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Rainville III, Charles T., "Mons Maiorum: Roman Aristocracy and the Palatine Hill's Appropriated Memory" (2015). *History & Classics Undergraduate Theses*. 16.
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Roman Aristocracy and the Palatine Hill's Appropriated Memory

by

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HIS 490 History Honors Thesis

Department of History

Providence College

Fall 2015

To

My Parents and Sister for always supporting me,

and Cailin for never letting me quit,

Thank you.

Acknowledgements

This work would not have been possible if not for the tireless patience, dedication, and willingness to work with me exhibited by Professor Fred Drogula, throughout this two semester process. Not only has he taught me to argue effectively on paper what seems so clear in my own mind, he has most importantly made me a more confident writer and self-critic. These are invaluable lessons I hope to bring to my graduate studies and to greater academia. His own exhaustive well of knowledge on all things ancient and Roman is not only an invaluable benefit to Providence College, but to the field of Roman history as a whole; it has been a privilege to work with Professor Drogula. Similarly, Professor Genevieve Gessert, the director of the American Academy in Rome's Classical Summer School, supplied me with the necessary personal experience with the Palatine Hill, and its deep and often convoluted history. My understanding of the interconnectedness of ancient Rome flourished through my experience with the Academy. My undergraduate adviser Professor Robin Greene first introduced me to the marvels of Classical history and studies. Her personal guidance and enthusiasm to educate has been a constant boon, and my own education has benefitted immensely from her in-class and "real world" advice. I owe a tremendous academic debt to Professor Thomas Strasser of the Providence College department of Art and Art History, who first turned me towards the field of archaeology. History can only tell half of the story, and though the careful work of archaeologists like Professor Strasser, a more complete understanding of our common past can be illuminated.

Without my parents and sister's unwavering support for my historical endeavors I would not have been able to benefit from the creative capitol of Providence College, nor would I have been able to participate in archaeological digs in Crete, or summer programs in Rome. My education, and future, are products of your unconditional love. The process of creating this work has been arduous, but a constant light for me has been the support of Cailin Edgar, whose own work and personal affection has been a bulwark against the rising tide of stress and fear that can come from an incomplete draft. You have truly helped me more than I can express.

My work is intended as a history of the Palatine landscape and urban archaeology, and as such exist in the shadowy realm of "landscape history," a subfield of history that seeks to blend archaeology and anthropological methods with extant sources to inform a deeper understanding of how the physical landscape influences, and is similarly influenced by her inhabitants. As such I would be remiss if I did not include the towering work of Simon Schama as integral to the formation of my own studies. His work, *Landscape and Memory,* has been a model example of the power, and viability of landscape and urban history.

Thank you.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1984, seven years after the release of the famous Macintosh II, and in the same year as the successful Compact Macintosh, Steve Jobs moved into the 'Jackling House,' a 14,540-square-foot, 14 bedroom mansion designed by George Washington Smith, in the town of Woodside, California.[1] The town is referred to as "one of the wealthiest communities in the United States" with a median income of $246,042, and is home of many of Silicon Valley's elite.[2] Jobs shared his neighborhood with such characters as Joan Baez, the folk singer, Kazuo Hirai, the CEO of Sony Corporation, and Koko, the gorilla who was taught sign language. Woodside was always a powerful neighborhood. Indeed the town was founded specifically to benefit the successful barons of the 1849 Gold Rush by Mathias Alfred. It remained an important and wealthy town when copper mining magnate Daniel Cowan Jackling had his house built in 1925. Steve Jobs bought the house, even though he never liked it, because it was in the fantastically wealthy and historic Woodside community.[3] In 2011, after years of arguing with local historical groups and the town of Woodside itself, Jobs was granted the right to demolish the house.

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[1] Diaz, "Exclusive Shots of Steve Jobs' Demolished House," *Gizmodo.com* (February 17, 2011), accessed February 28, 2016.

[2] "Woodside, California," *Median Income in 2013*, factfinder.census.gov (2013), accessed February 28, 2016.

[3] Diaz, "Exclusive Shots of Steve Jobs' Demolished House."

The Roman orator and statesman Marcus Tulius Cicero conducted his property acquisition in a similar fashion by buying into the famous and ancient Palatine Hill. Both Jobs and Cicero understood what Rutledge identifies as the "general ability of objects to communicate" to a wide variety of audiences.[4] In this case, owning property in either Woodside or the Palatine Hill signified to their contemporaries that they were now part of the aristocracy, be it technology moguls, or senatorial Romans. Cicero remarks that all men "have an intuitive sense that allows them to form a judgment concerning what is appropriate," and for Cicero to own property on the ancestral home of the first Romans was just the right thing for him to have.[5] The Palatine, like Woodside, carried with it a series of specific memories that placed it in the heart of Roman social and political thought, while Woodside started and continues to be a home for extremely wealthy Californians. While no direct parallel can be drawn because of such great of time difference, the nature of appropriating a space physically in order to better one's social or political standing is evident in both cases, and indeed seems universal.

There is a line of thinking among some scholars of ancient Roman house exchange that "ancient families surviving in genetic and property continuity [is] not characteristic of Rome." This thought, as proposed by Rawson, relies fundamentally on evidence from Roman authors after the proscriptions of the first century BC, when long-established aristocratic families had been removed from the landscape of the Palatine, and Roman memory.[6] It is thus short sighted not to

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[4] Rutledge, *Ancient Rome as a Museum* (Oxford University Press: 2012), 230.

[5] Cic. *De Or.* 3.195

[6] Rawson, "THE CICERONIAN ARISTOCRACY AND ITS PROPERTIES," *Cambridge Classical Studies*, (1976): Elizabeth Rawson's article utilizes evidence which does not date before Plutarch's *Life of Sulla*, and is therefore an incomplete view of Roman aristocratic property exchange.

consider the depth of myths, physical monuments, and Roman customs as evidence for a close association of generations of Romans living in family property with a special connection to the Palatine Hill. The aristocracy of the ancient Roman Republic was deeply connected to the Palatine Hill; they influenced its memory and in turn generations were influenced by its memory, forming a collective identity understood by all Romans of the first century BC.

CHAPTER 1

THE DEEP ARISTOCRATIC HERITAGE OF THE PALATINE HILL

The Palatine Hill has a deep connection with the ruling aristocracy of Rome; aristocratic families placed their footprint on the slope and identified their right to rule by appropriating the memory of the hill. Memory consisted of the myths, monuments, and customs connected to the hill and with the aristocratic families. By the first century BC there was a distinct collection of memories connected to aristocratic individuals, their heritage, and the space of the Palatine Hill, which was a clear identification of the Palatine as an aristocratic space. The aristocratic network was strong enough that the controversial *popularis* leader Gaius Gracchus was able to make a political statement by moving to the Forum from his ancestral home on the Palatine.[7] As tribune of the plebs he sought to connect to the lower sort of Romans by moving away from the physical space of the Palatine slope; by distancing himself from the actual hill, he distanced himself from the collection of memories, assumptions, and identification in Roman society, which made the Palatine an aristocratic space. In this way the memory of the hill governed how the space was understood. The "old landscape beneath the superficial covering of the contemporary," retained its original landscape and "emphasized the endurance of core myths."[8] Memories were established by the myths, monuments, and customs intimately tied with the Palatine. Leading Romans

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[7] Plut. *CG* 12.1; "On returning to Rome, in the first place [Gaius] changed his residence from the Palatine Hill to the region adjoining the forum, which he thought more democratic, since most of the poor and lowly had come to live there."

[8] Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (Vintage Books, 1995), 16.

historically and systematically appropriated the memory of the Palatine Hill for the legitimizing power it granted their lineage.

Memory and the *Mos Maiorum*

The ancient myths, monuments, and customs were understood to have real power for Roman aristocrats, and taken together are the main components of Roman spatial memory. The importance of the three parts of memory was established by the core concept of Roman traditionalism, the *mos maiorum*. Few things in Rome were regulated by established law and "in all areas of life people in many respects followed custom."[9] Generations of Romans accomplished the "feat of making inanimate topography into historical agency in their own right," by following the memory of their ancestors' way of life in the stories, structures, and festivals directly connected to the Palatine Hill that persisted from their most ancient memory.[10] The *mos maiorum* was more than just law, it held real power in Roman society. The Palatine Hill itself is the physical embodiment of the *mos maiorum* by nature of its antiquity and the associated myths, monuments, and customs. The hill's antiquity was intimately connected to the important "custom of the fathers" and was consistently appropriated by generations of aristocrats to legitimize their inherited status.[11] The framework of the *mos maiorum* was antiquity, and the Palatine Hill was recognized as the most ancient space in Rome by its associated myths, physical monuments, and ancestral customs.

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[9] Cancik et al., *Brill's New Pauly* (Boston: Brill, 2006), 256.

[10] Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (HarperCollins, 1996), 13.

[11] Cancik, *Brill's New Pauly*, 254-6: "Custom of the fathers;" Cic. *Flacc*. 15: *mos* sometimes connected with *disciplina*, or with *consuetudo*, e.g. Gell. 15.11.2; with *institutum*, Cic. *Mur*. 1; Cic. *Dom*. 56; sometimes also *mos patrius* in Cic. *Rep*. 5.1, Cic. *Cato* 37; also as *vetus mos*: Cic. *Rep*. 5.1; Tac. *Ann*. 14.42.2; known as *mos antiquus* in Varro 303; Tac. 28.2; or as an interpretational paraphrase in Liv. 27.11.10: *mos traditus a patribus*.

Roman spatial memory of the ancient Palatine was utilized by aristocrats for generations to secure their authority.

Aristocratic families identified themselves as being part of the memory of their property in their physical presence in the same space over generations, but also in practicing ancestral customs consistent with and interwoven in the *mos maiorum*. It was understood that "Such 'customs' or 'conventions,' which naturally belonged to the very core of the *mos maiorum* and were therefore taken to be untouchable, and indeed self-evident."[12] According to Hölkeskamp these commonly held practices were not unique to Palatine aristocrats, indeed they served the function of identifying the lineage connected to space and the space relative to other areas. The city-wide *Equus October* designated and reinforced ancient rivalries between the Palatine Hill and the Subura. Aristocratic houses themselves existed as a museum whose identity was established through family histories and physical monuments. Famous ancient Palatine houses such as, Tarquinius Priscus's property that stood *supra summum Novam Viam,* "high above the New Road" in the seventh or sixth century BC, and M. Valerius Maximus, dictator in 494 BC, whose doors opened in towards the house, an oddity in construction, lived in Roman memory and were never recorded as being removed.[13] The house of M. Vitruvius Vaccus was destroyed in 330 BC and turned into a public monument called the *Prata Vacci*, after he was put to death for treason. The *Prata* and its warning survived until

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[12] Karl-J Hölkeskamp, *Reconstruction the Roman Republic* (NJ: Princeton University press: 2010), 26; with the comment that the beliefs codified by the *mos maiorum* which "guaranteed that such power was only used within certain limits - at least as a rule and for a long period of time," for a holistic understanding of the impact of these agreed upon 'institutions.'

[13] L. Richardson, Jr, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (JHU Press 1992), 135, 140-1; For Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth Etruscan King of Rome's house see Solinus 1.24, Liv. 1.41.4 "*ad Iovis Statoris*"; For Maximus' house, built at public expense for his conquest over the Sabines, see Cic. *Pis.* 52, Pliny, *HN* 36.112.

possibly as late as Livy.[14] Houses belonging to Gnaeus Octavius and his neighbor M. Aemilius Scaurus were less ancient, but no less important to the aristocratic Palatine memory, which was consistently being modified and appropriated by generations of residents.[15] Palatine aristocratic houses did not exist in a vacuum, however, and the families were both influenced by and wrote themselves into the associated landscape myths of their ancestral property in an effort to empower themselves and their family in the *mos maiorum*.

The aristocratic "lust for power" worked within the binding, but unwritten *mos maiorum*.[16] Aristocratic Romans, and those seeking to be identified among the nobility of Rome, established themselves and justified their authority through their appropriation of the veritable treasure trove of "historical agency" attached to the Palatine space by careful observance of the "socially binding standard" of the *mos maiorum*. The "time-honored principles, traditional models, and rules of appropriate conduct" carried moral and civic restrictions in which the "time-tested policies, regulations, and well-established practices" of the *res publica* justified the virtual hereditary claim of aristocrats.[17] The unwritten code was ubiquitous in Roman political culture. An aristocrat's lineage developed what Hölkeskamp calls "symbolic capital" which was "generated by a long

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[14] Liv. 8.19.4, 20.8; Cic. *Dom.* 101; Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary,* 140.

[15] Cn Octavius was consul in 165 BC and his family house was considered exceptionally beautiful, supposedly enough to aid his election to the consulship, Cic. *Off.* 1.138; Scarurus' house was also exceptionally beautiful, reportedly with four columns of Hymettus marble, very rare in Rome, Pliny *HN* 17.5-6, 36.6; Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary,* 132, 134.

[16] Hölkeskamp, *Roman Republic,* 7; Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1956), vii, 18, 22, 23.

[17] Hölkeskamp, *Roman Republic*, 2, 17-18; discussion on the 'key concepts like *auctoritas, dignitas, gratia,* and *honor*,' in relation to greater morally binding and hard to define concept of *mos maiorum*.

family tradition." This capital was garnered from displaying and exploiting the ancestor's deeds and was used to legitimize their lineage.[18] Symbolic capital was not limited aristocratic families, but the centrality and antiquity of the Palatine Hill in Roman memory made monuments on the space, festivals involving the Palatine, and myths regarding the hill fundamentally powerful.[19] The appropriation of space was utilized consistently over generations by the ruling Romans, working within the *mos maiorum* to gain the 'symbolic capital' connected to the Palatine, which kept them in power, satisfying their lust.

An additional way that symbolic capital was gathered by aristocrats was through antiquated institution steeped in the *mos maiorum* called the *curiae*.[20] This system of government was used by Roman aristocrats and patricians to legitimize their authority in the political sphere of the state. The bounds of the early city of Rome were identified by *curiae*, meeting houses designed for each neighborhood of the city. The largest and longest continually used meeting house on the Palatine Hill was the *curiae veteres*. Ancient sources indicate thirty separate *curiae*, making up the *comitia curiata*, ten houses for each of the three *gentes* introduced to Rome by Romulus.[21] Yet, the elaborate system of *curiae* as it appears in the writings of first century authors and poets seems to be anachronistic; the twin peaks of the Palatine covered just over forty square acres, and based on

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[18] Hölkeskamp, *Roman Republic*, 38, 121; Robert Morestein-Marx, *Mass Oratory and Political Power in the Late Roman Republic* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 283, and chapter 8 for discussion on concept of 'symbolic capital.'

[19] Although not a term used until the third century AD, "*Romanitas*" is used by modern historians to identify Roman self-identity. The social contract of the *mos maiorum* gives more credence to age by its nature of "time-honored" and "time-tested" principles as discussed by Hölkeskamp.

[20] For an in-depth analysis of the multifaceted social and political function of the *curiae,* see chapter 6 in C. J. Smith, *The Roman Clan* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 184-230.

[21] Smith, *The Roman Clan*, 186-8; Oxford Classical Dictionary, 4nd Ed. (2012).

the archaeological footprint of the earliest *curia* this would quickly fill up the limited space available to the original inhabitants, not even reaching half the reported number of thirty.[22] Indeed, when Propertius wrote of the *curiae* it was of his contemporary system rather than the original one, as not all thirty meeting houses could, or would conceivably be needed on the Palatine Hill. The antiquity of the *curiae* system firmly established its place in the *mos maiorum*. The work of Propertius further emphasizing its ancient creation by consistently harkened back to the idyllic and pastoral nature of the earliest *curiae*, matching similar descriptions of the Palatine slope by Ovid and Livy. According to Propertius, "it was a shepherd's horn [that] called the citizens to speak in ancient times, often the Senate was a hundred of them in a field."[23] These senators met in the *curiae* houses, which were run by a figure-head known as the *curio maximus*, who was until 209 BC, a patrician. Patrician heritage was intimately connected to the Palatine Hill and often ran parallel to the greater aristocratic histories. The *curiae* system created a past on the Palatine, its buildings were celebrated symbols of ancient aristocratic ruling power, perpetuated by authors for their contemporary audience; in order to secure their authority, they defined the physical space of the hill through the *curiae*. The supremacy of Palatine aristocrats in the political sphere was justified through the institution of the *curiae* on the hill itself.[24]

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[22] Grant Heiken et al., *The Seven Hills of Rome: A Geological Tour of the Eternal City* (Princeton University press, 2005), 38.

[23] Propertius, *Elegies* IV, 1:4-6.

[24] Liv. 1.8, the patrician class was given authority and their lineages established by the first one hundred senators Romulus set up in his Palatine city. The progeny of these first rulers of state were given deference in religious and civic duties; patricians were the only class allowed in any priesthood until 300 BC when the college of Augurs raised their number from four to nine; Liv. 10.7.9; for an in-depth discussion on Augury and its importance to Roman religious observance, see Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars* (Routledge, 2012), Rutledge, *Ancient Rome as a Museum*, 168; Founding of Rome connected to Augury: Liv. 1.1.7.

A similar way the Roman aristocracy used the Palatine to legitimize the authority of its heritage was through myth. To a Roman living in the first century BC, the Palatine society rested not only on the physical space of the hill, but upon a deep collection of myths and folklore. Roman mythology, which was widely propagated by the aristocracy, celebrated the foundation of the city of Rome by its first aristocrat, Romulus. The foundation of the city itself was an aristocratic and monarchical action, established by royal lineage. Much of early Rome was recorded from preserved aristocratic family histories that strove to connect their lineage with the mythic founder Romulus. [25] They established a "pseudo-historical narrative," that was recorded by Livy and similarly by Dionysus. These histories relied heavily on and were often copied from earlier family sources. [26] The presentation of mythic stories were tailored both to the author's audience and for its message. Livy and Vergil both wrote for patrons of the early Principate, when the Palatine's memory had been appropriated by an entirely new and different group of leaders. Regardless of how these mythic stories were directed they provide a view into how the Romans identified themselves.[27] The Palatine was fundamental to Roman identity. Preserved family histories became the foundation of Roman history, and aristocrats were subsequently able to write themselves into the Palatine Hill myths which legitimized their hereditary authority.

Aristocrats physically laid claim to the space of the hill with monuments, which existed and were understood by the citizens of first century Rome. These objects of cultural significance are described by Rutledge as "vital for the conservation of human memory," which is intimately

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[25] See Drogula, *Commanders and Command,* 8-14, 16, and Cornell, *Beginnings of Rome*, 9, 18, 242: for a discussion of the inherent bias and anachronisms of family histories used by later authors.

[26] Cornell, *Beginnings of Rome*, 77.

[27] Ibid., *Beginnings of Rome,* 60.

linked to human identity, in this case Roman self-identity.[28] History took real form in physical

space through public and private monuments; the aristocrats on the hill were tapping into a

fundamental human association between those who control ancient places and real power,

something discussed by Fentress and Wickham in their study of "how we remember."[29] To the

Romans of the first century BC the physical objects on the Palatine Hill put up by aristocratic

inhabitants made their myths real and became the basis for contemporary memory. The Palatine

Hill was consciously made an aristocratic space by the use of physical monuments that embodied

collective memory.

The Palatine had become a museum to aristocratic memory by the first century BC. The

hill's deeply mythologized histories were recorded in physical monuments and extant institutions

in the first century BC; the space of the Palatine itself was formed to legitimize aristocratic

authority. One way this is most evident is public preservation of the *casa Romuli.* The hut of

Romulus was maintained by the Senate and the Palatine aristocratic class as an actual reminder of

their physical connection with Romulus. Rutledge claims that "Romulus' biography could be read

on the City's face," evidenced by aristocratic families consciously preserving the most ancient

house of the mythic founder in order to perpetuate their close connection to history.[30] This was

noted contemporaneously by Seneca the Elder as he lauded the frugal nature of the hut, it

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[28] Rutledge, *Ancient Rome as a Museum*, 18; Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory* (n. 27), 7.

[29] Rutledge *Ancient Rome as a Museum*, 18; for a recording of 'how we remember' see Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory: New Perspectives on the Past* (ALCS, 2009), cf. Urry, 'How Societies Remember the Past,' 55, in addition to a convergence of memory and visual culture in monuments and art; Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (NY: Cambridge, 1989), 97-8.

[30] Rutledge, *Ancient Rome as a Museum,* 165-166; Cass. Dio. 48.43.4, 54.29.8; for destruction of hut in 38 BC, 12 BC, and its reconstruction process.

"reaffirmed and approved Roman identity… [and the] underlying values such display implied."[31] The *casa Romuli*, therefore, is connected to the unwritten, but socially-binding principle of the *mos maiorum* and intended for all those who walk through the Palatine neighborhood to be seen and understood. Aristocratic families connected themselves to state ideals which were codified by their physical presence on the Palatine Hill. The public monuments established by aristocratic families on the Palatine Hill identified and perpetuated their connection with that most ancient space, which held intrinsic value in the *mos maiorum*.

Aristocratic Memory in the Public Space

Generations of aristocrats appropriated the Palatine's memory through monuments, myths, and customs to present an image of authority to the public. According to Rutledge: "the public context in which… *imagines* were often displayed was an opportunity for the aristocracy to instruct a public audience in a set of virtues which… [they] could in turn share and strive to emulate."[32] The aristocrats, whose principle authority was deeply associated with their heritage on the Palatine, controlled the public memory to exert control of Palatine Hill. The hill was widely believed in mythological tradition to be the oldest inhabited area in the region, and was marked by its pastoral nature.[33] Similarly, the Roman founding-hero Romulus is intimately tied to the hill. As the founder of the city of Rome, Romulus was thought to have civilized the "sheep-grazed" plateau into a city. The comparison would have been shocking to imagine for a Roman of the first century BC where

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[31] Seneca the Elder, *Controversiae*, 1.6.4; Liv. 5.53.8; Ovid, *Fast.* 3.183-8; Rutledge, *Ancient Rome as a Museum*, 125.

[32] Rutledge, *Ancient Rome as a Museum*, 106; Tac. *Ann.* 1.8; Asconius, *Commentary on Cicero Pro Milone* 32-33; Cass. Dio 40.48-49.

[33] See Diod. II.9; Ov. *Fast*. 1.543; Liv. 1.1:7, 1.4:3-4 for primary accounts of the pastoral nature of the Palatine Hill as it relates to Hercules and Cacus.

massive family houses with elaborate commemorative plaques on their façade dominated the Palatine Hill; this was a far cry from the rural nature that was so romanticized in the works of Livy and Ovid. Traditional Roman myth maintains the anthropological reality that small shepherd villages, like the one where Faustalus nursed the young Romulus in myth, became nucleated into cities evident in the foundation myth of Rome. Separate groups of scattered settlements had begun to form around central locations, such as the Palatine. Later, the habitation space would grow to incorporate the Capitol Hill, and the Forum marsh.[34] According to myth, Romulus, the original aristocrat and king, plowed the boundaries of this first city himself (called the *pomerium,* an extant tradition present in the first century BC) after setting down his walls, creating the original Roman city by the "ancient Alban rite."[35] The *pomerium* was a line plowed by Romulus which encompassed just the "Palatine Colony," forming a square shape around the base, which became known as *Roma quadrata*.[36] Perhaps because of the nature of its shape, or as a comment on the 'correctness' of the Palatine Hill, the original city of Rome was contained entirely within the Palatine Hill. Recent physical evidence dates a retaining wall on the north side of the modern hill to the tenth century BC, contemporary with the first nucleated settlement on the Palatine.[37] Compared to the idyllic pastoral past of the hill, the Palatine Rome was ordered and contained, a clear movement towards civilization. The formation of the *quadrata* was "self-consciously

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[34] Cornell, *Beginnings of Rome*, 54-55; Archaeological record confirms this movement towards larger settled spaces characteristic of the IIB phase.

[35] See Mary Beard, John North, S.R.F. Price et al, *Religions of Rome: Volume 1, A History* (UK: Cambridge press, 1998), 23, 177-182 for an in depth discussion of the institution of the *pomerium*, its religious and civic functions in later periods; Liv. 1.7.

[36] Suet. *Aug*. 5; Varro. 1.17; Plut. *Rom.* 9; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rome.* 2.65; Tac. *Ann.* 12.24.

[37] Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World* (MIT Press, 1988), 98; Tac. *Ann.* 12.24

designed to express the virtues of [its] particular political or social community." Roman authors who recorded the concept of the four-sided Palatine Rome identified the hill as the foundation of their current state.[38] The Palatine Hill was the original state, its landscape shaped by Romulus, whose house became an enduring public symbol of the *mos maiorum,* and its preservation key to aristocratic self-identification. The shared Roman memory of the Palatine slope allowed aristocrats to utilize the hill to legitimize their position on the top of Roman social hierarchy.

Similarly, the rape of the Sabine women was used to explain the founding story of all aristocratic, and indeed Roman lineages. Romulus founded a city by settling various Latins on the Palatine, according to Livy. But, this colonizing force was comprised almost exclusively of men. The capture and absorption of the Sabine woman and later clans would be the true foundation of the Palatine city of Rome. Special care was given to aristocrats even at that early time, as Livy writes, "Some [Sabine women] of exceptional beauty had been marked out for the chief senators, and were carried off to their houses," identifying the deference given to aristocrats in the Palatine city. Livy would continue to identify the different hill communities settled by Romulus after the fusion of the Sabine clans: "the Palatine was the quarter of the original Romans; on the one hand were the Sabines, who had the Capitol and the Citadel."[39] The Sabine women taken by these original Romans would remain with their new husbands on the Palatine, while the incorporated Sabine families would be assigned to the Capitoline; there was a clear divide among the population. The women however, were not divided in such a way. Livy wrote that Romulus emphasized to these newly adopted wives that they would become the founding matriarchs of all Roman

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[38] Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, 15.

[39] Liv. 1.33.2.

lineage.[40] In this way, the aristocrats who traced their lineage back to mixed Sabine stock through family histories, such as the *Velerii* and the *Claudii*, were also members of the Palatine class.[41] Because the family histories on which so much of early Roman memory rests are from aristocratic sources, Livy and other authors of the late republic and early Empire established in writing a justification for aristocratic rule based upon the foundation and the occupation of the Palatine Hill.

The physical representation the foundation and earliest occupation of the hill was present in an aristocratic myth-made-real: the *casa Romuli*, as discussed previously.[42] The obvious care exhibited by those custodians of the *casa* preserved it for future generation of Romans in the aristocratic Palatine 'museum.' They managed to maintain the ancient wattle and daub structure throughout the centuries, present until the time of Constantine the Great,[43] allowing it to be seen by all Romans, connecting them to their past in a physical way. Although the hut was antiquated by the time of Cassius Dio, the memory of its significance as part of the Roman identity was a potent reminder of the original foundation of the city, on the Palatine Hill.[44] It was a public monument, establishing a direct connection with the Palatine *gentes* and their history, and for the citizens in the other neighborhoods and hills, an understanding of the preeminence of the Palatine

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[40] Liv. 1.9.14: "Romulus himself went amongst them and explained that the pride of their parents had caused this deed, when they had refused their neighbors the right to intermarry; nevertheless the daughters should be wedded and become co-partners in all the possessions of the Romans, in their citizenship and, dearest privilege of all to the human race, in their children"

[41] Cornell, *Beginnings of Rome,* 76.

[42] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.*, 1.79.11 records that the *casa Romuli* was the one original hut survived, and it was maintained in his time under the Principate.

[43] Samuel Ball Platner, Thomas Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of the Ancient Rome* (Rome: L'erma di Bretscneider, 1929, 1965), 191.

[44] Cass. Dio, *Roman History*, 48.43, 54.29; Vitr. 2.1.5

class. In this case the *casa Romuli* confirms the aristocratic sources of the first century BC that objects "reveal [themselves] as a point of consensus and integration within the community."[45] Aristocrats on the Palatine slope appropriated The House of Romulus to perpetrate the specific idea that their community was contemporaneous with its construction when Rome consisted of only the Palatine, and they had existed consistently since.

A similar structure which resided outside the boundaries of the *quadrata* was the *sororium tigillum*, or 'Sister's beam' a public and physical reminder of the authority of ancient aristocratic and specifically patrician families. The wooden structure was said to have been placed just inside a gate by the foot of the Palatine Hill.[46] The beam functioned as a real reminder of a communal 'history' as it was understood in its highly mythologized form to the first century Roman. Livy writes that the monument was maintained at "public expense," the senate, comprised of aristocrats of Palatine stock allocated money and time to the monument.[47] It was more than simply a public memory, it was intimately connected to aristocratic authority; by ensuring the story of the Horatii was remembered the Senate, comprised of aristocrats, legitimized their control through this public work. The beam remained a testament to the nobility of the Horatii aristocratic family whose memory as members of the original Palatine community was appropriated by subsequent generations. Building public monuments made both political and social claims; the right of

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[45] Rutledge, *Ancient Rome as a Museum*, 80; Cic. *De Or.* 3.195.

[46] John Henry Parker, *The Via Sacra. Excavations in Rome from 1438 to 1882* (1883), 60.

[47] Liv. 1.26.1-10; Dion. 3.22.9; Compare the *Horatia pila* with the Sister's beam, located in the Forum, just beyond the *porta Capena*, where the spoils from the Curatii were presented for the city; in later periods its memory was appropriated in the Basilica Paulli's foundation, giving it the name 'Horatia.'

aristocrats to rule, and for their lineages to maintain their position of authority within Rome was made physical and perpetuated by these Palatine monuments.

Indeed the Palatine Hill was the origin of the most consistently celebrated and most openly public Roman custom, the triumph. The original Palatine city was the center point in which the whole procession rotated, maintaining this route for generations with few alterations. The triumph as an institution was designed to glorify aristocrats' military successes, establishing a memory for their lineage that was physically present on the Palatine in the first century BC. Aristocrats understood the importance of martial successes and to establish and reinforce their authority. To Palatine families "such display of personal valor in battle would have provided testament to one's *virtus.*"[48] The aristocrat who was granted the triumph glorified himself and claimed a place among Rome's most celebrated heroes. Rutledge calls this concept "triumphalism," more precisely identifying the images and monuments associated with military spoils as creations designed to define memory within the ideological and social concept of the *mos maiorum*.[49] The memory of the triumphal celebration is identified through monuments and parades, but the greater concept of the triumph itself is foundationally connected to the Palatine Hill.

The triumph brought the whole city to the Palatine Hill, where the aristocratic community could perpetually present their family glory to the Roman public. The "time-honored traditional procession" of the triumph "was a complex web of signs and symbols," known as the *pompa*

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[48] Rutledge, *Ancient Rome as a Museum*, 126; for a discussion of the importance of aristocrats and warfare, see Rutledge, 124, "the power and authority of the senatorial class, and later the imperial house, depended in no small part on success in warfare."

[49] Rutledge, *Ancient Rome as a Museum*, 145; E. Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London 1992), 40.

triumphalis, more simply, it was the overall process of the event.[50] The triumphal route remained

consistent, following the original *pomerium* plowed by Romulus, the *Roma quadrata*. Indeed, the

pomerium was expanded several times as the city grew, but the triumphal procession never

expanded with it.[51] Following a snaking path around the Palatine Hill, the celebration entered into

the city by the temple of the war goddess Bellona near the Tiber Island to the north west of the

Palatine and parallel with the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, before extending through the

Circus Maximus, following the Sacra Via around the Palatine and completing its trek in a sharp

left onto the *Clivus Capitolinus* after passing through the Roman Forum. The winding path

doubled-back only once in its route through the city. Specifically, the kink in the line occurred

when the procession passed through the *Forum Boarium* at the northwest foot of the Palatine slope,

a space established by Hercules. The triumphal route thus engages with another civic founding

myth which prominently features the Palatine Hill as well; legend has it that Hercules drives the

herd of Geryon to rest on the pastoral Palatine mountain.[52] This short kink intensifies the

aristocratic claim of their place in antiquity, as the unique attention to ancient myths establishes a

past that only the oldest patrician and aristocratic families could lay claim to. Clear analysis by

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[50] Hölkeskamp, *Roman Republic,* 58; with references to Rupke, "Triumphator and Ancestor Rituals between Symbolic Anthropology and Magic," *Numen* 53:251-89, (2006), and the critical response Versnel, "Red (Herring?), Comments on a New Theory concerning the Origin of the Triumph," *Numen* 53 (2006), 290-326.

[51] Varro, 55.45 discusses the *regiones quattuor¸* or the "four regions" which was the *pomerium* beyond the *Roma quadrata*, established by Servius Tullius, ascribing tribes to four areas, Suburana, Esquilina, Colina, Palatina (fig 1 in appendix I); Liv 1.43; Donys 4.14; *de vir. Ill.* 7; *Fest* 368; Successive growth in the city saw corresponding increases of the *pomerium*, first by Sulla, and later adopted by subsequent Roman leaders such as, Julius Caesar, Augustus, Nero, Trajan, and Aurelian: Gell. 13.14.3; *Hist Aug. Aurel* 21; Cass. Dio 43.50; Tac. *Ann.* 12.23; Cass. Dio 5.6; Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 294-296.

[52] Liv. 1, 1.7; Ovid, *Fasti* 1.543; Dio. 2.9.

Hölkeskamp illustrates a path that follows the outline of the Romulus' first city perfectly.[53] The Palatine stood unchanged as the axis in which the triumphal festival rotated from Romulus' original mythic conquest to the triumph, in name only, of Constantius II.[54] Consistency over generations is what gives the *mos maiorum* its authority, and it defines how the Romans perceived their customs. How the ancestors, or *maiores*, practiced their traditions became the foundation for the ritual experience in the first century BC. The triumph was connected with the oldest tradition, and its route recognized with the mythic founder. Livy recorded the story of Romulus' codification of the *pompa triumphalis* around the Palatine. The first triumph for Rolumus was the taking of the *spolia opima,* and while that event carried specific requirements and was much less common, his journey around the city became the canon for all later triumphs. "[I] dedicate a sacred precinct within the bounds which I have even now marked off in my mind, to be a seat for the spoils of honor which men shall bear hither in time to come, following my example."[55] It is the centrality of the Palatine that sets it as both the axis of Rome, and as an opposite to other hills, such as the Capitoline Hill, which played a separate role in the triumph. Triumphs identified and separated spaces in Rome; mythologies of place were realized through the customs that were associated with them. The *triumphator* held the right to dedicate his greatest captured prize, such as the shield of

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[53] See Hölkeskamp, *Roman Republic*, 59: Figure 1 for a clear and well-presented map of the triumphal route.

[54] Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Harvard University Press, 2007), 322-23: where Constantius II stood quite uncomfortably, "as if he were a statue."

[55] Liv. 1.10.6; Plut. *Marc.* 8; Prop. 4.10; Liv. 4.32.4; Val Max. 3.2.5; Silius Italicus 1.133, 3.587, 12.280; Florus 1.20.5; Cass. Dio 54.8.3; Aur. Vict. *De Vir. Ill.* 25.1-2; for who was allowed to dedicate *spolia* see Rich, "Drusus and the Spolia Opima," *The Classical Quarterly* 49, no. 2 (1999), 544–55.

Hasdrubal, making the Capitoline a space for state-wide displays of domination.[56] The Palatine, on the other hand became the most decorated residential space. Generations of Roman leaders identified their house, and their Palatine community with the deeds of the past, which were present in a physical way through triumphs.

Aristocratic Roman families also appropriated the memory of the Palatine Hill through religious festivals. The ides of October was the start of the festival of the October horse, also known as the *Equus October*. The foundation of the festival is mostly unknown, but is considered a very early sacrificial blood rites. Its existence in Roman festivals is attested for generations by the first century BC. Most notable in its practice was the rugby-like final ceremony played with a severed head of a price winning horse.[57] The ritually removed head was wrapped in parchment, cloth, and hung with loaves of bread, then used as the central "ball" in the game between the neighborhoods of the Palatine *Sacra Via* and the Subura. This event clearly defined and separated residential neighborhoods between the Palatine and Suburan populations. This event as it was also known, was an ancient festival which preserved the mythic separation of the hills through Romulus' settlement of the other Latin tribes on other hills. It preserved the myth and formed it into a real element of social and religious interactions. The majority of Roman religious festivals involved either a single place or a household, but the October Horse event spanned the entire *campus Martius* extending past the Forum into the valley between the Palatine and the Caelian Hill,

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[56] Liv. 25.39.12-17; Rutledge, *Ancient Rome as a Museum*, 127; Pliny, *HN*, 35.14.

[57] C. Bennett Pascal, "October Horse," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 85, (Department of the Classics, Harvard University, 1981), 263: Pascal spends careful time explaining the significance of the right-hand horse being sacrificed, and additionally its origins in a military context.

weaving close to the *pomerium*.[58] The two neighborhoods perpetuated the ancient competition, whose winner would be able to claim the inherent power associated with the horse's head.[59] Neighborhoods were separated by topography and social class, and with the *Equus October* was thus established in Roman religion. This further divided the city into different spheres of social habitation in Roman cultural and spatial memory. The aristocrats on the Palatine Hill and the rest of the Suburra, traditionally less wealthy and non-patrician. The *Equus October* was a showcase of the Palatine family's collective honor and a religiously-sanctioned distinction of the Palatine slope as a particular, antique, and revered space.

The custom of the October Horse identified the inhabitants of the Palatine Hill and the *Sacra Via* as embodiments of the oldest family lines annually fighting to retain their place in Roman memory. This is most evident in the regal associations present in the *Equus October*. The name of the location where the ritually-wrapped head of the sacrificed horse would be nailed, in order to express full religious effect, would be the "Tower of the Mamilii" or to the "King's House." Pascal discussed the intention of the October Horse celebration is to symbolically recapture the essence of ancient rule: "Mamilii… strive to capture the head of the October Horse... The family was foremost among Rome's Latin neighbors, both during and after the regal period, and at Rome could boast a royal prestige matching that of the Tarquins," and through the capture of the horses head they reestablish their royal lineage in the Subura.[60] The claim of Palatine's singular authority from the foundation of the earliest kingdom is challenged by this family's house. The unwritten

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[58] H. J. Rose, "Some Problems of Classical Religion" (Oslo, 1958), 6 and references, places the Subura near the Caelian Hill, and across from the Esquiline; Pascal, "October Horse¸" 285.

[59] Harry M. Hubbell, "*Horse Sacrifice in Antiquity*" (1928), 181-192, in reference to Verg. 1.441-445 and Serv. *Epit.* 28.5.14-17 in regards to M. lunianus lustinus.

[60] Pascal, "October Horse," 279, with notes 86 and 87.

mos maiorum functioned as a cultural identity and the October Horse festival reinforced the separation and inherent competition between the Palatine community and the rest of Rome.

Aristocratic Romans living on the Palatine were constantly striving to retain their position in the communal memory as having the deepest history and therefore securing their generational authority. This is evident in the priesthood of the *Salii* as well. The "leaping priests" were dedicated to Mars and were mythically founded by King Numa Pompillius. The priests were firmly established in the earliest days of the regal period, where the Palatine existed as the state.[61] The priestly number was taken from aristocratic patrician households exclusively, as Vergil recounts from their aristocratic *"patrimi et matrimi,"* and placed in their role for life. The original Palatine religious college guarded the *Ancilia* and its copies on the hill, in the *Curia Saliorum*.[62] Aristocrats further preserved and perpetuated their lineage in the state through the religious college of the Salian priests on the Palatine Hill.

The contest of spatial legitimacy between the aristocratic priesthoods of *Salii Palatini* and the *Salii Colini* identified how the Palatine city had to compete for space and memory in the growing city of Rome. The Salian priesthood became separated into two almost identical colleges, the original on the Palatine, and the second one on the Quirinal Hill. The separation also became a way for Palatine aristocrats to self-identify. The Sabine name for Mars was "Quirinus" who gave his name to the Quirinal Hill and is evidence of the growing 'multi-nationalism' of Rome. The

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[61] See Gazda, *The Ancient Art of Emulation: Studies in Artistic Originality and Tradition from the Present to Classical Antiquity* (University of Michigan Press, 2002), 4, for a thorough analysis of *Romanitas* as "Romanism, the Roman way or manner."

[62] Liv. 1.20; Cic. *pro Dom.* 14.38; Luc. 9.477; Verg. 13.285; They were allowed to leave the *Salii*, should they become members of other priesthoods, such as a *flamen, auger,* or *pontifex*, by a process called *exauguratio*, discussed in Liv. 37.33; For a brief history of the *Salii* see Francis Warre Cornish, *A Concise Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (1898), 552-3.

point needs little explanation, as it is commonly accepted that Rome's rapid growth was because

of its position as a cross-road across the Tiber. [63] The second division of *Salii* were established by

Tullius Hostilius, the third king of Rome, after his conquest of the Sabines. The sudden appearance

and religious obligations of the *Salii Colini* were strikingly similar to the original Palatine college.

This new order appropriation Palatine religious expression in an attempt to legitimize their order,

in the same vein that the Palatine inhabitants legitimized their position of authority through

communal memory. This was significant to the Roman aristocrats on the Palatine who benefitted

the most from retaining their ancestral home as the seat of Roman identity. The presence of the

Salii on the Palatine designates ancient *pietas* to the hill, which in turn were co-opted into the

historical narrative, as contemporary Roman history was written by the families who lived on the

hill. Having the original college of Salian priests closely identified with the Palatine Hill was a

claim about the antiquity of the inhabitants on the slope. The procession of ancestral religious

pietas within the system of the *mos maiorum* granted the Palatine community increased prestige,

retained by their clear distinction from other hills and communities codified through state-wide

festival and customs.

Perhaps the most distinctly Palatine custom was the Lupercalia whose celebration

perpetuated the use of the Palatine Hill by aristocratic priests for centuries. The long sought after

cave of the *Luperci* is attested in writing contemporary with the first century BC as being a part of

the Palatine Hill. So ancient was the festival that it was attested to Evander, the pre-Roman lord of

the Palatine region, founding the city of "Pallantium" where Rome would stand some half a century

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[63] Nicholas Sekunda, *Early Roman Armies* (London: Osprey Publishing, 1995), 9-11; See Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome*, 48-52 for a description of the physical evidence of the earliest formation of Rome.

before the Trojan War.[64] The custom of the Lupercalia pre-dated any temple complex on the

Capitoline Hill, the religious sphere of Rome, where the triumph procession ended. The earliest

foundation of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus were attested by Dionysius of

Halicarnassus to the Palatine resident Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, who vowed the construction after

his battles with the Sabines. [65] This original foundation is attested in the modern archaeological

record.[66] The Palatine Hill's aristocratic families not only lived on the longest continuously

inhabited place in Rome, but were also the home to the most ancient recorded religious custom,

establishing them as the eponymous 'ancestors' of the state, the driving force of the *mos mairoum*,

The aristocratic *luperci* priests were utilized in the festival to expiate and purify the upcoming life-

giving spring season, where "many women of rank also purposely get in [the] way" of men

wielding goat meat, for generations.[67]

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[64] See Verg. 8, Liv. 1.5.1, Dio. Hal. 1.31, for discussion on Evander's character and introduction of Greek culture into Italy; for the instigation of the Lupercalia see, Dio. of Hal., 1.32.3–5, 1.80; Justinus, *Epit* 43.6; Liv. 1.5; Ovid, *Fasti* 2.423–42; Plut. *Rom.* 21.3, *J. Caesar*, 68; Verg. 8.342–344; Lyd. *De mensibus,* 4.25.

[65] Dio. Hal. 3.69; 1.55-56.1 identifies the 'last king of Rome' Tarquinius Superbus with completing the foundational work for the famous temple.

[66] Sommella, *I capolavori dei Musei Capitolini* (Roma: Palombi Editori, 1996), 25, fig. 26; Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 28, fig. 16; Albertoni, "Il tempio di Giove e le origini del Colle capitolino," *Etruscan Studies* 13, no. 1 (June 2010), 11, fig. 2c; Sommella et al., *Príncipes etruscos* (Barcelona: Fundación La Caixa, 2008), 367–8, figs. 17–19.

[67] Plut. *Caesar,* 61.1 describes the festival as a fertility rite; Liv. 1.5.1-2 explains the antiquity of the festival: "It is said that the festival of the Lupercalia, which is still observed, was even in those days celebrated on the Palatine Hill. This hill was originally called Pallantium from a city of the same name in Arcadia; the name was afterwards changed to Palatium. Evander, an Arcadian, had held that territory many ages before, and had introduced an annual festival from Arcadia in which young men ran about naked for sport and wantonness."

The existence of the Lupercalia festival was attested throughout the first century BC and extended through the Christianization of Rome, and retained its close connection to the Palatine Hill. It was only made illegal by Pope Gelasius I in the last decade of the fifth century AD. He famously taunted the senators who were dedicated on preserving the truly ancient festival: "If you assert that this rite has salutary force, celebrate it yourselves in the ancestral fashion; run nude yourselves that you may properly carry out the mockery."[68] Indeed it should not come as a surprise that it was aristocratic Senators held the vanguard for this custom; ignoring the dramatic difference between fifth century AD and first century BC, this festival historically attracted leaders of state in their instigation. Even when the imperial lineage completely subsumed the Palatine Hill, the caves beneath held the ancient tradition that linked the hill to its most ancient leaders of state. Several major political players of the late republic were members of the priesthood. Chiefly recognizable among these leading men was Marcus Antonius. Antonius legitimized his lineage through claiming to descend from Anton, one of the many sons of Hercules, whose presence on the Palatine is identified by Livy to be the earliest myth of the space.[69] He further cemented himself in aristocratic Palatine history by joining the priesthood of the ancient *Luperci*. Families wrote themselves into the myths associated with space, specifically the Palatine Hill. By locating himself in the ancient and actively practiced Lupercalia festival, Antonius elevated his personal status. This was not a controversial action, as Palatine families living on the hill established and held their authority by a commonly understood festival and the presence of the pre-Roman cave existing literally as the bedrock of their community.

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[68] Green, "The Lupercalia in the Fifth Century," *Classical Philology* 26, no. 1 (1931), 65; Gel. *Epistle to Andromachus*.

[69] For Marcus Antonius's claim to mythic lineage see: Plut. *Ant.* 4, 36, 60; Pliny, NH 8.16, 21; compare to Cicero, *ad Att.* 10.13; Joseph Hilarius Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, 38, 44.

The "Eternal Triumph" of Private Memory

While public monuments establish a common understanding and history cultivated by the aristocrats with the express purpose of present their lineage to everyone in Rome, private monuments such as hereditary property and the military monuments placed on the family homes were a way for the aristocratic families to establish themselves in a physical and unique way in the aristocratic Palatine space. Aristocratic families in particular had established inheritance traditions. The military awards which hung on the family property were indications of a family history and a family myth. Taking of *spolia* served a religious purpose, and furthered the prestige of the man and the state, in accordance with moral requirements of the *mos maiorum*.[70] What was not donated for the Roman state was hung up on the aristocratic family house "of the man to whom it was awarded."[71] Mythic tradition and public monuments connected the aristocracy to the Palatine Hill; since the aristocracy were granted *imperium*, they were able to capture more *spolia* and garnish their house and lineage with honor. Palatine property would be exceptionally rich with these garnishes, as only consuls were granted military command. While other hill or communities would have had former senators' awards plastered to their houses, many consular families came from ancient Palatine stock and the hill would have been full of these special, personal awards. Subsequently the nature of the Palatine community would be one of deep personal family

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[70] Hölkeskamp, *Roman Republic,* 38; Rutledge, *Ancient Rome as a Museum,* 136; Pliny *HN* 35.6, cited by Carey, *Pliny's Catalogue of Culture*, 139, and L. S. Nasrallah, *Christian Response to Roman Art and Architecture* (Cambridge, 2010), 5: both discussing the intention of *imago* in perpetuating memory, and as a confirmation of elite power.

[71]Liv. 4.29-30; Valerie Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army* (University of California Press, 1981), 59, 144.

remembrance; Pliny states how house awards identified "houses [celebrating] eternal triumphs."[72] The family's history was literally part of their environment therefore ancestral memory was perpetuated in private family property on the Palatine

Palatine aristocrats were not unique in passing their property down generations, but the memory of the Palatine and the people who inherited it "gave the noble character to [the Palatine] district that is maintained throughout the republic," identifying the "deep roots in prehistoric Italy" of these first Roman families.[73] Antiquity was not only 'good' in its own right within the *mos maiorum*, it recorded a family's memory and service to the Roman state, reinforcing the idea of 'nobility,' or more precisely, people being known for their deeds. Lineage was a physical thing to Romans, who kept their family alive in busts and masks kept in the family house. The houses themselves were private family monuments. Busts of the many *patres familias* of previous generations rested in the atria of every houses. Their central place in the house and use in household customs connected the family intimately to their residence, not only physically, but spiritually. The atrium was the public element of the family house. It was the area where the head of the family had his office to accept and communicate with clients, and the presentation of the very personal busts of his family were presented proudly for his fellow citizens and his slaves alike. It was the area where public duties and private affairs intersected.[74] Rutledge explained the "existence of [a] house as a famous landmark or entity in its own right indicates at the core something concerning

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[72] Pliny, *HN,* 35.6-7; Rutledge, *Ancient Rome as a Museum*, 127.

[73] R. Ross Holloway, *The Archaeology of Early Rome and Latium* (Psychology Press: 1996), 55, 57; Rutledge, *Ancient Rome as a Museum,* 166: 'to situate his house, therefore, on the Palatine, where Rome's political power players always had their residences… establishes from its inception that these were qualities desirable in Rome's leading men.'

[74] Varro, *De lingua latina*, 5.125; Vit. 6.3.6; Pliny, *HN*, 35.6-7.

the esteem in which the powerful were held, and which they held themselves."[75] To the Roman of the first century BC walking through the Palatine district the houses, their family monuments, and family busts would tell the story of the family. The houses served to connect the aristocratic Palatine families with the space of the hill in a way that mythic memory could only establish in common cultural understanding. The Palatine Hill became a museum to aristocratic memory, legitimizing their authority.

The *spoila* taken and paraded in the triumphal festival were de-sanctified on the Capitoline Hill and were most often used to decorate these private family homes.[76] While the practice of decorating homes with spoils extended to the ordinary soldiers, there existed a special connection between Roman aristocrats and their customary monuments attached to their houses. The wealth of the aristocracy no doubt enabled families to have permanent, well-constructed and designed 'family houses' in a way that poor Romans could not. The houses of the rich could better display and perpetuate family memory than the less affluent homes of the poor. Rutledge intensifies this claim: "the houses of the great had spoils fastened to them as a part of their décor – especially on the outside – and… it was not permitted, even for a new buyer, to take them down."[77] The houses therefore connect the deeds of its owner for the posterity of their lineage and the state itself. Pliny

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[75] Rutledge, *Ancient Rome as a Museum*, 186, 192: 'Houses, in a sense, became a place… reinforcing the dominant power that wielded exclusive control over the *res publica*.'

[76] See Cic. *Verr.* For comparison between the noble Marcellus and Verres, highlighting the virtue of Marcellus by leaving his house and gardens free from spoils taken in war, instead donating them to the State, for first century BC perceptions of the correct moral use of taken monuments: "The things which were transported to Rome we see before the temples of Honor and of Virtue, and also in other places. He put nothing in his own house, nothing in his gardens, and nothing in his suburban villa; he thought that his house could only be an ornament to the city if he abstained from carrying the ornaments which belonged to the city to his own house."

[77] Rutledge, *Ancient Rome as a Museum*, 127.

describes the importance of the permanence of images through aristocratic Palatine houses celebrating "eternal triumphs."[78] The monuments were commissioned by the custom of the triumph, and were evident on the house of the triumphant celebrant as part of the house's construction permanently. The aristocratic houses thus took on the *auctoritas* of the triumphal custom, and this intangible legitimizing force was forbidden to be removed by the *mos maiorum*. The combined amount of aristocratic houses on the Palatine slopes claimed the entire hill for the aristocracy; this ancient, wealthy neighborhood would have been a museum of private family glory which the public would have been able to see from the outside in its rich splendor, utterly absent from the poorer neighborhoods, and the less antique hill communities.

Aristocratic houses on the Palatine Hill existed as intimate physical representations of memory. On the Palatine stood the original house of Romulus; the *casa Romuli* was a manifestation of Roman tradition, the *mos maiorum*, and was carefully physically maintained and preserved even in the slowly changing socio-political spheres of Roman culture. Palatine houses, then, held a doubly important power for the family that resided in them: they were on the ancestral mountain, carrying a direct physical link to Romulus, and they covered the family in collective honor. The aristocratic houses on the Palatine must be seen, therefore as the pinnacle of over three hundred years of appropriated space, and an embodiment of the families themselves. Houses and their associated families were the two defining features of aristocratic control of the Palatine. The family histories, public spectacles, and private monuments perpetuated the aristocracy's authority on the most ancient Palatine city. Generations of aristocrats reserved and continued their authority because of their deep and socially accepted control of the Palatine Hill.

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[78] Pliny, *HN,* 35.6-7

CHAPTER 2

THE DISRUPTION OF THE *MONS MAIORUM*

Aristocratic control of the Palatine Hill, and subsequently their authority over Roman memory, was disrupted in the middle of the first century during the period of the civil wars. The Palatine stood as the exemplar and indeed the definition of the illusive and unwritten *mos maiorum.* The proscriptions are therefore a direct disruption of the *mos maiorum* because of the devastating effect it had on the aristocratic families on the Palatine Hill and subsequently, on the image of the hill itself that they had cultivated. The wholesale destruction of aristocratic life during these clashes was chiefly motivated by politics and money. Sulla killed for politics, and his crony Crassus killed in an effort to claim a vast portion of the aristocracy's wealth; the actions of these two men disrupted the families on the hill and how the hill's memory was perceived itself. The conflict introduced a new ruling class to the Palatine into the same houses where the previous tenants legitimized their rule of the Roman political system. Cicero, the most famous of these "new tenants," relied on the memory of the generations of deceased Palatine aristocrats to legitimize his new power. He was not alone in doing this. In this way that the new type of aristocrats continued the tradition of writing themselves into the history of the Palatine for political and social expediency; however, these new occupants did not have generations of family to justify their lodging. Rome becomes led by 'great men,' wealthy young Romans, most often given Palatine land because they cast their lot with the winning faction, rather than 'great families,' which had been the convention until the mass proscription and execution of the original Palatine lineages. These

new aristocratic men perpetuated their authority through Palatine appropriation, indicating that the phenomenon is constant, even when the people change. The continued use of the Palatine Hill by the 'new Palatine class' illustrates that the slope had always been important for making claims of legitimacy.

The contention between Marius and Sulla exploded into full scale civil war in the early years of the first century BC, and these men's respective factions (the Marians and Sullans) sought to carry out wholesale slaughter of their political rivals, both *optimates* and *populares*. The Palatine aristocratic community was targeted in the massive slaughter of equestrians and senators opposed to Marius, Sulla, and their cronies. Nippel describes the "formalized" proscriptions of Sulla as designed to specifically gut the senator and equestrian classes, and how Sulla's crony Crassus removed them from their family homes.[79] A proscription was a state-sponsored execution, ostensibly against the enemies of Rome, but was used functionally by Sulla and his allies to confiscate a colossal amount of land and even more money from aristocratic Romans. More conservative estimates count the number of proscribed people at 4,700, while some sources place that number closer to 9,000.[80] According to Orosius "the census [showed] that twenty-four men of consular rank, six of praetorian rank, sixty with the rank of aediles, and almost two hundred senators were destroyed," which was not taking into account the "innumerable peoples over all Italy who were slaughtered without any consideration."[81] Hundreds of leading men were removed from the Roman political system; leaders and aristocrats were purged from the state, and their

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[79] Wilfried Nippel, *Public Order in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), 66-67, for formalized procedure in regards to the confiscation of property of those proscribed.

[80] Heitland, *The Roman Republic* (Princeton University Press, 2010), 496.; Val. Max. 9.2.1; Garland, *Ancient Rome: A Sourcebook* (Routledge, 2013), 523; Oros. 11.23 puts the figure at 9,000.

[81] Oros. 5.22, Eutrop. 5.9.2.

ancestral space, the Palatine Hill. The large number of leading aristocrats, senators and equestrians both, died or were killed all at once and their property was confiscated by the Sullans (Appendix II). It was not enough for the proscriptions to remove the senator members of the family, as their equestrian family would inherit their family land on the Palatine. Therefore the inclusion of a massive number of equestrians in the proscription list was Sulla's extreme craving for aristocratic wealth, and space. The political murders carried out by both Marius and later Sullan forces, decimated the aristocracy and caused a dramatic change in the nature of property holding among elite Romans. This would have affected the Palatine community extensively as it was particularly dense with aristocratic property belonging to both *optimate* and *poluares* leaders who sustained severe losses at the hands of their political enemies.

Sulla's proscription campaigns were of course not the only time when many members of leading families had been killed at once. The battle of Cannae, against the great state-enemy Hannibal, saw the loss of almost 50,000 Romans. Roughly 80 senators or high ranking aristocrats were killed at Cannae, a large portion of their class and a hefty percentage of the Senate.[82] Ultimately the most liberal estimate of the deaths caused by the Marian and Sullan proscriptions paled in comparison to the loss of aristocratic life at Cannae. This however, posed no real threat to their lineages, as those 50,000 dead Romans would pass their property on to their next of kin, as the ubiquitous cultural guideline, the *mos maiorum,* had done for centuries. The men whom were proscribed by Sulla were consciously chosen by that dictator for political reasons. The proscribed person's property was then transferred to the state upon their death; the nature of the mass liquidation of senators and equestrians was designed to prevent the transition of their property to

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[82] Liv. 22.60.13-14; Polybius, 3.117; and for further readings from different chronological periods: Appian, *Hannibalic War*, 4.25; Plut. *Fab. Max.* 16.8; Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 8.6.26; Eutropius 3.10.

their family after death. This removed the families from their ancestral homes completely, alienating the community on the Palatine from their hill, which had been cultivated as a place for their aristocratic family heritage.

The proscriptions of Sulla were more disruptive to aristocratic families than Marius's killings, because of his Lieutenant Crassus' greed for physical capitol. Crassus, a supporter of Sulla, benefitted immensely from the political killings by specifically targeting people because of their wealth and property. Plutarch writes that Crassus was marked by "his sole vice of avarice," which obscured his "many virtues." [83] Indeed it was his extreme greed that changed the proscriptions into a money making program. He gained immense wealth from the landed elites that he personally added to the proscription list. [84] By rigging the auction system by use of coercion and threat to potential bidders, Crassus managed to snatch up huge amounts of proscribed family property. Crassus saw these formerly aristocratic houses as an investment.[85] Plutarch clarifies this mindset by discussing how Crassus bought empty aristocratic houses then hired a team of slaves

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[83] Plut. *Cras*. 2.1-3.

[84] Crassus originally gained his unbelievable wealth for his service to Sulla during and after the Civil War. Plutarch supplies a concise explanation: Plut. *Cras.* 6.6, "Crassus was victorious with the right wing, pursued the enemy till nightfall, and then sent to Sulla informing him of his success and asking supper for his soldiers. However, during the proscriptions and public confiscations which ensued, he got a bad name again, by purchasing great estates at a low price, and asking donations;" Plut. *Cras.*, 2.3, discusses Crassus' motivations behind the acquisitions, "For when Sulla took the city and sold the property of those whom he had put to death, considering it and calling it spoil of war, and wishing to defile with his crime as many and as influential men as he could, Crassus was never tired of accepting or of buying it;"

[85] Plut. *Cras*. 2.4, the houses were purely capital to Crassus, who sought to sell the aristocrats' homes off: "he would buy houses that were afire, and houses which adjoined those that were afire, and these their owners would let go at a trifling price owing to their fear and uncertainty. In this way the largest part of Rome came into his possession."

to repair it, in an effort to resell it, something very akin to modern "house-flipping."[86] It is thus no stretch to assume the absent twenty years where little written evidence exists about many Palatine properties might have been the reconstruction campaign of Crassus' slave gang. This action, coupled with the fact that he lived only in his family house, even when he had so many expensive and arguably more famous properties, indicates that the purchased houses were consciously bought and repaired to be resold.[87] Crassus consolidated wealth in the form of land of wealthy Romans, which at least once, placed him in the bad graces of Sulla: "[he] proscribed a man without Sulla's orders, merely to get his property, and that for this reason Sulla, who disapproved of his conduct, never employed him again on public business." [88] Crassus utilized the anarchy of Sulla's proscriptions to profit immensely, and most significantly, remove aristocrats from their houses, and the catalyst for the changing Palatine land-holding class.

Syme lays the claim that the proscriptions of Sulla and the avarice of Crassus defeated "not a mere faction of the nobility… but a whole class;" Sulla's consciously designed state-sponsored genocide of the aristocratic and Palatine class was also "not merely political but social," making Roman "public calamities [their] greatest source of revenue."[89] The binding *mos maiorum* was equally disrupted by the removal of the aristocratic Romans from the Palatine. Plutarch wrote:

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[86] Plut. *Cras.* 2.6: "observing how natural and familiar at Rome were such fatalities as the conflagration and collapse of buildings, owing to their being too massive and close together, he proceeded to buy slaves who were architects and builders."

[87] Plut. *Cras*. But though he owned so many artisans, he built no house for himself other than the one in which he lived; indeed, he used to say that men who were fond of building were their own undoers, and needed no other foes"

[88] Plut. *Cras*. 6.7.

[89] Syme¸ *Revolution,* 491; Plut. *Cras*. 2.3.

For when Sulla took the city and sold the property of those whom he had put to death, considering it and calling it spoil of war, and wishing to defile with his crime as many and as influential men as he could, Crassus was never tired of accepting or of buying it.[90]

Subsequently, a whole social group had been quelled by Sulla's lists, rendering their ancestral homes, and the Roman political system, vacant. The clearing out of the Palatine's population mirrors broad political trends of the beginning of the first century BC, and the hill's space was claimed by a new group of men. Indeed these *novi homines* were mostly self-made men and who would push out the political and physical spaces of the "few venerable relics" of the Palatine class that were left standing, isolated from their lineages, after the first civil war. Syme agreed that the old ruling aristocracy was dead claiming that was left of their class rested on "birth but no weight."[91]

Lineage was deeply connected to the history of the physical space, whose institutionalized appropriation simultaneously and symbiotically shaped the living memory of the hill.[92] After the *nobiles* lost their "power and wealth, display, dignity and honor… bad men, brutal, rapacious and intolerable, entered into the possessions of the dead and usurped privilege and station of the living."[93] After the proscriptions a few things can be assumed about the property on the Palatine Hill: the survivors of the of the civil war – who might have been senators from newer or poorer families – directly bought many of the confiscated properties of 'enemies of the state,' some

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[90] Plut. *Cras*. 2.1.

[91] Syme, *Revolution*, 18, 22, 24.

[92] See the first chapter for a discussion on the three components of Roman spatial memory and their significance to Roman cultural understanding.

[93] Syme, *Revolution*, 490-1.

number of equestrian families with high political aspirations may have bought these same houses, and a large number of Palatine houses were confiscated by Crassus and other lieutenants of Sulla, and resold to other senators or equestrians for a huge profit. The period immediately following Sulla's proscriptions there is a conspicuous absence of any written record involving the once ubiquitous aristocrat families on the Palatine. What was left of this hill class of aristocrats "were survivors of a catastrophe, doomed to slow and inexorable extinction," and were replaced by individuals rather than families. Aristocratic families no longer ruled the Palatine space.

Ambitious individuals then claimed the Palatine space for political and social expediency, and in doing so continued the ancient tradition of appropriating its associated memories. Cicero was one such ambitious individual. He was a so-called new man, a *novus homo,* of plebian stock, whose family moved into a house in the fashionable neighborhood on the *Carinae* slope of the Esquiline Hill, opposite the Palatine. This newly developed neighborhood was popular with the *nouvelle riche*, the people who survived and thrived after the proscriptions.[94] Cicero was elected to the consulship in 63 BC and with his achievement he sought out a house that was grand enough for a consul. In an effort to raise his political and social profile he bought into the Palatine in order to tap into its history and the associated identity of the hill. He bought the house of the famous tribune M. Livius Drusus in 62 BC on the Palatine for 3,500,000 sesterces.[95] Cicero proudly claims "his" house stood *in conspectu totius urbis*, asserting his claim over not only the hill but the city

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[94] Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.361; Servius calls the slope *celeberrima pars urbis*, "the most celebrated part of the city."

[95] Cic. *ad Fam.* 5.6.2; Gell. 12.12; He had to borrow 2,000,000 sesterces from a member of the Sulla *gens* to purchase the house.

itself.[96] Cicero as a consul had become an important man, and his purchase of an extremely expensive and prominent house was an effort to put himself in the public view, by residing in a respected and conspicuous house in order to claim those qualities for himself.

Cicero demonstrates the process by which a *novus homo* or otherwise less distinguished or lesser equestrian sought to increase his socio-political status by buying into the house of a famous old Roman family. The process is not unlike a rich new man, like the infamous Marius, who consciously chose to marry into the old and famous Julian clan, in order to raise his profile and standing. As Plutarch wrote: he "won [himself] a certain popularity among his fellow citizens, and his honors brought him increasing influence, so that he married into the illustrious family of the Caesars and became the husband of Julia."[97] The action of Marius are mirrored in the large movement of new individuals into the formerly family space of Palatine aristocratic property. They saw buying property on the Palatine as an acceptance into "high Roman politics and society."[98] These new occupants were fundamentally different from their now deceased generations. They were, as a whole, fantastically wealthier than previous generations and perhaps most importantly, had not lived there previously. For example, the consul M. Valerius Massalla purchased Autronius' house for 3,700,000 sesterces, the house of Cicero's great rival Publius Clodius on the Palatine

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[96] Cic. *Dom.* 100, "in view of the whole city," he can not only see the whole city, but he was also in view of the whole city himself; cf. 103, 114*; pro Plancio* 66; *ad Att.* 2.24.3; Plut. *Cic.* 8.

[97] Plut. *Mar.* 6.2.

[98] Allen, "Cicero's House and Libertas" *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* (1944), 3; Cic. *Off.* 1.138f; *Att.* 1.13.6.

was estimated to cost 14,800,000 sesterces. [99] Cicero hailed from Arpinum before his father and family removed to the Carinae slope in Rome, and his good friend and defendant M. Caelius Rufus was most likely of equestrian stock from Puteoli, a city on the eastern half of central Italy, before acquiring his Palatine house after the proscriptions.[100] Living on the Palatine carried with is a certain status that was extremely desirable to the new men, desirable enough for them to spend millions of sesterces they did not have to capture the dying *auctoritas* of the hill. The Palatine class that was created out of the disruption of the proscriptions benefitted immensely from the removal of Palatine families, who continued the appropriation of the memories, myths, and customs of the hill from its earlier inhabitants. Over a period of roughly twenty years, the new occupants once again utilized the legitimizing force of the Palatine Hill, and continued the process of the appropriation of aristocratic memories.

The 'old' Palatine class was not removed entirely and tensions between old families and new men caused even more disruption of the Palatine's space. Clodius was a member of the ancient aristocratic Pulcher *gens*, and he famously feuded with Cicero until his death. Their conflict stemmed from Clodius' unsuccessful but highly offensive prosecution of the half-sister of Cicero's wife Terentia, in 73 BC on the charge of *incestum* with the equally infamous Catiline.[101] Cicero's later role in Clodius' high profile trial regarding the *Bona Dea* scandal further divided these two men. Clodius held a personal vendetta against Cicero. Clodius' actions against Cicero's Palatine

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[99] Cic. *Att.* 1.13.6, The consul M. Valerius Massalla purchased Autronius' house for 3,700,000 sesterces; The house of Cicero's great rival P. Clodius on the Palatine cost 14,800,000 sesterces.

[100] Alfred William Pollard, *Catiline and Jugurtha* (1882), 90; Cic. *pro Cael.* 5.4-6.

[101] Epstein, "Cicero's Testimony at the Bona Dea Trial," *Classical Philology* 81, no. 3 (July, 1986), 239 – 245.

property however, should also be read as an effort by the last families on the Palatine to push out

the new individuals who had been claiming the hill's heritage for their own ends. The new tenants

did not come into a desolate hill, and their new claims were challenged by the remnants of the pre-

proscription *nobiles*. Cicero should be taken as the exemplar of the larger new generation of

Palatine individuals, and Clodius' actions as a result should be read as the old aristocratic families

struggling to retain their authority on their ancestral hill.

The legacy of the civil war and the impact of proscription on Palatine aristocrats lived on

in "ritualized violence." [102] Clodius and Cicero's vitriolic fights perfectly encapsulated the

animosity that the old families felt to the "lodger from away" and his ilk.[103] Syme reported that

"the faction-wars… had been a punishment and a warning" that the reign of the ancient *nobiles*

was soon at an end.[104] Ritualized violence became an extension of civil war proscriptions. Clodius

attempted to remove Cicero's allies on the hill. He reportedly poisoned the equestrian aristocrat Q.

Seius Postumus and confiscated his property.[105] Similarly, the ancestral *domus Anniana* of T.

Annius Milo – a well-known mob leader and friend of Cicero – "apparently passed" to the wife of

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[102] Hölkeskamp, *Roman Republic*, 42: This ritualized violence was perpetrated against people and symbols, like houses. The theory come out of the elite's feeling their historically controlled institutions were being taken over by non-elite types after the rise of the *popularis* politicians.

[103] Sal. *Cat.* 31.1-3; Cicero was referred to as a "resident alien" in a loose translation of "*Inquilinus civis urbis roma*." While it is not a statement from Clodius himself (as almost no records from him especially are extant), it is indicative of the feelings of the new Palatine class in the first century BC.

[104] Syme, *Revolution*, 491.

[105] According to Cic. *Dom.* 115-6, Clodius offered to buy the elderly Seius' property, and when that offer was refused, Clodius threatened to "block Seius' light," before the accusation by Cicero that Clodius eventually poisoned him for the land.

Q. Lucretius Vespillo, who was working with Clodius' mob.[106] Milo was not able to recapture his property through mob action. Political and social infighting after the proscriptions furthered weakened the original Palatine class, and allowed the new men to establish themselves on the Palatine.

Clodius did not see Cicero, and the new Palatine tenants, as part of what Hölkeskamp refers to as the "pervasive hierarchies" of Roman political convention. Cicero was an outsider to the "privileged ('senatorial') class" who were by their nature "always superior to all the other social strata of the *populous Romanus.*"[107] To Clodius, Cicero was an *Inquilinus civis urbis roma* or a "tenant in the city of Rome." He was not welcome to the family space of the Palatine. The destruction of Cicero's house was an actualization of Clodius' political and social threats; to remove the new man from his family's sphere of control. Clodius justified the destruction of an old family house by not only couching it in ritualized political violence, but also by separating Cicero from the power of the Palatine hill. Clodius sealed Cicero's property from him by not only building a portico but turning his property, quite fittingly, into a shrine to *Libertas*.[108] Clodius tried to make the property impossible for Cicero to ever regain, by sanctifying the space itself. Regardless of Clodius' motivation – be it political, or personal – he knew that removing Cicero from his Palatine property would be removing him from his socio-political authority.

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[106] Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 131–2; Cic. *Att.* 4.3.3; For background on Q. Vespillo, who was later proscribed under Caesar for his allegiance to Pompey see, Cic. *Brutus*, 48; Caesar, *Bel. Civ*, 3.7; App. 4.44; Val. Max, 6.7.2; Dio. Cas. 54.10

[107] Hölkeskamp, *Roman Republic*, 32.

[108] Cic. *Sen.* 17; *Sest. 54*; Plut. *Cic.* 33.1: also stating that "the rest of his property he offered for sale and had it proclaimed daily, but nobody would buy anything," although this should be taken with a grain of salt.

Cicero spent an incredible amount of time, money, and energy in addition to financial aid from the Senate in an effort to regain and repair his Palatine property, making his desire to remain on the powerful slope clearly known.[109] Cicero reconstructed his house in a grandiose way, even without getting complete reparations. He lamented what he considered the paltry amount of currency as a restorative fund from the senate; quite obviously, however, Cicero did not need much extra help, as he in fact increased the space the Palatine house which had lost all connection to Drusus and the old republic now. No doubt the orator had assumed he was now a great name, fit to live on that ancestral hill, and his campaign for land reparation is clear evidence of this feeling. Cicero had successfully appropriated the Palatine Hill and connected himself in a real way to the memory of the place. He cemented his place on the Palatine Hill by his concerted effort in regaining his property should be seen as indicative of the general trend of these new men making themselves the new aristocratic clan on the Palatine Hill. Sulla used political aristocratic execution and his lieutenant Crassus utilized the disruption to raise his private wealth. These actions allowed individuals with huge amounts of money like Cicero to buy the authority of the Palatine built by its aristocratic families for generations before the proscriptions.

The Palatine memory went under a second 'redefinition' during the next civil war, because of the repeated practice of the ruling aristocracy legitimizing their rule and status by claiming the Palatine space. Cicero, and his new generation did not remain on the Palatine for long, and his house traded hands for over a half a century before disappearing from the records. In 39 BC it ended up in the hands of the consul L. Marcius Censorinus, just four years after Cicero's execution,

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[109] Cic. *Dom.* 116; Plut. *Cic.* 33.6: at the behest of popular support, the senate "decreed that his house and his villas, which Clodius had destroyed, should be restored at the public cost;" Cic. *Att.* 4.2.5; Cass. Dio. 39.11; Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 123.

and even later to the consul Statilis Sisenna in 16 AD.[110] Cicero had been proscribed by Marcus Antonius, and his property was given to the Antonian supporter Censorinus, and not to any of Cicero's children or family. Censorinus benefitted from the Sullan system of proscriptions just as Cicero had only thirty years before. The house passed into the hands of two distinct families over a short period of time. The turbulent period of first century BC saw new Romans repeatedly seeking aristocratic heritage. The exchange of commodified houses, either legal or otherwise, was now the norm. Therein lies the largest disruption of the Palatine: the families had been entirely removed from their context, and the house awards, customs, and monuments of aristocratic authority that were once used to appropriate the memory of the hill had themselves been appropriated by the subsequent short-lived generations of Palatine *inquilinii.* The hill was subsequently defined by its capacity to be politically expedient for the new ambitious oligarchs of the Late Republic.

Successive waves of aristocratic rulers tried to justify their authority by claiming the Palatine and the power that it possessed in Roman culture. Triumvir M. Antonius' wife desired the house of Caesetius Rufus. Appian claimed that she had Antonius proscribe Rufus in order to gain access to his property and increase their land holding.[111] Antonius' actions were indicative of a general trend of aristocratic behavior; by claiming more actual land on the Palatine for themselves they attempted to increase their status The consolidation of land on the Palatine became more evident after the first civil war, and many properties became parts of larger conglomerates. Individuals with immense wealth and status coming out of a civil war now claimed additional

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[110] Vell. Pat. 2.14.3

[111] Appian, *Bell. Civ.* 4.29; Val. Max. 9.5.4. That same house was later given to Agrippa and Massalla by Octavian, before it burned down in 25 BC, Cass. Dio. 53.27.5.

Palatine land, often from political rivals that had been on the losing side of the war. After Octavian,

(now Augustus), defeated M. Antonius, he divided up the dead man's Palatine holdings to his chief

lieutenants. His close personal friends and cohorts, Agrippa and Messalla, were given Antonius'

sizable property comprised of multiple buildings and sections.[112] The succession of 'claiming' the

Palatine Hill illustrates the importance and the enduring nature of the appropriation of the Palatine

space to legitimize aristocratic control.

The Palatine Hill was returned to its original aristocratic and monarchical identity by

Augustus who continued to claim even more Palatine space for himself. Octavian Augustus took

the Palatine house of the famous contemporary of Cicero, Hortensius. Hortalis, and then annexed

and incorporated the adjacent property of Q. Lutatius. Catulus, forming the basis for his great

house on the Palatine. Augustus consolidated not only two aristocratic properties, but also included

the temple of Apollo Palatinus in his new conglomerated space.[113] His property was reported by

the haruspices to have been struck by lightning, who demanded the space be sanctified.

Consequently, the Senate and people of Rome voted to construct a new house for Augustus at

public expense, and to place an oak crown above his new door.[114] Not only did the state construct

a lavish aristocratic house, they placed an award on it, identifying not only political authority, but

social standing, as evident in the ubiquitous power of house awards on the Palatine. His newly

constructed property included seven very fine reception rooms running northeast of the large

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[112] Cass. Dio. 53.27.5; Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 114, illustrates the size of the house: "Because both [men] were very rich men, this division of a house is difficult to understand and many imply that the house was a very large one composed of more than one building unit."

[113] Suet. *Aug.* 29.3, 72.1*; Gramm.* 17.

[114] Cass. Dio. 49.15.5; 53.16.4; Augustus, *RG* 34.2.

central peristyle hall identified for Augustus himself.[115] Augustus claimed several properties, and used the Senate and religious functions to establish to a Palatine palace to legitimize his rule over the Palatine Hill, and therefore the city of Rome.

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[115] Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 117-8.

CONCLUSION

Augustus's appropriation of the Palatine space was built on generations of monuments, customs, and myths perpetuated by the aristocracy. The simple Shepard's hut of the first king Romulus was supplanted by the "the new Romulus' Augustus Octavian, whose massive property was built by the Roman state.[116] The Palatine Hill thus went full circle; founded by regal authority, it was later bestowed upon the select few families designated 'patrician,' who retained control of the space by observance of specific festivals, mythic traditions, and the triumphal processions within the socially binding principle of the *mos maiorum,* which they themselves were the basis. Popular leaders such as the Gracchi brothers identified the space with the old-school aristocracy and moved down to the Forum to consciously remove themselves from the association. The massive targeted execution of the old aristocrats on the Palatine by Marius and Sulla removed the families from the hill that they had for so long been imprinted on. Crassus perpetrated the removal of aristocratic families from their houses, and was the most important breaking point from the old aristocratic families to the new Palatine class who born out of the hill's disruption.
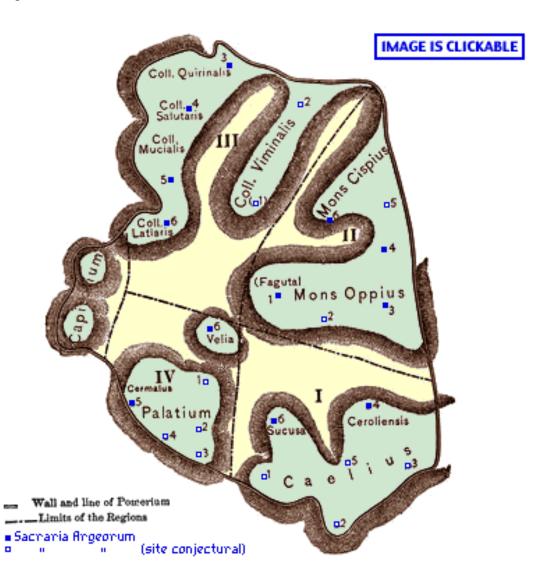
The vacancy allowed rich war-profiteers like Cicero to grab formerly aristocratic land in an effort to reclaim the glory of the old aristocracy, just as that same aristocracy had utilized the memory of oldest Rome to legitimize their lineages' authority. It returned to an oligarchic sphere when the 'great men' like Marcus Antonius and Octavian recycled old aristocratic land into

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[116] Beard et al, *Religions of Rome*, 194.

conglomerated properties. Finally, the conquest of Augustus retuned the Palatine space back to its royal affiliation, as his massive house became the center of not only Roman politics, but the perception of the hill itself. He no longer lived in a Palatine house, but rather his house was the Roman palace, a word that came from Augustus property on the hill. It had become the physical embodiment of Roman aristocracy, the *mons maiorum*. The palace of Augustus redefined the Palatine Hill as once again royal space. Augustus continued the unbroken aristocratic tradition of appropriating the Palatine Hill to perpetuate his socio-political power, which persisted from when Romulus first built his Palatine City.

Appendix I

Figure 1

Appendix II

<u>Known men murdered during Marian and Sullan proscriptions</u>[117]

88 BC – P. Sulpicius (Tr. Pl. 88)

      Murdered by Pompeius and Sulla after the capture of Rome.

87 BC – Gn. Octavius (Cos. 87)

      Murdered after capture of Rome by Marius and Cinna.

87 BC – P. Licinius Crassus (Cos. 97)

      Murdered after capture of Rome by Marius and Cinna.

87 BC – M. Antonius (Cos. 99)

      Murdered in his villa after capture of Rome by Marius and Cinna.

87 BC – L. Iulius Caesar (Cos. 90)

      Murdered after capture of Rome by Marius and Cinna.

87 BC – C. Iulius Caesar Strabo (Aed. 90)

      Murdered after capture of Rome by Marius and Cinna.

87 BC – Q. Ancharius (Pr. 88)

      Murdered my Marius' bodyguard after capture of Rome by Marius and Cinna.

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[117] For a more exhaustive list see Gareth C. Sampson, *The Collapse of Rome* (Pen and Sword, 2013), 85-96.

87 BC – P. Licinus Crassus (junior)

Murdered after capture of Rome by Marius and Cinna.

87 BC – Atillius Serranus; P. Lentulus; C. Nemetoris; M. Baebius

All slaughtered together after capture of Rome by Marius and Cinna.

86 BC – Sex. Lucilius (Tr. Pl. 87)

Thrown off Tarpeian Rock at the end of his term by orders of Marius.

82 BC – Q. Mucius Scaevola (Cos. 95); L. Domitius Ahneobarbus (Cos. 94); P. Antistius (Tr. 88);

Papirius Carbo.

All murdered on orders of the younger Marius.

82 BC – M. Martius Gratidianus (Pr. 85)

Murdered following Sulla's capture of Rome.

82 BC – P. Laetorius

Murdered during the Sullan proscriptions.

82 BC – Venuleius

Murdered during the Sullan proscriptions.

81 BC – Q. Lucretius Ofella

Murdered by Sulla for standing for consular election without Sulla's permission.

<u>Known men who committed suicide during Marian and Sullan proscriptions</u>

87 BC – L. Cornelius Merula (Cos. 87)

>Committed suicide after Marius and Cinna captured Rome.

87 BC – Q. Lutatius Catulus (Cos. 102)

>Committed suicide after Marius and Cinna captured Rome.

87 BC – P. Coelius; L. Petronius

>Both committed suicide after Placentia fell.

85 BC – C. Flavius Fimbria

>Committed suicide after his army defected to Sulla.

82 BC – C. Marius (Cos. 82)

>Committed suicide after Praeneste fell to Sullan forces.

82 BC – M. Iunius Brutus (Pr. 88)

>Committed suicide after he was captured by Pompeius' forces.

82 BC – C. Norbanus (Cos. 83)

>Committed suicide to avoid being handed over to Sulla.

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