷ For theories on the possible Latin League origins of—and so precedent for—the Alban Mount triumph, cf. Niebuhr 1830, 41-42 and Grandazzi 2008, 735-737. However, cf. Brennan 1996, 321-322 and Rich 2014, 219-220 for a counter-argument against Latin League origins. Whether or not the Alban Mount triumph had its origins in the Latin League, a Roman celebrating a triumph on the Alban Mount was unprecedented all the same.

Twenty years after Maso's Alban triumph, Marcus Claudius Marcellus returned to Rome from his victorious campaign against Syracuse, with a wealth of Greek art and artifacts as his plunder. Marcellus sought a triumph from the Senate, but was refused on the grounds that he had not brought the army back with him; though it had been by the Senate's own order that he had not. As a compromise he was offered an *ovatio*, which he accepted. However, the day before his granted *ovatio*, Marcellus celebrated the second Alban triumph, where he placed many of the plundered Syracusan works of art on display, pieces that would again be displayed during his *ovatio*.⁶⁸ In doing this Marcellus followed his own precedent in celebrating triumphs, but also set a new precedent for the Alban triumph. He was already accustomed to the most glorious kinds of victory celebrations, having already won and dedicated the *spolia opima* after his victory at Clastidium eleven years before, when he celebrated a triumph that Plutarch describes as rarely equaled in its displays of spoils and captives.⁶⁹ The significance of his Alban triumph following this precedent will be discussed throughout this section.

The third Alban triumphator was Quintus Minucius Rufus who, together with his co-consul Gaius Cornelius Cethegus, had waged a successful campaign against the Gauls of northern Italy in 197. The two consuls had worked together, with Rufus seizing many towns and conducting smaller raids, while Cethegus had fought and won a larger set-piece battle against the Insubres, in which he and his army had killed 35,000 of them and taken another 5,000 captive. The two generals petitioned jointly for a triumph but were refused; for although the Senate unanimously acknowledged Cethegus' right to a triumph, they blocked Rufus because he hadn't taken hostages and had lost too many men. In the end, Cethegus was granted a triumph alone,

⁶⁸ For primary sources on Marcellus' Alban triumph and later *ovatio*: Livy 26.21.1-14; Zon. 9.6; Plut. *Marc.* 22; and Val. Max. 2.8.5.

⁶⁹ Plut. *Marc.* 7-8.

and Rufus celebrated an Alban triumph over the Ligurians and Boii, claiming that it was his right and that he followed after distinguished men. According to Livy, although the prestige of his Alban triumph was lessened, both by location and due to gossip about his lack of merit, the size and splendor matched that of Cethegus' own triumph.⁷⁰

The fourth and final Alban triumphator of the middle republic was Gaius Cicereius, whose case is truly exceptional. The former scribe of Scipio Africanus, who had now attained the rank of praetor, embarked on a successful campaign in Corsica in the year 173. It was reported that he and his army had killed over 7,000 Corsicans, captured an additional 1,700, and took over 200,000 pounds of wax as tribute. After this campaign he crossed over into Sardinia, although his activities there are not clearly recorded. The following year he demanded a triumph for his accomplishments, but was denied. As a result, he celebrated an Alban triumph, as had now become customary.⁷¹ Nearly 200 triumphs had been celebrated by this time, of those Cicereius was only the sixth man to become a triumphator without having attained consular (or dictatorial) rank, and only the third such to celebrate a triumph for a land victory.⁷² Even more rare, he was the first and only praetorian to ever hold an Alban triumph. Finally, he was possibly the man of lowest station to ever become a triumphator considering the attention given by both Livy and the *Fasti Triumphales* to his former occupation as a scribe.

After Cicereius there was never another Alban triumph in the traditional sense. Nevertheless the very next triumph to be held was almost an Alban triumph. This would-be Alban triumph merits discussion before the age of the Alban triumph in the middle republic can truly be said to have concluded. This would-be fifth Alban triumphator was Lucius Aemilius

⁷⁰ For the campaign of Rufus and Cethegus, as well as their triumphs: Livy 32.30-31 and 33.22-23.

⁷¹ Livy 42.1, 7, 21 and Val. Max. 3.5.1-2 and 4.5.3.

⁷² For a complete reconstruction of the *Fasti Triumphales* and the information contained therein, here and below: Rich 2014, 246-252.

Paullus Macedonicus. After defeating King Perseus of Macedon at the Battle of Pydna in 168, capturing the king and bringing the Third Macedonian War to its conclusion, Paullus returned to Rome and sought his triumph in the following year. Because of his strict enforcement of discipline in the ranks and the denial of the majority of spoils to his soldiers, Servius Sulpicius Galba, who was a tribune of the soldiers, opposed granting the triumph. In response to this, Marcus Servilius Pulex Geminus claimed that not only did Paullus deserve the triumph, but if denied, he would surely follow the example of others before him and claim his Alban triumph. The threat worked, and Paullus was allowed his Roman triumph, another celebrated affair akin to the triumphs of Marcellus.⁷³ This is the last that is heard of Alban triumphs, real or attempted, in the middle republic. It is presently unclear why there were five Alban triumphs—four actual and one threatened—within a span of sixty-four years, and then none again for more than a century until their later reinterpretation by Julius Caesar and Augustus.⁷⁴

1.2.2 Voices of Protest: Understanding the Alban Mount Triumph in the Middle Republic

It may never be known why no one thought to hold a triumph at Alba before Maso or why no new Alban triumphs are suggested after Paullus. It is nevertheless important to understand one of the core messages that the Alban triumphs sent to the Romans of the middle republic in order to understand better why Julius Caesar and Augustus attached themselves to the tradition as well. As noted by Mary Beard, the triumph was the most outstanding honor for which a Roman general could hope.⁷⁵ Beard also notes that, on the day of a general's triumph, he

⁷³ Livy 45.35-40.

⁷⁴ Beard 2007, 291; Lundgreen 2014, 25; finally, Brennan allows for the possibility that an Alban triumph could have occurred during the gap in the *Fasti Triumphales* from 154-130, saying "It would be surprising if there were any... though certainty is impossible" but even he ultimately concludes that the circumstances surrounding Cicereius' Alban triumph "will have been enough in themselves to doom the institution in perpetuity." Brennan 1996, 328-329.

⁷⁵ Beard 2007, 1.

is both a god and a king.⁷⁶ The conquest of Corsica was a significant feat, and Maso publicly demonstrated that through the construction of the temple of Fontus. To be denied his triumph, an opportunity to bring his campaign to a close in a public fashion, bestowing honor and authority upon him as Jupiter for the day,⁷⁷ was an insult. Therefore, believing that his accomplishments deserved more credit than the Senate had offered, Maso protested the refusal.⁷⁸ Although none of the ancient sources who mention Maso's Alban triumph explicitly state that it was done in protest, Valerius Maximus makes it clear that the Senate's refusal was the direct cause of Maso's innovation:

cum bene gesta re publica triumphum a senatu non impetravisset, in Albano monte triumphandi et ipse initium fecit et ceteris postea exemplum praebuit.

“When he did not obtain a triumph from the Senate on account of his successful campaign for the republic, he himself both made a beginning of celebrating a triumph on the Alban Mount and offered an example for the rest to follow.”⁷⁹

As shown before, the three subsequent Alban triumphs, as well as the threat of Aemilius Paullus' potential Alban triumph, were clearly protests against Senatorial refusal. Therefore, Maso's Alban triumph should certainly be understood as the same sort of provocative protest.

Traditionally, the triumph was perceived as an honor granted by peers.⁸⁰ By displaying to the Roman people various individuals and objects that had been subjugated to the Roman people, the procession served as a demonstration and definition “of what being a Roman meant in Rome.”⁸¹ The triumph was therefore not merely an honor for the triumphator, but for all Romans, as Servilius related in his defense of Paullus' right to triumph:

⁷⁶ Beard 2007, 227.

⁷⁷ Westall 2014, 34-35; cf. Lange 2014, 71.

⁷⁸ Beard 2007, 63; cf. Lange 2014, 68.

⁷⁹ Val. Max. 3.6.5.

⁸⁰ Lundgreen 2014, 26.

⁸¹ Popkin 2011, 21.

Quemadmodum non de Pyrrho modo nec de Hannibale, sed de Epirotis Carthaginiensibusque triumpho acti sunt, sic non M'. Curius tantum nec P. Cornelius, sed Romani triumpharunt.

In the same way, triumphs were held not just over Pyrrhus or Hannibal, but over the Epirots and the Carthaginians; likewise it was not so much Manius Curius [Dentatus] or Publius Cornelius [Scipio] who triumphed, but the Romans.⁸²

The triumph, with all its various interpretations and reinterpretations throughout the centuries, helped the Romans to answer a fundamental question of identity, “Who are we?”⁸³ One answer to this question, which Vergil places into the mouth of Anchises, but which echoes the sentiments found even in pre-Augustan triumphs, was that it was Rome’s duty to rule, to impose order and law, to show mercy to their subjects, and to humble the proud through conquest.⁸⁴ So the triumph was a tool for shaping and defining Roman identity, and until 231 BC, it always shaped Roman identity *at Rome*.

Therefore, although Maso’s decision to hold a triumph on his own initiative, after being refused, would have been confrontational enough, the decision to hold the triumph at Alba deepened the message and made his actions even more inflammatory, for in many subversive ways the Alban triumph was everything a Roman triumph was not. It was not granted by peers to peers, but a general bestowed the Alban triumph upon himself, by virtue of his own *imperium*, in an act of self-glorification.⁸⁵ Tied to this, a general received a Roman triumph, which was fully funded by the state, upon surrendering his *imperium*, an act of acquiescence to the authority of the Senate. Conversely, An Alban triumph was paid for from the general’s own purse and was performed not by surrendering his authority, but proclaiming it. He did not have to surrender his

⁸² Livy 45.38.11

⁸³ Popkin 2011, 80 and 182.

⁸⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 6.851-853.

⁸⁵ Lange 2014, 69; cf. Lange 2016, 41.

imperium to triumph at Alba.⁸⁶ Finally, the Alban triumph was a direct association of *Romanitas*, and not merely *Latinitas*, with Alba rather than Rome. Whereas before, the religious celebrations at Alba told the Romans what it meant to be Latin and united them to the rest of the Latin peoples, the Alban triumphs connected Alba with what it meant to be Roman, and did so by the authority of consular *imperium*. This demonstration of a general's own authority and *imperium* is the core of what made the various Alban triumphs so striking, or offensive in the case of Cicereius. It also made the threat of such a triumph by Paullus so powerful and made the idea of reviving this tradition so tempting to Julius Caesar and Augustus. The Alban triumph reinforced and juxtaposed the association of Alba with legitimate consular authority independent of the Senate. It was able to be a republican institution and yet remain independent of the Senate. This setting at odds of Alba with Rome reflects the Livian idea of parallelism between Alba and Rome. For Livy, the doubles in history reflected the Romans' memory of their past, the influence that memory had on their self-perception, and their evocation of that memory to influence others.⁸⁷ It is therefore unsurprising that Livy is our primary source for the Alban triumph, as it reflects this *duplex* nature of Alba and Rome.

The connection between the *Feriae Latinae* and the legitimacy of consular authority has already been established earlier in this chapter. This bond also leads to a link between the Alban triumph and the *Feriae Latinae* and its consequences. In his discussion of triumphal significance, Lange notes:

Marcellus, who began his campaign as consul, and the other magistrates who celebrated an Alban Mount triumph, would have gone to the Alban Mount upon leaving Rome and then on to their province. On return, if a consul had a triumph declined, an Alban Mount triumph may have appeared as a poor second, but would have remained a potent display of consular authority. He would return to the last place where he, as consul, presided over an important Roman festival. The *Feriae*

⁸⁶ Lange 2014, 67; cf. Östenberg 2009, 48.

⁸⁷ Cf. Miles 1995, 69 and 137-138.

Latinae lent religious and political aura to the Alban Mount triumph... because this was at the centre of the Latin nations. This was not, therefore, merely a substitute for the Capitoline in Rome.⁸⁸

The connection of the *Feriae Latinae* to consular authority made the Alban triumph an effective tool for any man of consular rank denied his triumph. The choice to celebrate a triumph at Alba was then a significant display of authority in defiance of the Senate. If the legitimacy of a Roman triumphator came from his associations to kingship and Jovian godhood after relinquishing his *imperium* to the Senate, the Alban triumphator's legitimacy came from the associations to kingship and Jovian godhood found at Alba and was derived by virtue of his *imperium*. He was returning to the Alban Mount as the "point of departure for the duly ordained army,"⁸⁹ and doing so as that army's still legitimate commander. By concluding the Alban triumph at the temple of Jupiter Latiaris, the Alban triumphator was still able to fulfill his dedicatory vows at a temple of Jupiter⁹⁰ associated with the mythical origins of Roman authority. Further, by the time that Maso initiated the custom of the Alban triumph in 231 BC, the rivalry between the Roman Jupiter Optimus Maximus⁹¹ and the Alban Jupiter Latiaris had already been established. The Capitoline temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, already very old by the late 3rd century, was an "imposing edifice" that "overshadowed the federal sanctuary of Jupiter on the Alban Hills," and very likely was intended to do so.⁹² Adding to this rivalry, Pliny informs us that after Spurius Carvilius celebrated his triumph over the Samnites in 293 he melted down their armor and used it to build a statue of Jupiter Capitolinus which could be seen from the statue of Jupiter Latiaris at Alba.⁹³

⁸⁸ Lange 2016, 64-65; cf. also Lange 2014, 76-77 and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.49.2-3.

⁸⁹ Cf. Smith 2012, 277.

⁹⁰ Rich 2014, 220.

⁹¹ Also called Jupiter Capitolinus.

⁹² Smith 1996, 164.

⁹³ Plin. *NH.* 34.18.

So the competition between Rome and Alba over the divine glory of Jupiter was well-established by Maso's day.

The regal and Jovian associations made by a triumph gave it a mythical quality, and as Mary Beard has noted, "the subversive potential of the mythical stories on display was not lost on all Romans."⁹⁴ An Alban triumph was no different. The Alban triumphator was still both god and king, but without having to surrender his authority or his armies to the Senate. However, although Marcellus and Rufus showed that their triumphs did not lack for glory, dignity, or splendor in comparison to Roman triumphs, and Servilius noted the same about Paullus' would-be Alban triumph, a proper Roman triumph remained preferable, even during this period. Such a triumph was the state's recognition of a general's victory and legitimacy. Its Alban counterpart, in contrast, was the general's assertion of his legitimacy.

Marcellus' Alban triumph in 211 is without doubt the best remembered and most glorious of the Alban triumphs during the middle republic, showing as it did the prestige and subversive potential for such a ceremony. It is also certainly what Servilius must have had in mind when he warned that Paullus would hold an Alban triumph in 167 if denied his rights, saying in no uncertain terms:

multi etiam, qui ab senatu non impetrarunt triumphum, in monte Albano triumpharunt; nemo L. Paulo... eripere decus perfecti belli Macedonici potest;

"There have also been many who triumphed at the Alban Mount when they did not succeed in obtaining a triumph from the Senate; no one is able to snatch away from Lucius Paullus the glory of bringing the Macedonian War to an end."⁹⁵

Paullus would lose no glory if he triumphed at Alba, warns Servilius; the implication, however, is that Rome would. Servilius' argument runs contrary to the prevailing opinion today that the

⁹⁴ Beard 2007, 29.

⁹⁵ Livy 45.38.4.

Alban triumph was of minimal status and that it had died out because of the even lower status of its final celebrant, Cicereius.⁹⁶ While it is true that at first glance some pieces of evidence appear to suggest the lesser importance of the Alban triumph, these can also be understood in a way that allows Servilius' threat to be convincing.

Maso is the only Alban triumphator described as wearing the myrtle of an *ovatio*, and this detail comes to us from a single source: Valerius Maximus, who includes it in a list of men who dressed *licentius... quam mos patrius permittebat* "more freely than ancestral practice permitted," writes of Maso *proque laurea corona... myrtea usus est*⁹⁷ "and in place of the laurel crown he wore myrtle." The implication here is that one should expect Maso to wear laurel, but he doesn't, preferring the myrtle of the *ovatio*. This suggests that the later Alban triumphators wore laurel, and there is no extant evidence that indicates otherwise. Maso's reasons for wearing myrtle rather than laurel cannot be known, but one possibility is that this was a conciliatory gesture. It has already been established that the Alban triumph was a protest and an act of defiance, yet the language used by Valerius Maximus, Cicero, and Pliny to describe Maso's Alban triumph suggests this event was less provocative than the remaining Alban triumphs Livy describes. Perhaps Maso's choice to wear myrtle, and not triumphal laurel, was intended to acknowledge that his triumph had not been granted by peers to a peer, and so kept a sense of peace and normalcy that later Alban triumphators would break.

Rufus is the only Alban triumphator who is said to be dishonored specifically due to the location itself. Concerning the occasion Livy writes:

is triumphus, ut loco et fama rerum gestarum et quod sumptum non erogatum ex aerario omnes sciebant, inhonoratior fuit.

⁹⁶ Cf. note 73 of this chapter.

⁹⁷ Val. Max. 3.6.5.

This triumph was more dishonored because of its location, the rumors of his deeds, and because everyone knew the cost had been taken, not requested, from the treasury.⁹⁸

At first glance, the mention of location as a reason for dishonor does appear to indicate that Alba itself was the cause for dishonor, especially as just after this, Livy affirms that in cost, pomp, spoils, and splendor Rufus' triumph rivaled that of Cethegus'.⁹⁹ However, upon deeper inspection of the context, both immediate and broad, the real meaning becomes clear. While an Alban triumph is a lesser triumph than a Roman one, it is not in and of itself a dishonor, merely a lesser honor. Thus in Rufus' case, the dishonor in his triumph comes not from Alba itself, but from the fact that he received a triumph at all. That dishonor is only made worse by the fact that he gave the triumph to himself.

Rufus is the only Alban triumphator said to be dishonored by holding his triumph at Alba. No such impression is ever given about Maso, Marcellus, or Cicereius, and Servilius' words about Paullus, as Livy records them, give quite the opposite impression about the latter's would-be Alban triumph. When neither Cicero, Pliny, nor Valerius Maximus imply that the Alban triumph was of lesser honor due to its location, and when even Livy himself says nothing of the sort concerning Marcellus, and has Servilius say exactly the opposite about Paullus, it would be inappropriate to assume that when Livy says of Rufus *loco inhonoratior fuit* that he means the dishonor came from the location *per se*. Rather, this unique mention of location as a cause for Rufus' dishonor connects with the many other unique features of Rufus' Alban triumph, particularly the fact that his co-consul received a Roman triumph for his role in the same campaign.

⁹⁸ Livy 33.23.8.

⁹⁹ Livy 33.23.8-9.

Rufus is also the only Alban triumphator to share his moment with a Roman triumphator. An Alban triumph on its own remains a great honor, but when one's counterpart is given a triumph at Rome, to hold a concurrent Alban triumph brings no glory. Coupled with this, Rufus alone claimed the right to a triumph with little to no accomplishment. Marcellus and Paullus were denied triumphs based on technicalities and political rivalries, a question of worth was not raised. Maso and Cicereius likewise performed great deeds in Corsica, perhaps not enough to convince the Senate that a triumph had been merited, but certainly sufficient to be noteworthy among their peers: both men slew many enemies and brought home significant plunder. Rufus had slain few men and lost many, including two military tribunes,¹⁰⁰ and he had taken no prisoners. His deeds alone generated negative rumors, though they were indeed only rumors.¹⁰¹ Finally, he alone of the Alban triumphators was rumored to pay for his Alban triumph not from his own funds, but from the treasury as though it were his right. So Rufus himself was by all accounts a scandalous triumphator, and it was for these reasons, and because of his far worthier counterpart, that his celebration was "more dishonored" by its location; Alba itself was not the source of dishonor, but Rufus' failure to be seen as worthy of a Roman triumph with his counterpart.

Finally, consider the matter of Cicereius, the last actual Alban triumphator of the middle republic. After his decisive campaign against the Corsicans in 173, he made his case before the Senate, asking for a triumph *frustra*.¹⁰² This could either mean that he did so without success, or that he did so arrogantly. All that Livy says on the matter is that Cicereius held an Alban triumph

¹⁰⁰ Livy 33.22.8.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Brennan 1996, 325, "It is impossible for us to ascertain whether the tribunes' spirited attack on Q. Minucius Rufus was justified... Rufus must have been surprised—indeed, outraged—when he found such opposition to his triumph awaiting him in Rome."

¹⁰² Livy 42.21.7.

after seeking his Roman triumph *frustra*. As such, the context from Livy alone would indicate that he merely asked in vain. However, two passages from Valerius Maximus, as well as the broader historical context, suggest that perhaps *frustra* should be understood with a double meaning. Cicereius was only the sixth man not of consular or proconsular rank to celebrate a triumph, and three of his five predecessors had sought and celebrated naval triumphs rather than a standard triumph. It was therefore rare for a praetor to be considered worthy of a triumph, with only two previously receiving such an honor in more than 300 years. Furthermore, Cicereius' reputation was heretofore one of modesty, not pride or ambition. As a praetor, this makes his choice to honor himself in a context associated with consular power very strange. Twice Valerius Maximus records him assisting Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the son of the famous Scipio Africanus, attain the praetorship in 174.¹⁰³ As the former scribe to Africanus, Cicereius had connections to the family, and when it was clear that he would defeat the younger Scipio by a wide margin, he dropped from the race and campaigned for Scipio, winning him the praetorship. In 4.5.3, a section about knowing one's place, Cicereius is lauded by Valerius Maximus for his modesty. Lucius Scipio ends up being captured by Antiochus III in a foolish way, however, and while Valerius Maximus praises Cicereius, he likewise disparages the younger Scipio for shaming his family.

These events of 174 contextualize Cicereius' Corsican campaign in 173 and his Alban triumph in 172. After establishing a reputation for modesty, and showing his loyalty to the Scipiones whom he had once served as a scribe, Cicereius effectively humiliates the family with his flawless campaign only one year after Lucius Scipio's disastrous one. While this alone could

¹⁰³ Val. Max. 3.5.1-2 and 4.5.3. Note that in 4.5.3 the younger Scipio's name is given as Gnaeus, but this must be in error, as we know from Livy 41.27 that it was Lucius Scipio, and from 41.16 that Gnaeus Scipio had died in 176, furthermore no son of Scipio Africanus named Gnaeus is elsewhere attested.

not be justly held against him, he then gives himself a self-glorifying triumph when he fails to attain one by request. The scandal then comes not so much from the mere fact that he was a former scribe, as from the fact that he was a former scribe to Scipio, who once showed humility and deference to the Scipiones and then swiftly turned around and honored himself while the memory of their shame was still fresh, becoming god and king on the Alban Mount, the only praetor to ever assert that honor for himself, rather than receive it as a gift from the Senate.¹⁰⁴ So he was the lowest man ever to receive a triumph, and he did so through a consular *imperium* he did not have, claiming for himself honors rarely ever granted to praetors.

It is clear then that the defects in honor found with Maso, Rufus, and Cicereius belong to the men, not the triumph itself. While of lower preference than an officially sanctioned and granted Roman triumph, the Alban triumph itself was nevertheless a great honor.¹⁰⁵ It is therefore necessary to understand the full context and importance of Marcellus' Alban triumph in order to understand the threat posed by such a triumph in the hands of a great man, and thus to understand the influence held by Servilius' warning and the later reinterpretations by Caesar and Augustus. That is to say: Maso may have invented the Alban triumph, but it was Marcellus who defined it.

At the time of his conquest of Syracuse in 212, Marcellus was almost certainly the single most distinguished Roman alive. During his first consular year in 222, he won a great victory at the Battle of Clastidium and became the first man in over two centuries to claim and dedicate the *spolia opima*, the most exalted military honor available to a Roman soldier.¹⁰⁶ At the dedication ceremony, his soldiers sang hymns composed especially for that occasion.¹⁰⁷ He had received the

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Brennan 1996, 327-328.

¹⁰⁵ Mommsen 1887, 134 and Lange 2016, 63.

¹⁰⁶ Flower 2000, 34.

¹⁰⁷ Plut. *Marc.* 8.2.

triumph alone, without his co-consul Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus. As a plebian grandson of a *novus homo* and only the second of his line to attain the consulship, he had eclipsed the glory of his patrician colleague and celebrated one of the most memorable triumphs in Roman history.¹⁰⁸ Beyond all this, in dedicating the *spolia opima*, Marcellus had directly connected himself to Romulus, the first to claim such an honor. Memory played a potent role in Roman discourse and practice, and the Romans were always finding continuities between the past and the present.¹⁰⁹ The connections being made between Romulus and Marcellus would be very real to the Romans of the late third century. Adding to Marcellus' rise, in less than a decade's time he would be elected to the consulship two more times and see the imperium of his third consulship extended to allow for the successful conclusion of his Syracusan campaign.

It comes then as no surprise that upon Marcellus' return from Syracuse there was opposition to his celebrating another triumph. The Romans took their triumphs very seriously, in no small part because the triumph was an arena for political expression and competition.¹¹⁰ As such, celebration of this triumph would be a great boon to Marcellus' status and political ambitions, while preventing it would be a potent way for his political rivals to stymie those ambitions.¹¹¹ Plutarch says that the objection was to a third triumph, but this appears to be in error, as only Marcellus' Clastidium triumph is known before 211, and only two other commanders' triumphs are attested between his own over Clastidium and Syracuse.¹¹² The objection to a third triumph is particularly potent, as only eight men had ever celebrated three or more triumphs, and four of those had been kings. Even allowing that Plutarch erred, and this was

¹⁰⁸ Plut. *Marc.* 8.1; cf. Flower 2000, 37 and Gros 1979, 103-108.

¹⁰⁹ Popkin 2011, 13-14.

¹¹⁰ Beard 2007, 33 and 68.

¹¹¹ Flower 2000, 38.

¹¹² Plut. *Marc.* 22.1; cf. Rich 2014, 249.

to be only Marcellus' second triumph, the number of triumphators to celebrate a second triumph only reaches twenty-two, and includes now a fifth king. By giving Marcellus even just a second triumph, his name would be forever associated with the Roman kings of legend, and such names as Publicola, Camillus, and Dentatus. His already extant connections to Romulus, via the *spolia opima* and the plays of Naevius, cannot have helped his case.¹¹³ So Marcellus was summoned back to Rome without his army, and officially denied a triumph on the grounds that his army had not returned with him, and the war had not yet been completed. Their decision displeased Marcellus, even though he was offered an *ovatio*, which he accepted.¹¹⁴

In protest, Marcellus took to the Alban Mount on the day before his *ovatio* and celebrated his triumph. Livy mentions that he was protesting not merely on his own behalf, but on behalf of his soldiers whose victorious return home had been denied. He was not the only one being denied his rights by the Senate. His victorious legions suffered, too, and his triumph was on their behalf as much as his own.¹¹⁵ Although Livy gives no indication of what occurred during Marcellus' Alban triumph, Plutarch states that it was *τὸν μὲν ἐντελῆ καὶ μέγαν*, "both complete and great." The implication here, as supported by Beard and others, is that the Alban triumph included all of the spoils and ostentation that Livy mentions for the subsequent *ovatio*. This triumph was a splendid and very controversial display that he was worthy of a proper triumph, as his was the first to display captured works of art from a foreign culture, and the first in which foreign gods were led captive to Rome.¹¹⁶ Finally, Marcellus' *ovatio*, only the second in 150

¹¹³ For the connections between Naevius' *Clastidium* and his *Romulus*, and the influence of Marcellus' political opponents in keeping him from his triumph, cf. Flower 2000, 36.

¹¹⁴ Livy 26.21.2-5; cf. Westall 2014, 35 for more about the association of the triumph with a sense of closure.

¹¹⁵ 26.21.2; cf. Lange 2016, 41 and Östenberg 2009, 44.

¹¹⁶ 26.21.7-14 and Plut. *Marc.* 21; cf. Beard 2007, 147-149, Östenberg 2009, 211, and Cadario 2014, 83.

years,¹¹⁷ was extremely unusual. In the first place it was unusual through the revival of a rite few living Romans could remember, a revival reminiscent of his dedication of the *spolia opima*, which no living Roman in his time had seen. His *ovatio* was also unique in being joined to an Alban triumph in an “unprecedented and unparalleled” way,¹¹⁸ and would remain unique until Caesar’s *ovans ex Monte Albano*, which will be discussed later in this chapter. Finally, it was unusual because, returning from Alba, he entered Rome through the *Porta Capena* rather than the *Porta Triumphalis*.¹¹⁹

So Marcellus was not merely defining the Alban triumph, as stated before, he was clearly and deliberately redefining Rome’s identity and understanding, not merely of itself, but also of *himself*. Through the dedication of the *spolia opima*, the celebration of an *ovatio*, and the Alban triumph, he was associating himself with Rome’s ancient past and history, with the kings and republican heroes of legend. Through the location of his triumph at Alba, the display of captured Greek sculptures and works of art, and the captivity of their gods, he was introducing new elements to, and reorienting, the definition of Roman identity. Although there had been an increasing Greek cultural influence on Rome for two generations by the time of Marcellus, and some level of Greek influence since the seventh century if not earlier, Marcellus’ triumph over Syracuse became solidified in Roman memory as the “tipping point” which permanently reoriented Rome towards the incorporation of other cultures, especially Greek.¹²⁰

Marcellus therefore embodied, and even helped define, the Roman principles about which Vergil has Anchises prophesy: to rule, to impose the order and law, to show mercy to their

¹¹⁷ *Ovationes* do not appear to have been uncommon in the first 150 years of the Republic, but between the *ovatio* of M. Fabius Ambustus in 360 and the combined Alban triumph and *ovatio* of Marcellus in 211, the only one held was for Denatatus in 283.

¹¹⁸ Flower 2000, 40.

¹¹⁹ Lange 2016, 167.

¹²⁰ Feeney 2016 *passim*, esp. 9 and 122-124; cf. also Sciarrino 2011, 45 and 80 for Roman identity as defined by drawing in and “taking a hold of” what others have, and then making it superior.

subjects, and to humble the proud through conquest. Unsurprisingly then, the very next proclamation Vergil places into the mouth of Anchises is about Marcellus:

*“Aspice, ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis
ingreditur, victorque viros supereminet omnes!
Hic rem Romanam, magno turbante tumultu,
sistet, eques sternet Poenos Gallumque rebellem,
tertiaque arma patri suspendet capta Quirino.”*¹²¹

“Do you see the victor Marcellus with the royal spoils, standing out from all the others? In the great conflict threatening Rome he will preserve the state. His cavalry will lay low the Carthaginians and the rebellious Gauls, and for a third time he will dedicate captured arms to father Quirinus.”¹²²

This Vergilian reference to Marcellus is important because it highlights the impact and implications of his Alban triumph, not merely as they were understood in the middle republic, but even into the Augustan age, as the would-be heir of Augustus, also called Marcellus and claiming descent from this Marcellus, is explicitly connected to this earlier Marcellus in many ways. The full significance of the connection between the two Marcelli will be explained in a later section of this chapter. For the moment, it is enough to understand that, coupled with what Livy and Plutarch wrote, this passage in the *Aeneid* indicates that Marcellus was a defining character of Roman identity, especially in Augustan views of the republic and its exemplary figures.

Although no direct mention of Alba appears in the lines about Marcellus, the connection is clear from the context. The prophecy concerning Roman history begins with the Alban kings starting in 6.756 and concludes with Marcellus. Vergil draws the connections between Marcellus and Alba by mentioning Marcellus directly after the pronouncement of the four Roman virtues which he most exemplified in his Alban triumph, and by using him to conclude a section begun

¹²¹ Verg. *Aen.* 6.855-859.

¹²² Caldwell 2004, 114.

at Alba. It is also noteworthy that Vergil sets him as the culmination of a list of heroic Roman forefathers. The first father to be discussed is *Silvius, Albanum nomen*, “Silvius, an Alban name.” A few lines below, still speaking of Silvius, the line *unde genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba* “from whom our race will rule in Alba Longa” recalls the words that end line 6 and begin line 7 of Book 1: *genus unde Latinam Albanique patres* “from whom [came] the Latin race and the Alban fathers.” As each successive Alban king is named, their connections not only to Alba, but to Troy, are constantly pronounced. Even Romulus is said to be *Assaraci sanguinis*, “of the blood of Assaracus,” making explicit once again the connection between Rome and Troy via Alba. As the prophecy comes to a close, Paullus is alluded to, the avenger of his Trojan sires, and only then does Vergil call his audience’s thoughts backwards in time, to revisit Marcellus.

Given the Alban connotations of this section of the *Aeneid*, including the explicit Alban opening, the connection between Marcellus and Alba in Vergil cannot be missed. This was a connection that Marcellus had already established himself, asserting his authority and *Romanitas* independent of the Senate; it was the connection that would be used as the leverage Paullus needed to secure his proper Roman triumph. So Paullus and Marcellus are connected to each other through the honor and prestige of the Alban triumph as defined by Marcellus. The connection of course becomes more explicit in Vergil, who uses these two great victors over the Greeks as exemplars of Roman glory and Trojan vengeance, but it is not a connection which Vergil invents, merely one he exploits. In 263 BC Rome concluded a treaty with the Sicilian town of Segesta on the grounds that they were both Trojan states,¹²³ and even earlier Pyrrhus had considered himself another Achilles waging war against Trojan colonists.¹²⁴ So the concept of war between Greece and Rome as a continuation of the Trojan War was present, at least from the

¹²³ Zon. 8.9.12; cf. Cic. *Verr.* 4.72 and Diod. 23.5.

¹²⁴ Paus. 1.12.1; cf. Pyrrhus’ coins depicting himself as the new Achilles: *BMC Thessaly*, 111, #7-8 and 112, #9-19.

Greek perspective, by the 3rd century. Ennius also appears to treat Pyrrhus in this same style, as a new Achilles.¹²⁵ Therefore it seems probable that by the time that Syracuse fell to Marcellus in 212, and certainly by the fall of Macedonia to Paullus in 168, the idea of the Romans as Trojan avengers would likely have been present. As discussed in a previous chapter, Rome's Trojan heritage had an explicit Alban connection no later than the end of the 3rd century, when Fabius Pictor composed the first narrative history of Rome. It is therefore quite possible that Marcellus' Alban triumph over Syracuse had at least a subtle connection to the Trojan War as well. The idea of Paullus as a Trojan avenger, even in his own time, then becomes even more likely, given the Ennian and Fabian imagery that would have been present in the Roman consciousness by the time of his triumph in 167. This too, then, may have given greater weight to the threat of his Alban triumph.

This interconnectivity between Marcellus, Paullus, and Alba may explain the disappearance of the Alban triumph after 167. As Brennan notes, there are no Alban triumphs after Cicereius, and many men in the first century BC spend years waiting outside the *pomerium* to receive the triumphs, with none holding or even threatening an Alban triumph. He suggests that the Senate may have "curtailed" the Alban triumph after Cicereius,¹²⁶ and this appears to be borne out by the evidence, although if this is the case then the Senate will have curtailed the Alban triumph after Paullus in 167, and not after Cicereius in 172. While Marcellus' example remained unique, the Alban triumph's subversive nature could be tolerated, perhaps even looked down upon.

The threat of such a triumph from another great commander such as Paullus was a different matter altogether. These same subversive undertones, seemingly easily dismissed in the

¹²⁵ Enn. *Ann.* 165 and 167; cf. Cic. *Div.* 2.115-116 and *Off.* 1.38; cf. also Elliott 2013, 222.

¹²⁶ Brennan 1996, 328-329.

cases of Maso, Rufus, and Cicereius, and tolerated in the case of Marcellus, may have been too overt to be acceptable with Paullus. The Avenger of Troy celebrating his triumph at Alba, the site of Troy's first Italian sons and the mother of Rome, might have recalled too much of the old monarchy, particularly in doing so by his own *imperium*, without the Senate. Although Livy makes no mention of any Senatorial decree against the Alban triumph, this does not rule out the possibility entirely, as Brennan discusses. In any event, something changed after 167. We hear of no further Alban triumphs, nor even threats of such. If any did happen during the lacuna in the *Fasti Triumphales* between 154 and 130, they were so unimportant that no extant source ever mentions them, implies them, or alludes to them. The Alban triumph, though retaining its honor and prestige during its 64 year tenure, disappears from history after 167 and is not heard of again until 123 years later, when it is resurrected by Julius Caesar.

1.2.3 Voices of Peace: the Alban Mount Triumph into the Augustan Age and Beyond

In early 44 BC, Julius Caesar led a celebratory procession,¹²⁷ uniquely registered in the *Fasti Triumphales* as *ovans ex Monte Albano*; literally “ovationing from the Alban Mount.” All other triumphs and ovations listed in the *Fasti* as *ex quo loco*, both before and after Caesar, use the phrase in reference to the land or people defeated, though *de quibus populis* is more common, and all refer to locations beyond Italy. Caesar's *ex Monte Albano* is doubly unique: the only *ex quo loco* that does not imply victory, and the only *ex quo loco* that is from an Italian location. The four middle republican Alban triumphators were all recorded as *in Monte Albano triumphavit*, with the first three listed as *de Corseis*, *de Syracusanis*, and *de Galleis*

¹²⁷ For the historical sources of his *ovatio ex Monte Albano*, cf. Dio 43.4.3, Suet. VC 1.79, and Plut. *Caes.* 60.

Liguribusque,¹²⁸ and with Cicereius as *ex Corsica*.¹²⁹ Although it is unclear exactly what this procession was called in Caesar's own time, the terminology used by the *Fasti* indicates that it was a conflation of ideas. This *ovatio* combined with the celebration of the *Feriae Latinae* was the first triumphal celebration to coincide with the *Feriae* and was a clear assertion of Caesar's consular authority.¹³⁰ Although the combination of the *Feriae* with an *ovatio* was unprecedented, the combination of Alba with an *ovatio*, as well as the recently granted right for Caesar to dedicate *spolia opima*,¹³¹ recalls Marcellus, who was the last to dedicate *spolia opima* and who later held a triumph at Alba and then an ovation at Rome.

There are also unique aspects of Caesar's *ovatio ex Monte Albano* that set it apart from previous Alban triumphs. Caesar began his procession after he had finished the celebration of the *Feriae Latinae*, and unlike previous Alban triumphators, whose procession went *up* to Jupiter Latiaris at Alba, Caesar's procession went *down* from Alba and into Rome, entering through the *Porta Capena* as Marcellus had done before.¹³² Additionally, the use of the phrase *ex Monte Albano* in a triumphal and ovational setting is highly suggestive of a victorious return, yet Caesar returned from Alba victorious over no enemy. With this unique *ovatio*, Caesar is not directly reviving the Alban triumph,¹³³ but he is certainly hearkening back to it, placing the Alban triumphs—especially that of Marcellus—back into the public mind, but as a celebration of peace, not war.

¹²⁸ The entries for Marcellus' Alban triumph and Roman ovation, both *de Syracusanis*, belong to a part of the *Fasti* that has since been lost, and have been reconstructed as such by John Rich. Many details of Rufus' Alban triumph have likewise been lost, although in his case, a sufficient amount of the inscription is extant to allow for a more certain reconstruction.

¹²⁹ Other notable examples of *ex quo loco* as a sign of victory include M. Porcius Cato *ex Hispania* in 194, L. Cornelius Scipio as *ex Asia* in 189, L. Aemilius Paullus as *ex Macedonia* in 167, as well as every procession after 40 BC save one.

¹³⁰ Lange 2014, 76 and 2016, 43 and 65.

¹³¹ Dio 44.3-4, esp. 44.4.3.

¹³² Lange 2016, 167.

¹³³ Lundgreen 2014, 25 and Lange 2014, 75.

Caesar is therefore not directly mimicking either Marcellus' Alban triumph or his Roman ovation, but the fusion of the two, coupled with his entrance through the *Porta Capena*, make the Marcellan echoes clear enough for Mary Beard to call the procession a hybrid.¹³⁴ As Marcellus' Alban triumph and subsequent ovation marked a major turning point for the development of Roman culture and identity, now Caesar was seeking to mark his own as a similar turning point. In celebrating a victory procession *ex Monte Albano*, despite being victorious over no enemy, Caesar was declaring that the age of civil wars had ended, and a new era of peace was beginning.¹³⁵ The Alban Mount was the ideal location to associate with this new dream of peace.

The *Feriae Latinae*, as previously discussed, affirmed the authority of Caesar as consul and dictator, as well as the authority of Rome over the Latins, and ultimately the unity of all the Latins as one. In this spirit, his procession was also set to transform the association of the Alban triumph. Whereas in the middle republic the Alban triumph had been divisive and subversive, a sign of quarrel between Roman generals and the Senate, now it was meant to be a symbol of unity and to bolster the authority of his government. By taking Marcellus' two separate and juxtaposed celebrations and fusing them into one through his own procession, Caesar was ending the opposition of Rome and Alba, an opposition which dated back to the time of the kings and has been shown to have continued throughout the republic. The conflict between brothers, begun in the days of Tullus Hostilius, and symbolically continuing throughout the generations of civil and social warfare, was now over.

Caesar also has personal connections to Alba. Perhaps the best known is the claim of the Julian clan to be descended from Ascanius Iulus, the son of Aeneas and legendary founder of

¹³⁴ Beard 2007, 267; cf. Lange 2014 75-76 for Marcellus as the closest precedent for Caesar.

¹³⁵ Lange 2014, 79.

Alba.¹³⁶ This makes Caesar, like Romulus, a scion of the Alban royal lineage. The claim of the Julii to be descended from Ascanius is further evidenced by coins minted by earlier Julians during the 2nd c. and depicting Venus, the grandmother of Ascanius and so the divine ancestress of the Julian clan.¹³⁷ Caesar's revival of the *Lusus Troiae* was likely another overt connection to his ancestor, Ascanius; a revival and connection which was also propagated by Augustus and Vergil.¹³⁸ In 45 BC Caesar accepted the right to wear the *calcei mullei* of the Alban kings,¹³⁹ and this right, combined with his procession from Alba in 44, may have prompted the incident where he was hailed as king, a title which he promptly rejected.¹⁴⁰ Whether or not Caesar intended to actually become king, his use of Alban imagery and connotations during this transformative moment seems intended to establish his legitimacy in Rome.

The significance of these Alban connections becomes even clearer when considered in light of the prominence of the Via Sacra in the triumphal procession.¹⁴¹ Throughout the period under discussion and including Caesar's *ovans ex Monte Albano*, any triumphator processing through Rome would pass by such notable locations as the temple of the Lares, the temple of Vesta, and the temple of Jupiter Stator as he processed his way towards the Arx of the Capitoline Hill and the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.¹⁴² Alba's significance to Rome's Via Sacra is so profound that Smith refers to the Via Sacra, which presents a direct line from the Arx to Alba, as the "*spectio* for augural sighting, from the Arx to the Alban Hills."¹⁴³ Alba's centrality to

¹³⁶ Livy 1.3; cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.29.7 and Tac. *Ann.* 11.24.

¹³⁷ RRC 258/1 (Sex. Julius Caesar, 129 BC) and 320/1 (L. Julius Caesar, 103 BC).

¹³⁸ Sumi 2005, 61; Verg. *Aen.* 5.545-603.

¹³⁹ Dio 43.43.2; cf. Sumi 2005, 65.

¹⁴⁰ Plut. *Caes.* 60.2.

¹⁴¹ Beard 2007, 102.

¹⁴² The full Alban significance of these and other buildings along the Via Sacra will be discussed in the next chapter.

¹⁴³ Smith 1996, 172.

Latin religion is reflected in this same way in the town of Satricum, whose Via Sacra also “looks” from its acropolis directly towards Alba.¹⁴⁴

A final Alban connection to note, which perhaps had been quite subtle in the past, but with Caesar may have become more noteworthy, is the connection of the *sol albus* to augury and the very foundation of Rome. A passage from Ennius, describing the augural competition between Romulus and Remus upon the Aventine hill, has been preserved by Cicero and presents an interesting Alban connection.¹⁴⁵ During this sequence a most curious line appears, *interea sol albus recessit in infera noctis*, “meanwhile the white sun withdrew into the end of the night.” This is the moment that begins the augury itself, with the following lines describing Romulus’ superior omen of twelve birds. The “white sun” is not actually the sun at all, as it fades with the night, nor is it the moon. The *sol albus* is the morning star,¹⁴⁶ which is Venus. As the mother of Aeneas, Venus is the mother of the Latin people, imagery which was already active in the Roman consciousness by Caesar’s time.¹⁴⁷ It is possible that Ennius was deliberately alluding to Alba Longa and its connection to Venus, as the augurs would be looking towards Alba, the white city, and the augury begins under the *sol albus*, the white sun.

Whether or not this association was Ennius’ original intent, it very well could have been interpreted as an Alban allusion in a Caesarian context, as we know from Suetonius that another passage of Ennius was interpreted with Augustan connotations¹⁴⁸ and from Servius that Vergil drew from Ennius’ depiction of the fall of Alba Longa to create the fall of Troy in Book 2 of the *Aeneid*.¹⁴⁹ This maternal imagery of the augury looking towards Alba and beginning with the

¹⁴⁴ Attema 2001, 53; cf. Smith 1996, 254 and Carandini 2011, 42 and 51.

¹⁴⁵ Enn. *Ann.* 72-91. cf. Cic. *Div.* 1.107-108.

¹⁴⁶ Schultz 2014, 182; cf. Jocelyn 1971, 70-72.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Lucr. *DRN* 1.1-2.

¹⁴⁸ Enn. *Ann.* 154-155; cf. Suet. *VC* 2.7.2.

¹⁴⁹ Serv. *ad Aen.* 2.486.

fading of Venus is strong, though the association of this Alban imagery to the Roman triumph, by way of the Via Sacra and the triumph's inherent augural imagery, may have initially been quite subtle. For Caesar, a direct descendant of Venus and of Ascanius, returning directly from the *Feriae Latinae*, the augural connections to Alba during his triumphal procession become more clearly visible. Further strengthening the association of the *sol albus* with Alba and Caesar is the nature of Caesar's procession as an *adventus*. By ovationing from the Alban Mount into Rome, Caesar is effectively arriving, adventing, from Alba to Rome. The second chapter discusses in detail the many other instances of Alba coming to Rome, including the idea that the Aventine hill, upon which the Ennian augury sequence takes place, received its name from "Adventine" in relation to the *adventus* of Diana (and later, in Ovid, the *adventus* of the Alban king Aventinus himself).

Thus the Alban connections, subtly present at any Roman triumph, become explicit in Caesar's *ovatio ex Monte Albano*. Recalling that the triumph helps to answer the question "who are we?" Caesar's answer is "we are Romans; we are Albans; we are one." His celebration was meant to point the Romans away from their divisions and towards peaceful unity. This same spirit of peace and unity would be repeated four years later by Octavian and Antony, continuing the notion that the Alban triumph, when resurrected, was a symbol of peace for Rome.

Very little record has survived of the joint ovation that Octavian and Antony held after concluding the Treaty of Brundisium in late 40 BC. Cassius Dio devotes only a single sentence to it, mentioning that the two leaders enter Rome in triumphal garb, but on horseback.¹⁵⁰ However, the Augustan age *Fasti Triumphales* records this joint celebration as two concurrent ovations, recording Octavian as *ovans quod pacem cum M. Antonio fecit* "ovationing because he

¹⁵⁰ Dio 48.31.3.

made peace with Mark Antony” and Antony as *ovans quod pacem cum Imp. Caesare fecit* “ovationing because he made peace with Imperator Caesar.”¹⁵¹ Only three triumphal processions are recorded in the *Fasti Triumphales* as being peaceful, rather than victorious: Caesar in 44 and then Octavian and Antony in 40, and all three processions are ovations. By celebrating *ovans* and by proclaiming these to be celebrations of peace, rather than over any enemy, the language of Octavian and Antony’s processions certainly is intended to recall Caesar as *ovans ex Monte Albano*, an example that also clearly hearkens back to Marcellus.¹⁵² So while it is unclear whether or not Octavian and Antony processed *ex Monte Albano* as Caesar had, or even whether or not they entered through the *Porta Capena* as Caesar and Marcellus had, we are meant to connect their procession to these events in our minds.

It was from these two precedents that the triumvirs drew their inspiration, and the message that was implicit in Caesar’s procession, “peace among Romans,” was made explicit by the joint procession of 40 BC.¹⁵³ By connecting the Alban triumph directly to the *Feriae Latinae*, and by celebrating an *ovatio* in the context of Marcellus’ Alban triumph and the *Feriae Latinae*, the message of the *pax deorum*¹⁵⁴ became the new norm. The two Caesars shifted the meaning of Alba away from competition with Rome and towards reconciliation between brothers, away from civil war and towards unity. The association of Alba with peace would outlive even the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, as demonstrated by Statius’ *Silvae*. Caesar’s procession from Alba is mentioned in the second poem of Book 5, with Caesar hailed as the possessor of the sword of Ausonia.¹⁵⁵ In the very next poem, speaking of the peace in which his own father rests in his

¹⁵¹ Cf. Rich 2014, 254.

¹⁵² Lange 2014, 78.

¹⁵³ Beard 2007, 267.

¹⁵⁴ Literally “the peace of the gods” but which can here be symbolically understood as “peace after victory.” Cf. Lange 2016, 69.

¹⁵⁵ Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.168-174.

tomb at Alba, Statius speaks of Ascanius building Alba Longa atop the Latin hills, *Phrygo dum pingues sanguine campos odit*, “because he hated the fields painted by Phrygian blood.”¹⁵⁶ So even in the Flavian age the identification of Alba with peace and the cessation of bloodshed and civil war remained strong. Caesar and Augustus thus succeeded in redefining both Alba Longa and the Alban triumph as signs of peace among Romans, rather than competition with Rome.

The Alban triumph continued to be used by Augustus as a source of legitimacy for some of his heirs, as well as a source of hope. In 23 BC the emperor’s nephew and a leading contender as an heir, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, fell ill and died. In addition to his state funeral and burial in the Mausoleum of Augustus, he was commemorated by Vergil in the *Aeneid*, where he is directly associated with his ancestor and namesake, the Alban triumphator Marcellus, and is given even more attention than his illustrious predecessor. After proclaiming that the gods, in their jealousy, would take the younger Marcellus away too soon, Vergil has Anchises lament:

*Nec puer Iliaca quisquam de gente Latinos
in tantum spe tollet avos, nec Romula quondam
ullo se tantum tellus iactabit alumno.
Heu pietas, heu prisca fides, invictaque bello
dextera! Non illi se quisquam impune tulisset
obvius armato, seu cum pedes iret in hostem,
seu spumantis equi foderet calcaribus armos.
Heu, miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas,
tu Marcellus eris. Manibus date lilia plenis,
purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis
his saltem adcumulem donis, et fungar inani
munere*¹⁵⁷

“No son of the Trojan race will ever bring such hope to his Latin fathers, nor will the land of Romulus ever be so proud of any child. Alas for his goodness, his old-fashioned honor, his right hand unconquered in war! No one would have dared to oppose him in battle, whether he attacked on foot or dug his spurs into the sides of a foaming steed. Poor boy, if only you could break the harsh laws of the Fates, you will be Marcellus! Give me lilies and bright flowers, let me scatter them from full

¹⁵⁶ Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.37-40.

¹⁵⁷ Verg. *Aen.* 6.875-886.

hands. With these gifts I will at least do honor to the spirit of my descendant and fulfill my empty task.”¹⁵⁸

Here we can see many allusions to the elder Marcellus, including the words *tu Marcellus eris*, “You will be Marcellus!” The message is simple, yet poignant: if this younger Marcellus had lived, he would have been a greater Marcellus. He is a Trojan, a Latin, and a Roman. The quick succession of these names at the close of the vision of heroes descended from Aeneas again recalls the opening of the *Aeneid* as the language describing Silvius had at the beginning of the vision. The sequence then is bookended by Silvius, the first of the line of heroes to be born on Italian soil, and by Marcellus the Younger, the greatest of all such heroes if only he had lived. Both are connected to the beginning of the *Aeneid* and to Alba itself, and in so doing, subsume all others within the sequence into those same associations. Significantly, Vergil leaves Aeneas without a triumph at the end of the *Aeneid* after the death of Turnus. In giving no triumph to Aeneas, Vergil suggests that the promise of peace has not yet been achieved, but belongs to a vague and distant future.¹⁵⁹ Marcellus the Younger would have been the best of the Trojans (better than Aeneas), the best of the Latins (better than Silvius), and the best of the Romans (better than the elder Marcellus). By ending the sequence of Aeneas’ heroic descendants with another hero deprived of triumph, the message that triumph brings peace is strengthened, but so is the message that the peace has been delayed.

The final Alban triumph (or more accurately, would-be Alban triumph) belonged to Drusus Caesar, posthumously called Germanicus. Dio reports that an ovation was being prepared for Drusus, as had recently been given to Tiberius, except that Drusus’ ovation would include a repeat of the *Feriae Latinae*.¹⁶⁰ The echoes of Caesar, and so of Marcellus, are strong enough for

¹⁵⁸ Caldwell 2004, 116.

¹⁵⁹ Westall 2014, 40.

¹⁶⁰ Dio 55.2.5.

Lange to call this an Alban Mount triumph,¹⁶¹ although a more conservative interpretation of the text and its context might suggest that Drusus was intended to *ovans ex Monte Albano* as Caesar had, rather than *triumphavit in Monte Albano*. That the intention was *ovans ex Monte Albano* is also suggested by Statius, who directly speaks of Drusus in connection to Caesar's Alban procession.¹⁶² In either event, the association with the Alban triumph is very strong.

Drusus died before he could celebrate his Alban triumph, however. Yet that did not stop Augustus from connecting him to Alba and to triumph. At Drusus' funeral, the imagines of Romulus, Aeneas, and *omnes Albanorum reges*,¹⁶³ "all the Alban kings," were displayed along with his Claudian ancestors. The connection to the Alban kings fits very well Augustus' aim of associating himself with Rome's distant past, for according to Dionysius, at the very foundation of the city, the Roman people chose to preserve the *πολιτεία* which they received from their Alban ancestors¹⁶⁴ and hearkening back to this notion Augustus also uses the Alban Kings to establish his own legitimacy and ancient roots by including them among the statues of the Gallery of Heroes in the Forum of Augustus. In addition to his own Julian and Alban ancestors, the Forum of Augustus, which according to Mary Beard was "packed with allusions to triumph,"¹⁶⁵ depicts the great triumphators of the republic in a manner not unlike the imagines found in a Roman house, as though recalling the republic's own distinguished ancestors.¹⁶⁶ It is therefore not surprising that he would use similar imagery for Drusus, both in life and in death. Further, although denied his triumph in life, Drusus nevertheless received a funeral that Seneca

¹⁶¹ Lange 2016, 67.

¹⁶² Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.177.

¹⁶³ Tac. *Ann.* 4.9.

¹⁶⁴ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.4; cf. Fraschetti 2002, 66.

¹⁶⁵ Beard 2007, 43. More will be said of the Forum of Augustus and its triumphal allusions in another chapter.

¹⁶⁶ Dudley 1967, 128 and Eder 2005, 29.

said resembled a triumph.¹⁶⁷ While more will be said about the Forum of Augustus in the next chapter, it should also be noted here that the temple of Mars Ultor at the center of the forum would be designated by Augustus as the new place from which military command was ordained,¹⁶⁸ shifting influence from the Alban mount towards Rome itself, establishing a sort of “new Alba” in the heart of the city.

Clearly, the connection of Drusus to both Alba and triumph, indeed to Alba and triumph together, was very important to Augustus. It is interesting to note that had Drusus received his celebration in life, he would have become the only Alban triumphator known to us to have been awarded such a celebration by the state, rather than to have held it by virtue of his own authority. Such a procession would have been the ultimate reconciliation of the Alban triumph to the Roman state, and would have delivered a strong message of legitimacy, both for Augustus and his successor.

Despite the loss of this final conciliatory procession, Alba was the perfect source of legitimacy for Augustus. From the earliest days of the republic it held the significance of being a symbol of consular authority and Latin unity. In the middle republic it gained further reputation as a source of authority independent of the Senate. Caesar added to its significance through the Julian claim to direct descent from Alba’s founder, Ascanius. Yet for Augustus, an even more personal connection to Alba existed. The *gens* Octavia, from which he was patrilineally descended, had their origins in the Alban town of Velitrae,¹⁶⁹ and the association of Augustus as a native of Alba was present even during his own lifetime, an association he very likely

¹⁶⁷ Sen. *Dial.* 6.3.1; cf. Lange 2014, 76. Note the triumphal and Alban imagery of the funeral of Augustus, especially the procession from Bovillae—a city near Alba and with strong Julian and Alban connections (cf. Niebuhr 1830, *vol. i.* note 1240, *vol. ii.* note 421)—to Rome (Suet. *VC* 2.100) and the *tensa* of Divus Augustus, drawn like a chariot by four horses, and depicting Romulus, Aeneas, and the white sow representing Alba; cf. Latham 2016, 114-116.

¹⁶⁸ Suet. *VC* 2.29.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid* 2.1

encouraged. In a celebratory poem about the Battle of Actium, Propertius places the following proclamation into the mouth of Apollo, *O Longa mundi servator ab Alba, Auguste*, “O Augustus, savior of the world, who comes from Alba.”¹⁷⁰ Suetonius also notes that as a boy Augustus was raised in his grandfather’s villa at Velitrae, and that the prevailing opinion was that he had been born there.¹⁷¹ Given Augustus’ emphasis on establishing deep connections to the past to support his legitimacy, such as his associations with Mater Matuta,¹⁷² whose Alban connotations will be discussed at length in the next chapter, the appeal of Alba Longa becomes evident as the opportunity to fuse Augustus’ personal history and identity with Rome’s in a very ancient way.

So the Alban triumph had come from being a declaration of worthiness and legitimacy in opposition to the Senate, building upon pre-existing competition between Rome and Alba in religious contexts, and had been transformed by Julius Caesar and Augustus into a declaration of worthiness and legitimacy in harmony with the Senate, bringing to an end the competition between Rome and Alba as a symbol of the end of civil strife. The crowning achievement of this process of reconciliation would have been Drusus’ Alban triumph. It is unclear exactly why Augustus did not attempt any further Alban triumphs, either for himself or his later successors, nor why the custom does not seem to ever again resurface. Perhaps Drusus’ death, when combined with his quasi-triumphal funeral, provided a truly poetic end to the competition between Rome and Alba. In Drusus’ state-granted Alban triumph, the first and only of its kind, Rome and Alba would at last be completely reconciled. By following in the footsteps of Caesar

¹⁷⁰ Prop. *Eleg.* 4.6.37-38.

¹⁷¹ Suet. VC 2.6.

¹⁷² Smith 2000, 150. Augustus may not have been the first to use Mater Matuta in such a way. In 175 BC Ti. Sempronius Gracchus celebrated a triumph for his campaigns in Sardinia. The following year he dedicated a record of his victories to Jupiter, and set that record up in the temple of Mater Matuta (Livy 41.28.6-8). This event is highly unusual. Given the Alban connections of Mater Matuta and the dedication of the plaque to Jupiter Gracchus may have been intending a subtle indication towards Alba for some reason. Cf. Lange 2016, 55. In light of his familial relationship to Paullus, who very nearly celebrated an Alban triumph a few years later, the connection of Gracchus’ dedication to Alba is tempting, but the evidence is far from clear on the matter.

and Marcellus, but in doing so by the grace of the state, Drusus would have been the perfect conclusion to the tradition. This idea may even be paralleled in Livy. His account of Roman history opens with Aeneas, Ascanius, and the founding of Alba Longa. Though the end of his account is lost to us, we know from the *Periochae* that he concluded his history with the campaign and death of Drusus in books 141 and 142, and that Augustus himself gave the funeral oration. The brief summary provided by the *Periochae* does not mention any Alban imagery, but it is not unlikely that such imagery would have been present. By beginning with Alba and ending with Drusus, Livy's account suggests a movement into dynastic space with a significant impact upon Roman cultural memory, culminating in the rise of the Julian dynasty.

This seems to be the narrative that Augustus uses as well. By planning an Alban triumph for Drusus, and ultimately giving him a triumphal funeral instead, his triumph, even in death, becomes symbolically the death of civil strife. The peace which Vergil had suggested was yet to come was no longer a distant dream. By associating Drusus with Aeneas and the long line of Alban kings descended from Ascanius, with Romulus, and with all the great Claudii—including Marcellus—and ultimately by taking the credit for Drusus' success¹⁷³ (which was his right as Drusus' superior), Augustus was able to show that he had brought about the culmination of so much history, and the end to so much civil strife.

¹⁷³ Aug. *Anc.* 26.

CHAPTER 2

PLACES OF ALBAN MEMORY

The Roman people's connection to their Alban past and its impact upon their collective identity was not limited to the religious and political rites they performed at Alba. In many ways, some overt and others more subtle, the Romans also brought pieces of Alba Longa to their city. These various sites can be understood as *lieux de mémoire*, "places of memory," to use the term coined by Pierre Nora in recent decades, but now broadly adopted into the study of Roman cultural memory. These places of memory helped the Romans to deepen their understanding of a part of their city's history and its role of leadership, first of the Latins and later of the world. As Vergil wrote, in the form of a promise from Jove himself: *imperium sine fine*,¹⁷⁴ rule without end. This chapter will explore in particular the way that places of Alban memory helped elevate Rome into a position of authority and hegemony.

Monuments, whether actual structures such as the *Pila Horatia* or simple place names such as the Aventine, fulfill a "vital" role in the collective memory of Rome.¹⁷⁵ Indeed, the geography and cityscape of Rome are linked with the memories of the past. For the Romans, there was a fundamental link between place, history, and memory.¹⁷⁶ This is not to say that every *lieu de mémoire*'s full meaning or implication was readily available to every Roman at a given point in time. As Cicero expressed to Varro in his *Academica*: *nos in nostra urbe... hospites*, "we were strangers in our own city."¹⁷⁷ Cicero is being rhetorical here. The monuments were there;

¹⁷⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 1.279.

¹⁷⁵ Galinsky 2015, 1.

¹⁷⁶ Goldschmidt 2013, 70.

¹⁷⁷ Cic. *Acad.* 1.9.

antiquarians and historiographers such as Varro and Livy undertook their projects not only to remind the people what these monuments meant and why their memory mattered, but to re-explain and reinterpret them as they related to the present time. This was no less true in the Augustan age.¹⁷⁸ On the one hand, Rome and Augustus were connected to the broader context of the world. Yet it was equally important to Augustus to prove to the Roman people that he had deep connections to the past,¹⁷⁹ that his legitimacy and right to steer the ship of state at the helm of the world came from ancient roots. His connections to Alba, as well as all of Rome's, remained important even in the growing imperial context of the Augustan age, for at the core of Rome's memories of Alba is the centering of authority and hegemony in Rome.¹⁸⁰

Alba Longa was the centerpiece of Latin identity since it was, at least in memory, the original hegemon of the Latin League. The transfer of that authority from Alba to Rome was crucial to the legitimacy of Rome's claim to Latin hegemony from a very early stage. This would later serve as the foundation from which the right to *imperium* would derive. It was therefore important for Augustus to preserve, propagate, and even reinterpret Rome's Alban ties and heritage to grant himself that legitimacy. Accordingly, this chapter examines the many *lieux de mémoire* at Rome that served to remind the Romans of their Alban heritage and the Alban origins of their authority. Some places are instances where Alba was in some way brought to Rome, others are places that look back from Rome to Alba, while a few seem to serve in both capacities. The first section considers those Roman sites to which Alban kings, cults, and other memorials were brought as signs of authority. In the second section the discussion shifts to

¹⁷⁸ Galinsky 2015, 5.

¹⁷⁹ Smith 2000, 150.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Sciarrino 2011 for examples of how individuals in Rome used and manipulated culture to gain standing and position in a way not dissimilar to Rome's use of Alban memory and imagery to support its authority and legitimacy.

locations which do not claim to possess something originally Alban, but which nevertheless look back to Alba in connection with Roman authority and hegemony.

2.1 Bringing Alba to Rome

There are several places where Alban memory and authority appear to have been transported from Alba to Rome. Those that convey a clear sense of Alba coming to Rome will be discussed here. This section will show that the instances where Alba was transported to Rome are not simply stories or disconnected events, but serve a united purpose in centering both Latin religious and political hegemony at Rome.

The Tiber is a strong place of Alban memory that shows how Alban authority was transferred to Rome. It was the central focus of the *Ager Romanus Antiquus* since the Bronze Age,¹⁸¹ and is a fitting location to begin exploring the places where Alban memory and authority were brought to Rome. From its names, both old and new, to its role in the foundation of the city of Rome, the Tiber is filled with direct and indirect echoes of Alba Longa, adding to Rome a sense of “Albanness.” As a part of Rome’s very lifeblood, through the provision of water and commerce, the associations held by the Romans between the Tiber and Alba Longa recall the importance of both to the Romans’ understanding of their own identity. These associations directly link an important source of trade and survival to an important source of authority and origin, as discussed in the previous chapter. The fact that a location of such practical importance to Rome also displays Alban qualities highlights the visibility of Alban memory in Roman life.

The Romans believed that the Tiber had once held other names. This change to the name “Tiber,” or at least perceived change, presents a strong sense of Alba at Rome. According to

¹⁸¹ Fulminante 2014, 132.

Varro, because the river served as the boundary between Etruria and Latium, both the Etruscans and the Latins claimed it as their own. For the Etruscans, the river was named Thebris after a Veian chieftain, but for the Latins the name was originally Albula, renamed Tiber when the Alban King Tiberinus drowned there during a battle and the river became his *sepulcrum*, his burial place.¹⁸² The story of his drowning in the Albula is the only detail ancient sources have left to us about Tiberinus, other than his place in the Silvan dynasty.¹⁸³ If true, then the Tiber river, as the “burial place” of Tiberinus and bearing his name, would be a literal instance of Alba at Rome.

Although Varro is the first confirmed source to mention the drowning of Tiberinus, the antiquity of this story goes back to at least the third century, as fragments of Cincius Alimentus and Cassius Hemina attest. The preserved text of Alimentus, although not extant in its original Greek, records:

qui cum adversus finitimos bellum inferentes copias eduxisset, inter proeliantes depulsus in Albulam flumen deperiit mutandique nominis exstitit causa

“When he led out his forces against neighbours who had started a war, he was pushed into the river Albula in the thick of the battle and perished, which explains why the name of the river was changed.”¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² Varro *Ling.* 5.30. In the previous section, 5.29, Varro also speaks of the Roman god of the river Tiber, also named Tiberinus. It is possible that both Tiberini share a common origin, as both are associated with the Tiber. However, such an idea does not appear to occur to Varro or other ancient sources. Cf. Maltby 1991, 609-611.

¹⁸³ Tiberinus’ name appears in some form in fourteen of the fifteen extant listings of the Silvan dynasty (most often as Tiberinus, although the variants of Tiberius and Titus are attested in later sources), and is consistently towards the end of the list. For a more detailed comparison of the fifteen lists cf. Brugnoli 1996, 129 (Trieber 1894).

¹⁸⁴ *FRHist*, Cincius Alimentus F6, translated by Cornell 2013, 117. For Hemina’s mention of Hercules pasturing his sheep near the Albula, another demonstration of the perceived antiquity of this name, cf. *FRHist*, Cassius Hemina F3.

Livy follows Varro's account insofar as the names Albula and Tiber are concerned, leaving out Thybris entirely.¹⁸⁵ Further, Cicero says that the river's proper augural name is Tiberinus.¹⁸⁶ This strengthens the connection of the name to Alba, in light of the importance of Alba to augury, as will be discussed in detail later in this chapter. In contrast, Vergil presents an interesting twist on the history of the river's names, having the name Tiber come from Thybris, not Tiberinus, who appears in the *Aeneid* as the river god, with no mention of the Alban king. In the epic, Albula is an ancient name that even predates the arrival of the Trojans in Italy.¹⁸⁷

For Vergil, Albula is the name given to the river by the Aborigines, the original inhabitants of central Italy, who would ultimately fuse with the Trojans to create a Latin kingdom centered at Alba Longa. It is a name that belongs to the age of Saturn and of Evander. Albula thus represents a "primeval" and pre-Trojan, and so pre-Latin, age for the site of Rome; an image deliberately unfamiliar to Vergil's audience.¹⁸⁸ By creating this unfamiliar image of an otherwise very familiar landscape, Vergil creates a contrast between the primitive era of the Albula that knows nothing Trojan, Latin, or Roman, and the age of the Tiber, which the god Tiberinus miraculously calms to welcome Aeneas,¹⁸⁹ which will come to know all three. The future site of the Latin city of Rome along this Aboriginal river serves to unite the Latins and Aborigines in a symbolic way, perhaps pointing to Rome as the true successor to both peoples. As Evander and his city of Pallantium once dwelt along the river in the age of the Albula, so

¹⁸⁵ Livy 1.3.5 and 1.3.8. Although Varro spells the name as "Thebris" Livy and those who follow prefer "Thybris." Servius says that Livy got his information on Tiberinus' drowning from Alexander Polyhistor (Serv. *ad. Aen.* 8.72, 330), but Ogilvie refutes this, noting several key reasons why Alexander would not have made an attractive source for Livy. He also points to Varro as a source for Livy's account of the changing names of the Albula. For a detailed discussion of the arguments against Livy's following Alexander, cf. Ogilvie 1965, 43-45.

¹⁸⁶ Cic. *ND* 3.52.

¹⁸⁷ Verg. *Aen.* 8.332. However, cf. Gransden 1976, 127 for the idea that in the *Aeneid* Thybris serves as a "vague prefiguration" of Tiberinus; cf. also Fantham 1998, 100 and Momigliano 1966, 609-37.

¹⁸⁸ Jenkyns 2014, 24-25.

¹⁸⁹ Verg. *Aen.* 8.86-89.

Romulus and his city of Rome will dwell in the same location in the age of the Tiber. Vergil's depiction of the calming of the Tiber may even be alluding to an actual event. The river overflowed its banks and flooded much of Rome shortly after Octavian received the title of Augustus in 27 BC. This was regarded as an omen that Roman power would spread even further.¹⁹⁰ If Vergil is indeed alluding to this event, the symbolism is strengthened. The river that will flood to welcome Augustus is stilled to welcome Aeneas.

Ovid also interacts with this idea of a pre-Trojan origin of the name, and so of necessity a pre-Alban and pre-Latin one, by twice mentioning Hercules in the *Fasti* as interacting with the Albula. Here he goes against Vergil in discussing how and when the Albula becomes the Tiber, preferring to follow Varro in citing the death of Tiberinus as the occasion for change.¹⁹¹ Pliny attempts to harmonize the traditions by stating that the river was first called Albula, then Thybris, and finally Tiber.¹⁹² He may in fact be following an earlier tradition which is suggested in Ovid's other account. In the *Metamorphoses*, Tiberinus is described as *in Tusci demersus fluminis undis*, "submerged in the waves of the Tuscan river."¹⁹³ By calling the river "Tuscan," and by using the name Thybris in reference to the river elsewhere in the *Metamorphoses*, and more often than Tiber or Tiberinus, Ovid may be gesturing towards this pattern of Albula-Thybris-Tiber.¹⁹⁴ Such harmony would allow for the Albula to be named for Thybris by the time of Aeneas' arrival in Italy *and* to be named for Aeneas' own descendant Tiberinus at a later date.

The notion of Albula as the Aboriginal name of the Tiber precludes a direct association of its name with that of Alba Longa, although the names are indeed linguistically related. The

¹⁹⁰ Dio 53.20; cf. Camps 1969, 139 and Gransden 1976, 92-93 for the possibility of Vergil alluding to this event.

¹⁹¹ Ov. *Fast.* 4.68 and 5.646 for Hercules; 2.389-390, 4.47-48, and *Met.* 14.614-16 for the renaming of Albula at the drowning of Tiberinus.

¹⁹² Plin. *NH* 3.53.

¹⁹³ Ov. *Met.* 14.614-615; it is interesting to note that *demersus* can also mean "buried." In view of Livy and Varro, it would not be out of place to render the passage as "buried in the waves of the Tuscan river."

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Myers 2009, 162.

name itself means “white” or “pale.”¹⁹⁵ According to Grandazzi, the name comes from the salt trade along the river,¹⁹⁶ though Festus suggests that the name comes *ab albo aquae colore*, from the white color of the water.¹⁹⁷ Nevertheless, the temptation to associate the Albula with Alba Longa is strong, particularly in light of geography. Rome’s hills are easily defended, and have provided their inhabitants with safe access to the Tiber since the Bronze Age.¹⁹⁸ The triad of the Palatine, Capitoline, and Aventine hills are especially important due to their proximity to the water, as well as their protection of the *Forum Boarium* and Tiber Island. As one of the easier points of access for crossing the Tiber, this island was important in determining the location of the settlement that was to become Rome as did the *Forum Boarium*.¹⁹⁹ The triad of hills, resembling a fortress protecting the waters of the Albula, thus add to the value of the location by granting ease of control to their inhabitants. Likewise, the hills of the Alban Mount have been described as resembling a “fortress,”²⁰⁰ protecting the fresh waters of the Alban Lake for the people of Alba. As the border between Latium and Etruria, the Albula would naturally have strong symbolic importance to the Latin people. As a center of trade, the specific location of the island and the *Forum Boarium* would likewise be important to the Latins. So also Alba, as the most sacred site in Latium, the birthplace of the Latin people, and a strong defensive position, would hold both real and symbolic importance to the Latins.

Although extant sources do not offer any explanation for why Tiberinus was fighting a battle at the Albula, it is easy to imagine that the battle may have been for control of this fortress

¹⁹⁵ OLD, 93.

¹⁹⁶ Grandazzi 1991, 76-91, esp. 85-86.

¹⁹⁷ Fest. 3; cf. Maltby 1991, 22.

¹⁹⁸ Fulminante 2014, 39.

¹⁹⁹ Grandazzi 1991, 86-89. As Grandazzi notes, the importance of Tiber Island and the *Forum Boarium* to the foundation of Rome should be neither over- nor understated. Together they function as “a necessary cause perhaps, but not a sufficient one.”

²⁰⁰ Carandini 2011, 115.

location that would later become the city of Rome. As Varro established, both the Latins and Etruscans claimed the river as their own in the distant past. The idea that the Latins and Etruscans may have vied for control of the Tiber is supported by Grandazzi, who says that the mythical conflicts between Latinus and Mezentius reflect “a legendary expression of a more general relation, which archeology continues to uncover.”²⁰¹ Tiberinus drowning in a battle for control of the river, and in so doing giving his name to the river, establishes the river as Latin in both a real and symbolic sense. So in both the Albula and the Alban Lake we find bodies of water in important strategic locations that are important to the Latin people, both protected by fortress hills. Even if their names originated separately, their shared importance to the Latins and etymological similarity link them together, and the connection is made very real when an Alban king’s name is later given to the Albula.

These stories about the river’s ancient name Albula and its transformation into the Tiber, most often because of the drowning of Tiberinus, may reflect some memory of an actual event. Vansina notes that folk etymologies are sometimes correct, or at least testify to earlier traditions, referring to two place names in the town of Kinshasa in the Democratic Republic of the Congo as an example.²⁰² Other locations in Rome said to be named for individuals of the archaic era include the Aventine Hill (which will be discussed shortly in this chapter), the Tarpeian Rock, and indeed the very city itself. Grandazzi has also demonstrated that names ending in *–ulus* or *–ula* from Rome’s legendary period need not be understood as *ad hoc* inventions of later

²⁰¹ Grandazzi 1991, 119.

²⁰² Vansina 1985, 10-11. The first example is a neighborhood in Kinshasa called Kintambo, a name that means “fishery” and reflects the origin story told by the people from that part of the city. The second neighborhood is called Kalina, and is said to be named for a local leader. In reality, it is named for an Austro-Hungarian officer, Kallina, who drowned there in 1884. This example is particularly interesting, for although Kallina was not a local leader, he nevertheless was a leader who, at the time of his death, was present in the place that now bears his name. Further, the naming of a place for a man who drowned there reflects the naming of the Tiber for the drowned Tiberinus.

mythographers and antiquarians, but actually have historical basis. He mentions specifically the town of Romulea of the Hirpini in southern Italy and points to the “authentically archaic name[s]” of Romulus, Rutulus, and Volsculus.²⁰³ While names such as Rutulus and Romulea do not prove that the Tiber was once named Albula or that it received its current name from the drowned Tiberinus, these examples show that such things are certainly possible, and not necessarily the invention of later writers. Carandini suggests that at least some of the canonical Alban kings, such as Silvius and Amulius, can and should be understood as historical figures remembered in tradition, with the rest being inventions to fill a lacuna.²⁰⁴

It therefore remains possible that there was an Alban leader named Tiberinus²⁰⁵ for whom the Tiber was named. Even if the etymological story is not true, its impact for the Romans, who believed it to be true, remains unchanged. In either case the story of the Albula receiving a new name from the drowned Tiberinus brings Alba to Rome in a very real and physical sense. As Varro suggests, the renaming of the Albula to the Tiber may serve as proof that the Tiber is a Latin river, not an Etruscan one. It may also be the case that this renaming serves to prove to the Romans that their Alban heritage was destined to bring them here, as Tiberinus begins a pattern of Alban royalty coming to the site of Rome to give their names and authority to its various locations. He is followed by his descendant Aventinus, who gives his name to the Aventine hill and, at least in Ovid, will actively rule his kingdom from the site of Rome. Aventinus is succeeded by Proca, who does not give his name to any Roman site, but again in Ovid will rule

²⁰³ Grandazzi 1991, 170-171; cf. Ampolo 1988, 33 and Salmon 1989, 225-235.

²⁰⁴ Carandini 2011, 36. His argument builds upon Vansina, who says that name lists do not fare well in oral tradition without the aid of mnemonic devices. Cf. Vansina 1985, 24.

²⁰⁵ Or, at the very least, an archaic Latin version of his name, *sicut* Publius Valerius as Poplios Valesios.

from the Palatine. Finally, Proca's great-grandson is Romulus, who will found his city on Proca's hill and give it his own name.²⁰⁶

Aventinus is most commonly treated as the great-grandson of Tiberinus, though occasionally he is only the grandson. Livy and Dionysius agree that the Aventine hill was named for Aventinus, with Livy stating the reason for its renaming: *is sepultus in eo colle*, "he was buried in that hill."²⁰⁷ The Aventine is thus another important *lieu de mémoire*. It is the second location at Rome to become a burial place for an Alban king and to receive its name for that reason. Ovid follows this version of the story, adding that Aventinus not only was buried in that hill, but he actually *regnarat... eodem monte*, "had ruled from that same mountain."²⁰⁸ This detail comes at a significant point in the *Metamorphoses*. According to Sarah Myers, "the Alban king list initiates a genealogy of Roman rulers" which culminates with Caesar and Augustus.²⁰⁹ Ovid's listing of the Alban kings does not diverge significantly from the other king lists in its presentation of the names or sequences of the kings. The detail of Aventinus and his son Proca ruling from the future site of Rome, however, appears unique to Ovid and may be echoing the tradition of Evander ruling from the Palatine.²¹⁰ Such an echo may even be foreshadowing Caesar and Augustus.

While explicitly following Livy and Dionysius, Ovid also hints at one of the alternate origins mentioned by Varro. In the *Fasti* the words *venit Aventinus* gesture towards the name *Adventinus*.²¹¹ However, according to Varro *Adventinus* comes from Diana's advent to the hill,

²⁰⁶ Cf. Ogilvie 1965, 44 for the idea that Tiberinus' father, Capetus, gives his name to the Capitoline hill. The connection is attractive, and would make him a fourth Alban figure for whom a Roman site was named, but this is not borne out in any Latin sources that mention Capetus by name.

²⁰⁷ Livy 1.3.9 and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.71.4; alternative explanations for the origin of the name are offered in Varro *Ling.* 5.43 and Serv. *ad Aen.* 7.657.

²⁰⁸ Ov. *Met.* 14.620-621, cf. also *Fast.* 4.51-52.

²⁰⁹ Myers 2009, 2.

²¹⁰ Bömer 1986, 198.

²¹¹ Cf. Fantham 1998, 100.

not Aventinus'. Ultimately, both Diana and Aventinus are Alban figures associated with the Aventine hill, and with Alban rule over the Latins. It is also interesting to note that as with the Tiber, Vergil presents a pre-Trojan and thus pre-Alban origin for the name. He mentions a different Aventinus, an otherwise unattested son of Hercules, as the origin of the name, and has him born on the hill rather than buried there.²¹² Nevertheless, the claim that the hill was named for the Alban king Aventinus is the best attested among the ancient sources.

An Alban king ruling the Latins from the Aventine Hill means that it was not merely the names and corpses of Alban kings that were transported directly to Rome, but the actual rule and authority of Alba Longa itself. Nor is Aventinus unique in this regard, as Ovid also relates his son Proca, the great-grandfather of Romulus, as ruling from the Palatine, which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. For the moment, the important detail is that this sequence creates a significant chain. Tiberinus dies at Rome and is “buried” in the river, giving it his name. His great-grandson Aventinus then comes to Rome, bringing not just his name or his burial, but the very authority of Alba Longa. Finally, Proca’s great-grandson Romulus builds a city and, rather than give his name to merely one landmark, his name is given to the *urbs* itself, and so to the entire *ager Romanus*. It is particularly significant that Ovid builds upon this version of the story: writing during the Augustan age his view is engaging with the idea of centering authority and history on Augustus.²¹³ We will see a similar revisionism displayed in the Forum of Augustus at the close of the chapter, including the transportation of authority away from the old places and into the new.

²¹² Verg. *Aen.* 7.655-669, cf. Myers 2009, 163.

²¹³ Cf. Mignone 2016, 392-394 for a discussion of the Augustan pattern of “damning” the Aventine to strengthen the authority of the Palatine.

The Aventine also serves as one of the pre-foundation *auguracula*, much as the Arx and the Quirinal served as the two *auguracula* for the city itself in historical times.²¹⁴ In one of the earliest versions of the foundation myth, as told by Ennius, both Romulus and Remus take their auspices from the Aventine Hill.²¹⁵ The Alban imagery in this augury scene, especially in connection with the *sol albus*, has already been explained in the previous chapter. While the association of this passage to the Alban Mount triumph may have been more subtle, its implications for augury are much stronger. Augurs would sleep outside, under maternal Venus, the morning star or *sol albus*, and watched for the auspices in the twilight hours between the first light and the dawning of the sun, the *sol aureus*, because birds were especially active at this time.²¹⁶ Although in later versions of the myth Romulus shifts to taking his auspices on the Palatine, Remus always remains on the Aventine. This competition between the two brothers, under two suns, and eventually on two hills, reflects the idea of twins in competition where only one can rule in the end. Remus gives way to Romulus, the *sol albus* gives way to the *sol aureus*, and the Aventine gives way to the Palatine.²¹⁷ Both hills, as already established, have Alban connections and associations. So even as the historical Capitoline and Quirinal *auguracula* look back to Alba for their auspices,²¹⁸ the precedent is set in myth of looking back to Alba from hills to which Alban kings once came, and from which Alban kings once ruled.

Finally, the Aventine is also the location of a more concrete and historical transfer from Alba to Rome: that of the cult and temple of Diana. A Latin shrine at Aricia, dedicated to Diana, the patron goddess of the Latin League, almost certainly predates the Roman temple on the

²¹⁴ Fraschetti 2002, 31.

²¹⁵ Enn. *Ann.* 72-96.

²¹⁶ Schultz 2014, 182; cf. Lucr. 2.144-156, Verg. *Aen.* 7.25-34, Jocelyn 1971, 70-72, and Linderski 2006, 90.

²¹⁷ Cf. Cic. *Rep.* 1.31 for the idea of two suns as symbolic of divisions in the Roman state. The Aventine augury also makes the Palatine an auspicious location, cf. Mignone 2016, 397.

²¹⁸ Carandini 2011, 42 and 51.

Aventine.²¹⁹ The construction of her temple on the Aventine is generally associated with Servius Tullius, who intended the shrine to be a common sanctuary for the Latin League.²²⁰ Traditionally Rome succeeded Alba Longa as the head of the Latin League during the time of Tullus Hostilius in the seventh century, so the sixth century construction of the temple of Diana on the Aventine may have been perceived as a more real and physical sign that the hegemony now belonged to Rome. Varro even mentions this as an alternative source for the very name of the Aventine, saying that it comes from “Adventine” which he dates to the time of Diana’s advent to that hill.²²¹ Here, too, would be an example of the hill receiving its name as a result of Alba coming to Rome, only this time as the result of a patron goddess, rather than a king. Smith supports the notion that the transfer of the cult of Diana to the Aventine was a symbol of Rome’s hegemony over the Latin League, pointing to the transfer of the cult of Dioscuri from Lavinium to Rome after the Battle of Lake Regillus as another such example. For him, the temples “may be a visible sign of Roman claims [to be the center of Latin religion].”²²² This idea of centering Latin religion and authority in Rome, particularly on the Aventine, is also seen in later poets. For Ovid, the Aventine is the place where Jupiter promises a future empire to King Numa, and for Statius it is Diana’s hill even in pre-history.²²³ Finally, the temple of Diana was restored by Augustus,²²⁴ perhaps to help directly connect him to the goddess and the ancient authority associated with her worship on the Aventine.

While the temples of Diana and the Dioscuri were more imposing symbols of Rome’s hegemony over the Latins, perhaps the first such *lieu de mémoire* was the *Pila Horatia*, a

²¹⁹ Smith 1996, 216-218; cf. Dumézil 1966, 407.

²²⁰ Livy 1.45.2-6 and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.26.

²²¹ Varro *Ling.* 5.43.

²²² Smith 2007, 36-37.

²²³ Ov. *Fast.* 3.295-329; Stat. *Silv.* 2.3.21-22, cf. Van Dam 1984, 303; cf. also Dyson 2001, 157-160 for the idea that Vergil’s Aventinus and Silvius have connections to Diana as well.

²²⁴ Suet. VC 2.29.

monument that recalled the victory of the Horatii over the Curiatii, the battle in which Rome won authority over Alba Longa. The original monument was believed to have been set up in the time of Tullus Hostilius, and was made from the spoils of the slain Curiatii.²²⁵ By the Augustan age this original monument was gone, but its memory endured as there was a column bearing its name in the Forum.²²⁶ Despite the disappearance of the original monument, the endurance of its name indicates that the memory of this victory remained important to the Romans.²²⁷ Ennius wrote about the victory of the Horatii according to Propertius, who alludes to the monument as well, *et [Ennius] cecinit Curios fratres et Horatia pila*, “and Ennius sang of the Curian brothers and the Horatian spears.”²²⁸ As an historical event, a physical monument, and a poetic motif, the *Pila Horatia* served as an important aspect of the Roman people’s understanding of the antiquity of their hegemony.

It is important to note one final place where Alba was brought to Rome. The temple of Vesta, and with it the fires and the Vestal Virgins, was one of the oldest examples of Alba brought to Rome, and is the oldest historically verifiable instance. Dionysius relates her origins, stating that her flames were brought from Troy to Italy, her cult was very sacred to the Albans, and that both cult and flames were brought to Rome.²²⁹ In antiquity there was apparently a disagreement about which king brought Vesta to Rome, Romulus or Numa. Dionysius considers both sides of the debate. In *Antiquitates Romanae* 2.65 he presents the argument in support of Romulus, pointing to his upbringing at Alba and that his mother was an Alban Vestal. Ultimately

²²⁵ Livy 1.26.10.

²²⁶ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.22.9. Interestingly, the original name, as given in Livy, is neuter plural, “The Horatian spears” but the name is feminine singular in Dionysius, “the Horatian column,” cf. Gould & Whitely 1987, 152.

²²⁷ Cf. La Rocca 2011, 89 for a discussion on the Romans’ favor for the *idea* of past glories and spaces rather than the physical monuments themselves.

²²⁸ Prop. *Eleg.* 3.3.7, cf. Butler & Barber 1964, 267 and Camps 1966, 64. For the full list of topics Propertius credits to Ennius’ poetry, see *Eleg.* 3.3.6-12.

²²⁹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.76.4 and 2.65.

he concedes to this argument that Romulus brought the cult to Rome, although he still credits Numa with building the actual temple and with the insistence upon Vestal virginity. Archeology on the other hand suggests that Romulus, if indeed there was a Romulus, can be credited with the temple as well, as the original sanctuary to Vesta dates, at least structurally, to the Romulean era.²³⁰ The location of this temple along the Via Sacra, a road oriented towards Alba,²³¹ strengthens the connections of Vesta to Alba in a real and physical sense. In the *Fasti* Ovid calls her *Vesta Mater*, “Mother Vesta,” placing the words into the mouth of Romulus, the son of a Vestal Virgin.²³² She is also the one who receives Aeneas and the Trojan gods into Italy,²³³ already present and awaiting their arrival.

Propertius also makes a strong allusion to Vesta’s Alban origins, and the connection of her power to Alba, when he writes:

*uel cuius rasos cum Vesta reposceret ignis,
exhibuit uiuos carbasus alba focos.*

or when Vesta demanded her extinguished flames be restored
the white linen produced living flames.²³⁴

The allusion here is to the story of Aemilia, the Vestal who restored the eternal flame by throwing a part of her garment on the simmering ashes.²³⁵ The story is related in greater detail in both Valerius Maximus and Dionysius, but neither explicitly mentions that her garment was white, though Valerius does call the garment a *carbasus*. Propertius has discussed Alba several times before in his *Elegies*, as well as made clear allusions to it.²³⁶ Perhaps the best known

²³⁰ Carandini 2011, 70.

²³¹ Smith 1996, 172.

²³² Ov. *Fast.* 4.828; for Rhea Silvia as a Vestal, cf. Livy 1.3.11 and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.76.4.

²³³ Ov. *Fast.* 1.528.

²³⁴ Prop. *Eleg.* 4.11.53-54.

²³⁵ Richardson 1977, 486; cf. Val. Max. 1.1.7 and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.68.

²³⁶ Cf. singing the glory of Alba’s kings in 3.3.3-4, Tullus’ origins in Alba in 3.22.25, and Augustus’ origins in Alba in 4.6.37-38. Cf. also Camps 1965, 109.

example is at the beginning of Book 4: *et stetit Alba potens, albae suis omine nata*, “and mighty Alba stood, born from the omen of a white sow.”²³⁷ O’Hara relates this example to Vergilian wordplay in Aeneid 8.43-48 on the same topic: Alba Longa receiving its name from the white sow.²³⁸ The mention of Vesta just a few lines earlier (4.1.21) strengthens the association. By the time Propertius relates the restoration of Vesta’s fires through the miracle of the *carbasus alba*, his reader has been set up to expect Alban wordplay, and so the connection between Vesta, her virgins, and Alba Longa is easy to make.

As with the *Pila Horatia*, Vesta’s connections to Rome’s early history are strong in both prose historiography and poetry. The transfer of her cult and temple to Rome would be yet another ancient reminder of Rome’s rightful hegemony. These examples, combined with the transfer of the cult of Diana to the Aventine, and the claims that both the Aventine and the Tiber were named for Alban kings who were buried there, present a compelling picture of places where Alba comes to Rome, helping to grant primacy and hegemony to the city and its people.

2.2 Rome Looking Back to Alba

Many other significant sites in Rome also hold Alban memory, but are better understood as places that look back from Rome to Alba, rather than places where Alba came to Rome. The various ways in which they look back to Alba keeps the mountain and its past in the Roman consciousness. This section explores the meaning of these particular places of Alban memory.

The Palatine Hill plays a central role in Rome’s canonical founding myths. Although Ennius relates both Romulus and Remus taking auspices from the Aventine, as discussed above, in both Livy and Dionysius the twins each choose a different hill: Remus the Aventine and

²³⁷ Prop. *Eleg.* 4.1.35.

²³⁸ O’Hara 2017, 201.

Romulus the Palatine.²³⁹ This, too, would be a favorable place from which to take auspices. In the Archaic period there would have been a direct and unobstructed line of visibility from the Palatine directly to Alba.²⁴⁰ Once the auspices had been successful, Romulus is said to have founded the city upon the Palatine hill and fortified it.²⁴¹ According to Grandazzi, the reason for the shift in the tradition is the religious primacy and political hegemony of the Palatine, echoing the same at Alba, which were “translated” for both locations “into the terms of chronological priority” by the legends.²⁴² Some sense of this shift appears even in Ovid. As related before, in Book 14 of the *Metamorphoses* the Alban King Aventinus actually rules his Latin kingdom from the Aventine Hill, an instance of authority at the site of Rome even before Rome was founded. He is succeeded by his son Proca, who shifts governance to the Palatine.²⁴³ Authority then appears to shift back to Alba Longa during the reigns of Proca’s sons, Numitor and Amulius, until Romulus builds his city on the Palatine. Although Ovid does not relate the augury of the twins in the *Metamorphoses*, he still deals with the shift in primacy from the Aventine to the Palatine in a very concrete way.

This rivalry between Aventine and Palatine may be hinted at in the *Aeneid*. As previously related, Vergil’s epic has the Aventine named not for Aventinus of Alba, but for Aventinus the son of Hercules. Horsfall suggests that the presence of Aventinus among Evander’s enemies may point to these hills being “under independent and opposed administrations” if we follow the idea that Aventinus is the ruler of his eponymous hill.²⁴⁴ As with the Tiber, Vergil changes the origin

²³⁹ Livy 1.6.4 and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.86.2.

²⁴⁰ Fulminante 2014, 130-131.

²⁴¹ Livy 1.7.3.

²⁴² Grandazzi 1991, 163.

²⁴³ Ov. *Met.* 14.622. Proca’s name may in fact suggest primacy in and of itself, as the name may be related to the word *procures* and so carry the connotation of “elder, leader, prince,” Myers 2009, 165; cf. Walde-Hofmann 1954, 367.

²⁴⁴ Horsfall 2000, 430.

of the name without changing the underlying sentiments attached to the etymological stories. The Aventine is still in opposition to the Palatine, but the Palatine will ultimately gain the supremacy. Vergil thus preserves the Alban allusions of the name while bringing the stories associated with that name into the era of Aeneas.

It therefore does not matter whether Romulus originally took his auspices from the Aventine or the Palatine, or even if such an event happened at all. It was a logical result for the Romans to perceive the Palatine as the birthplace of their city and as the location of Romulus' augury looking towards Alba. The Palatine, with its clear visibility over the Latin side of the *ager Romanus* all the way to Alba,²⁴⁵ was a natural analogue to Alba itself. When Augustus built his house on the Palatine not far from the *Casa Romuli* "in a deliberate act of identification"²⁴⁶ he was connecting himself most directly to Romulus, but also to Alba by association. The Palatine then serves as a strong example of the reorientation of hegemony and political supremacy. As a place of Alban memory, looking back to Alba and, in some authors, deriving its very authority from Alba, this already important Roman location becomes an even more potent symbol of authority.

The Capitoline Hill is another site looking back to Alba as a source of legitimacy. Its most imposing monument was the temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus which, as discussed in the previous chapter, overshadowed the Alban sanctuary of Jupiter Latiaris, perhaps intentionally.²⁴⁷ The temple was built by the Tarquins in the sixth century, but was not dedicated until the beginning of the republic at the close of the same century, during the consulship of Horatius and Valerius.²⁴⁸ The association of the temple's dedication with the first years of the

²⁴⁵ Cf. Fulminante 2014, 131 for a rendering of the geographic visibility from the Palatine towards Alba.

²⁴⁶ Smith 1996, 173.

²⁴⁷ Ibid, 164.

²⁴⁸ Livy 1.56 and 2.8, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.61, and Plut. *Pub.* 15.

republic strengthens the new government's legitimacy. As Jupiter Latiaris was still recognized through the *Feriae Latinae* as the source of consular legitimacy and the defender of Rome's authority over the Latin League, so Jupiter Optimus Maximus—the Best and Greatest—is the “guardian deity of the Republic”²⁴⁹ who strengthens the legitimacy of the state as a whole. This, too, like the temple of Diana on the Aventine, is a place of Alban memory restored by Augustus,²⁵⁰ further strengthening his image of authority and legitimacy.

The Arx on the Capitoline also served as one of the city's two chief *auguracula*, ostensibly from the beginning of Numa Pompilius' reign at the close of the eighth century.²⁵¹ As established earlier in this thesis, augury looked towards Alba. With the settlement on the Palatine growing, the Arx made a fitting place to conduct further auguries directed towards Alba, as it was likewise a high enough viewpoint to facilitate the taking of auspices.²⁵² Standing atop the Capitoline and looking to the south-east, one's eyes would naturally be drawn to the Alban Mount. Looking downward, the Via Sacra would be seen leading away from the summit towards Alba, following “precisely the line which was used to divide the sky and watch for omens, especially birds.”²⁵³ This sacral path from Capitoline to Alba is by no means unique to Rome. The importance of Alba to augury and religion is echoed in another Latin town, Satricum.

Like Rome, Satricum has a *via sacra* that leads away from its *arx* directly towards Alba.²⁵⁴ While there is no extant record of Satrican augury, the path of its *via sacra* as a “precise line” away from the *arx* towards Alba, combined with the city's urban planning around a fixed

²⁴⁹ Bernstein 2007, 224; cf. Vit. *De Arch.* 1.7.1 and Scullard 1980, 58 and 398.

²⁵⁰ Aug. *Anc.* 20.

²⁵¹ Livy 1.18.6-10.

²⁵² Cf. Potts 2015, 42.

²⁵³ Smith 2007 36.

²⁵⁴ Glinister 2000, 56; cf. Smith 1996, 254 and Potts 2015, 92. To avoid confusion, and because the ancient names for these are not attested, the terms *via sacra* and *arx* shall not be treated as proper nouns in relation to Satricum.

orientation towards the same,²⁵⁵ reinforces the significance of this particular *spectio*. Completing the picture, just as Rome's Via Sacra points from the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus towards Alba, Satricum's *via sacra* points from the Satrican temple of Mater Matuta towards Alba. This temple was the dominant structure in Satricum and, according to Livy, was the only structure in the city to survive its burning in the days of Camillus.²⁵⁶ But the similarity to Rome's temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus does not end with its dominance; like Jupiter, Mater Matuta has Alban connotations.

Like Diana, her cult is said to have been brought to Rome by Servius Tullius, and Camillus is said to have rededicated her temple as part of a campaign uniting the Romans and Latins against Veii,²⁵⁷ marking her as another rallying symbol for the Latins. Further, according to Ovid she is known to the Greeks as Leucothea (*Λευκοθέα*), “the white goddess.”²⁵⁸ This name, particularly when considered in an Alban context, recalls Leukaria, who in an alternate version of the foundation myth preserved by Dionysius, was the daughter of Latinus, wife of Italus, and the mother of Romus, the founder of Rome.²⁵⁹ Leukaria's very name means “white,” and as the daughter of Latinus and mother of Romus her name is likely a Hellenization of Alba. The possibility of this association is strengthened by the Neronian satirist Persius, who alludes to Mater Matuta in his second satire. Of particular interest he uses the word *albata*, “wearing white” to describe the woman in his satire who serves as the allusion to Mater Matuta.²⁶⁰ Finally, Mater Matuta is yet another deity, like Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Diana, to which Augustus seeks to link himself in securing his legitimacy and connections to the “deep past,” despite the

²⁵⁵ Attema, de Haas, and Tol 2011, 53.

²⁵⁶ Livy 6.33.4; cf. also Smith 2000, 136.

²⁵⁷ Ibid 5.19.6.

²⁵⁸ Ov. *Fast.* 6.545.

²⁵⁹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.72.6.

²⁶⁰ Pers. 2.40; cf. Smith 2000, 150-152 for a detailed discussion of Persius' allusion to Mater Matuta.

oddity of a man engaging in her rituals, which were reserved for women.²⁶¹ It is therefore not unreasonable to imagine that the same root *Λευκ-* when attached to Mater Matuta, a mother goddess important enough to the Latins to provide a rallying place at Rome and the temple at Satricum, would have echoes of Alba.

These parallels between the *viae sacrae* of Rome and Satricum, which lead away from the *arces* and the temples of locally prominent deities with Alban connotations and lead towards Alba itself, following the *spectio* of augury, demonstrate the importance of Alba to the Latin religious identity. According to Smith these similarities indicate a widespread Latin model,²⁶² and Livy's story of Camillus using Rome's own temple of Mater Matuta as a rallying symbol for the Latins seems to agree. Through Jupiter, Diana, and Mater Matuta Rome points back to Alba as a source of legitimacy and religious primacy.

Finally, beyond the Via Sacra, which merely points to Alba, two roads actually leave Rome to go to Alba. The first is the Via Latina, which leads away from Rome towards the peak of the Alban Mount and the shrine of Jupiter Latiaris. This was the road used by "the entire population of Rome" every year to celebrate the *Feriae Latinae* at "the heart of the most ancient Latium" where their very identity as Latins was forged.²⁶³ In light of the importance and centrality of the *Feriae Latinae* and Jupiter Latiaris, as discussed throughout this thesis, the road leading from Rome to the summit of the Alban Mount was a strong reminder to the Romans of their Alban past and the source of their authority. The second road is the Via Appia. Although not directly built with Alba in mind, the first major stop along the Via Appia is Aricia, in the Alban hills. It is the site of the shrine of Diana Nemorensis, the original patron goddess of the

²⁶¹ Smith 2000, 150.

²⁶² Ibid, 138.

²⁶³ Grandazzi 1991, 77 and 133; cf. Fulminante 2014 43-44 and 63-64.

Latin League, supplanted by the Aventine temple of Diana as discussed above.²⁶⁴ Anyone traveling along the Via Appia, either to or from Rome, would pass by this reminder of the city's supremacy. While some of the other *lieux de mémoire* may have had more subtle, hidden meanings, the impact of the Via Latina—and to a lesser extent the Via Appia—was far more overt; along this road Rome was not merely looking back to Alba, but actually *going* back to Alba.

All of these Alban *lieux de mémoire* at Rome served to help focus attention on Rome's hegemony and to reinforce the legitimacy of the claim. In this way Rome centered the religious and political implications of *Latinitas* on itself, reinforcing its authority through cultural mastery, and setting the precedent for rule not just of Latium, but ultimately its empire. Rome was not to be seen as a tyrant ruling lawlessly, but as the rightful successor to the headship of the Latin League, and so, ultimately, the rightful center of empire.

2.3 Rome and Alba United in the Forum of Augustus

As discussed in the previous chapter, Augustus took several steps to strengthen and reorient the unity of Rome and Alba in the public consciousness. Building upon Caesar's model by ovationing in peace rather than victory, in a manner recalling Caesar's unique *ovans ex Monte Albano*, and by planning a proper Alban triumph for Drusus, who would instead receive a triumphal funeral which would include the images of his Alban ancestors, Augustus put an end to the opposition between Rome and Alba and united them in peace. He also made frequent use of Alban *lieux de mémoire* in Rome, most often by rebuilding or restoring temples, as mentioned earlier in this chapter. Perhaps the most important place of Alban memory is the Forum of

²⁶⁴ Cf. Smith 1996, 218.

Augustus, in which yet again the *princeps* united Rome and Alba to display publicly his authority and legitimacy.

The Forum of Augustus was a gift to the people of the Roman Republic, given by its “First Citizen,” with the intention to guide and shape Roman identity and make that identity more accessible to the masses.²⁶⁵ When Augustus fell ill in 23 BC, everything he had achieved was in danger of collapse. There were at present no provisions for a continuation of the principate, and his consecutive terms as consul and other honors had begun to make him seem more than human,²⁶⁶ a potential danger to his image as restorer of the republic. In the words of Erich Gruen, “[h]ad he perished in that year, the results could have been calamitous.” Changes were necessary to ensure the safe continuation of the state and the principate under the illusion that no such institution existed.²⁶⁷ In the remaining decades of his life, Augustus would take many steps to ensure continuity and stability for his new age, but one of the most important was to attempt to establish a centralized identity for a broad and diverse empire.

By the end of the first century BC Rome had become the administrative center of a large empire and Augustus undertook the task of transforming Rome into the empire’s cultural center as well.²⁶⁸ By centering identity not just in Rome, as before, but in the person of the *princeps*, he could demonstrate the special nature of the *gens Romula* because its protector was a special individual, uniting *princeps* with *cives* so that all felt they had a share in the achievements of the *civis Romanus*.²⁶⁹ The Forum of Augustus was very important to this objective, and this was achieved in large part through the Gallery of Heroes. It was arranged with the triumphing heroes

²⁶⁵ Geiger 2008, 10-11.

²⁶⁶ Dio 53.16.8.

²⁶⁷ Gruen 2005, 34-39. For a more detailed discussion of the many steps Augustus took to ensure the succession of the principate without the appearance of monarchy, cf. Gruen in full, pp. 33-50.

²⁶⁸ Favro 2005, 235.

²⁶⁹ Eder 2005, 30.

of the republic on one side, and the ancestors of the Julians, including the Alban kings, on the other. The Gallery was intended to provide examples, for both *princeps* and *cives*, of noble and illustrious behavior to which they must be bound.²⁷⁰ This arrangement, centered on the temple of Mars Ultor, was designed to uplift a specific set of historical *exempla*²⁷¹ for public consumption and to directly associate Augustus and later *principes* with the traditions associated with those *exempla*.

The connection to these traditions was essential. Respect for the *mos maiorum*, the traditions of the ancestors, was *pietas*, and from *pietas* comes legitimacy.²⁷² For this reason, the choice of which heroes would serve as *exempla* was “momentous,”²⁷³ as all hearkened back to the accepted traditions of the past. One of the key connections to tradition was the numbering of the kings, particularly the Alban kings, in the Gallery of Heroes. The exact sequence of Alban kings, to say nothing of their names, is quite variable.²⁷⁴ To give one illustrative example, Ovid lists the Alban kings twice, yet even his own two listings do not agree with each other completely. In the *Metamorphoses*, Tiberinus has two sons: Remulus and Acrota, with Remulus succeeding the throne after their father drowns and Acrota succeeding when Remulus is struck by lightning. However, in the *Fasti*, Acrota succeeds Tiberinus and Remulus is not Tiberinus’ son, but Acrota’s.²⁷⁵ While these variations indicate that there was nothing equivalent to a canonical list of Alban kings, Geiger notes that with few exceptions, there does appear to be a

²⁷⁰ Suet. *VC*. 2.31.5; cf. Ov. *Fast.* 5.563-566 for a brief description of the arrangement in a primary source and Geiger 2008, 130-156 for a detailed list and discussion of all known *exempla* from the Forum of Augustus.

²⁷¹ For a discussion of the importance of historical *exempla* to the Roman consciousness, cf. Geiger 2008, 32.

²⁷² Scheid 2005, 192; cf. also Beacham 2005, 167.

²⁷³ Geiger 2008, 2.

²⁷⁴ Cf. Brugnoli 1996, 129 (Trieber 1894).

²⁷⁵ Ov. *Met.* 14.616-619 and *Fast.* 4.49. Note that in the *Fasti* Acrota is called “Agrippa,” and although Ovid is consistent in regard to Remulus’ name, variants for his name also exist: he is called “Aremulus” in Aufidius and “Romulus” by Livy. The names have been consistently rendered as “Acrota” and “Remulus” in this thesis to avoid confusion.

canonical *number* of Alban kings, fourteen, and this number, being more important than the actual listing, is what is significantly reflected in the Gallery of Heroes.²⁷⁶ The idea that the number, more than the actual list, is what is of traditional and canonical importance is reflected in other Roman lists where the number remains consistent while the names are subject to change, such as the seven kings of Rome, the seven hills of Rome, or the thirty Latin cities. These numbers are important enough that names are sometimes added to or removed from the list, sometimes seemingly arbitrarily, just to maintain the exact count.²⁷⁷ It was therefore not as important which Alban kings appeared in the Gallery of Heroes, or what their exact sequence was. What mattered was that there were fourteen of them from whom Augustus, as the son of Caesar, claimed descent and that fourteen kings appeared in the Gallery of Heroes.

The preservation of the traditional numbers of Alban and Roman kings in the Forum of Augustus was important because it was Augustus' objective to be seen not only as a restorer of the republic but also as the *pater patriae*, the father of his country.²⁷⁸ On the one hand, he was the liberator and preserver of the state. As he wrote at the beginning of his *Res Gestae*, *rem publicam a dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindicavi*, "I liberated the republic which was oppressed by the tyranny of division." The restoration of the republic required, and was publicly demonstrated by, the restoration of the many traditions which had been neglected due to civil wars.²⁷⁹ On the other hand, he was the state. Although at least in pretense, especially after 23 BC, he had stepped down from public office and power, his control was such that Ovid noted, *res est publica Caesar*, "Caesar [Augustus] is the republic."²⁸⁰

²⁷⁶ Geiger 2008, 45 and 103-104.

²⁷⁷ Fraschetti 2002, 42-43; cf. Smith 1996, 216-217.

²⁷⁸ *Aug. Anc.* 1 and 34; cf. Luce 1990, 125.

²⁷⁹ Cf. Scheid 2005, 177: not all of the traditions and *exempla* were necessarily ancient or neglected, but it was important to Augustus' image as a restorer that they been seen as such.

²⁸⁰ *Ov. Trist.* 4.4.15; cf. Gruen 2005 39-42.

Augustus may have desired to avoid the appearance of monarchy and tyrannical power that led to the downfall and assassination of Julius Caesar, but at the same time, he was effectively the ruler of Rome, and later Roman historians were not afraid to say so.²⁸¹ His right to that rule, even a subtle one, as the First Citizen of Rome depended not merely on his restoration of republican traditions, but also on his status as the son of Caesar, who gave him his own dynastic legitimacy.²⁸² It was for this reason that he cultivated the images of the kings, both of Alba and of Rome. The connection was not intended to point towards monarchy and make him seem like a king. He rejected the title of Romulus, preferring Augustus, a name associated with augury and the foundation of Rome.²⁸³ Thus by cultivating the images of the kings of Alba and Rome he was able to strengthen his link to Caesar, and through Caesar to Romulus, Alba, and Aeneas, and so all of Rome.²⁸⁴ By centering the various Roman and Alban statues inward towards Mars Ultor, the father of Romulus and Rome, the Forum of Augustus was creating a unity of identity, not merely between Rome and Alba, but between the republic and the *princeps*.²⁸⁵

This was an important function of the Gallery of Heroes. By placing it in a public forum bearing his own name, the Gallery was designed to contribute greatly to the historical consciousness of the plebs and make them more broadly aware of their unity of identity with each other and especially with the *princeps*.²⁸⁶ On the left-hand side, facing the temple of Mars, stood the *Summi Viri*, the “distinguished ancestors of the republic.”²⁸⁷ On the right-hand side

²⁸¹ Tac. *Ann.* 1.1-3.

²⁸² Eder 2005, 19; cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.746-751.

²⁸³ Suet. *VC* 2.7.2; cf. Enn. *Ann.* 154-155.

²⁸⁴ Scheid 2005, 186 and Gruen 2005, 34-36.

²⁸⁵ Cf. Luce 1990, 128 for the idea that the Forum of Augustus was meant to show that the *princeps* had surpassed all previous *exempla*.

²⁸⁶ Geiger 2008, 79.

²⁸⁷ Eder 2005, 29. The stories of his republican exempla would likely have been well-known, as Livy’s history of Rome would have been published up to and perhaps including the Social War by 2 BC, cf. Luce 1990, 124.

stood the Julians, the ancestors (and descendants) of Caesar and Augustus, led by the Alban kings and ultimately Aeneas, ancestors not merely of the Julii, but of Romulus himself and so of Rome. While the primary focus of their orientation is centered upon the temple of Mars Ultor, and the forum itself is oriented perpendicular to the Forum of Caesar, a secondary aspect of the orientation is also noteworthy. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the temple of Mars Ultor became the new place from which new military commands were ordained.²⁸⁸ This made it a sort of “new Alba” in the heart of Rome, and all of the statuary looked inward towards it, keeping Alba in mind, even if only in a subtle manner.

The imagery of the temple of Mars Ultor as a new Alba may also be strengthened by the possibility that it was originally intended to be round, recalling the temple of Vesta. Roman coins dating to 19 and 18 BC depict a round temple of Mars Ultor which is otherwise unknown to us. The general interpretation of this round temple is that it was a separate temple built on the Capitoline.²⁸⁹ The case has been made by C. J. Simpson, however, that a more probable scenario is that the round temple represents original plans for the one to be built in the Forum of Augustus.²⁹⁰ This centering of the forum around a temple of Mars whose shape recalls the temple of Vesta would have further driven home the idea of this “new Alba” as well as this idea of uniting the Rome and Alba into one. As discussed above, Rhea Silvia’s status as a Vestal allowed an Ovidian Romulus to call her “mother Vesta.”²⁹¹ With Mars as Romulus’ actual father, and Vesta as his mother by association with Rhea Silvia, a temple recalling both Mars and Vesta would unite them as one. It may never be known whether this was a part of Augustus’ intention for his forum or not, and if so, why the plan did not come to fruition. Nevertheless, the idea of a

²⁸⁸ Suet. *VC* 2.29.

²⁸⁹ Cf. *inter al* CIL I², p. 318 and esp. Zanker 1988, 186-187 for a treatment of the relevant numismatic evidence.

²⁹⁰ Simpson 1977, 91-94; cf. Gurval 1998, 283.

²⁹¹ Ov. *Fast.* 4.828.

round temple of Mars at the center of this “new Alba” would have bolstered the imagery of centering all things, including legitimate authority, on the *princeps*.

Alba Longa itself would not have been visible from the temple of Mars Ultor, as the forum was surrounded by large porticoes, typical of the Romans’ preference for enclosed landscapes.²⁹² However, due to the orientation of the forum, a curious image arises that bears consideration. The Alban and Julian heroes face away from the old Alba towards this “new Alba” that Augustus had built.²⁹³ Opposite these are the *Summi Viri*, the triumphators of the republic, who look back to both Albas, as though recalling the historic origin of their campaigns while also pointing to the new origin of future triumphators. Even if this contrast were not immediately obvious to the average Roman (one could not see Alba from within the Forum of Augustus), nor perhaps as deliberate as the orientation of Satricum’s temple of Mater Matuta, there is a certain symbolism here that is particularly fitting within the context of *lieux de mémoire* recalling the importance of Alba to Roman identity. As Augustus and the poets of his age used Alba as a symbol for unity and peace, the arrangement of the Forum of Augustus suits that purpose. As “the atrium of the state,”²⁹⁴ and Augustus was the state, the Forum of Augustus unites and centers authority and legitimacy in the person of the *princeps*.

In this way the Forum of Augustus helped to underpin the nature of Augustus as the *princeps*. After 23 BC Augustus held power in a non-traditional way, without holding public office, which helped ensure the stability and continuity of his regime without the overt trappings

²⁹² La Rocca 2011, 101.

²⁹³ The complete list of Alban kings depicted in the Forum of Augustus has not survived. However, among the names that are known is Proca, whom Ovid depicted as ruling from the Palatine. Unfortunately, no references to Tiberinus or Aventinus have survived. Geiger suggests that Augustus included the kings “in all probability following Varro’s numerical scheme,” which would suggest that these two kings were indeed present. Their consistent appearance in the many Alban king lists further suggests they almost certainly would have been present in the Forum of Augustus. If indeed all three kings who brought Alba to Rome were present, the symbolism of the old Alba looking to the new would be strengthened. Cf. Geiger 2008 129.

²⁹⁴ Favro 2005, 246.

or even direct inheritances of a monarchy.²⁹⁵ This did, however, create the need for other avenues through which to leverage his power. Centering the forum on the temple of Mars, the father of Romulus and the Romans, gives emphasis to the paternal role of the *princeps* as *pater patriae*.²⁹⁶ The fourteen Alban kings and their Julian descendants recall Alba as the mother of all Latins and the source of authority and legitimacy, while the heroic “ancestors” of the republic also look to Alba, both old and new, making the Forum of Augustus “a kind of monument to the intertwined fortunes of Roma and the Julian family.”²⁹⁷ The message is that the *princeps* is the father of all Romans and the rightful leader—but not a king—of all Latins and even of all peoples. The hegemony that other Alban *lieux de mémoire* centered on Rome is here centered in the very person of Rome’s protector and First Citizen. Because he is special, the whole *gens Romula* is special and shares in his accomplishments. This message of a unity of identity and purpose is what makes the Forum of Augustus the “seal and coronation of [Augustus’] grand epoch.”²⁹⁸ As the one who endeavored to guard and guide the peoples’ understanding of their cultural identity and history, Augustus firmly established his political authority, and that of his successors, without the creation of an overt monarchy.

From the time of the republic, if not before, Rome was filled with Alban *lieux de mémoire*. Some were places where Alba was physically brought to Rome in some way, such as the burial of an Alban king or the transfer of an Alban cult. Others looked back from Rome to Alba, such as the *auguracula* or the various *viae* that followed the line towards Alba. The result of these many places of memory was the legitimation of Rome’s claim to hegemony and dominance and the centering of Latin identity on Rome. In associating himself with these many

²⁹⁵ Gruen 2005, 42 and 50.

²⁹⁶ Favro 2005, 246.

²⁹⁷ Carter 1995, 50.

²⁹⁸ Geiger 2008, 65.

places of Alban memory, often through their restoration or reconstruction, Augustus strengthened his deep connections to Rome's past. When he built the Forum of Augustus as a "crown" for his new age, he not only reinforced the centering of identity, hegemony, and legitimacy on the city of Rome, but specifically onto the person of the *princeps*. Rome had become the *caput mundi*, and the *princeps* was its *pater patirae*. By carefully cultivating and guiding the shape of Roman cultural identity in this way, Augustus defined and secured his legitimacy, and that of his successors, to be the master of the world.

CONCLUSION

Whether by conquest, as the historical narratives attest, or simply by fading into obscurity, as suggested by modern archaeology, Alba Longa ceased to be a settlement of any size or importance before the beginning of the Roman republic. Nevertheless, the idea of Alba Longa endured in the collective memory of the Latins and Romans. By the time the Romans began writing their histories, some four hundred years or more had passed since the end of Alba Longa, yet many rites, ceremonies, and monuments continued to point back to this city, and the hill upon which it had been built, as a center of religion and a source of authority. This contrast made it at once a part of Rome's daily consciousness and experience, but also opened its history and meaning to various interpretations and reinterpretations.

Under the republic, Alba Longa was the place from which the Roman state derived its authority and legitimacy to rule the Latin League. The *Feriae Latinae* brought the Latin cities together in worship of their *deus antiquissimus*, Jupiter Latiaris, and reminded them of their common origins at Alba. The prayers offered by these cities on behalf of the Roman state and people reminded them that the rightful authority had passed from Alba to Rome and gave legitimacy to Rome's officials, especially the consuls. Through the transfer of Alban cults, such as Vesta and Diana, to important locations at Rome that already had Alban connections, this association of Rome as the successor to Alba and the legitimate authority in the Latin League was strengthened.

For five men of the middle republic, Alba provided a fitting location to protest the Senate's refusal to grant them a triumph. By returning to this site of authority, where they

themselves had received legitimacy as agents of the Roman state and guardians of the *pax deorum*, they were able to stage a celebration of their victories by virtue of their *imperium*, rather than by surrendering it to the Senate as they would for a Roman triumph. This Alban Mount triumph was particularly effective for Marcellus, whose joint Alban triumph and Roman ovation would serve as a model for Caesar and possibly provided the institution with the prestige that Servilius ascribed to it. It was likewise effective for Paullus, for whom the threat of an Alban triumph was enough to secure a Roman triumph.

Julius Caesar's unique *ovans ex Monte Albano* both recalled the joint celebration of Marcellus and created something new: a celebration not of victory, but of peace. He was returning from the *Feriae Latinae*, an affirmation of his legitimacy and his connection to the *pax deorum*, rather than from the site of a victory. In so doing Caesar reinforced his right to lead Rome and her allies, while the Alban shoes he wore during the procession served as a reminder of his even more ancient lineage and heritage.

Finally, Augustus was able to build upon both the ancient precedents and the new associations developed by Caesar and used Alba to center legitimate authority on himself. He followed Caesar's model by celebrating a joint ovation with Antony, returning not from victory, but from the peace established at Brundisium. While the poets of his age sang Alba's praises and even depicted Alban kings and gods at Rome, Augustus cultivated the association of his would-be successors with Alba Longa, particularly Marcellus and Drusus, the latter of whom would have been another Alban triumphator had he lived. In the Forum of Augustus he united the heroes of Rome with the heroes of the Julian clan, including the fourteen kings of Alba, all centered on the temple of Mars Ultor. In this way he brought the legitimacy and authority of Alba not simply to Rome, but to the person of the *princeps*. Though its exact meaning and

expression have been changed and reinterpreted throughout the centuries, Alba Longa always carried with it two central ideas upon which Augustus was able to build and which he used to strengthen his reign: *pax* and *auctoritas*, peace and authority.

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