Latin cults through Roman eyes
*Myth, memory and cult practice in the Alban hills*
Hermans, A.M.

Link to publication

*Creative Commons License (see https://creativecommons.org/use-remix/cc-licenses):*
*Other*

*Citation for published version (APA):*

**General rights**
It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

**Disclaimer/Complaints regulations**
If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.
Latin Cults through Roman Eyes

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

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT
ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus
prof. dr. ir. K.I.J. Maex
ten overstaan van een door het College voor Promoties ingestelde commissie,
in het openbaar te verdedigen in de Agnietenkapel
op donderdag 2 februari 2017, te 10.00 uur

door Antoinette Maria Hermans
geboren te Venray
Promotiecommissie:

Promotor: prof. dr. E.A. Hemelrijk, Universiteit van Amsterdam

Copromotor: prof. dr. M. Gnade, Universiteit van Amsterdam

Overige leden:
- prof. dr. D. den Hengst, Universiteit van Amsterdam
- prof. dr. J.W. van Henten, Universiteit van Amsterdam
- dr. P.S. Lulof, Universiteit van Amsterdam
- dr. B.D. Rous, Universiteit van Amsterdam
- prof. dr. O.J. Hekster, Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen
- prof. dr. C.J. Smith, University of St Andrews, UK
- dr. T.D. Stek, Universiteit Leiden

Faculteit: Geesteswetenschappen
# Table of Contents

A note on translations, editions and abbreviations .......................... v
Acknowledgements ....................................................................... vii

## I) Introduction: Memory, Identity, Latinitas

- The memory 'boom' ................................................................. 1
- Memory and theory in ancient Rome ................................. 4
- Communicative memory: a different perspective .................. 8
- Necessary contextualization .................................................. 12
- Livy and the danger of neglegentia ...................................... 14
- Cicero and scepticism .......................................................... 16
- Varro and the antiquarians .................................................... 19
- Epigraphy: filling up voids in our knowledge and uncovering new ones .............................. 21
- The Latin sanctuaries and their archaeological remains ......... 25
- Preceding the argument: what is a Latin cult? ...................... 29

## II) Diana Nemorensis and her worshippers

- A curious king ................................................................. 37
- 'Minor' deities .................................................................... 38
- Trivia and the moon ........................................................... 42
- Wives and mothers? ............................................................ 44
- Diana Nemorensis and Diana Aventinensis ......................... 48
- Signs of syncretism ............................................................. 50
- Temples and votives .......................................................... 55
- Images old and new ......................................................... 58
- Epigraphic testimonies ....................................................... 65
- Myths and memories inscribed ........................................... 70
- Conclusions .......................................................................... 74
### III) Juno Sospita: guardian of Lanuvium and Rome

- Juno Sospita as *patrona* of Lanuvium and Rome
- The goddess and the serpent
- Cult place(s) in Rome
- The development of the sanctuary in Lanuvium
- The Pantanacci votive deposit: the cave of the snake?
- Early representations of a goddess in goatskin
- Lanuvian *origo* on coins
- Cult images
- Priests, magistrates and devotees in the epigraphic record
- Conclusions

### IV) Jupiter Latiaris and the *feriae Latinae*: celebrating and defining *Latinitas*

- Tarquinius’ unification attempts
- Latinus as forefather and Alba Longa as metropolis
- *Carnem petere*: a celebration of community and hierarchy
- Archaeological remains – or the lack thereof
- Excavation and destruction in the archival sources
- Epigraphic testimonies of the *feriae Latinae*
- Cult officials on the *mons Albanus*
- Roman Jupiter and Latin Jupiter: creating religious and political unity?
- Conclusions

### V) Conclusions
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.
Next, I wish to express my gratitude and appreciation to my second supervisor, Marijke Gnade. She has been an enthusiastic and supportive reader of my work from the beginning, and her knowledge of the archaeology of Latium has been invaluable for this project. As such, she literally kept my work grounded in the material sources. I am thankful for her guidance on how to use this evidence in an appropriate way and also for her many bibliographical suggestions. Mentioning Marijke and/or Satricum opens doors in Latium, and I have gladly used this to my advantage. I therefore feel honoured that she recently included me in some of her Satricum endeavours.

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
my dissertation committee and for reading my work so carefully. Ton Derks, Nicholas Purcell, Eric Orlin and Joe Farrell commented on earlier drafts of chapters; I am very much obliged to them as well. For my work at the sites in Lazio, I greatly benefitted from the expertise and generous help of Luca Attenni, director of the Museo Civico di Lanuvio and Francesca Diosono, director of the excavations in Nemi. Furthermore, I thank Mark Locicero for quickly and carefully proofreading my text, while Joan Griffioen has helped me with the images and did a wonderful job in designing the cover of this thesis. That the study of ancient culture is very much alive in the Netherlands, is proven year round by the national research school for classical studies (OIKOS). I greatly appreciated the opportunity to present my work to junior and senior scholars and have also enjoyed their curriculum, in which several (international) masterclasses and a course on epigraphy were particular highlights. It has been a joy to share these experiences with an ambitious group of young colleagues from other universities. I think of Liesbeth Claes, Ylva Klaassen, Kim Beerden, Raphael Hunsucker, Simon Speksnijder and Marleen Termeer in particular, but there are many others.

A little closer to home, but just as important, was the support of the colleagues of the Ancient History group of the UvA. Over the years, our group has changed quite a bit, and I thank all earlier and current members for their friendship and for showing me the joy and importance of teaching. With regards to the latter, Lucinda Dirven and Hans van Rossum deserve special mention. I am happy to see that the arrival of Martijn Icks, Marlena Whiting and Sofie Remijse brought new energy to our group and I’m looking forward to work together on many more occasions. Furthermore, I wish to express my gratitude and admiration to librarian Ewa Zakrzewska, who does everything in her power to keep the classics library in good research condition - despite fighting an uphill battle sometimes (as I have experienced myself). I consider myself lucky to have another group of wonderful colleagues at the Ancient History department of Groningen, where I was given the opportunity to teach from the start of this academic year. It has been great fun so far, and I wish to thank Onno van Nijf, Jan Willem Drijvers, Christina Williamson and Inger Kuin for giving me such a warm welcome and for their help in navigating a sometimes difficult teaching schedule.

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.

Frank made the last years of this project so much more meaningful and fun. I thank him for his patience with my impatience, for reassuring me and challenging me and for the many, many moments he made me laugh and remember that there is more to life than work. Finally, my greatest and most heartfelt thanks go out to my parents. They must have wondered often about the strange world of academia and where it would take me, but I have felt loved, supported and encouraged by them at every step of the way. I dedicate this book to them.