

CONSULS AND *RES PUBLICA*

Holding High Office in the Roman Republic

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The Ferae Latinae as religious legitimation of the consuls' imperium

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Apart from the offering of the *vota publica* in the Capitoline temple, and the expiation of prodigies (*procuratio prodigiorum*) in the name of the community, the setting of the date for the celebration of the *Ferae Latinae* was among the unavoidable duties of the consuls in Rome at the beginning of their time in office. Unless they carried out this ritual properly, the consuls could never leave the *Urbs* to undertake any military campaign. In doing otherwise, they would expose themselves to failure in their endeavours, as was the case with C. Flaminius in 218¹ or the consuls of 43 BC, Aulus Hirtius and Vibius Pansa.² However, while it is clear why the offering of public ex-votos and the expiation of prodigies were necessary conditions for maintaining or restoring the *pax deorum*, it is not so evident, at least at first sight, why the celebration of the *Ferae Latinae* was an unavoidable duty for the consuls in the context of the conquering republic. The following reflections are aimed at understanding the reasons why, after so much time, this consular intervention in the Latin festival is still perceived as one of the *fundamenta rei publicae*.

The *Ferae Latinae* were annual rituals which the Latin League celebrated in honour of *Iuppiter Latiaris* next to his sanctuary on the summit of the Mons Albanus – the present-day Monte Cavo, situated about 27 km to the southeast of Rome. This was a movable feast (*feria conceptiva*³), whose exact date would be set by the consuls immediately after taking office. A series of literary sources underline the enormous political relevance of this ritual and its importance when setting the sacred calendar of Rome, as well as its exceptional longevity and the fact that it was celebrated up until the end of the fourth century AD. The decision to announce publicly the celebration of the *feriae* (specifically, on the third day, when the *sacrificium*

¹ Livy 21.63.5–9; 22.1.4–7. ² Cass. Dio 46.33.4.

³ Varro, *Ling.* 6.25: *Similiter Latinae feriae dies conceptivus, dictus a Latinis populis, quibus in Albano monte ex sacris carnes petere fuit ius cum Romanis, a quibus Latinis Latinae dictae.*

Latinarum was celebrated)⁴ was taken in the senate after the consuls took office, and it was expressed via a *senatus consultum*.⁵

The *Ferae Latinae* involved the combined journey of the Roman community as represented by all its magistrates, headed by the consuls, its priests and a part of its population⁶ to the Mons Albanus along the Sacra via and the Via Latina, and the same applied to the other participating Latin cities.⁷ During the feast, all hostilities were suspended,⁸ and a young nobleman was appointed *praefectus urbi feriarum Latinarum causa*⁹ to run the activities held in Rome.¹⁰ Thus this was a very old Latin federation ritual which annually reinforced the links between Rome and the rest of the cities.

The consuls' religious duties as holders of the *auspicia* and the *imperium* were not only confined to the Latin Feast, but also included the regular ceremonies that had to be held in Lavinium, the mythical city founded by Aeneas, the holy city of the *primordia*, the seat of the *sacra principiorum p(opuli) R(omani) Q(uiritium) nominisque Latini, qua apud Laurentes coluntur*.¹¹ The consuls and other magistrates *cum imperio*¹² were required to make a pilgrimage to this city ten days after the *Ferae Latinae*¹³ to make sacrifices to the Penates and Vesta.¹⁴ In fact, Livy says that the sacred

⁴ According to Werner (1888, 23) and other authors, the ancient festival would have been reduced to one day, increasing to two following the expulsion of the kings and three after the *foedus Cassianum* (Grandazzi 2008, 584).

⁵ Cic. *Fam.* 8.6.3: *Consules autem habemus summa diligentia; adhuc s.c. nisi de feriis Latinis nullum facere potuerunt.*

⁶ Even the tribunes, who could not usually leave Rome, attended Monte Cavo (Dion. Hal. 8.87.6; Livy 22.1.6; Alföldi 1965, 32). On the Latin festival, see Werner 1888; Samter 1909a; de Ruggiero 1922; Wissowa 1912, 40, 124ff.; Sabbatucci 1988, 305ff.; Pasqualini 1996; García Quintela 2007, 88–96; Grandazzi 2008, 517–729.

⁷ On the layout of the Alban route see the reconstruction by Lugli 1923.

⁸ Dion. Hal. 4.49.2; Macr. *Sat.* 1.16.16ff. ⁹ *CIL* VI 1421; Cass. Dio 49.42.1; 53.33.3.

¹⁰ Cicero says that the two days after the Latin festival were *religiosi* (*Q. Fr.* 2.4.2), and in another passage (*Rep.* 1, 14), he claims that Scipio Aemilianus spent the Latin holidays in his country villa (*in hortis*) conversing with his friends and acquaintances. We do not know, although it was probably so, whether in the other Latin cities the solemn day of the celebration on Monte Cavo was equally followed by some days of rest. Everything indicates that a break from work was observed throughout the city, and the ludic moment of the festivity culminated in a chariot race in the Campidoglio, its winner being presented with a drink of *absynthium* (Plin. *HN* 27.45). The very little information existing (Malavolta 2006, 258) permits us to see in the *Ferae Latinae* an archaic prototype of all the important festivals included (unlike the *Ferae Latinae*) in the Roman calendar and accompanied by the celebration of games.

¹¹ *CIL* X 797 = *ILS* 5004.

¹² The *pontifices* (Ser. *Aen.* 1.239; Schol. Veron. *Aen.* 1.260) and the *flamines* (Ser. *Aen.* 8.664) also participated in the retinue of the magistrates.

¹³ Livy 8.11.15: *Cum Laurentibus renovari foedus iussum. Renovaturque ex eo quotannis post diem decimum Latinarum.*

¹⁴ Macr. *Sat.* 3.4.11; Ser. *Aen.* 2.296.

ancestral traditions decreed that sacrifices should be held on the Mons Albanus and in Lavinium – an essential duality that was underlined in the *primordia sacra*¹⁵ – and it is probable that this would have been an obligation of the kings before. As in the case of the consuls in the Latin Feast, the *imperatores* could not leave for their provinces without first having sacrificed to the Penates of Lavinium.¹⁶ This obligation is a clear example of the importance of the sacerdotal functions of the *imperatores*, who, according to Cicero, would even consecrate themselves before the immortal gods for the benefit of the state.¹⁷

It is particularly interesting that minor triumphs of generals who were denied such honours on the Capitoline site were celebrated on the Mons Albanus.¹⁸ According to the *fasti*, the first triumph *in monte Albano* was celebrated by C. Papirius Maso on 5 March 231 BC¹⁹ as an act of protest against the senatorial denial of a triumph on the Capitol,²⁰ although it is possible that such a ceremony was an updated version of an archaic Latin *ritus*, as some authors in the wake of Niehbur have argued.²¹ This ritual of the Alban triumph, of which no instances are reported by the sources after the celebration of C. Cicereius in 173, unquestionably casts new light on the competition of the senatorial elite in the crucial decades of the Roman expansion.²²

Most of the information available contains references to the origin of the Feast, the participants and the ceremonies, with Dionysius of Halicarnassus' account being the most thorough.²³ Although the rituals were not fully described, the ceremony was a *lustratio*, a purification ritual which included a procession with the sacrificial animals and the objects offered to the god. The consuls – certainly after the Latin League's dissolution in

¹⁵ Liou-Gille 1996, 86.

¹⁶ Ser. Aen. 3.12: *Quos (Penates) inter cetera ideo magnos apellant, quod de Lavinio translati Romam bis in locum suum rediderint; quod imperatores in provincias ituri apud eos primum immolarint.*

¹⁷ Cic. Nat. D. 2.10: *Tum enim bella gerere nostri duces incipiunt, cum auspicia posuerunt; at vero apud maiores tanta religionis vis fuit, ut quidam imperatores etiam se ipsos dis immortalibus capite velato verbis certis pro se republica devoverent.* On the *auspicia* and the grounds of the power of *imperatores*, see Levi 1932; Rivero Gracia 2006.

¹⁸ Versnel 1970, 165–6, 192–3; Brennan 1996; Itgenshorst 2005, 219–23; Beard 2007, 62–3.

¹⁹ Val. Max. 3.6.5; Plin. HN 15.126; Degraffi 1947, 78: *de Corseis Primus in monte Albano.*

²⁰ These Alban triumphs, although exclusively celebrated *iure consulare potestatis* (Livy 33.23.3) and *sine publica auctoritate* (Livy 42.21.7), were included in the triumphal *Fasti* to all effects; they probably involved the ascent of the *imperator* on a triumphal quadriga; and they had the advantage of not being subject to the tribunal *intercessio*, for the right of veto of this magistrate ended at the first mile from the *Urbs* (Brennan 1996, 321).

²¹ Partly due to the Latin origin of the *gens Papiria*, which had a special relationship with Roman state religion, as recalled by Goell (references in Brennan 1996, 332 n. 34). The extreme position was held by Alföldi (1965, 45 and 391–2), for whom the ancient Alban triumph may have been the genuine prototype of the Roman triumph. See also Grandazzi 2008, 735. *Contra*, Brennan 1996, 321–2.

²² Brennan 1996. ²³ Dion. Hal. 4.49; 6.95; Plut. Cam. 42.5; Str. 5.3.2.

338 BC – first sprinkled the sacred area with milk, not wine, in what appears to have been a fertility and prosperity ritual (Cicero himself performed the *lustratio* during his consulship in 63 BC²⁴).

According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus,²⁵ King Tarquinius Superbus established the Feast in a sanctuary shared by the Romans, Latins, Hernici and Volsci, on a mountain situated roughly in the middle of these peoples (*en meso málista tôn ethnôn*), when he proclaimed a law that established the annual contribution to be made by each of the 47 cities for the sacrifices to *Iuppiter Latiaris*, and the share that they would receive of the collective banquets (*synestiasis*) that followed straight afterwards. Some cities contributed lambs, others cheeses, others milk and others similar offerings characteristic of a pastoral culture. All the cities made a common sacrifice (*koinos hypo pason*) of a bull (originally white²⁶ and then red), and each would receive their due share (*moira, méros; caro*²⁷), in a highly formalized distribution in accordance with the established hierarchy under the control of the Roman magistrates.²⁸

The hierarchic layout displayed at the communal banquet thus reflects the existing hierarchy in the Latin league, of a Laurentine origin on the mythical level and an Alban origin on the ritual plane.²⁹ Romans would conduct these sacrifices on behalf of all. At least on one occasion, a sudden change in the weather conditions interrupted the ceremonies.³⁰ The successful completion of the rituals was marked by a great sacrificial nocturnal fire at the top of the mountain, which could be seen from a great distance.³¹

Tarquinius' part in establishing the ritual, as claimed by Dionysius' text and by pseudo-Aurelius Victor,³² is not to be found in other authors who, however, underline the Latin origin of the Feast.³³ In fact, there are Bronze

²⁴ Cic. Div. 1.11.18. The formula *Latinas condere* contained in a recently discovered epigraph, comparable to the formula *lustrum condere* (Ogilvie 1961), likewise indicates the purifying nature of the *Ferae*, in which, as senior magistrates, the censors would have been present (Grandazzi 2008, 612).

²⁵ Dion. Hal. 4.49. ²⁶ Arn. 2.68. ²⁷ Varro, Ling. 6.25.

²⁸ The expression *carnem petere* used by Varro (Ling. 6.25) or by Cicero (Planc. 9.23) to refer to the portion reclaimed by the various Latin cities underlines this subordination. And it might be considered, given the example of the *Fratres Arvales*, that the consuls might have offered – between the *praefatio* and death of the victim – a 'universal prayer' for the *nomen Latinum* as a whole (Grandazzi 2008, 594).

²⁹ Liou-Gille 1996, 87. ³⁰ Livy 40.45.2.

³¹ Luc. 1.550; 5.403: *vidit flammifera confectas nocte Latinas.* ³² *De vir. ill.* 8.2.

³³ See Varro, Ling. 6.25, or a scholium of Cicero: Schol. Bob. *Ad Cic. Pro Planc.* 23, 154–5 Stangl: *Nam Latinae ferae a quo fuerunt institutae, dissentiunt plerique auctores. Alii ab Tarquinio Prisco, rege Romanorum, existimant, alii vero a Latinis Priscis. Atque inter hos ipsos causa sacrificii non convenit. Nam quidam id initum ex imperato Fauni contendunt, nonnulli post obitum Latini regis et Aeneae, quod ii nusquam compaverunt.* The role of the consuls would have been performed in earlier times by a federal magistrate, perhaps the *dictator Albanus* mentioned in the epigraphy (Grandazzi 2008, 574).

Age remains on the Mons Albanus.³⁴ The lack of wine (a drink dedicated *par excellence* to Jupiter³⁵) in the Alban rite could be an indication in dating the ritual to the pre-Orientalizing period,³⁶ and the lack of the *flamen Dialis* amongst the epigraphically attested priesthoods,³⁷ as opposed to the case of Lavinium,³⁸ Lanuvium³⁹ or Tivoli,⁴⁰ could be another indication that Jupiter was not present in the original cultic complex of the Latins, but that this was an innovation of the new Roman ruling class.⁴¹ The expression *Latiar*,⁴² regarding the festivals carried out on the Mons Albanus, seems to be another good indication of the ritual's ancient origin.⁴³ Additionally, Servius calls Latial Jupiter *deus antiquissimus* (*Aen.* 12, 135).

Awareness of the extremely old Latin identity, for which we have documentation *ante quem* from the middle of the seventh century with the appearance in the Etruscan epigraphy of the ethnic as a demonym for the Latins who were settled there,⁴⁴ is particularly expressed in the celebration of the *Feriae Latinae*. The problem lies in determining when those primitive ritual reunions to honour the national deity acquired a political nature. Whereas some authors hold that the Plinian list of the communities⁴⁵ which *carnem accipere* on the Mons Albanus may be already conveying the existence of a federation with political connotations, as an embryo of the future Latin League, others hold that it shows an archaic phase of the Alban cult – but without the political-military nature that it was to have when acting against the Roman intention of dominating Latium – already in existence before Tarquinius Superbus, with the political and religious centres in the territory of Aricia (the *lucus Ferentinae* at the foot of the Mons Albanus, and the sanctuary of Diana Nemorensis, respectively⁴⁶).

Tarquinius' leading role in the Feast would therefore represent an intervention in an already existing ritual, perhaps with the building of a temple, in the context of Roman expansionist policy towards the end of the regal

³⁴ Cavo Chiarucci 1996. ³⁵ Dumézil 1986, 87–97. ³⁶ Colonna 1988, 447.

³⁷ The references of Pirro Ligorio to two presumed inscriptions (*CIL* XIV 124 and 126) which appeared 'presso la porta dell'Amfiteatro di Alba' mentioning Alban *Diales* are not reliable and the inscriptions seem to be fake.

³⁸ *CIL* X 79 = *ILS* 5004; *CIL* XIV 4176. ³⁹ *CIL* XIV 2089. ⁴⁰ *CIL* XIV 3596 = *ILS* 1158.

⁴¹ Pasqualini 1996, 240. ⁴² *Cic. Q. Fr.* 2.4.2; *Macrob. Sat.* 1.16.16.

⁴³ Its suffixation also appears in the *Palatuar* (*Fest. s.v. Septimontio*, 474–6 L), an archaic sacrifice celebrated in the Palatine during the *Septimontium*.

⁴⁴ In Caere, the inscription *mi latinna* is documented around the year 650, and in Veyes, *mi tites latinnes* towards 625 (Martínez-Pinna 2004, 44, with references).

⁴⁵ *Plin. HN* 3.69: *carnem in monte Albano soliti accipere populi Albenses: Albani, Aesolani, Acciensens, Abolani, Bubetani, Bolani, Cusuetani, Coriolani, Fidenates, Foreti, Hortenses, Latinienses, Longani, Manates, Macrales, Munienses, Numinienses, Olliculani, Octulani, Pedani, Poletaurini, Querquetulani, Sicani, Sisolenses, Tolerienses, Tutienses, Vimitellari, Velienses, Venetulani, Vitellenses.*

⁴⁶ Martínez-Pinna 2004, 45–6, 53–6.

period. Thus Tarquinius would have reformed the Latin ritual, opening it up to members who did not belong to the *Latini Prisci*, by establishing new bases for participation in the organization, and for the system of distributing the sacrificial meat.⁴⁷ The process, which could represent a genuine show of force on the part of Rome, can be considered to have concluded with the presidency of the consuls over the Latin Festival. It is possible that Rome assumed the management of the celebration of this ancient Latin ritual after the signing of the *foedus Cassianum* (c. 493), in the middle of the fifth century; in fact, the list of the Roman *praefecti urbi* of the *feriae Latinae* begins in 451.⁴⁸

A passage by Cornificius Longus – a friend of Catullus and Virgil, author of a work *De etymis deorum* and correspondent of Cicero – appears to be of great interest with regard to the mythical origin of the festival. While Dionysius of Halicarnassus⁴⁹ reports the death on the battlefield of King Latinus, the eponymous name for Latium, Cornificius points out that Latinus became *Iuppiter Latiaris* and was worshipped as such on the Mons Albanus. In the rituals of the anniversary of this apotheosis, participants simulated the search for him swinging in the air (*oscillantes*).⁵⁰ A scholium by Cicero indicates almost the same act on the anniversaries of the deaths of Latinus and Eneas, with the participants searching for their souls in the air.⁵¹ This ritual of the *oscillantes* could thus evoke the apotheosis of Latinus.⁵²

A particularly remarkable element in Christian sources (from Justinus to Paulinus of Nola)⁵³ is the practice of a human sacrifice at Rome during the *Feriae Latinae*, usually interpreted as part of a denigrating strategy by Christian authors from the second century onwards in order to take back these nefarious practices to the very origins of Roman religion in its Latial context. However, recently some authors have defended the authenticity of this information, based on Porphyry's confirmation thereof⁵⁴ and on the absence of response from the supporters of the traditional religion to these charges.⁵⁵ A text by Florus refers to the fact that the plotters in the *Bellum*

⁴⁷ Liou-Gille 1996, 92. ⁴⁸ Alföldi 1965, 31; Brennan 1996, 321.

⁴⁹ *Dion. Hal.* 1.64.3. ⁵⁰ *Fest.* 212 L.

⁵¹ *Schol. In Cic. Orat. Bobiensis*, ed. Hildebrandt, 1907, 128–9. The formula *quaerere in aere*, which appears in Servius as well as the Bobbio scholia, seems to refer to Varro as its source (Grandazzi 2008, 648).

⁵² Pasqualini 1996, 222–4.

⁵³ A statue of *Iuppiter Latiaris* was ritually sprinkled with blood by one of the most senior figures of the state (references in Grandazzi 2008, 653 and n. 582).

⁵⁴ *Porph. Abst.* 2.56.9.

⁵⁵ Grandazzi 2008, 653ff. A comparable elusiveness is shown by the sources towards rituals which, like the burying alive of victims in the Foro Boario, were classed as being *minime romano sacrum* (Marco Simón 1997).

Sociale intended to murder the consuls during the *Feriae Latinae*, and the terminology used is clearly sacrificial.⁵⁶ The designation of *Iuppiter Latialis* given to Caligula, who wished to re-establish the rule of the *rex Nemorensis*, could make much more sense from this perspective.

This human sacrifice is an element which could underline the enormous antiquity of the Alban ritual, as well as libations of milk rather than wine in a symbolic context that gave prevalence to the colour white (bull, milk, cheese, Alba, the colour of the sow of Lavinium, Albula as the ancient name of the Tiber⁵⁷).

The sharing out of the meat of the sacrificed white bull confirmed Roman hegemony,⁵⁸ since the representatives of the Latin communities had to ask for their share,⁵⁹ and Livy⁶⁰ says that their delegates had to formulate a prayer to *populo Romano Quiritium*. Non-compliance with this latter requirement by the magistrate of Lanuvium was precisely the reason that the ceremony (*instauratio*) had to be repeated in 176 BC. As the ritual could not be performed again until 11 August, the consuls could not leave for their provinces until this late date.⁶¹

We have other examples of the need for scrupulous compliance with the ritual in accordance with ancestral customs: for example, the representatives of Ardea⁶² or Laurentum⁶³ protesting in 199 BC because they had not received their due portion of the sacrificed animal. This incorrect division of the meat was seen as a rupture in the social hierarchy, which was supposed to be confirmed and re-established every year through the meat's division and distribution.

The studies carried out by Detienne and Vernant (1979) have shown how sacrifice and conviviality established, in Greece, the relations which

⁵⁶ Flor. 2.6.8: *Primum fuit in Albano monte consilium, ut festo die Latinarum Iulius Caesar et Marcus Philippus consules inter sacra et aras immolarentur. Postquam id nefas prodicione discussum est.*

⁵⁷ De Simone 1975, 152–7.

⁵⁸ Dion. Hal. 4.49.3. Walter Burkert (1962) compared the story of the dismembering of Romulus' body (as told by Plutarch, *Rom.* 27) with the sharing out of the meat of the white bull in the *Feriae Latinae* (see also Coarelli 1981, 183ff.; Cecamore 2006, 59), and also (like Puhvel 1975) in connection with the Indo-European mytheme of a cosmogony through the dismembering of a primordial being, such as Purusha in Sanskrit texts (references in Lincoln 1986, 1–40), with the difference that what the Roman version gives is a sociogenic myth (Lincoln 1986, 43).

⁵⁹ *Carnem petere*: Varro, *Ling.* 6.25; Cic. *Planc.* 23. ⁶⁰ Livy 41.16.1.

⁶¹ Livy 41.16: *Latinae feriae fuere ante diem tertium nonas Maias, in quibus quia in una hostia magistratus Lanuvinus precatus non erat populo Romano Quiritium, religioni fuit. Id cum ad senatum relatum esset senatusque ad pontificum collegium reiecisset, pontificibus, quia non recte factae Latinae essent, instaurandae essent, hostias praebere. Accesserat ad religionem, quod Cn. Cornelius consul ex monte Albano rediens concidit es, parte membrorum captus ad Aquas Cumanas profectus ingravescente morbo Cumis decessit. . . Consul Q. Petilius cum primum per auspicia posset, collegae subrogando comitia habere iussus et Latinas edicere, comitia in ante diem tertium nonas Sextiles, Latinas in ante diem tertium idus Sextiles edixit.*

⁶² Livy 32.1.19. ⁶³ Livy 37.3.4.

underpinned the state under the control of the gods. Likewise, in Rome, the distribution of the flesh of the victim and its consumption gave rise to a distinction between the social and political elements of the state, starting from the federal sacrifice on Monte Cavo⁶⁴ *en meso málista tôn ethnôn*.⁶⁵ At the communal banquet (*synestiasis*) the part (*moíra, méros*) for each city was established. Although the Latin term *particeps* is related in some texts to the distribution of booty, in others it refers to the distribution of the sacrifice,⁶⁶ and the institution of sacrifice was the 'conceptual forge which supplied the Roman state with the most important models of value'.⁶⁷ The sacrifice-banquet illustrated the basic social transactions, and the sacrifice in the Mons Albanus symbolically resumes the *maiestas populi Romani* in the privileged horizon of Latium.

The very few archaeological remains found on Monte Cavo have failed to complement reliably existing information from literary sources. As a result of the construction of a convent at the beginning of the eighteenth century, a great number of marble blocks, fragments of two statues and numerous votive offerings made of clay and bronze were found. Cassius Dio's references⁶⁸ to a statue of Zeus on the site are no guarantee of the existence of a temple as such, although a *fistula* was found there, mentioning a *CVR(ator) AED(is) S(acrae)*.⁶⁹ What have been found on the summit of Monte Cavo are the *Fasti* of the *Feriae Latinae*,⁷⁰ specifically fragments bearing the names of the magistrates who presided over the ceremony. The oldest of them belong to the decemviral period,⁷¹ when the consulate was restored after the resignation of the second college. Presided over by the consuls Marcus Horatius Barbatus and L. Valerius Potitus, the *Feriae Latinae* were celebrated three times, in January, February and May in 449.⁷²

⁶⁴ Scheid 1984. ⁶⁵ Dion. Hal. 4.49.

⁶⁶ For example, Livy 10.38.9: *admovebatur altaribus magis ut victima quam ut sacri particeps*. The Roman census system would reproduce the share-out of the sacrifice. The *principes* are 'those who take the first share, the first rank' (Fest. 62 L), and the *adsidui* 'those who sit at the sacrificial table' (Fest. 8L).

⁶⁷ Scheid 1984, 956. ⁶⁸ Cass. Dio 47.40.4; 50.8.6.

⁶⁹ Cecamore 2006, 56. Although it has been believed that the inscription *CIL* XIV 2227 alludes to a temple at the top of the Mons Albanus, the text, as pointed out by Grandazzi (2006, 203) must be read *Ioui Latia(ri) (uo)rum*.

⁷⁰ *CIL* I 1, 55; Mommsen 1871, 379–85. The displaying of the *Fasti*, together with a probable restoration of the sanctuary, would have been the result of an intervention by Augustus, which ended with his visit there some days before the Kalends of July (Grandazzi 2008, 600).

⁷¹ 304, 305 and 306 AUC.

⁷² <M. Horatio M. f. L. N. Barbato L. Valerio> P. f. P. n. Putito cos / L(atinae) f(uerunt) IIII EID IAN / <ite>rum L(atinae) f(uerunt) III NON FER / <tert(ium)> L(atinae) f(uerunt) K MAI (Mommsen 1871, 380). Maybe the repetition of the ritual was due to flaws incurred during its celebration (Liou-Gille 1996, 96). Mommsen (1871, 382), who held that this celebration ought to

Most of the *Fasti* fragments are from the latter years of the republic and the beginning of the principate,⁷³ but there are others from the time of the Second Punic War; these are the ones that tell us that the Feast was then held in the second fortnight in April or the beginning of May, and it was then, in 217 BC, that the consul C. Flaminius began his activities in his province without first having seen to his religious obligations, as a *privatus*.⁷⁴ These activities culminated in the famous disaster at Lake Trasimene. Even so, the accusation against Flaminius seems to be more of a reflection on the skill of his adversaries than on the impiety of the consul, since there are examples of how the assistance of one of the consuls was sometimes enough to ensure legally the celebration of the *Feriae*.⁷⁵

It is reasonable to think that the consuls would have wished to celebrate the Feast as soon as possible, in order to put behind them the constraints that the ritual imposed. In fact, a passage from Cicero⁷⁶ referring to the snowy peaks of the Alban Hills in the context of these rituals would suggest, in view of the low altitude of these hills, that it was celebrated at the beginning of the year.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, literary and epigraphic sources indicate that most of the celebrations were held – on the Ides, Nones or Kalends, or on the eve of those days – between April and August, with the predominance of May and only four instances of celebration in winter.⁷⁸

The unavoidable performing of the ceremonies by the consuls on the summit of Mount Cavo seems to be one of the true elements that bestowed authority on the highest magistrates of the Roman state.⁷⁹ Any anomaly

be considered as an action of gratitude towards the gods for the restoration of the *res Romanae* after the troubled period, proposes the following restitution of Livy's corrupt passage: (*In triduum supplicationes decrevitur Latinae dictae a consule sunt in ante IIII et IIII et pr. Id. Nob.*): *In triduum supplicationes decrevit. Iterum Latinae edictae a consule sunt in a.d. III et III et pr. Et id. Nov.* (cf. Liou-Gille 1996, 96).

⁷³ There is documentary evidence of the personal presence of, among others, Camillus (in 396 BC), Caesar (49 and 44 BC), Agrippa (27 BC), Augustus (23 BC), Claudius (AD 47 and 48) and Nero. The last inscription is dated AD 109, but it is almost certain that the *Feriae* continued right up to 394, when they were celebrated for the last time by Nicomachus Flavius (Grandazzi 2008, 569–70).

⁷⁴ Livy 21.63: *privatus clam in provinciam abiit*. See Caltabiano 1976.

⁷⁵ As occurred in 169 BC, when one of the consuls was in Macedonia (Livy 45.3.2), and in four of the consulates of Augustus (Grandazzi 2008, 578 n. 221).

⁷⁶ Cic. *Div.* 1.11.18: *Tu quoque, quum tumulos Albano in monte nivalis lustrasti et laeto maectasti lacte Latinas... quod ferme dirum in tempus cecidere Latinas.*

⁷⁷ Liou-Gille 1996, 91.

⁷⁸ The fact that most of the dates mentioned by the epigraphic *Fasti* were *dies comitiales* would explain the Roman wish not to have these ceremonies coincide with their own festivals (Brind'Amour 1983, 61 and 84).

⁷⁹ Livy 21.63.5 and 9; 22.1.6 and 7; Nic. Dam. 5.13; Cass. Dio 46.33.4. This would have been more by way of a customary rule (*mos*) than a *lex*; 'a confirmatory act', as Mommsen termed it (Grandazzi 2008, 575 and 577).

in the election of consular magistrates or the ritual setting of dates for the *Feriae* and the carrying out of the sacrifice would give rise to prodigies – such as the sudden rise in water level of Lake Alban – which needed to be atoned for.⁸⁰ Literary sources document the presence on the Mons Albanus of not just the principal altar but others, including one dedicated to Vesta or attended by the Vestal Virgins, whose flames signalled the end of the festival.⁸¹ The existence of accommodation on the mountain to house the consuls is suggested by information supplied by Cassius Dio.⁸² It is fairly safe to assume that the consuls would have spent the night in this house on the eve of the sacrifice, in view of the fact that the sacrifices were normally performed in the morning after consulting auspices.⁸³ And it is also fairly safe to assume that after the *auspicia urbana* in the ceremony on the Capitol that inaugurated his power over the Roman *res publica*, the new consul would have carried out a second *auspicatio* on the Mons Albanus to inaugurate his *imperium* over the *ager Latinus*, the territory that for so long symbolized the outside world for the *Urbs*.⁸⁴

In the wake of Radin's (1936) proposal of considering the initial *triumphus in monte Albano* as a royal investiture ritual which was perpetuated through the investiture of the *dictator Latinarum feriarum causa*,⁸⁵ García Quintela⁸⁶ has proposed seeing the ascension to the Mons Albanus as a 'chemin de souveraineté et de célébration du royaume' similar to the 'federal' ritual of the *Daidala* feasts celebrated in Boeotia by Platea and other cities⁸⁷ to confirm the bonds that linked them, according to the 'political' explanation by Rocchi.⁸⁸ From this perspective, it might not be coincidental that Dionysius of Halicarnassus refers to the heritage of royal attributes (purple tunic, ivory chair) when describing the organization of the *Feriae Latinae*,⁸⁹ that Caesar made explicit his aspirations to kingship after celebrating such a ritual in 44 BC,⁹⁰ or that Augustus left the consulship, held from the year 31 to 1 July

⁸⁰ Livy 5.17.2 (397 or 392 BC): *ad prodigii Albani procuracionem ad deos placandos... inventumque tandem est ubi neglectas caerimonias intermissumve sollemne di arguerent: nihil profecto aliud esse quam magistratus vitio creatos Latinas sacrumque in Albano monte non rite concepisse.*

⁸¹ Luc. 549–52: *Vestali raptus ab ara | ignis et ostendens confectas flamma Latinas | scinditur in partes geminoque cacumine surgit | Thebanos imitata rogos.*

⁸² Cass. Dio 54.29.7: in 12 BC, after the death of Agrippa, a bolt of lightning struck the house which the consuls went down to.

⁸³ According to Festus (474.7 and 474.35L), it was the consul's duty that: *post mediam<noctem auspi>candi causa ex lectulo suo si<lens surr>exit, and that: mane surg<ens auspicandi gratia evigi>lavit.*

⁸⁴ Grandazzi 2008, 610. ⁸⁵ Mentioned by the *Fasti Capitolini*, *CIL* 1 58, in 257 BC.

⁸⁶ García Quintela 2007, 96–7. ⁸⁷ Paus. 9.2.7; 9.3.1–8. ⁸⁸ Rocchi 1989, 323.

⁸⁹ Dion. Hal. 6.95.3–4. ⁹⁰ Plut. *Caes.* 60.3.

23 BC, on the occasion of a solemn ceremony performed on the Mons Albanus.⁹¹

The growing importance of the festival in later times shows that the consuls were accompanied to the summit of the Mons Albanus by the other higher magistrates, and in the late republic the consuls still considered it to be of great importance. For example, in a sarcastic letter to Cicero in 50, Caelius writes that the consuls were in frenzied activity, as they had only presented one motion to the senate: the setting of the date for the *Feriae Latinae*.⁹² A year later, in 49, Caesar, who had hurriedly returned from Hispania and was anxious to leave for Greece to fight Pompey, had to remain in Rome for eleven days, at least one of which he had to devote to celebrating the Alban ritual.⁹³

As Pasqualini has pointed out,⁹⁴ the feast in honour of *Iuppiter Latiaris*, symbolic preface to any subsequent expansion of Roman power, finally acquired all its imperialist connotations under Caesar, who, as dictator, tried to legitimize his monarchical tendencies by using myths that suggested the sovereignty of Alba, of which the *gens Iulia* was the keeper and custodian. One member of this *gens* had been the 'Alban' Julius Proculus, an eyewitness of the deification of Romulus. Having celebrated the *Feriae Latinae*,⁹⁵ Caesar entered Rome on 26 January 44 BC and was the subject of an unusual, original *ovatio*, recalling the style of the *adventus*, or rather the 'epiphany', of the eastern monarchs.⁹⁶

Augustus, loyal to his self-representation as a *restaurator rei publicae*, deposited a list of all the magistrates who had celebrated the festival at the top of Monte Cavo, and these *Fasti* continued during the imperial era. Some fragments even show that Augustus, when consul, wanted to carry out this task, which he could not do on two occasions because of illness (in 27 and 24 BC), and on another two occasions because he was in Hispania leading the operations against the *Cantabri* and the *Astures* (in 26 and 25 BC). Finally, in 23 BC, *imperator Caesar in monte fuit*.⁹⁷

All this information is best understood if we look at the importance of the *auspicia* in the definition of *imperium*⁹⁸ and the augural nature of the Mons Albanus. It has been suggested⁹⁹ that the element which generated

⁹¹ Cass. Dio 53.32, as Syme (1939 [1985], 333–6) pointed out. See also Jullian 1899; Santi 2000, 222–4.

⁹² Cic. *Fam.* 8.6.3.

⁹³ Caes. *B Civ.* 3.2. The fact that the festival was celebrated in December points to a second celebration (Cass. Dio. 41.14; Luc. 1.550) due to a deficient development of the first, or to Caesar being honoured with the right to celebrate some special festivals (Scullard 1981, 249 n. 144, with references).

⁹⁴ Pasqualini 1996, 251. ⁹⁵ Cass. Dio 43.43.2. ⁹⁶ Weinstock 1971, 320–1.

⁹⁷ Degrassi 1947, 143ff. ⁹⁸ Levi 1932; Rivero Gracia 2006. ⁹⁹ Grandazzi 1986, 77ff.

in ancient authors the need to imagine an urban centre as a 'metropolis' of the Latin cities could be seen in the effective ritual of the *Feriae Latinae*, and in this respect I would like to refer to a final aspect of the space where the Latin festival was celebrated: its augural nature.¹⁰⁰

Not only is Monte Cavo the highest point (950 m) in the central volcanic mass of *Latium Vetus*, the federal sanctuary of the *nomen Latinum*, but it was also the sighting point taken by the augur in the Roman observatory – the Capitoline *arx*¹⁰¹ – to define the axis of the heavenly regions. The *Forma Urbis Marmorea*, from the time of Severus, but started during the time of Augustus, has the Capitol at the centre and a transversal axis (*spectio auguralis*) which goes straight to the Mons Albanus, following the straight line of the Via Latina, and measures exactly eight times the length of the marble plan of the *Urbs*.¹⁰² This condition of Monte Cavo as the core of the augural *spectio* seems also to be confirmed in the case of the city of Norba,¹⁰³ and it is possible that this very role may have been played by Monte Cavo in other Latin cities, since in Campania cities such as Pompeii and Nuceria positioned their urban layouts depending on highly visible peaks with sanctuaries on them.¹⁰⁴

This correspondence between the two axes of the augural *spectio*, the Alban and Capitoline *arces*, almost certainly shows the relationship between the two manifestations of Jupiter, the Latio and the Capitoline. There is a set of elaborate and complex correlations between the two sacred

¹⁰⁰ Coarelli (1981; 1983, 195–6) had already suggested that the existence of an *auguraculum* in the *collis Latiaris* of Rome was not mere topographic coincidence, but ought to imply the existence of another on the Mons Albanus.

¹⁰¹ Called *auguraculum* in the past because it was the site where auspices were taken: Fest. 17 L: *auguraculum appellabant antiqui, quod ibi augures publice auspicarentur*. A direct link between *auguraculum* and *ager* is made in Varro (*Ling.* 6.53). The same author points to a clear connection in this regard with the Mons Albanus: (*Ling.* 5, 32); that is, alongside the augural functions of the *arx Albana* there are also the committal functions of the *nomen Latinum*, as a precise parallel of the functions of the *Comitium* and the *Campus Martius* in Rome (Cecamore 2006, 64).

¹⁰² Rodríguez Almeida 2003, 10–11 and fig. 4; Coarelli 1983, 101 arguing for the existence of an *auguraculum* on the Mons Albanus, which would also be proved by the cognomen of *arx Albana* with which Monte Cavo is officially designated in inscriptions (Grandazzi 2008, 609). The Via Latina is the only road out of the *Urbs* that has no anthroponymic epithet, which seems to indicate that it was the processional route that climbed the *Latiar*, where the *Feriae Latinae* were celebrated (Radke 1973). It also seems significant that the *porta Capena* – from which the *Via Latina* started – gave its name to the first of the fourteen urban regions, and referred to the toponym *Cabum* and the *Cabenses* of the Monte Cavo (Coarelli 1996), while the legend that situates the city of Alba Longa on this mountain would be merely an aetiological explanation for the augural nature of the *arx Albana* situated thereon.

¹⁰³ Quilici Gigli 2003, 321–2.

¹⁰⁴ Details in de Cazanove 2005.

mountains, that of Rome – the Campidoglio – and of Latium – the Mons Albanus – that seem to be not contradictory,¹⁰⁵ but complementary:¹⁰⁶ this seems to be borne out by Pliny's mention¹⁰⁷ of Spurius Carvilius Maximus, the victorious commander in the Third Samnite War, setting up an enormous statue of Jupiter on the Capitol, which was so big that it could be seen from the Latio Jupiter. At any event, this duality expresses an essential component in the semantization of the landscape: the topography as an essential element to back up memory in oral societies. The *mnemotopos*, a place with memory, played the same role as ritual reiteration. The view of certain elements in the landscape revived both memory and identity: this seems to be the case of the Mons Albanus as an extreme of the *spectio auguralis* from the heart of the *Urbs Roma*. And the institution of the Alban triumph by C. Papirius Maso – who was a pontiff – in the year 231 BC¹⁰⁸ may have been an antiquarian operation based on sources from pontifical archives and potentially recalling the triumph of the Latin federal chieftains and the expansion of the dominion of the Tarquinians, who would come out to thank their Jupiter along the triumphal path towards the Mons Albanus.¹⁰⁹

Two inscriptions from the imperial era¹¹⁰ refer to an *arx Albana*; these have traditionally been considered to be purely antiquarian, not referring to a specific geographic reality (most recently, Granino Cecere 2006, 307). However, Grandazzi (2006, 200–) has suggested, with good arguments, that it should be identified not with the imperial villa of Castel Gandolfo but with Monte Cavo, the venue of the *sacra Albana*,¹¹¹ and *Alba* was the name given to Monte Cavo by several authors.¹¹²

Epigraphic evidence also shows testimonies of cultic specialists linked to the 'Alban nodule'.¹¹³ In the very centre of Tusculum a new inscription has

¹⁰⁵ Grandazzi 1986, 130: 'Dieu de la Ville contre dieu de la ligue latine: dans cette opposition fondamentale reside la clef du devenir historique de Rome.'

¹⁰⁶ Pasqualini 1996, 243. ¹⁰⁷ Plin. *HN*. 34.43.

¹⁰⁸ Plin. *HN* 15.26; Val. Max. 3.6.5; cf. Degrassi 1947, 78ff.

¹⁰⁹ Versnel 1970, 281ff.; Pasqualini 1996, 244. ¹¹⁰ *CIL* VI 2172 and XIV 2947.

¹¹¹ According to Livy 1.31.3, a divine voice ordered the Albans to sacrifice following their national rites: *ut patrio ritu sacra Albani facerent*.

¹¹² Luc. 1.198 (*residens celsa Latiaris Iuppiter Alba*); 3.87 (*Latii ad summam fascibus Albam*, on the route followed by consuls when celebrating the Latin festivals; Valerius Flaccus, 2.304–5; Plut. *Caes.* 60.3, confirmed by Suetonius (*Iul.* 79.3: *in sacrificio Latinarum reuertente eo*)) regarding the return of Caesar. Martial evokes the *Iuleo monte* (13.109.2), that is, the city founded by Ascanius-Iulus on that mount, and Juvenal says that Iulus preferred this mountaintop – whose name comes from the white sow – to that of Lavinium (12.70–3: *tunc gratus Iulo / Atque novercali sedes praelata Lauino / Conspicitur sublimis apex, cui candida nomen / Scrofa dedit*).

¹¹³ This is the case of Salian priests and Vestal Virgins (Grandazzi 2008, 898–9).

been found dating from the first century AD¹¹⁴ which documents that an unknown person held the post of *accensus velatus*. The find is important since it proves the participation of the city in the *Ferae Latinae* in the imperial period. As definitively demonstrated in Di Stefano Manzella (1994), the *accensi velati* were *apparitores ad sacra*, specifically in charge of assisting the consuls in their religious duties and, in particular, in the celebration of the *Ferae Latinae*, as seems to be expressed by an inscription of the city of Ficulea¹¹⁵ dedicated to a Marcus Consius Cerinthus who is an *apparens consulibus in monte Albano ferias Latinas condentibus*. The discovery of the new Tusculan inscription might show the persistence, residual as it may be, of a *communio sacrorum* with Rome on the part of the cities of Latium, whereby the *accensi velati* could have been chosen from amongst the members of Latin origin.¹¹⁶

The priests called *Kabanoi* by Dionysius of Halicarnassus¹¹⁷ and *Gabienses in monte Albano* by Pliny¹¹⁸ almost certainly correspond to the *Cabenses sacerdotes feriarum Latinarum montis Albani* on a third-century honorific inscription to an emperor whose name is illegible,¹¹⁹ perhaps Decius,¹²⁰ and on three funerary epigraphs, dating from between the first and mid-second centuries, to C. Antistius, C. Nonius Vansa and C. Nonius Iustinus.¹²¹ These are equestrian priesthoods related to the *sacra* of the ancient communities of *Latium vetus*, such as the *Caeninenses*, *Laurentes Lavinates*, *Lanuvinii*, *Tusculani*, whose ritual roles are not known.¹²²

According to Cicero, '*Consules . . . nisi de feriis Latinis nullum facere potuerunt*'.¹²³ The performance of the ceremonies on top of the Mons Albanus was an essential element on which the authority of consuls as supreme magistrates of the *res publica* was based, and in this ritual the consul did truly act as the celebrant of the sacrifices.¹²⁴ He represented

¹¹⁴ Gorostidi Pi (forthcoming), 397–8. ¹¹⁵ *CIL* XIV 4013–14.

¹¹⁶ Gorostidi Pi (forthcoming), 195–6. ¹¹⁷ Dion. Hal. 5.61.3.

¹¹⁸ Plin. *HN* 3.64. ¹¹⁹ *CIL* XIV 2228.

¹²⁰ Granino Cecere 2006, 278. ¹²¹ *CIL* VI 2174–5; Granino Cecere 2006, 279.

¹²² Granino Cecere and Scheid 1999. Mommsen (1861) had already pointed out a linguistic relationship between the current oronym Cavo and the *Cabenses*, in connection with a habitat of the **Cabum* type, which could be placed not at the top, but in the modern town of Rocca di Papa, attached to the mount like a buttress (Grandazzi 2006, 209). On the *Albani* priests: Granino Cecere 2006, 284–316.

¹²³ Cic. *Fam.* 8.6.3.

¹²⁴ On rare occasions, the *Ferae* were presided over by one consul, but normally the two magistrates were present, and several literary or epigraphic texts clearly state this (details in Grandazzi 2008, 581 and n. 235).

the hegemonic community within the Latin League, in a Romano-Latin 'essential duality' – inherent to the *sacra prodigiorum* of the *Urbs* – that would continuously re-emerge in the future through the double Roman and Latin horizon that defined the privileged legal position of municipalities and colonies in the conquering republic and in the period of the empire up to Caracalla.

In a space shared by men and gods, such as the city, the magistrate was entitled to act not only with men but also with gods, whereas priests acted only with gods; hence the superiority or 'temporal supremacy'¹²⁵ of magistrates over priests. In this sense, the religious basis of the magisterial power of the consuls cannot be stressed enough: their election takes on a charismatic nature;¹²⁶ it is sanctioned by the supreme deity, Jupiter, thanks to the successful accomplishment of the compulsory ritual, a legitimizing key to their *imperium*, and that is why consuls could not set off for the battlefield without having previously charismatically endorsed their power by means of the rituals on Monte Cavo. Thus Latial Jupiter guaranteed the *imperium iustum* for the consuls.¹²⁷

In the same manner as for the *rex* – primal and exclusive holder of the *imperium*, invested with *auspicium* and high priest of the city¹²⁸ – so the holistic concentration of functions found in the consul-priest in the *Feriae Latinae* seems also to be attested in other spheres of archaic Latium. Such is the case of Tusculum, a city where the presence of *aediles lustrales* or *quinquennales* may not, in my opinion, reflect a duality between a civil and a religious magistracy,¹²⁹ but rather the supreme magistrates of the city, the aediles, exercising their sacerdotal functions on the occasion of the solemn *lustratio populi*, celebrated every five years as in Rome or in other parts of the Italic world such as Teanum, Ficulea, Ostia or Interamna Nahars.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ Scheid 1989, 65. ¹²⁶ De Francisci 1970, 30–1.

¹²⁷ Livy 22.1.6–7; Cass. Dio 46.33.4. ¹²⁸ Ser. Aen. 3.80.

¹²⁹ According to Rosenberg's theory (1913), very recently recovered by Gorostidi Pi (forthcoming), 86–93.

¹³⁰ As held by Leuze (1914, 118–19) and Wissowa (1915, 19). To the former, the *aedilis lustr(alis)* was but the *aedilis quinquennalis* acting as a magistrate in charge of performing the *lustrum* every five years, whereas Wissowa pointed out that the adjective *lustr(alis)* referred to the religious functions of the civil *aedilis*, something which is epigraphically documented for other municipal magistracies – not priesthoods: 'Den *praefectus sacr(orum)* in *Tusculum* und in *Vicus Martis Tudentium*; vgl. auch den *praefectus rebus divinis* in *Teanum* . . . für eine Priester zu halten, haben wir weder Veranlassung noch Berechtigung. Wer in jedem Würdeträger, dessen Titel einen Hinweis auf *sacra* enthält, einen Priester sieht, vergisst, dass auch der Magistratur sehr ehreliche sakrale Befugnisse zukommen, und dass ein magistrat dadurch, das ihm im Laufe der Zeit aus einem führer grösserem Kreise von Obliegenheiten (man vergleiche den *praefectus iur(e) dic(undo) et sacris faciendis* von *Ficulea*, xv, 4002) nur die sakrale geblieben sind, noch nicht zum Priester wird; das ist wichtig für die richtige Beurteilung der *Praetores* und *Aediles sacris Volkani faciendis* in Ostia und des *Praetor sacrorum* in

The rituals of the *Feriae Latinae* had played a very important role in the life of Rome from the earliest times until the end of the fourth century: even then, a *praefectus* and *consul designatus* 'de Ioue . . . Latio voluit sperare salutem', although he was to die of dropsy before taking up office.¹³¹ It was, predictably, the Emperor Theodosius who banned the festival.

It is hard not to admit that an extremely ancient ritual which had been celebrated for over a thousand years had decisive importance in the shaping of Roman identity. Having converted the former festival of purification and fertility that was old *Latian* into a symbol of Roman sovereignty, opening out to the outside world and a desire to dominate it, the *Feriae Latinae* became the temporal, spatial, religious and legal metaphor for the integrating abilities of the *imperium Romanum*.¹³²

Jan Assman¹³³ has made a distinction between communicative memory, which includes the group's memories of the recent past, and which goes no further back than the fourth generation (the Roman *saeculum*), and 'cultural memory', which may be defined as the *foundation memory*, which includes the *origins of the community*. While the former is spontaneous and unstable, not attached to the institutions, cultural memory revolves around the mythical past: its purpose is to give meaning to the present by addressing the origin (mythical and sacred), which is updated and perpetuated through ritual and feasts. Thus the role of religion is essential in this cultural memory, much more stable than communicative memory (even in the absence of the written word) because of the fact that its transmission is strictly controlled and takes on the meaning of an institutionalized message.¹³⁴ By means of the rite, the circulation of the ancestral knowledge which binds the community together is secured, thus enabling the participation in the cosmic order which serves to place and *explain* the social group as such.

All of this is best exemplified by the complex ritual of the *Feriae Latinae*. Study of the available documentation, though scarce and asystematic, clearly proves the importance of these ceremonies in the formation of the Roman identity from the starting point of the *nomen Latinum*. The strict performance of the rituals on Monte Cavo, a *lieu de mémoire*,¹³⁵ was perceived as an essential element of the *arcana imperii* which had to be

Interamna Nahars auch der *Aediles* und *Praetores Etruriae*' (Wissowa 1915, 6–7 n. 3). Regarding the *lustrum* as a ritual of social integration, see Marco Simón 2006.

¹³¹ He was possibly Symmachus the Elder (data in Pasqualini 1996, 253 n. 155).

¹³² Grandazzi 2008, 905. ¹³³ Assman 1995; 2006, 1–30.

¹³⁴ Rodríguez Mayorgas 2007, 17. ¹³⁵ Yates 1974; Halbwachs 1997; Ricoeur 2000.

preserved in order to secure the perpetuity of the *Urbs*. 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.