Latin cults through Roman eyes

_Myth, memory and cult practice in the Alban hills_

Hermans, A.M.

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Latin Cults through Roman Eyes
Myth, Memory and Cult Practice in the Alban Hills

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT
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in het openbaar te verdedigen in de Agnietenkapel
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geboren te Venray
### Promotiecommissie:

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Samenvatting in het Nederlands
A note on translations, editions and abbreviations

All literary sources quoted in this thesis are quoted in English translation, while the Latin and Greek texts are provided in the footnotes. Unless otherwise specified, the translations are based on the most recent Loeb editions. Translations by the author or adaptations to existing translations are specified.

The references to coins, inscriptions and images – if not mentioned in full – are based on the following corpora:

AE: L’Année Épigraphique, 1888-.
CIL: Th. Mommsen et al. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin, 1863-.
FUR G. Carretoni et al., La Pianta Marmorea di Roma Antica (Forma Urbis Romae), Rome, 1960.
Acknowledgements

In many ways, this thesis originated in the winter, spring and summer of 2006, when I spent an Erasmus term at the University of La Sapienza in Rome. I arrived a month before classes started and – learning quickly that university procedures would not move any quicker because of my early arrival – I immersed myself in the vibrant chaos of the city with Amanda Claridge’s Archaeological Guide to Rome. Many long walks followed, in which scattered and incomprehensible ruins slowly turned into actual monuments, streets and houses. The ancient city came to life before my eyes, and in my romantic – and no doubt naive – view it blended effortlessly with recently acquired skills for modern Roman life, like pasta making and the correct use of Romanesco. Like many before me, I was captured by the intricate layeredness of the past below my feet, and much of my historical fascination for the ‘past in the past’ can be traced back to these first months in Rome. Although any concrete research plans were far away at that point, it was an exciting and encouraging realization that one could make a career out of studying something like this.

Now that it is finished, I realize that doing PhD research has given me quite a few reality checks over the years. Rome, for all its late afternoon sunlit splendour, can be a tacky, grumpy and especially difficult city to manage at times. More importantly, I learned that carrying out a self-designed research project requires long hours of seclusion, which makes it a solitary – if not sometimes lonely – enterprise. I am happy to say, however, that the moments of struggle and doubt were far outnumbered by moments of enthusiasm, curiosity and energy. I would not have had such a positive experience (nor would I have a book now), without the company and support of many people. It is with gratitude and delight that I use the first pages of this study to acknowledge their contributions.

My first and foremost acknowledgement is to my supervisor, Emily Hemelrijk. Even though she did not know me before, she generously offered her time and expertise to support my application to the University of Amsterdam PhD programme. Since then, she has been of crucial importance to the completion of this study and to my development as a scholar and teacher. I have enjoyed our long conversations, from which I always returned encouraged and inspired. Her thoughtful and honest feedback on my writing has saved me from many mistakes. Through the years, I have admired Emily’s ability to be a meticulous reviewer and a kind mentor at the same time. I benefitted greatly from both of these roles, even after the completion of this project, as she helped pave the way for my first steps into postdoctoral academic life. I am grateful and proud to have gained her trust.
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I wish to thank all the institutes and institutions that contributed to the realization of this project. The Amsterdam School of Historical Studies and the Faculty of Humanities have provided the funding; I am grateful for their continuous support and for the course programme they offered as part of the PhD programme. Special thanks go out to my colleagues at the Department (Republic) of History: it has been a privilege to work in such a creative, dedicated and idealistic – should I say slightly anarchistic? – environment. Before my time in Amsterdam, I spent a very productive academic year at the Westfälische Wilhelmsuniversität in Münster. I thank Peter Funke for facilitating this and I am grateful for the VSB and DAAD research grants that financed it. Support came from other directions as well. I was lucky to spend a few weeks in the wonderful environment of the Fondation Hardt pour l’étude de l’Antiquité in Geneva. I thank the Fondation and its director, Pierre Ducrey, for awarding me the research grant, for providing such a unique and inspiring study atmosphere and for bringing me into contact with wonderful group of international scholars. Additional support was given by the Allard Pierson Fund, who covered part of the printing costs for this thesis, and by the OIKOS travel grant, which contributed to a conference visit to Philadelphia.

Without the help of the Royal Dutch Institute in Rome (KNIR), this project would have been nearly impossible to carry out. Not only did their grants allow me to visit my research sites for several years in a row, they also provided great assistance in communicating with libraries, archives and Soprintendenza authorities. Being part of the KNIR community has introduced me to innovative ideas, great minds and numerous good friends – in somewhat of a bubble in Rome, but a very fun and productive one. Many thanks go out to the directors and heads of archaeology who have given me these opportunities: Bernard Stolte, Gert-Jan Burgers, Harald Hendrix and Jeremia Pelgrom. Of course, I do not want to forget the members of staff who have been the backbone of the KNIR for so long: Janet, Angelo, Fernando and Mohammed, thank you so much for all your kind attention.

One of the great joys of doing PhD research is meeting so many interesting people along the way. Through the years, I have benefitted from many great scholars who were willing to listen to, read and comment upon my work. First of all, I wish to thank Christopher Smith, Olivier Hekster, Daan den Hengst, Patricia Lulof, Benjamin Rous, Jan-Willem van Henten en Tesse Stek for being in
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While writing these acknowledgements, I find it increasingly difficult to distinguish colleagues from friends. This is perhaps most clearly the case for the ladies who were my office mates but have, over time, become so much more. Marianne, Sanne D., Martje, Karlijn and Sanne K.: thank you for all the great advice, for the stimulating conversations about academic and (more often) real world issues and for making me laugh so often and so loud. I hope we will share much more tea, fun and friendship in the future. Within this group of people, I want to mention Anna Sparreboom in particular. As a fellow PhD candidate in Ancient History, she was there during almost all stages of my research. Anna showed me how it was done, up until the near perfect defence of her
thesis a few months ago. I am grateful for the many times I could rely on her experience, but more so for her encouragement, her warm personality and her humour. Luckily, she agreed to be my paranimf (as I was for her), so we can also walk the last part of this road together. We did it, Anna!

I feel fortunate that I could rely on so many close friends over the last years, sometimes for pep-talks and encouragement, but more often for much-needed distraction in the form of vacation, food, sports and parties. Going back to Nijmegen, for example, still feels like going home in a way, and that is not in the least thanks to Manon, Ilse and Edith. Marleen had moved to Amsterdam before me and turned out to be a great guide to the city; I thoroughly enjoyed our long evenings and delicious dinners and hope many more will follow. Many thanks go out as well to my flatmate Nale. An academic herself, she was helpful and supportive when it came to research matters, but I especially thank her and Janneke for the many fun- and wine-filled evenings on her living room couch. I could not have wished for a better roomie. Of the many friendships that originated in Rome, I especially want to mention Jan, Floris, Roel, Dirk, Anne, Sanne and Jo. Our roads may not lead us to Rome as often anymore as we would like, but I am happy that they keep crossing, and hope they will continue to do so in the future. Finally, I am proud to call myself a megje. It is very special to still have your childhood friends close and I realize that even more now that I see their careers develop and their families grow. Esther, Ineke, Linda, Marion, Lieke and Franca: thank you so much for everything. Out of all these, Franca and Lieke are my oldest companions – yes, it is on official record now! – and we grew up playing together in the same street. That we now live in the same part of Amsterdam, where we still share life’s adventures and experiences, is a source of great joy and pride for me. I am very happy that Franca agreed to be my paranimf, as a sign of this friendship.

The concluding words of thanks belong to my family and loved ones. Rob, Chris, Martijn, Machteld and Coen have welcomed me into their family and have shown genuine interest in my person – and my project – from the beginning. I feel like I know you for a long time already and thank you for your support. I cannot emphasize enough how much I am indebted to the love and support of my sister Anky, her partner Anthonie, their beautiful little Joppe and my brother Rob. I could not have done this without you and am forever grateful to have grown up in such a warm and loving family.

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