

Romans of the 3rd Century B.C. in Front of the Goddess Victoria and her Temple: From Mortar and Stones to Collective Destiny

Romieši, dieviete Viktorija un tās templis 3. gadsimtā pirms mūsu ēras: no akmens un javas uz kopīgu likteni

Kārlis Konrāds Vē, *Dr. hist.* (University Paris-Sorbonne)

Associate researcher at the University Paris-Sorbonne

E-mail: karlisvey@hotmail.fr

The article is devoted to the ideological context underlying the construction of the temple of goddess Victoria on the Palatine at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. Following written and numismatic sources, sociology of memory, as well as the latest archaeological digs, it is proposed to see the main reason for the construction of the Victoria temple in the desire of Rome's élite to create a new conscience of collective destiny in Roman society. In this context, the new Victoria temple was meant to become one of the main vectors of the perception of Roman collective destiny.

Keywords: collective memory, collective destiny, Roman archaeology, Roman religion, Roman mythology, Victoria, Romulus, Roman middle Republic.

Raksts ir veltīts dievietes Viktorijas tempļa izbūves ideoloģiskajam kontekstam Palatīna kalnā 4. gs. beigās un 3. gs. p. m. ē. sākumā. Balstoties uz rakstiskiem un numismātikas avotiem, kā arī uz jaunākajiem arheoloģiskajiem pētījumiem un atmiņas socioloģijas atziņām, rakstā izvirzīta tēze, ka Viktorijas tempļa izbūves pamatcēlonis bija Romas valdošā slāņa vēlme radīt jaunu kopīgā likteņa apziņu romiešu sabiedrībā. Šajā kontekstā jaunajam Viktorijas templim bija lemts kļūt par vienu no galvenajiem romiešu kopīgā likteņa vektoriem.

Atslēgvārdi: kolektīvā atmiņa, kopīgais liktenis, Romas arheoloģija, romiešu reliģija, romiešu mitoloģija, Viktorija, Romuls, Romas Republika.

Today, when visiting the southwest Palatine, a little to the west of the House of Augustus one can see the remains of an ancient temple; these remains have been unanimously identified as those of the temple of goddess Victoria,¹ which was vowed in 305 B.C.² by the consul Lucius Postumius Megellus³ and then dedicated in 294 by the same man.⁴

In this study, a thorough analysis of the political and ideological background of this new Victoria temple will be offered and its role in the religion, ideology and collective memory of the 3rd century Rome will be shown.⁵ Since a great part of this article will be devoted to understanding the role of the Victoria temple and its environs in the Roman collective memory in the 3rd century, I will commence by including a brief remark inspired by Maurice Halbwachs, the great theoretician of collective memory, on the subject of manipulation of collective memory by the ruling class through building operations in socially important places.⁶

According to M. Halbwachs and his followers on this subject, the intervention of the ruling élite in a *mnemonic space* – that is, an area with concentrated important collective mnemonic “reminders” closely associated with the (mythical) origins of the society in question⁷ – is always motivated by the élite’s project to modify and to manipulate the collective memory.⁸ In short, one can be certain that behind virtually every élite’s intervention in a socially important mnemonic zone there is a strong aspiration to remodel society’s collective memory.⁹ However, given that collective memory is the primordial source for the social belief, shared by many individuals, that the society has a transcendent purpose, a collective destiny, it is clear that every deliberate alteration of the collective memory of a given society is also an endeavour to remodel its collective destiny.¹⁰

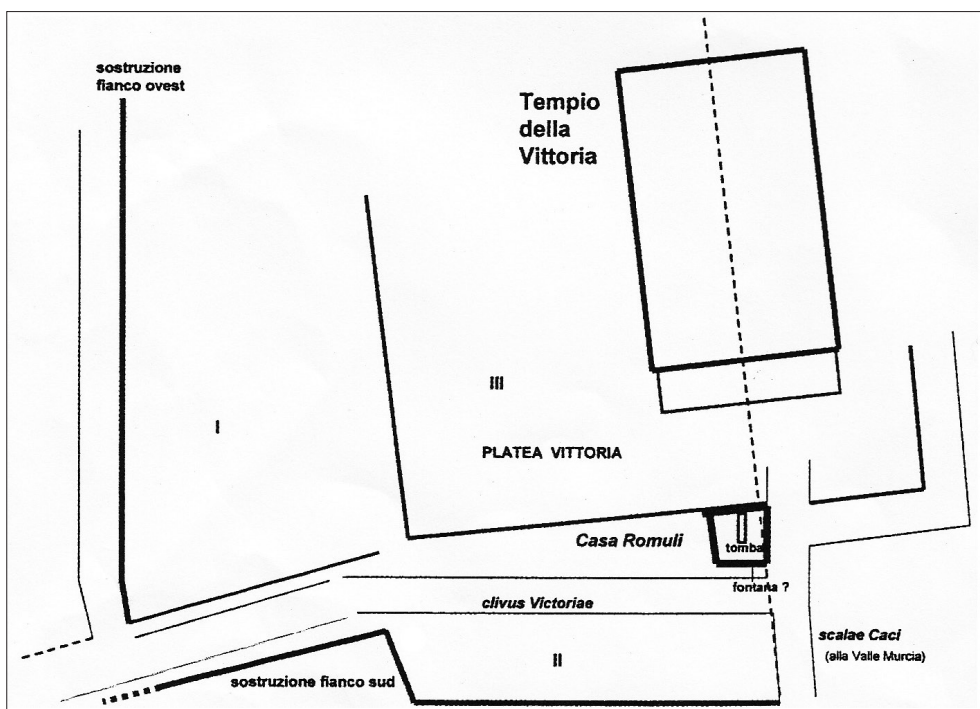
I

Taking these observations into account, let us look at the region – the southwest Palatine and the *Germaulus* – where the Roman ruling class had chosen to build the temple of goddess Victoria. It was no

ordinary place, as almost all of the most important episodes of the Romulus legend were believed to have taken place in or near it.¹¹ Because of its place in the foundational Roman legend, it is safe to say that the southwest Palatine and its surroundings were a very important mnemonic zone, probably even the most important source, for the Roman collective memory.

Indeed, well before the construction of the Victoria temple, the southwest Palatine was associated, according to Roman oral tradition, with the origins of the City and, thus, with the first steps of Romulus on the Roman soil. One should also note that the archaic rite of the Lupercalia mostly took place near the southwest Palatine and reminded the Romans of the beginnings of their city.¹² Accordingly, most monuments and cultural zones, which were believed to belong to the very first period of the Roman society, were located in this area. More specifically, there were at least two such structures in the area of the southwest Palatine: on the top of the hill was the *Casa Romuli*, considered to have belonged to the Founder himself,¹³ while immediately underneath was the Lupercal, the sacred cave, where the she-wolf was said to have suckled Remus and Romulus.¹⁴ Therefore, it is evident that the southwest Palatine and its surroundings were, well before the building of the Victoria temple, an area scattered with mnemonic reminders, which ensured the upkeep and the actualisation of collective memory of the Romans and, thereby, also their belief in having a specific, collective destiny. Consequently, it can be said that the temple of Victoria was built in the centre of probably the most important mnemonic zone in Rome.

Given this context, how are we to interpret the immense urbanistic project, which (according to the latest archaeological digs¹⁵ I have shown elsewhere) was begun



Southwest Palatine after its reconstruction in the late 4th century

After PATRIZIO PENSABENE. *Premessa*. In: Scienze dell'Antichità. Storia, Archeologia, Antropologia 2006, p. 316.

on and around the southwest Palatine immediately after 338?¹⁶ Indeed, after 338, for more than three decades, the southwest Palatine underwent an almost total reconstruction.¹⁷ Not only did the new sanctuary, that of Victoria, replace the old one, that of Juno Sospita, but it was also deliberately built in such a way that it would form, using the *Scalae Caci* – an ancient path connecting the hilltop of southwest Palatine to the *Forum Boarium* – a topographical axis with the famous Luperca, which lay immediately at the foot of the *Scalae Caci*.¹⁸ At the same time, the Luperca itself was very probably rebuilt, while a new and imposing route – the *clivus Victoriae* – was created to give the new sanctuary of Victoria a monumental access.¹⁹

I have already shown elsewhere that the construction of the Victoria temple on

such a grand scale had several reasons: firstly, it was intended to symbolize and to proclaim to all peoples the new political and military supremacy established in Italy, which Rome had gained in 338 with her victory over the Latins; secondly, the project aimed to symbolically associate the new political and military domination with the legendary figure of the first king, Romulus; finally, the decision to construct a temple to the goddess of victory was motivated also by the contemporary development of a new Roman self-awareness, – a self-awareness, which henceforth was full of conceit and certitude of the intrinsic superiority of Rome.²⁰

In addition, there is another important reason for this construction: it was evidently the wish of the ruling class to remodel the Roman collective memory. Indeed,

by constructing the Victoria temple in the centre of the principal mnemonic zone of Rome – the southwest Palatine and its surroundings – the ruling élite deliberately proceeded with a remodelling of the extraordinarily important social frames of memory (*cadres sociaux de la mémoire*), which were located in this area, which of course means that the élite was trying to remodel the Roman collective memory.²¹ However, it is well known that collective memory is the source for the belief in a shared collective destiny. Thus, with the construction of the Victoria temple, one has a tangible proof that, from 338, the ruling class also carried out a reconstruction of the Roman collective destiny.

The ruling class hoped to establish new “ideological currents” to be communicated to the Roman people by the Victoria temple and its surroundings. Thus, one can envisage, of course hypothetically, given the scarcity of explicit sources, these collective feelings, evoked among Romans during their visits to the sanctuary of Victoria and its surroundings, for example, during various religious festivals taking place near the southwest Palatine.

To establish a hypothetical outline of the possible collective feelings aimed at the populace, one has to take in account not only the ideological content of the new temple of Victoria and of its eponymous goddess, but also the monuments and mnemonic spaces, which were associated with it, namely, the Lupercal, the *Scalae Caci* and the *Casa Romuli*. Therefore, I will have to propose an interpretation of the ideological value of each one of the said monuments and mnemonic spaces and then I will associate their respective values in a cognitive chain, the reading of which will give us a good outline of the collective feelings evoked by the Victoria temple and its environs.

But before proceeding with the said analysis, I shall at first show the great – and



“Romano-campanian” didrachma with Victoria

After FILIPPO COARELLI. *L'art romain. Des origines au IIIe siècle av. J.-C.* Paris 2011, p. 193.



The quadrigatus

After COARELLI, *L'art romain*, p. 196.

durable – popularity of the sanctuary of Victoria in Rome, which lasted for at least three centuries as an important touchstone in the Roman collective memory. Then I will present the outline of worship offered to the goddess of victory on the Palatine, because the modalities of this worship will permit us to see with what frequency the Romans assembled in front of the Victoria temple and, thereby, collectively entered in contact with the “ideological currents” expressed by it. After these preliminaries, I will be able to propose a reconstitution of the collective feelings, which were probably felt by many Romans, when they were assembled in front of the Victoria temple.

II

Regarding the subject of the popularity of the worship of Victoria on the Palatine during the Republic, all the contemporary specialists are in agreement: immediately after her introduction in the Roman pantheon, the goddess became an eminent divine figure;²² as evident from her continual representation on several important Roman coins from the 3rd and 2nd centuries – for example, the ancient “Romano-campanian” didrachma, the famous quadrigatus and the victoriatus from the years of the war against Hannibal.²³

The “Romano-campanian” didrachma, which has, on the obverse, a helmeted female head, probably symbolizing Rome, and, on the reverse, Victoria attaching a crown to a palm branch, is the first Roman coin to show the goddess of victory, here clearly copying the iconographical models of Nike.²⁴

It has been shown, especially thanks to a comparison with contemporary coins from Egypt, that this coin was minted for the first time immediately after 273,

the date of a treaty of friendship between Rome and Ptolemaic Egypt.²⁵

The didrachma representing Victoria quickly became very popular everywhere in Italy, and not without a reason: the didrachma was very probably coined annually for about fifty years.²⁶ As for the iconographic subject on the reverse – Victoria attaching a crown to a palm branch – it seems to have been chosen to celebrate the introduction in Rome, in 293, of the custom to use a palm branch as symbol of military victory.²⁷

A few decades later, the goddess of victory appeared on yet another Roman coin, the quadrigatus, one of the first Roman silver coins, usually dated to 245–220, but which could well go back to 269.²⁸ Indeed, the quadrigatus was very probably coined already in 269, a time when the central mint of the Roman state was founded near the temple of Juno Moneta on the *Arx*.²⁹



The victoriatus

After COARELLI, *L'art romain*, p. 197.

The quadrigatus, which remained in use until about 168, soon became the silver coin *par excellence* in the 3rd century Rome.³⁰

On the obverse, the quadrigatus has a juvenile two-faced head similar to the Janus type; its symbolism is mysterious: maybe it depicts Fons, the god of the streams and son of Janus.³¹ As for the reverse, it shows Jupiter on quadriga (whence the name of the coin), accompanied by Victoria.³² Thus, we see that one of the most popular silver coins of the period depicted Jupiter on the triumphal quadriga besides Victoria,³³ thereby the importance of the goddess in the culture of Roman Republic becomes clear.

Towards 215, at a particularly difficult moment in war against Hannibal, Rome minted another silver coin, called the *victoriatus*, which was destined to proclaim that, despite Carthaginian victories, Rome was still certain of her final victory.³⁴ On the obverse, the *victoriatus* shows Jupiter Optimus Maximus, but on the reverse, Victoria crowning a trophy.³⁵

This new coin also became very popular in Italy, all the more so since, after the end of Carthaginian menace, the *victoriatus*, at first only coined in a single mint – that of the city of Rome, was minted in other Roman mints across all of Italy for many decades.³⁶

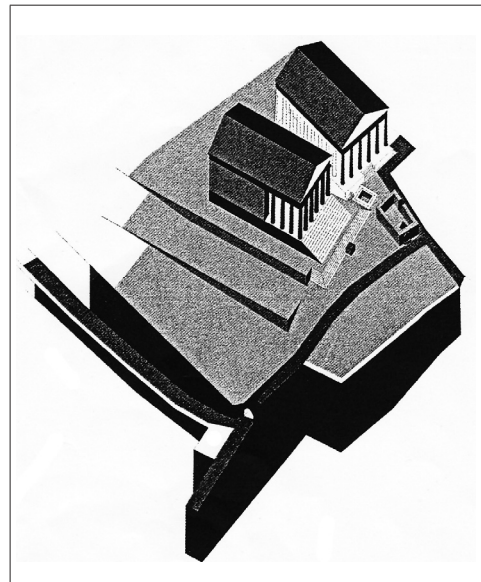
This survey of Roman coins from the 3rd and 2nd centuries depicting the goddess of victory clearly indicates that Victoria had become a very important deity of the Roman pantheon. But can this testimony be confirmed through other facts, independent of Roman coins?

III

The confirmation of this testimony is feasible, if one pays attention to the urban and ideological evolution of

the Victoria temple and its surroundings through the time. It means that one has to see, in what ways the said sanctuary and its vicinity were maintained, renovated and remodelled during the three centuries following its dedication. Consequently, I shall first analyse the successive renovations of Victoria temple, because their scope will confirm the importance of Victoria in Republican Rome.

Thanks to the excavations led by P. Pensabene, we are relatively well informed of the renovations of Victoria temple during the Republic and the Principate of Augustus;³⁷ therefore it seems very likely that the sanctuary retained its form and exterior decorations more or less unaltered until the end of the 2nd century. During the third and the second centuries, the temple and its decorations were scrupulously preserved, and when some decorations deteriorated, they were replaced by similar ornaments.³⁸



Southwest Palatine after the construction of the temple of Cybele

After PENSABENE, *Premessa*, p. 318.

Nevertheless, during this period, there was a partial reconstruction of the temple. It took place at the beginning of the 2nd century, when the southwest plateau of Palatine was restructured to allow for the building of the sanctuary of Cybele: the front part of the podium was partially rebuilt, while the exterior decorations were renovated.³⁹

Of much greater scope was the reconstruction of the temple immediately after the fire in 111, which had ravaged southwest Palatine; this time, the temple was almost completely rebuilt. Not only was it provided with new colonnades of Corinthian order and acquired an entablature of stuccoed travertine in place of the old one of wood, but the new building was also reinforced by the casting of new foundations of *opus caementicium* on one part of the old foundations of *opus quadratum*.⁴⁰ Thus, inside the podium, the foundations of the pronaos were filled with a huge cast of *opus caementicium* in order to be able to place a double colonnade of Corinthian order there, and also to slightly advance the front part of the podium to consolidate the structure of the temple, an action which was necessitated by soil erosion in this part of southwest Palatine.⁴¹

The *cella* was also rebuilt and received, besides its old foundations of *opus quadratum*, new foundations of *opus caementicium*, placed along the internal lateral walls. The objective of the new foundations was not only to reinforce the old ones, but also to form a socle for a colonnade running along the internal lateral walls of *cella*.⁴²

Despite these restorations and the reconstruction soon after 111, it is to be said that, with the exception of the pronaos and of the colonnades, the rest of the temple, although rebuilt, was not seriously transformed, but more or less preserved its original appearance.⁴³ Therefore, this second archaeological phase of Victoria temple lasted at least until the late Principate,

because, while Augustus restored the temple, he did it without changing its exterior.⁴⁴

The outline of the renovations and of the reconstruction of the Victoria temple under the Republic and the Principate of Augustus clearly shows that, given the scope of its restorations and the care applied to its conservation, the sanctuary of Victoria and its deity had an important role in Roman culture and religion in the three centuries following its construction. Therefore, the earlier testimony of Roman coins in favour of the great popularity of Victoria under the Republic is now confirmed by independent archaeological facts.

Another argument in favour of durable popularity of the sanctuary of Victoria is its urban association, at the end of the 3rd century, with the cult of Cybele.⁴⁵ Indeed, at the end of the year 205, Rome decided to introduce the *Magna Mater* into her pantheon. The association of Cybele and Victoria can be deduced from the following account: Roman envoys were sent to Pergamum in Asia Minor, which controlled Pessinus, the principal centre of the Cybele cult; the ambassadors were welcomed by the local authorities and received from them a present – black stone, probably a meteorite, which was supposed to represent the deity they wanted to introduce to Rome. The next year, the black stone was brought to Rome with pomp and circumstance, and the Romans started to build a great temple to Cybele on the plateau of southwest Palatine, just some twenty metres west from the sanctuary of Victoria.⁴⁶

The proximity of the new sanctuary, finished in 191, with that of Victoria clearly indicates the ideological association made between the goddess of victory and Cybele in order to promote and to symbolize the Roman political and military supremacy; therefore, it will not be surprising to see that, at least from the end of the 2nd century, the two goddesses were

frequently represented together on Roman coins.⁴⁷ It has also to be recalled that, pending the completion of the sanctuary of *Magna Mater*, the famous black stone was kept in the temple of Victoria.⁴⁸

Thus, the topographical and ideological association of the temple of Cybele with that of Victoria, as well as the careful and regular renovations of the latter, allow us again to note that the sanctuary of Victoria and its deity had an important role in Roman religion and ideology at least until the late Principate, possibly even beyond it.

Finally, there is another historical fact confirming that the Victoria temple formed an important ideological and religious centre under the Republic: the building on the Palatine, at the start of the 2nd century, of yet another temple consecrated to the goddess Victoria, this time bearing the epithet *Virgo*. The small shrine – an *aedicula* writes Livy – was vowed to Victoria *Virgo* in 195 by Cato the Elder during a military campaign in Spain, possibly, during the battle he won near *Emporiae*.⁴⁹ Interestingly, Cato dedicated it on the 1st of August 193, concurring with the dedication day of the principal temple of Victoria on the Palatine.⁵⁰

This chronological coincidence does not have to surprise us, because the small temple of Victoria *Virgo*, consecrated to the same goddess of victory, was certainly conceived as a certain supplement or extension of the principal sanctuary of Victoria.⁵¹ Indeed, here one can speak about “supplement” or “extension”, because the (relatively) small temple – 17 metres long and 7 metres wide – was built only a few metres to the west of the big sanctuary of Victoria; so, as P. Pensabene has shown, it has to be identified with the mural foundations today known under the name of *Auguratorium* which can still be seen on the Palatine.⁵²

Thus, one sees that, far from confining themselves to renovating the sanctuary of

Victoria from time to time, the Romans actually extended it at the start of the 2nd century, by adjoining a small shrine consecrated to the same goddess of victory. Furthermore, the man who had the honour to proceed with this extension was Cato the Elder, one of the most important Roman politicians of the time.⁵³ Accordingly, all these circumstances confirm the idea that the sanctuary of Victoria played an important role in Roman culture and religion during the Republic.

Let us remain a little longer on the subject of Victoria *Virgo*, because the analysis of her probable cult statue will tell us something important about the “greater” Victoria. In fact, since Mommsen, there is a consensus among scholars that a representation of the cult statue of Victoria *Virgo* is imprinted on some coins minted in the first part of the 1st century by moneyers from the *gens Porcia*, the *gens* of Cato the Elder.⁵⁴

At first, let us observe the epithet *Victrix*, which can be seen on these coins under the image of Victoria *Virgo*; according to Tonio Hölscher, this epithet is to be explained as an implicit tautological or pleonastic formula (*Victoria Victrix*) destined to increase the power of the goddess in question.⁵⁵ However, in my opinion, one could more plausibly think that the epithet does not relate to the goddess, but to Rome itself, whose name figures frequently on the obverse of the coins minted in honour of Victoria *Virgo*; thus, *Victrix* would mean *Roma Victrix*.⁵⁶

Let us now analyse the image of the cult statue of Victoria *Virgo* on the coins. According to it, the cult statue was very imposing: in her Palatine temple, Victoria *Virgo* was very probably portrayed as a majestic Roman matron sitting on a throne and holding in her left hand a palm branch and a sacrificial bowl in her right hand.⁵⁷ As to the iconographical model of this statue, scholars are divided; for T. Hölscher,



Denarius of M. Porcius Cato with Victoria Virgo

After TONIO HÖLSCHER. *Victoria Romana*. Mainz 1967, tab. 16.1.

this iconographical type was invented by the Romans themselves and, thereby, depicts a properly Roman representation of Victoria.⁵⁸ In contrast, Heinrich Bulle thinks that, to create this iconographical type, the Romans used the model of Nike of Terina, a Greek city in southern Italy, who was also portrayed in a sitting position.⁵⁹

However, the origin of the artistic type interests us here much less than what the cult statue can actually tell us about the status of the goddess itself in Roman culture and religion; and, on this subject, the testimony of her cult image, and especially that of her majestic throne, allows us to deduce that Victoria Virgo was seen as an important deity by the Romans.⁶⁰

But it is known that Victoria Virgo was nothing more than a specific, younger and less important form of the “greater” Victoria, as indicated by the fact that her temple was much smaller than that of the main Victoria. Therefore, given that the Romans of the 2nd century saw even Victoria Virgo as an important goddess, it is certain that they bestowed an even greater importance to her “neighbour”, the grand Victoria.

In summary: the testimony of Roman coins, the constant care given to the conservation of the Victoria temple, as well as its ideological association with the sanctuary

of Cybele and the construction of a shrine to Victoria Virgo on the southwest Palatine at the start of the 2nd century allow the conclusion that the sanctuary of Victoria was very popular under the Republic as a religious and ideological centre. Consequently, it can be contended that, for a few centuries, this sanctuary played an important role in the definition of the Roman collective memory.

IV

Before I proceed with a description of this important role, I still have to specify the periods of the year when Romans gathered collectively in front of the temple to give thanks to the goddess Victoria, and to characterise the modalities of her cult on the Palatine.

Concerning the modalities of her cult, we are confronted with an almost total silence of the sources. Thus, they can be described only in the broadest outlines. The principal religious festival in honour of Victoria probably took place on the 1st of August, the anniversary of the dedication of her Palatine temple.⁶¹ However, this certainly was not the only festival of the year in her honour, because, in a passage describing the legendary installation of the Arcadians of Evander on the southwest Palatine, Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes the cult offered to the Palatine Nike (Victoria), as follows:

*ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ λόφου τὸ τῆς Νίκης τέμενος ἐξελόντες θυσίας καὶ ταύτην κατεστήσαντο διετησίους, ἃς καὶ ἐπ’ ἐμοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι ἔθνον.*⁶²

Notwithstanding his fanciful attribution of the foundation of the Palatine cult of Victoria to the Arcadians of Evander, Dionysius has preserved here an important indication about the cult offered to Victoria: the goddess in her Palatine temple received

“sacrifices [...] lasting throughout the year”.

This means that, besides her principal festival on the 1st of August, the Palatine Victoria had at least several other annual religious festivals, whose precise dates cannot be specified. Far from assembling in front of the sanctuary of Victoria only once a year, the Roman people gathered there at least several times a year. Therefore, the Roman people entered in contact with the “ideological currents” expressed by the sanctuary of Victoria much more frequently than one would have thought.

These religious festivals of Victoria evidently also involved a sacrifice. Although, given the silence of our sources, its details cannot be specified, one can probably identify the animal, which was offered to the goddess. In fact, during the Empire, the Arval Brethren regularly sacrificed a white cow to Victoria;⁶³ hence I would submit that the republican Victoria also received this type of animal during sacrifice.

If the practical modalities of the sacrifice are mainly out of our reach, we are much better informed about the practical *aims* of the official sacrifices given to Victoria. Indeed, based on my study of her theology, I can affirm that the Romans sacrificed to Victoria to obtain from her three particular gains: firstly, the goddess could magically confer victory to the Romans in a battle; secondly, Victoria could ensure religious efficiency and thus success of the Roman executive power, which was in charge of the organisation and direction of the provinces conquered by Rome; thirdly, the goddess could magically protect Roman sovereignty in the conquered territories.⁶⁴ Thus, through an official sacrifice, the Romans asked Victoria for magical help in war and for magical protection of the Roman domination in the conquered provinces. In brief, the Roman state turned to Victoria for protection and continuity of its political supremacy.⁶⁵

V

After having described the modalities of her cult, I must draw attention to a little known aspect of the presence of Victoria in Roman religious festivals; an aspect, which, just like the continual presence of her effigy on Roman coins and the magnificence of her sanctuary, reveals the importance of her position in the collective imagination, as well as in everyday life of the Romans.

In the prologue of Plautus' *Amphitryon*, Mercury, representing Jupiter himself, addresses the spectators in the following terms:

*nam quid ego memorem ut alios in tragoediis uidi, Neptunum Virtutem Victoriam Martem Bellonam, commemorare quae bona uobis fecissent? Quis benefactis meus pater, deorum regnator, architectus omnibus!*⁶⁶

Here, Plautus clearly informs us that, in his day, specific plays existed in Rome in which gods, including Victoria, were shown reminding, explaining and representing to the spectators the divine help each of them had given on a particular occasion to Rome and its people. Therefore, the hypothesis that, during the Republic, there was at least one or maybe even several plays showing the intervention of Victoria in favour of the Romans should be seriously considered.

But why does Mercury speak of tragedies here? How should one understand an intervention of a deity like Victoria in the context of a tragedy? In fact, the *tragoediae* referred to in the quoted passage do not have much in common with a “tragedy” in the modern or Greek sense, because Roman theorists used to classify as “tragedies” the *fabulae praetextae*, plays on subjects taken from Roman history. Frequently, these had nothing to do with a “tragedy” in the modern sense. In reality, the choice of this classification was

determined by the fact that, like Attic tragedies, the *praetextae* represented the great men of the past, real or imaginary, – heroes, kings and other warlords. Thus, it is clear that, in the quoted passage, Mercury speaks of the *fabulae praetextae*.⁶⁷

The *fabulae praetextae* were then a dramatic genre staging Roman subjects drawn from archaic, sometimes even mythical, history of Rome as well as from her contemporary, even immediate, history;⁶⁸ accordingly, these were historical plays representing a particular event in Roman history.

Another important aspect of the *fabulae praetextae* was the representation of Roman gods and of their decisive influence in Roman history; this means that the *praetextae* normally included scenes, where gods were shown helping Rome, its magistrates, people or army.⁶⁹ Thereby, the remarks of Mercury in the prologue of *Amphitryon* become clear.

Although today only some sixteen titles of *fabulae praetextae* are known, such as *Clastidium* of Naevius or *Romulus* by the same dramatist, it is certain that, during the Republic, this dramatic genre was very popular in Rome;⁷⁰ the Romans must have enjoyed these plays, which reminded them of the exploits of their ancestors or of their great contemporaries.

This popularity of *fabulae praetextae* will not be a surprise, if we take into account a convincing hypothesis of Timothy P. Wiseman, namely, that these plays on historical subjects, produced year after year during the *ludi scaenici*, informed the Roman people of the great events of their past and, in this way, maintained a significant part of their collective memory.⁷¹ Hence, the principal aim of this dramatic genre could have been the edification of the Roman people on the subject of the greatness of their past and present.

In taking into account all these facts, I suppose that, in Republican Rome, there

was at least one play, in which Victoria performed an important role. At which periods of the year this play was staged? An approximate answer can be given here, because, during the Republic, the plays were produced regularly only during certain annual public games organised in honour of a deity and, exceptionally, during triumphs and funerals of great political leaders.⁷² Thus, by making a list of the *ludi* with theatrical festivals already in existence at the time when Plautus' *Amphitryon* was created, which mentions a play involving Victoria, I shall be able to specify the periods of the year, when Romans could have seen the play in question.

Given that, according to the specialists, *Amphitryon* dates from ca. 206, I have to review five public games: 1) the Roman games (*ludi maximi/Romani*) from September 4 to 19; 2) the Plebeian games (*ludi plebeii*) from November 4 to November 17; 3) the games of Ceres (*ludi Ceriales*) from April 10 to April 19; 4) the games of Apollo (*ludi Apollinares*) from July 6 to July 13; 5) the games of Flora (*ludi Florales*) from April 28 to May 3.⁷³

The games of Ceres, probably created at the start of the 5th century, included several days (from April 12 to April 18 during the Late Republic) of theatrical representations.⁷⁴ However, these games do not appear to have been the most appropriate place for the representation of a solemn play on the subject of Roman history, because T. P. Wiseman has shown that their theatrical element must have consisted of some sort of Dionysiac dramatic performance with pantomime, staging burlesque shows inspired by subjects from Greek mythology and having a strong erotic character.⁷⁵ Therefore, the dramatic genre used during the games of Ceres makes it clear that these games did not see the staging of a serious play in honour of Victoria.

As for the games of Flora, five days of which (from April 28 to May 2 during the Late Republic) were normally devoted to theatre, they were established as early as in 241/238, but it was only in 173 that they became an annual event and were held on a fixed date.⁷⁶ In my opinion, these games were not suitable for the staging of serious plays dedicated to Roman history, because, just like the games of Ceres, they involved burlesques and overtly erotic pantomime.⁷⁷

As regards the games of Apollo, which included theatrical performances staged in a provisional theatre built beside the temple of Apollo on the Campus Martius, they were created in 212 and made annual in 208.⁷⁸ A priori, there is nothing to oppose the hypothesis that a *fabula praetexta* with Victoria was staged during the games of Apollo.

However, in my opinion, the most appropriate *ludi* for the representation of *fabulae praetextae* must have been the Roman games in September and the Plebeian games in November;⁷⁹ these two great civic and religious festivals, held under the auspices of the main god of Rome, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, must have seemed to Romans the most suitable period of the year for staging of historical plays reminding the people of the Roman heroic past and of the help Rome had received from her gods.

Consequently, I arrive at the conclusion that very probably, at the end of the 3rd century, the Romans could have seen at least one historical play closely involving Victoria on at least three annual occasions: the games of Apollo in July, the Roman games in September and the Plebeian games in November.

Regarding the date of the creation of a play with Victoria as well as the question of its precise subject matter, I can only make general hypotheses. Given that the play was implicitly mentioned in

Amphitryon, which dates from ca. 206, it is clear that it was written before this date: one could suppose that the play was written in the period between 240 – the year when the first plays in the Greek manner were staged in Rome – and ca. 206. However, it cannot be ruled out that a play with Victoria was already created well before 240, for example, in the wake of the dedication of her sanctuary in 294, because T. P. Wiseman has recently made a good case for the hypothesis that the dramatic genre of *fabula praetexta* was older in Rome than that of comedies and tragedies in the Greek manner introduced in 240 by Livius Andronicus.⁸⁰

With respect to the precise subject matter of the play with Victoria, evidently there cannot be any certainty; at most, given her links with the victoriously concluded war, it can be speculated that the *fabula praetexta* in question showed Victoria helping the Roman army to win an important battle.

Thus, given the very probable existence of a *praetexta* involving the goddess of victory, I can conclude that, as it was already shown through the presence of her effigy on Roman coins and the regular renovation of her sanctuary, in the 3rd century and beyond Victoria certainly was a very well-known Roman deity. Likewise, given the specifics of the dramatic genre of *fabula praetexta*, with equal certainty – whatever was the precise subject matter of the play – it could be thought that this play represented Victoria to the spectators in such a way that they were well acquainted with her ideological values.

VI

This great popularity of the goddess with the Roman people encourages us to try to reconstitute the collective feelings

evoked among Romans, when, on some solemn occasion, they gathered in front of her Palatine temple.

To do this, first, I shall present the symbolism of the Victoria sanctuary and the collective ideas it communicated to the Roman people; then I will try to interpret this meaning of the Victoria temple following the urbanistic and ideological context of the southwest Palatine. In short, I shall try to read the signification of the Victoria sanctuary by considering its ideological environment, namely, the Lupercal in the *Germalus*, the *Scalae Caci* and the *Casa Romuli*; only such global interpretation of the ideological space formed by the temple of Victoria and its environs can reveal us the meaning it had for the Romans of the 3rd century. Thereby, studying the different meanings of the temple of Victoria and its environs, I will be able to show the ideology that the ruling class wanted to communicate to the Roman people with the help of the new Victoria sanctuary.

When one analyses the signification of the temple of Victoria itself, the first thing one observes is that the goddess of victory symbolized the political and military domination of Rome over the subjected peoples. To better understand this meaning, I have to present the Roman concept of *Pax*. Indeed, modern scholars have shown that in Rome existed a specific political and religious structure characteristic of Roman thinking – certainly going back to the beginnings of the Middle Republic, maybe even to the archaic period, – which linked the concept of victory to the Roman representation of peace. Hence, the idea of victory, and, thus, later also the idea of the goddess Victoria, were profoundly linked in the Roman thinking with the concept of *Pax*.⁸¹

Pax did not symbolize a state of actual peace in the modern sense, but, on

the contrary, the continual subjection to the Roman people of the defeated and annexed peoples and cities as well as their permanent acknowledgment of the superiority of the Romans.⁸² So, already in the 3rd century, to the Romans *Pax* meant their domination over the subjected *nationes* and cities as well as their political and cultural superiority over all the former enemies the *Urbs* had subjugated.⁸³

After explaining the signification of *Pax* and the structural link between *Pax* and Victoria, I can say that, regarding the majestic temple of Victoria, the Roman citizen very probably recalled the values, which, through the concept of *Pax*, were symbolized by the goddess of victory, namely, the Roman domination and superiority over the Italian peoples.⁸⁴ Therefore, it is clear that Victoria and her temple symbolized the most tangible result of the Roman victories – the domination of Rome and everything that it brought to Romans.⁸⁵

Thereby the sanctuary of Victoria came to represent the triumphant reign of Rome and Romans over their former enemies, from now on integrated in the Roman state, as well as the prosperity that this state of affairs brought to Roman citizens. But surely this was not its only meaning, because, as the symbol *par excellence* of the good fortune of *Urbs*, the temple had also to “explain” the reasons of the continual prosperity of their city to the people.

How could the Roman people see the explanation of the reasons of their permanent success in the temple of Victoria? First of all, by seeking the origin of their success, namely, their domination of the Italian peninsula, in the theology of Victoria, the goddess which protected the political and military supremacy of Rome. Indeed, I have already mentioned that Victoria protected the Roman sovereignty in the conquered territories through magical means; I have also shown

elsewhere that the goddess did not lavish her protection unconditionally, but as a reward for personal and collective merits of the Romans.⁸⁶ Thus, it is clear that the cult of Victoria reminded the Romans of the importance of collective and personal bravery, determination and abnegation in the success of Rome. To the Roman people, the sanctuary of Victoria represented the foundational importance of the *virtus* in the Roman achievement.

However, in my view, the explanation of the rapid political ascent of Rome by her *virtus* alone was not enough for the Romans: the Roman successes had been so fast and so extensive, that the people probably thought that, besides their own collective behaviour, there was another much more profound reason behind Rome's success. This way, in my opinion, the Roman people came to believe that there was a transcendent cause behind Rome's newfound greatness.

In effect, let us imagine the probable point of view of a Roman of the period: at the start of this 3rd century, had not Rome already broken the mighty coalition of the Samnite *nationes*? As for the ancient Etruria, which had once given kings to Rome, was it not by now on the defensive in face of the *Urbs*? Given all these continual and astounding achievements since the end of the 4th century, I suppose that, by seeing, year after year, the recurring capitulations of their many enemies who had resisted in vain, the Roman people acquired not only an intimate conviction of their superiority over the conquered peoples, but also, more generally and by extension, that of their innate pre-eminence over all the other peoples living in the world known by Rome. Hence, it is very probable that, during this period in Rome, the sentiment of the innate superiority of the Roman people over all the other states and peoples was developed among the Romans.⁸⁷

Induced to ask themselves what were the causes of Rome's exceptionally good fortune, the Roman people certainly did not have great difficulties to admit that they were intrinsically superior to all the other peoples. Thus, because the sanctuary of Victoria was the symbol *par excellence* of Roman hegemony, it became also a monumental reminder of the intrinsic superiority of the Romans over all the other nations.

However, if the temple of Victoria reminded the Romans that the reasons of their unique achievement were their collective *virtus* and their superior nature, by necessity, it also had to explain to them the origins of these extraordinary qualities. Indeed, as it will be shown, the temple and its environs could only have led the gaze of the Romans to this transcendent cause, which, it was believed, had been the origin of the intrinsic superiority of the Roman people and also of their exceptional *virtus*.

In effect, from its pediment probably depicting scenes from Romulus' legend⁸⁸ to the *Casa Romuli*, an ancient wooden hut, in front of its façade, as well as the *Scalae Caci* and the sacred cave of Lupercal below, everything in the environs of the Victoria temple focused the Roman gaze on the memory of Romulus. For this reason, it became natural for Romans to associate the image of Romulus with the new sanctuary of Victoria: accordingly, the figure of the Founder was also linked to the general signification of the sanctuary and of its deity, namely, the Roman political and military supremacy in Italy. As a result of this association, to the Roman people, Romulus appeared to be the fundamental cause of the good fortune of the *Urbs*, and that was even more so, because the new temple of Victoria, standing in the middle of the ancient Romulean village,⁸⁹ offered a "monumental" commentary on the place

of the Founder in the success of his city: indeed, just as symbolically the temple of Victoria seemed to emerge from the fertile soil of the village, which once had been inhabited by the son of Mars, the extraordinary qualities of the Roman people – their intrinsic superiority and their exceptional *virtus*, – which had given them hegemony in Italy, seemed to the Romans to have arisen from their founder king.

In this manner, the sanctuary of Victoria was reflecting the collective conviction that the origin of the exceptional superiority of the Roman people and their city was Romulus: it was from his foundational work and his divine origins that the Roman people derived their superior nature and their exceptional *virtus*.⁹⁰ Therefore, in the eyes of the Roman people, Romulus was the primordial reason, the transcendental cause, behind the incredible success of Rome. Such a conception of Rome's past and present naturally gave rise among the Romans to the collective belief that, thanks to Romulus, Rome enjoyed an exceptional destiny.

In other words, although it had certain polysemy, the symbolism of the Victoria temple expressed only one general meaning, namely, the superiority of the Roman people derived from Romulus' protection. Indeed, all the other temple's symbolisms – that of Roman domination in Italy, that of the importance of *virtus* in the Roman achievement and that of essential superiority of the Romans over all others – could have only led the people's gaze to this general meaning.

This general meaning expressed by the sanctuary of Victoria encouraged the Romans to believe that they were endowed with a "Romulean" collective destiny. I shall show it now by interpreting the temple in the urbanistic and ideological context of the southwest Palatine. For this reason, I shall interpret the collective meaning

of the temple through the topographical and symbolical axis it formed together with the *Casa Romuli* and the Lupercal.⁹¹ Thus, I will show the manner whereby the sanctuary of Victoria, which formed a great social frame of Romulus' memory, incited the Roman people to assume that they had a specific collective destiny.

Indeed, with the construction of the sanctuary of Victoria at the top of the *Scalae Caci*, the Romans established, by using these same *Scalae*, a symbolic and ceremonial route, which alluded to their mythical past; using the trail of the ancient *Scalae Caci*, this route started in front of the Lupercal and, after running along the eastern side of Romulus' hut, arrived in front of the new sanctuary of Victoria.⁹²

This monumental route can be defined, symbolically and materially, as the "route of Romulus", because the Roman who, coming from the Tiber riverside, took this route, first saw emerging before him the Lupercal – the spot where Remus and Romulus had "arrived" on the future site of Rome;⁹³ then, while ascending the stairs of Cacus, our Roman saw the silhouette of the *Casa Romuli*, the hut where, it was said, the Founder had grown up, lived the difficult life of a shepherd and from where, once he had become king, he had ruled Rome and laid the foundations of its future greatness;⁹⁴ and this future greatness, already predicted by the heroic deeds of the *conditor*, our Roman visitor perceived immediately in front of him in the majestic temple of Victoria, which dominated all the area of the *Scalae Caci* and reminded to our visitor, as well as to everyone who passed through the *Forum Boarium* or disembarked in the port of *Urbs*, that Romulus had kept his promise and helped Rome to attain greatness.

It was then a memorial route, which deliberately staged the destiny of Rome through the acts of Romulus, and every

Roman certainly knew how to read it.⁹⁵ Thus, in front of the Lupercal, the Roman recalled the origins of the Founder and his arrival on the site of the future Rome, initially a perilous arrival, but finally successful, because protected by the gods.⁹⁶ The divinely favoured circumstances of this arrival could have only reinforced the Roman's belief in the exceptional destiny of his homeland and his certainty to belong to a nation, which was superior to all the others, because it was founded upon a divine design.

Then, moving in space, as well as in time, the Roman ascended the *Scalae Caci* – the same stairs, which, according to his belief, Romulus himself had frequently taken – and stopped near the *Casa Romuli*, where he saw what he believed to be the vestiges of the first Rome. The enormous gap between the rusticity of Romulus' hut and the vast expanse and wealth characterising Rome of his time made him appreciate not only the progress made since the foundation, but also to convince himself that the reasons of this dazzling success were founded in the protection given by the gods to the work of the Founder, as well as the respect for the memory of Romulus' acts by later generations.

This foundational importance of the respect for the Romulean tradition in the contemporary achievement of Rome was, so to speak, revealed and symbolized to our Roman by the centuries long existence of the hut of the *conditor*: indeed, the Romans had taken care to preserve it through the time,⁹⁷ and, as our Roman ambler must have deduced, the result of this concern for the house of Romulus, and, thus, also for his memory in general, was the current state of the city, namely, an unequalled political and military supremacy. Therefore, the *Casa Romuli* was an important stop on the “route of Romulus”,

which recalled the obligation to maintain Romulus' memory, without which the destiny of *Urbs* would immediately come to a halt.

Continuing to ascend, the Roman reached the summit of the west Palatine and stood before the temple of Victoria. Dominating the landscape, the temple gave our Roman an image of the destiny of his city; indeed, the sanctuary of Victoria represented to the Roman spectator a synthesis of Roman destiny – that is a synthesis of Romulean notions recalled in his mind during his ascent of *Scalae Caci* – as well as a tangible proof of this same destiny. Looking upon this important sanctuary, a symbol *par excellence* of Roman victory and domination, the spectator could have only seen in it a concrete testimony to the truthfulness of the destiny promised to his city by Romulus.⁹⁸

To the Roman, the sanctuary reminded that Rome had become the uncontested leading power in Italy, feared by all; as for the reasons of this unparalleled achievement, the ascent of the “route of Romulus” had recalled them to him: firstly, modesty and abnegation in the conduct of public affairs, so well expressed by the rusticity of *Casa Romuli*; secondly, the superior nature of the Roman people attributed to them by the gods and the constant and decisive help of the divine Romulus – i.e., the god Quirinus(-Romulus)⁹⁹ – to his city, both of which were perfectly evoked in the eyes of the urban walker through the extreme contrast between the simplicity, not to say the humbleness, of Roman origins, expressed by the Lupercal and the Founder's hut, and the present power and prosperity of the *Urbs*, so well illustrated by the magnificent temple of Victoria.

Consequently, it is clear that the monumental route, which led, through the *Scalae Caci*, the Roman from the Lupercal, past

the *Casa Romuli*, up to the sanctuary of Victoria, reminded him, thanks to an easy symbolism, of the destiny bestowed upon his homeland and of the fundamental values that it imposed on him: tenacity in all endeavours, awareness of the superior nature of the Roman people and confidence in the perennial support of the gods. As a result, thanks to the new Victoria sanctuary and its environs, the Romans were well informed that, with the help of the Founder, the *Urbs* had been granted an exceptional destiny.

Yet, at the end of this study, it should not be forgotten that, however unique this destiny was, its fulfilment depended primarily on the Romans themselves. This means that, like the closely associated Victoria, which rewarded *virtus*, the destiny of Rome was in no way gratuitous and facile, but, on the contrary, had to be patiently earned by the Romans through tenacity in their endeavours.¹⁰⁰

* * *

Based upon all these considerations, in conclusion of this – hypothetical – reconstitution, I submit that the representation of this new collective destiny, diffused since the start of the 3rd century, especially through the new temple of Victoria and its Romulean environs, created a very proud self-image among the Roman people. Thus, in the 3rd century, the Roman people must have believed to have been endowed with an exceptional destiny, which conferred upon them an intrinsic superiority over all the other nations and, accordingly, predestined them to the conquest and the domination of their neighbouring peoples. In short, the Roman people must have been convinced that, as long as they would maintain the memory of Romulus and continue to show great *virtus*, they would be assured to achieve an undisputed domination of the known world.¹⁰¹

REFERENCES AND NOTES

- ¹ On the identification and the archaeological aspects of the temple, see TIMOTHY P. WISEMAN. The Temple of Victory on the Palatine. In: *Antiquaries Journal* 1981, pp. 35–52, here pp. 36–37; TIMOTHY P. WISEMAN. The House of Augustus and the Lupercal. In: *Journal of Roman Studies* 2009, pp. 527–545, here p. 541; PATRIZIO PENSABENE. Il Tempio della Vittoria sul Palatino. In: *Bollettino di Archeologia* 1991, pp. 11–51, here p. 11 and pp. 42–44; PATRIZIO PENSABENE. Contributo delle Terrecotte architettoniche alla definizione dei luoghi di culto dell'area sud occidentale del Palatino. In: *Ostraka* 2001, pp. 81–103, here pp. 95–102; PATRIZIO PENSABENE. I Luoghi del sacro: elementi di topografia storica. In: *Scienze dell'Antichità. Storia, Archeologia, Antropologia* 2006, pp. 329–355, here pp. 335–339 and 347–348; FEDERICA M. ROSSI. Le Testimonianze del sacro in età alto e medio-repubblicana: relazioni topografiche e ipotesi interpretative delle evidenze monumentali. In: *Scienze dell'Antichità. Storia, Archeologia, Antropologia* 2006, pp. 411–427, here p. 425; ADAM ZIOLKOWSKI. The Temples of Mid-Republican Rome and their historical and topographical context. Rome 1992, pp. 172–174; [EMANUELE PAPI]. Palatium (Età repubblicana – 64 d. C.). In: EVA M. STEINBY (ed.). *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*. Vol. IV. Rome 1999, p. 24; [FILIPPO COARELLI]. Lupercal. In: *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*. Vol. III. Rome 1996, pp. 198–199.
- ² In this study, except when specifically mentioned, all dates are BC.
- ³ For the vow in 305, see ZIOLKOWSKI, The temples of Mid-Republican Rome, p. 172 and pp. 174–176; PENSABENE, Il Tempio della Vittoria, p. 14; STEPHEN P. OAKLEY. A Commentary on Livy. Books VI–X. Vol. IV. Oxford 2005, p. 358 N.1.
- ⁴ Livius, *Ab Urbe Condita*, X, 33, 9; ZIOLKOWSKI, The temples of Mid-Republican Rome, p. 172; OAKLEY, A Commentary on Livy, p. 358.

- ⁵ In this study, I summarize some of the results of my PhD thesis, KARLIS VĒ. *Romulus, Quirinus et Victoria: la construction d'un destin collectif à Rome entre 338 et 290 av. J.-C.* Ph. D. University Paris-Sorbonne. Paris 2014.
- ⁶ The main Halbwachs' works on the subject are: MAURICE HALBWACHS. *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire.* Paris 1994 [1925] and MAURICE HALBWACHS. *La mémoire collective.* Paris 1997².
- ⁷ KARL J. HÖLKEKAMP. *Capitol, Comitium und Forum: öffentliche Räume, sakrale Topographie und Erinnerungslandschaften.* In: KARL J. HÖLKEKAMP. *Senatus Populusque Romanus. Die politische Kultur der Republik – Dimensionen und Deutungen.* Stuttgart 2004, S. 137–168, here S. 139, 141–144, 146–147 and 156–157; GÉRARD NAMER. Postface à *La mémoire collective* de M. Halbwachs. In: HALBWACHS, *La mémoire collective*, pp. 239–295, here S. 288–291; See now also KARL J. HÖLKEKAMP. In the Web of (Hi-)Stories: *Memoria*, Monuments and Their Myth-Historical 'Interconnectedness'. In: KARL GALINSKY (ed.). *Memory in Ancient Rome and Early Christianity.* Oxford 2015, pp. 169–213.
- ⁸ KARL J. HÖLKEKAMP. *Exempla und mos maiorum: Überlegungen zum kollektiven Gedächtnis der Nobilität.* In: HÖLKEKAMP, *Senatus Populusque Romanus*, S. 169–198, here S. 170–172 and 190–193; HALBWACHS, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, p. 140; GÉRARD NAMER. Postface à *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* de M. Halbwachs. In: HALBWACHS, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, pp. 299–367, here p. 314; JOËL CANDAU. *Anthropologie de la mémoire.* Paris 2005, p. 110.
- ⁹ CANDAU, *Anthropologie*, pp. 124–125.
- ¹⁰ HÖLKEKAMP, *Exempla und mos maiorum*, pp. 169–170; HÖLKEKAMP, *Capitol, Comitium und Forum*, p. 138; MICHEL MESLIN. *L'Homme romain. Des origines au Ier siècle de notre ère.* Bruxelles 1985², pp. 58–59.
- ¹¹ See e.g. FABIVS PICTOR, fragmenta 7b Chassignet (apud Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Antiquitates Romanae*, I, 79, 4–10); Livius, I, 4–7.
- ¹² OVIDIUS, *Fasti*, II, 267–268; JÉRÔME CARCOPINO. *La Louve du Capitole.* Paris 1925, p. 69; CHRISTOPH ULF. *Das römische Lupercalienfest.* Darmstadt 1982, S. 31.
- ¹³ Dion. Hal., A.R., I, 79, 11; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, V, 54; SOLINUS, *De mirabilibus mundi*, I, 17–18; PATRIZIO PENSABENE. *Casa Romuli sul Palatino.* In: *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 1990–1991, pp. 115–162, here p. 117 and 152; PENSABENE, *I Luoghi del sacro*, p. 333 and 335–336; LAWRENCE RICHARDSON JR. *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome.* Baltimore and London 1992, p. 39 and 74; [FILIPPO COARELLI]. *Casa Romuli (Cermalus).* In: EVA M. STEINBY (ed.). *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae. Vol. I.* Rome 1993, p. 241.
- ¹⁴ Dion. Hal., A.R., I, 32, 3–5; 79, 8; SERVIUS, *Commentarium ad Vergilii Aeneidem*, VIII, 90 Thilo; PENSABENE, *Contributo delle Terrecotte architettoniche*, p. 95; PENSABENE, *I Luoghi del sacro*, p. 335; TIMOTHY P. WISEMAN. *The God of the Lupercal.* In: TIMOTHY P. WISEMAN. *Unwritten Rome.* Exeter 2008, pp. 52–83, here p. 57; [COARELLI], *Lupercal*, pp. 198–199.
- ¹⁵ See the works by Pensabene and Rossi mentioned in note 1.
- ¹⁶ VĒ, *Romulus, Quirinus et Victoria*, pp. 257–273.
- ¹⁷ ROSSI, *Le Testimonianze del sacro*, pp. 416–417 and 421–425; FULVIO COLETTI, STELLA FALZONE, FRANCESCA CAPRIOLI. *Nuove acquisizioni sul villaggio capannicolo del 'Cermalus'.* In: *Scienze dell'Antichità. Storia, Archeologia, Antropologia* 2006, pp. 357–387, here p. 359, No. 4.
- ¹⁸ ROSSI, *Le Testimonianze del sacro*, pp. 424–425; PENSABENE, *Contributo delle Terrecotte architettoniche*, pp. 90–93; PENSABENE, *I Luoghi del sacro*, p. 335, 339 and 347–348; WISEMAN, *The House of Augustus*, p. 541.
- ¹⁹ ROSSI, *Le Testimonianze del sacro*, p. 425; PENSABENE, *I Luoghi del sacro*, p. 349 and 353.
- ²⁰ VĒ, *Romulus, Quirinus et Victoria*, pp. 273–277.

- ²¹ For the definition of social frames of memory, see HALBWACHS, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, p. VI and pp. 38–39; NAMER, *Postface à Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire de M. Halbwachs*, pp. 325–327.
- ²² [STEFAN WEINSTOCK]. *Victoria*. In: *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Vol. XVI. 1958, Sp. 2506; TONIO HÖLSCHER. *Victoria Romana*. *Archäologische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Wesensart der römischen Siegesgöttin von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 3. Jhs. n. Chr.* Mainz 1967, S. 137; JOHN R. FEARS. *The Theology of victory at Rome: approaches and problems*. In: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. Vol. 17, 2, II. 1981, p. 742.
- ²³ STEFAN WEINSTOCK. *Victor and Invictus*. In: *Harvard Theological Review* 1957, pp. 211–247, here p. 218.
- ²⁴ FILIPPO COARELLI. *L'art romain. Des origines au IIIe siècle av. J.-C.* Paris 2011, p. 195.
- ²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 195; HAROLD MATTINGLY. *The First age of Roman coinage*. In: *Journal of Roman Studies* 1945, pp. 65–77, here p. 69.
- ²⁶ MATTINGLY, *The First age of Roman coinage*, p. 68.
- ²⁷ LIVIUS, X, 47, 3; WEINSTOCK, *Victor and Invictus*, p. 216; COARELLI, *L'art romain*, p. 195; OAKLEY, *A Commentary on Livy*, pp. 461–463; FRANK BIGELOW TARBELL. *The Palm of Victory*. In: *Classical Philology* 1908, pp. 264–272, here pp. 264–267.
- ²⁸ COARELLI, *L'art romain*, pp. 192–193.
- ²⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 195–196.
- ³⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 195–196; MATTINGLY, *The First age of Roman coinage*, pp. 76–77.
- ³¹ COARELLI, *L'art romain*, pp. 196; MATTINGLY, *The First age of Roman coinage*, p. 70.
- ³² COARELLI, *L'art romain*, p. 196.
- ³³ It is to be noted that, after the start of minting of *quadrigatus* in Rome, other Roman mints, located in the provinces, also started to mint it. See MATTINGLY, *The First age of Roman coinage*, p. 71.
- ³⁴ COARELLI, *L'art romain*, p. 199; MATTINGLY, *The First age of Roman coinage*, p. 71.
- ³⁵ COARELLI, *L'art romain*, p. 199.
- ³⁶ MATTINGLY, *The First age of Roman coinage*, p. 71.
- ³⁷ See the works by PENSABENE and ROSSI mentioned in note 1.
- ³⁸ PENSABENE, *Contributo delle Terrecotte architettoniche*, pp. 100–101.
- ³⁹ PENSABENE, *ibidem*, pp. 100–101.
- ⁴⁰ PENSABENE, *Il Tempio della Vittoria*, p. 14; PENSABENE, *Contributo delle Terrecotte architettoniche*, pp. 101–102.
- ⁴¹ PENSABENE, *Il Tempio della Vittoria*, p. 14, p. 38 and p. 41.
- ⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 14 and p. 41.
- ⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 14 and p. 38.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 15.
- ⁴⁵ PENSABENE, *I Luoghi del sacro*, p. 339.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 341–342; ROBERT TURCAN. *Les cultes orientaux dans le monde romain*. Paris 2004², pp. 42–45.
- ⁴⁷ PENSABENE, *I Luoghi del sacro*, pp. 339–340 and p. 340, n. 23.
- ⁴⁸ LIVIUS, XXIX, 14, 6–14; PENSABENE, *I Luoghi del sacro*, p. 340.
- ⁴⁹ LIVIUS, XXXV, 9, 6; [HENRI GRAILLOT]. *Victoria*. In: CHARLES V. DAREMBERG, EDMOND SAGLIO (eds.). *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*. Vol. V, 1. Paris 1919, p. 837; MICHEL ABERSON. *Temples Votifs et Butin de Guerre dans la Rome Républicaine*. Rome and Geneva 1994, p. 19, n. 13 and p. 95.

- ⁵⁰ ZIOLKOWSKI, The temples of Mid-Republican Rome, pp. 173–174; [GAILLOT], Victoria, p. 837.
- ⁵¹ Cf. [GAILLOT], Victoria, p. 837.
- ⁵² PENSABENE, Il Tempio della Vittoria, p. 16, n. 22; ZIOLKOWSKI, The temples of Mid-Republican Rome, pp. 173–174; FILIPPO COARELLI. Rome And Environs. Berkeley and London 2007, p. 136; [PAPI], Palatium (Età repubblicana – 64 d. C.), p. 23.
- ⁵³ On Cato, see the classic study by ALAN E. ASTIN. Cato the Censor. Oxford 1978.
- ⁵⁴ HÖLSCHER, Victoria Romana, S. 137, Nr. 869.
- ⁵⁵ Ibidem, p. 138.
- ⁵⁶ [JOHANN B. KEUNE]. Victor (Victrix). In: WILHELM H. ROSCHER (Hg.). Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie. Vol. VI. Leipzig 1937, Sp. 292.
- ⁵⁷ HÖLSCHER, Victoria Romana, S. 137–138.
- ⁵⁸ Ibidem, p. 137.
- ⁵⁹ [HEINRICH BULLE]. Nike. In: Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie. Vol. III, 1. Leipzig 1902, Sp. 354; See also the remarks in HÖLSCHER, Victoria Romana, S. 126, Nr. 801.
- ⁶⁰ HÖLSCHER, Victoria Romana, S. 138.
- ⁶¹ ZIOLKOWSKI, The temples of Mid-Republican Rome, pp. 172–174; OAKLEY, A Commentary on Livy, p. 358; EMMANUELE CURTI. From Concordia To The Quirinal: notes on religion and politics in mid-republican/hellenistic Rome. In: EDWARD BISPHAM, CHRISTOPHER SMITH (eds.). Religion in Archaic and Republican Rome and Italy. Edinburgh 2000, pp. 77–91, here pp. 82–83.
- ⁶² Dion. Hal., A.R., I, 32, 5. “*Upon the summit of the hill they set apart the precinct of Victory and instituted sacrifices to her also, lasting throughout the year, which the Romans performed even in my time.*” Translation by E. Cary.
- ⁶³ [WEINSTOCK], Victoria, Sp. 2511; HÖLSCHER, Victoria Romana, S. 62; For epigraphical attestation of the cow sacrifice to Victoria by the Arval Brethren, see JOHN SCHEID. Commentarii fratrum arvalium qui supersunt. Les copies épigraphiques des protocoles annuels de la confrérie arvale (21 av. – 304 ap. J.-C.). Rome 1998, No. 62 a, 55–58 (under Trajan, in 101 AD); No. 68 II, 28; 50 (under Hadrian, in 118 AD).
- ⁶⁴ VÉ, Romulus, Quirinus et Victoria, pp. 363–367.
- ⁶⁵ See also FEARS, The Theology of victory, p. 748.
- ⁶⁶ PLAUTUS, Amphitruo, 41–45. “*But why should I mention how in tragedies I have seen others, such as Neptune, Valour, Victory, Mars, Bellona, making mention of the good services which they had done you? Of all these benefits, the ruler of the deities, my sire, was the founder.*” Translation by H. Th. Riley.
- ⁶⁷ TIMOTHY P. WISEMAN. What can Livy tell us? In: WISEMAN, Unwritten Rome, pp. 24–38, here pp. 34–35; TIMOTHY P. WISEMAN. Praetextae, togatae and other unhelpful categories. In: WISEMAN, Unwritten Rome, pp. 194–199, here p. 195; JEAN-CLAUDE DUMONT, MARIE-HÉLÈNE FRANÇOIS-GARELLI. Le Théâtre à Rome. Paris 1998, p. 35.
- ⁶⁸ TIMOTHY P. WISEMAN. Octavia and the phantom genre. In: WISEMAN, Unwritten Rome, pp. 200–209, here p. 206; WISEMAN, What can Livy tell us? pp. 34–35.
- ⁶⁹ WISEMAN, What can Livy tell us? pp. 34–35; WISEMAN, Praetextae, p. 198.
- ⁷⁰ WISEMAN, Octavia, p. 206; WISEMAN, What can Livy tell us? pp. 34–35.
- ⁷¹ WISEMAN, What can Livy tell us? p. 38; WISEMAN, Praetextae, p. 199; WISEMAN, Octavia, p. 207.
- ⁷² FLORENCE DUPONT. Le Théâtre latin. Paris 1988, pp. 9–10; DUMONT, FRANÇOIS-GARELLI, Le Théâtre, pp. 17–18.
- ⁷³ For the probable date of *Amphitryon*, see PIERRE GRIMAL. Le siècle des Scipions. Paris 1975², p. 123 n. 19; DUPONT, Le Théâtre, pp. 30–31. The dates of the *ludi* are given after DUPONT, ibidem, p. 16.

- ⁷⁴ TIMOTHY P. WISEMAN. *Origines ludorum*. In: WISEMAN, *Unwritten Rome*, pp. 167–174, here pp. 172–173.
- ⁷⁵ TIMOTHY P. WISEMAN. *Liber: Myth, Drama and Ideology in Republican Rome*. In: WISEMAN, *Unwritten Rome*, pp. 84–139, here pp. 119–129.
- ⁷⁶ WISEMAN, *Origines ludorum*, pp. 168–169.
- ⁷⁷ WISEMAN, *Liber*, pp. 127–129; TIMOTHY P. WISEMAN, *The Games of Flora*. In: WISEMAN, *Unwritten Rome*, pp. 175–186, here pp. 178–179.
- ⁷⁸ WISEMAN, *Origines ludorum*, p. 168 and p. 171.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 170–171; DUMONT, FRANÇOIS-GARELLI, *Le Théâtre*, pp. 17–18.
- ⁸⁰ WISEMAN, *What can Livy tell us?* p. 38.
- ⁸¹ HÖLSCHER, *Victoria Romana*, S. 94.
- ⁸² I develop here an idea of HÖLSCHER, *ibidem*, S. 94.
- ⁸³ I develop here an idea of HÖLSCHER, *ibidem*, S. 94.
- ⁸⁴ As is well stated by TONIO HÖLSCHER (*Victoria Romana*, p. 94.): “*Die Verbindung von Victoria und Pax, Sieg und Frieden, ist in den römischen Friedensvorstellungen zutiefst verwurzelt [...]*”
- ⁸⁵ See also WEINSTOCK, *Victor and Invictus*, pp. 220–221; FEARS, *The Theology of victory*, p. 782.
- ⁸⁶ VÉ, *Romulus, Quirinus et Victoria*, pp. 378–382; FEARS, *The Theology of victory*, pp. 747–748; HÖLSCHER, *Victoria Romana*, p. 174.
- ⁸⁷ On this subject, see also KARL J. HÖLKEKAMP. *Oratoris maxima scaena: Reden vor dem Volk in der politischen Kultur der Republik*. In: HÖLKEKAMP, *Senatus Populusque Romanus*, S. 219–256, here S. 248; KARL J. HÖLKEKAMP. *Die Römische Republik: “Government of the People, by the People, for the People?”* In: HÖLKEKAMP, *Senatus Populusque Romanus*, S. 257–280, here S. 276; K.-J. Hölkeskamp also underlines that, under the Middle and Late Republic, the Roman people were profoundly convinced of their intrinsic superiority over other peoples.
- ⁸⁸ PENSABENE, *Contributo delle Terrecotte architettoniche*, pp. 97–98.
- ⁸⁹ By *Romulean village*, I mean the Palatine region where, according to the legend, Romulus had once lived (Dion. Hal., A.R., I, 79, 11; SOLINUS, *De mirabilibus mundi*, I, 17–18), namely the supposed *Casa Romuli* linked to the Lupercal by the *Scalae Caci*.
- ⁹⁰ For the constant and foundational presence of Romulus in Roman collective memory, see HÖLKEKAMP, *Capitol, Comitium und Forum*, S. 164.
- ⁹¹ See the works mentioned in note 18 and the plan of southwest Palatine given above, p. 3. For a similar analysis of the Capitol Hill and the Comitium, see HÖLKEKAMP, *Capitol, Comitium und Forum*, S. 157–161.
- ⁹² PENSABENE, *I Luoghi del sacro*, p. 335.
- ⁹³ See the references to ancient sources and to modern scholarship given in note 14.
- ⁹⁴ See the references to ancient sources and to modern works mentioned in note 13.
- ⁹⁵ On this subject, see the remarks of PATRIZIO PENSABENE (*I Luoghi del sacro*, p. 335) who writes that the route in question presented to the visitors the “*destino di Vittoria*” of Rome. As for the capabilities of the Romans to understand the symbolism of recently built temples, see the observations of ALEXANDRE GRANDAZZI (*Summa difficultas faciendi pontis: César et le passage du Rhin en 55 av. J.-C. (B.G., IV, 17). Une analyse sémiologique*. In: *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome: Antiquité 2009*, p. 556) who states that: “*Le grand nombre, à Rome, était donc, dans le domaine religieux, habitué à la double lecture.*”
- ⁹⁶ Fabius Pictor, *fragmenta 7c* Chassignet (apud Pseudo-Aurelius Victor, *Origo Gentis Romanae*, XX, 2–3.).
- ⁹⁷ Dion. Hal., A.R., I, 79, 11.
- ⁹⁸ It is interesting to remark that JOHN R. FEARS has also seen the importance of the goddess Victoria in maintaining and propagating the Roman state ideology, because he writes (*The Theology of*

victory, p. 748): “[...] the significance of Victoria was not limited to cult. From the very beginning Victoria was a political tool; religious imagery sanctioned present political reality and invoked the future continuity and enhancement of the political order.”

⁹⁹ For the assimilation of Romulus with the god Quirinus already by the 4th century, see GEORGES DUMÉZIL. *La Religion romaine archaïque, avec un appendice sur la religion des Etrusques*. Paris 1974², pp. 260–261; DOMINIQUE BRIQUEL. *Remarques sur le dieu Quirinus*. In: *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 1996, p. 114; ALEXANDRE GRANDAZZI. *La Fondation de Rome. Réflexion sur l'histoire*. Paris 1991, p. 264.

¹⁰⁰ See the works mentioned in note 86.

¹⁰¹ I would like to thank Dr. Juris Dreifelds from the Brock University for providing the assistance with English language in the current publication.

KOPSAVILKUMS

Rakstā aplūkotās tēmas pamatā ir dievietes Viktorijas tempļa izbūve Palatīna kalnā 4. gs. beigās un 3. gs. p. m. ē. sākumā, un šeit ir vietā divi savstarpēji saistīti *a priori* norādījumi. Pirmkārt, templis tika uzbūvēts dienvidrietumu Palatīnā, tātad reģionā, kas kopš vistālākās pagātnes bija saistīts ar Romas izcelšanās leģendu – mītu par Remu un Romulu. Otrkārt, šāda tempļa lokalizācija, visticamāk, nebija nejaušība: atmiņas socioloģija rāda, ka fundamentālas, ar sabiedrības izcelšanās leģendām saistītas telpas pārbūvi visbiežāk ir veicinājis valdošā slāņa nodoms pārveidot sabiedrības kolektīvo atmiņu, kas lielā mērā balstās tieši uz ģeogrāfiskajām un sociālajām zonām, kuras cieši saistītas ar sabiedrības pamatleģendām.

Minētās remarkas ļauj izvirzīt hipotēzi, ka jaunajam templim bija jākalpo par jaunas romiešu kolektīvās atmiņas un ar to cieši saistītās kopīgā likteņa apziņas vektoru. Tādējādi Viktorijas tempļa izbūves pamatā varētu būt bijusi valdošā slāņa vēlme pārveidot romiešu kolektīvo atmiņu un kopīgā likteņa izpratni.

Par labu šai hipotēzei runā arī noturīgā Viktorijas un tās tempļa popularitāte un nozīme romiešu sabiedrībā. To apliecina gan dievietes attēlošana uz vairākām nozīmīgām Romas monētām 3. un 2. gs., gan pietāte, ar kādu templis tika atjaunots un izgreznots līdz pat impērijas laikiem. Līdzīgi tempļa paliekošo nozīmi Romas sakrālajā telpā apliecina arī tas, ka tam kaimiņos tika uzbūvēts ne tikai papildu templis tai pašai dievītei, bet arī romiešu ideoloģijai nozīmīgais dievietes *Magna mater* templis. Visbeidzot jānorāda, ka Viktorija tika attēlota romiešu vēsturiskajās lugās, un tas ļauj pieņemt, ka dievietes simbolizētās vērtības bija plaši zināmas romiešu starpā.

Visi minētie apstākļi runā par labu izteiktajai hipotēzei, ka Viktorijas templis bija ļoti svarīgs romiešu kolektīvās atmiņas un tātad arī kopīgā likteņa vektors. Tāpēc, analizējot templi, tā topogrāfisko kontekstu un ar to saistītās leģendas, jāsecina, ka tā veidotā sakrālā zona izplatīja šādu Romas kopīgā likteņa izpratni: kara dieva dibinātajai Romai un tās pilsoņiem bija dievu dotas unikālas politikas un kara mākslas spējas, kas tiem nodrošināja pārākumu pār citām tautām. Šim pārākumam bija jābūt pamatam, kas ļautu Romai īstenot dievu uzlikto uzdevumu – visu tai zināmo tautu pakļaušanu. Taču šī predestinācija nebija akmeni kalta – tā bija atkarīga no divu priekšnosacījumu izpildes: a) romiešu pašreizējās un drošsirdības valsts ekspansijā; b) Romula atmiņas godāšanas un līdz ar to viņa izveidotā politiskā režīma saglabāšanas.