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## JUNO AND THE *INTERPRETATIONES ROMANAE* IN THE MIRROR OF LIVY'S WRITING OF HISTORY

**Summary:** It is not surprising, given that the *Ab urbe condita* is an important source of information about Roman religious practices, to find frequent mentions of Juno's shrines or cults in Livy's work. Yet, we have to ask ourselves to what extent this religious data has been rewritten and recomposed according to the Roman historiographical tradition in order to provide the audience with a particular view of Roman history. A further study allows us to distinguish two kinds of *Junones*: Roman and Italian *Junones* who stood as a protective goddess of Rome, on the one hand, and on the other, *Junones* from the borders of the Roman world, who supported or questioned Rome's identity and its Empire's guiding principles in the historical narrative.

**Key words:** Juno, Hera, Livy, Roman empire, Roman conquest, Roman historiography, Augustan era

As W. Liebeschuetz wrote in his article “The Religious Position of Livy's History”,<sup>1</sup> unlike the work of other historians such as Sallust or Tacitus, “the *History* of Livy is extraordinarily full of references to the gods and their worship”. Moreover, as he underlined in an *addendum*,<sup>2</sup> recent work on Roman religion, such as the recent synthesis of Mary Beard, *Religions of Rome*,<sup>3</sup> drew a lot of material from Livy. John Scheid similarly argued that “by bringing together the different descriptions of sacrifices and vows taken from Livy's 35 surviving books, it is possible to create a small manual on Roman religious practices”.<sup>4</sup> Even though we have only kept thirty five books of Livy's Roman history, the *Ab urbe condita* still remains a valuable source for those who endeavour to study Roman religion, both for its scope and for the Latin

<sup>1</sup> LIEBESCHUETZ 1967.

<sup>2</sup> LIEBESCHUETZ 1967, 355–379, *addendum*, in CHAPLIN–KRAUS 2009.

<sup>3</sup> BEARD–NORTH–PRICE 1998.

<sup>4</sup> SCHEID 2014.

historian's concern for religious *realia*. As a result, Juno, being a major goddess of the Roman pantheon, is frequently mentioned in Livy's books. Even though – because of Livy's skepticism – she did not play a part here as prominent as in epic poetry, we must note the recurring presence of the goddess in the *Ab urbe condita*, mainly through the mention of the shrines and worships which were devoted to her all around Italy and Greece. Indeed, in the Roman world, Juno had various epithets and numerous functions, bound to particular shrines in different places. As a consequence, her numerous names seemed to punctuate the narrative of Roman history, from the very beginning of the conquest to its climax. As a result, reading Livy's work gives us much information about her cult and her functions.

Yet, we have to ask ourselves with what kind of information the *Ab urbe condita* exactly does provide us. As a matter of fact, we believe that Livy did not include religious items in a neutral and informative way, but that he consciously embedded them into his narrative according to particular writing rules and with a quite definite purpose. Hence, Livy's work has to be studied in the light of the specificity of the Roman conception of history and elaboration of the historical narrative in 1<sup>st</sup> century BC society. From this viewpoint, we will attempt to understand how Livy set his narrative and what particular significance he gave to the different interpretations of Juno. At first, through a review of the occurrences of Juno in the Livian text, we will see what kind of information Livy gave us on Juno and her cult. This will lead us to distinguish two *Junones*: one which referred to the Roman divinity, patroness of the city and its destiny; and another which involved a Juno from the remotest parts of the Roman Empire, who embodied a quite alien world. This will allow us to question Juno's representation in the light of the Roman historiographical tradition, but also, and mostly, as we will finally point out, according to the Livian conception of history as an itinerary between space and memory.

## 1. WITH WHAT KIND OF INFORMATION DOES THE LIVIAN NARRATIVE PROVIDE US?

Juno's name is mentioned around fifty times in the *Ab urbe condita*, which constitutes quite an interesting range of references to characterize Juno and her *interpretationes* in the Roman religion. Still, it seems that we are told a lot of information on the history of the cult of an Italian and Roman Juno, while material on the other *interpretationes* of Juno, from the outskirts of Roman empire, obviously lacks.

### 1.1. Italian and Roman Junones: the patroness of Rome

Indeed, in the *Ab urbe condita*, we learn many aspects of Juno's Roman or Italian cult, mostly through the various ways of welcoming a new Juno into the Roman world and setting her *interpretationes* up in the city. To include the Etruscan goddess Uni in the Roman pantheon at the end of the war against Veii, in 385 BC, the Romans carried out an *euocatio*. We are thus told by Livy that the goddess, who became Juno Regina, was beseeched by Camillus to come to Rome:

*Te simul, Iuno regina, quae nunc Veios colis, precor, ut nos victores in nostram tuamque mox futuram urbem sequare, ubi te dignum amplitudine tua templum accipiat.* (Livy V 21. 3)

At the same time I beseech thee, Queen Juno, that dwellest now in Veii, to come with us, when we have gotten the victory, to our city – soon to be thine, too – that a temple meet for thy majesty may there receive thee. (Transl. by B. O. Foster)<sup>5</sup>

She was then asked by young men whether should was willing to go to Rome:

*Namque delecti ex omni exercitu iuvenes, pure lautis corporibus, candida veste, quibus deportanda Romam regina Iuno adsignata erat, venerabundi templum iniere, primo religiose admoventes manus, quod id signum more Etrusco nisi certae gentis sacerdos attractare non esset solitus. Dein cum quidam, seu spiritu divino tactus seu iuvenali ioco, “Visne Romam ire, Iuno?” dixisset, adnuisse ceteri deam conclamaverunt [...] motam certe sede sua parvi molimenti adminiculis, sequentis modo accepimus levem ac facilem tralatu fuisse, integramque in Aventinum aeternam sedem suam quo vota Romani dictatoris vocaverant perlatam, ubi templum ei postea idem qui voverat Camillus dedicavit.* (Livy V 22. 4–7)

For out of all the army youths were chosen, and made to cleanse their bodies and to put on white garments, and to them the duty was assigned of conveying Queen Juno to Rome. Reverently entering her temple, they scrupled at first to approach her with their hands, because this image was one that according to Etruscan practice none but a priest of a certain family was wont to touch ; when one of them, whether divinely inspired or out of youthful jocularity, asked: “Wilt thou go, Juno, to Rome?” – whereat the others all cried out that the goddess had nodded assent [...] At all events we are told that she was moved from her place with contrivances of little power, as though she accompanied them voluntarily, and was lightly and easily transferred and carried safe and sound to the Aventine, the eternal home to which the prayers of the Roman dictator had called her. (Transl. by B. O. Foster)

Eventually her temple was dedicated, and the ceremony of dedication involved the *matronae*:

*Eodem anno aedes Iunonis reginae ab eodem dictatore eodemque bello vota dedicatur, celebratamque dedicationem ingenti matronarum studio tradunt.* (Livy V 31. 3)

<sup>5</sup> All translations are from Livy, *History of Rome*. Loeb Classical Library editions (see bibliography).

This year saw also the dedication of a temple to Queen Juno, vowed by the same dictator in the same war; and tradition relates that the ceremony was attended by throngs of enthusiastic matrons. (Transl. by B. O. Foster)

This ancient procedure was performed to draw foreign deities to Rome, and to convince them to withdraw their protection from the city in which they were originally worshipped.<sup>6</sup> Thanks to ritual formulas,<sup>7</sup> the Romans offered a divinity a religious pact in which they promised they would worship him or her in Rome.

Romans could also use a *foedus*, a treaty, as they did for *Juno Sospita* or *Seispes*, from Lanuvium:

*Lanuvinis civitas data sacraque sua reddita cum eo, ut aedes lucusque Sospitae Iunonis communis Lanuvinis municipibus cum populo Romano esset.* (Livy VIII 14. 2)

The Lanuvini were given citizenship, and their worship was restored to them, with the stipulation that the temple and grove of Juno Sospita should be held in common by the [inhabitants] of Lanuvium and the Roman People. (Transl. by B. O. Foster)<sup>8</sup>

The Livian narrative tells us that after the Roman victory over the Latin League in 338 BC, Lanuvium was offered a privileged status: they granted its inhabitants the right to citizenship with their own senate, and gave them their temple and sacred places back, on the condition that from that time, the temple and sacred woods of *Juno Sospita* would belong to both the inhabitants of Lanuvium and the Roman people. As a result, the worship of *Juno Sospita* became a Roman cult, and a temple was dedicated to her in Rome itself in 193 BC, after the consul Quintus Minicius vowed to build a temple for the goddess in 197 BC during a fight against the *Insubres*, as Livy recounted in XXXII 30. 10 and XXXIV 53. 3.<sup>9</sup>

These two *Junones*, from Veii and Lanuvium, joined a pantheon where other *Junones* already sat enthroned: *Juno Regina* from the Capitoline Triad who had been watching over Rome's destiny since the archaic times, cited in Livy III 17. 3, VI 16. 2 and XXXVIII 51. 8, and, in VI 20. 13, VII 28. 4; *Juno Lucina*, who gave birth and watched over newborn children, mentioned in a list of prodigies in XXXVII 3. 2; *Juno Moneta*, whose temple or its outbuilding on the *Arx* sheltered the first monetary workshop, and accordingly, had an important role in the city.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See WISSOWA 1912, 383–384; DUMÉZIL 1974, 425–431; LE GALL 1976.

<sup>7</sup> Macr. *Sat.* III 9. 2; Pliny, *NH* XXVIII 18.

<sup>8</sup> We replaced Foster's translation "burghers of Lanuvium" by "inhabitants of Lanuvium".

<sup>9</sup> On the issue raised by the version of the manuscripts where, in XXXIV 43. 3, the epithet *Matuta* can be read instead of *Sospita*, see BRISCOE 1973, 227.

<sup>10</sup> See PLATNER–ASHBY 1929; HAUDRY 2002 and its review ZEHNACKER 2003. The part played by the Juno's sacred geese when the Capitoline hill was attacked by the Gauls, which later provided the temple's name with an aetiological explanation, also stood for this protective feature; see BRIQUEL 2003.

In Livy X 2. 14, the narrative also mentions Juno of Padova, who also played the part of a patroness, as the beaks of the ships and the spoils of the defeated Laconians from the raid of Cleonymus when he went back to Greece, in 390 BC were displayed in her shrine:

*Rostra navium spoliaque Laconum in aede Iunonis veteri fixa multi supersunt qui viderunt Patavii.*

There are many now living in Patavium who have seen the beaks of the ships and the spoils of the Laconians which were fastened up in the old temple of Juno. (Transl. by B. O. Foster)

As the Roman conquest moved forward and the Roman Empire grew, Rome accommodated more and more interpretationes of Juno to its space, as she was in charge of protecting the city or its territory. Gods and goddesses were actually presented not as divinities who stood far away from the world, but as inhabitants of Rome, strongly linked to its topography, being part of the city. Thus, in Book II 37. 9, Livy could allude to a *coetus hominum deorumque*:

*Ingens paupor primo discurrentis ad suas res tollendas in hospitia perculit; proficiscentibus deinde indignatio oborta, se ut consceleratos contaminatosque ab ludis, festis diebus, coetu quodam modo hominum deorumque abactos esse.*

At first they were stricken with a great alarm, as they hurried this way and that to the house of their hosts to get their things. But when they had started, their hearts swelled with indignation, that like malefactors and polluted persons, they should have been driven off from the games at a time of festival, and excluded, in a way, from intercourse with men and gods. (Transl. by B. O. Foster)

In the same way, in his speech in Book V, Camillus enumerates the items and monuments which are linked to the deities themselves:

*[...] in Iouis epulo num alibi quam in Capitolio pulvinar suscipi potest? Quid de aeternis Vestae ignibus signoque quod imperii pignus custodia eius templi tenetur loquar? Quid de ancilibus uestris, Mars Gradiue tuque, Quirine pater? (Livy V 6–7)*

[...] is it possible at the feast of Jupiter that the couch should be spread elsewhere than in the Capitol? Why need I speak of Vesta's eternal fires, and the image which is preserved as a pledge of empire in her temple? Or of your sacred shields, O Mars Gradivus and Quirinus our Father? (Transl. by B. O. Foster)

As a result, these gods played a major part in Rome's destiny, not as the Homeric or Virgilian gods who got involved in human fights, but as deities who looked after Rome and protected it,<sup>11</sup> because they belonged to the Roman space. From this viewpoint, Juno played an important part as a patroness of Rome, as she allowed it to expand itself and preserved it from destruction. There, the historical narrative meets the epic one, and conforms to the Virgilian point of view with the final reconciliation between Juno and Aeneas.<sup>12</sup>

As a result, these *Junones* sometimes seemed to meet in order to enforce the Roman protection, such as Juno of the Aventine Hill and Juno of Lanuvium, who were deeply linked together during the *procurationes*, official procedures by which the Romans mobilized religious legal devices in order to react to prodigies that demonstrated the gods' wrath, disapproval or warning. Through *procurationes*, they removed the soiling and reconciled with the divinities in a time of crisis, when external or internal threats jeopardized the city's survival, for instance during the Second Punic War and the Hannibalic invasion of Italy, in 218 BC:

*Iam primum omnium urbs lustrata est hostiaeque maiores quibus editum est dis caesae, et donum ex auri pondo quadraginta Lanuvium [et] Iunoni portatum est, et signum aeneum matronae Iunoni in Aventino dedicaverunt, et lectisternium Caere, ubi sortes adtenuatae erant, imperatum et supplicatio Fortunae in Algido ; Romae quoque et lectisternium Iuventati et supplicatio ad aedem Herculis nominatim, deinde universo populo circa omnia pulvinaria indicta, et Genio maiores hostiae caesae quinque.* (Livy XXI 62. 7–99)

First of all, the city was purified, and major victims were offered up to the designated gods; a gift of gold weighing forty pounds was carried to Lanuvium for Juno, and a bronze statue was dedicated to Juno, by the matrons, on the Aventine; a lectisternium was ordered at Caere, where the lots had shrunk; and a supplication was ordered to be made to Fortune on Mount Algidus; in Rome, too, a lectisternium was specially appointed for Juventas, and a supplication at the temple of Hercules, and later the entire people was commanded to observe this rite at all the pulvinaria; also five major victims were slain in honour of the Genius of the Roman People. (Transl. by B. O. Foster)

and in 217 BC:

<sup>11</sup> This protection is rarely direct, even if it can be expressed through prodigies or omens. An extensive bibliography deals with Livy's scepticism or rationalism; LEVENE 1993, suggested that Livy, according to the stoic principle, chose to reserve judgement and juxtapose parallel causalities, divine and human.

<sup>12</sup> See DELLA CORTE 1980.

*Decemvirorum monitu decretum est [...] Iunoni reginae in Aventino Iunonique Sospitae Lanuvii maioribus hostiis sacrificaretur, matronae que pecunia conlata, quantum conferre cuique commodum esset, donum Iunoni reginae in Aventinum ferrent, lectisterniumque fieret, et ut libertinae et ipsae, unde Feroniae donum daretur, pecuniam pro facultatibus suis conferrent.* (Livy XXII 1. 17)

Being so admonished by the decemvirs, they decreed that [...] Juno Regina on the Aventine and Juno Sospita at Lanuvium should receive a sacrifice of greater victims, and that the matrons, each contributing as much as she could afford, should make up a sum of money and carry it as a gift to Juno Regina on the Aventine and there celebrate a lectisternium; and even the very freed-women should contribute money, in proportion to their abilities, for an offering to Feronia. (Transl. by B. O. Foster)

The prodigies that happened in Lanuvium were not only reported to Rome; the procurations were also taken over by the Roman official authorities themselves. As a result, in 216 BC, the expiations and attempts to reconcile with gods through placationes took place both in Rome and in Lanuvium. Both places, Rome and Lanuvium, were thus strongly interconnected in a religious symbiosis, as the use of the adjective *communis* underlines it:

*Lanuvinis civitas data sacraque sua reddita cum eo, ut aedes lucusque Sospitae Iunonis communis Lanuvinis municipibus cum populo Romano esset.* (Livy VIII 14. 2)

The Lanuvini were given citizenship, and their worship was restored to them, with the stipulation that the temple and grove of Juno Sospita should be held in common by the [inhabitants] of Lanuvium and the Roman People. (Transl. by B. O. Foster)<sup>13</sup>

In a very specifically Roman way, when the survival of the *Vrbs* was at stake, religious functions cooperated together.<sup>14</sup> These *procuraciones* allow us to link Juno's cult to a particular category of people: matrons, who were also involved in the narrative of Juno Regina's settle in the Aventine. As Jacqueline Champeaux highlighted in *Le culte de la Fortune à Rome et dans le monde romain*,<sup>15</sup> Juno is mentioned along with *Iuventas* and *Hercules*, who represented the male divinity of fertility, and therefore could be related to divinities who watched over youth, and identified to Mother Goddesses. Moreover, we should remember that matrons played a very particular part in Rome, as founders of the civic unity with the intervention of the Sabine women, then preventing Coriolan

<sup>13</sup> We replaced Foster's translation "burghers of Lanuvium" by "inhabitants of Lanuvium".

<sup>14</sup> CHAMPEAUX 1996.

<sup>15</sup> CHAMPEAUX 1982.

to destroy the city before saving the city with their gold.<sup>16</sup> From this viewpoint, Juno, brought by the Roman youth into the Vrbs, patroness of the matrons who saved the city when it was at stake, clearly appeared as the protective goddess who watched the Roman space and ensured its cohesion.

### *1.2. Juno from the borders: what lies behind the Roman world*

Even though other *Junones* are mentioned in the narrative, they do not play the same part. On the contrary, they seem to represent the periphery of the Roman world, and refuse the centrality of Rome. For instance, Livy did not provide us with much information about Juno Lacinia, the interpretatio of Hera, from the sanctuary located next to the city of Croton in Magna Graecia. She is specifically quoted in the narrative of the Second Punic War, at first because of the strategical location of her temple at the border of Italy which, after Croton was conquered by the Punics, was chosen by the Macedonian emissaries to meet the Punic ambassadors to prepare an alliance:

*Postquam tertia iam pugna tertia victoria cum Poenis erat, ad fortunam inclinavit legatosque ad Hannibalem misit; qui vitantes portus Brundisium Tarentinumque, quia custodiis navium Romanarum tenebantur, ad Laciniae Iunonis templum in terram egressi sunt.* (Livy XXIII 33. 4)

Now that a third battle, a third victory favoured the Carthaginians, [Philippe V] inclined to the side of success and sent ambassadors to Hannibal. These avoided the ports of Brundisium and Tarentum, because they were kept guarded by the Roman ship, and landed at the Temple of Lacinian Juno. (Transl. by F. Gardner Moore)

After this alliance is sealed, the temple of *Juno Lacinia* still holds a central place for the enemy to set up their fight against Rome:

*In has ferme leges inter Poenum ducem legatosque Macedonum ictum foedus; missique cum iis ad regis ipsius firmandam fidem legati, Gisgo et Bostar et Mago, eodem ad Iunonis Laciniae, ubi navis occulta in statione erat, perveniunt.* (Livy XXIII 34. 1)

On terms such as these a treaty was made between the Carthaginian general and the ambassadors of the Macedonians. And Gisgo and Bostar and Mago, who were sent with them as ambassadors, to reassure the king himself, reached the same place, the temple of Juno Lacinia, where a ship lay in a hidden anchorage. (Transl. by F. Gardner Moore)

<sup>16</sup> See LORAUX 1990; PAILLER 1997.



The place and its key location in the limits of Italy seem to matter more here than the cult itself, on which the narrative remains silent. The temple is later mentioned through the story of the praetor Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, who decided to take the temple's tiles off in order to build a temple of Fortuna in Rome. He chose this temple because of its location, in one of the remotest parts of Italy, in a *Magna Graecia* which is said to have lost its whole attractiveness:

*Eodem anno aedis Iunonis Laciniae detecta. Q. Fulvius Flaccus censor aedem Fortunae Equestris, quam in Hispania praetor bello Celtiberico voverat, faciebat enixò studio ne ullum Romae amplius aut magnificentius templum est. Magnum ornatum ei templo ratus adiecturum si tegulae marmoreae essent, profectus in Bruttios aedem Iunonis Laciniae ad partem dimidiam detegit, id satis fore ratus ad tegendum quod aedificaretur.* (Livy XLII 3. 1–3)

In the same year the temple of Juno Lacinia was stripped of its roof. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus as censor was building the temple to Fortuna Equestris which he had vowed while praetor in Spain during the Celtiberian war, striving zealously that there should be no temple in Rome larger or more splendid. Considering that it would add great beauty to the temple if the roof tiles were of marble, he set out for Bruttium and stripped the temple of Juno Lacinia of its tiles up to half their number, thinking that these would be sufficient to cover the building which was now erected. (Transl. by E. T. Sage)

In the same way, *Juno Acraea*, from the Corinth cult, is quoted in a context of fight as she gave her name to a strategic promontory near Corinth, that Flaminius wanted to conquer, in XXXII 23. 10. Juno from Argos, who is the translation of the famous tutelary deity of Argos, Hera, is also invoked in an agonistic time by the praetor of the Achaeans, Ariestaenus, in a meeting between the Greek peoples and Flamininus, in XXXIV 24. 1–2.

Accordingly, while Juno's *interpretationes* in Rome or Italy are presented as mobile and unsettled divinities carried away in a centrifuge move to the *Vrbs*, *Junones* from the borders, belonging to a yet unconquered Greece or a decadent *Magna Graecia*, seem to stand still, as if they belonged to a space which could not be integrated into the Roman world. This acknowledgment leads us to another conclusion: the information on *interpretationes* of Juno is not a neutral one; it is shaped and rewritten according to the historical narrative tenets of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

## 2. A JUNO SHAPED BY THE HISTORICAL NARRATIVE PRECEPTS OF THE 1ST CENTURY BC

### 2.1. *Historia as an opus oratorium maxime: literary devices and historical genre*

It is found in Cicero<sup>17</sup> that history should be characterized in Rome, unlike the former work of Annalists, as an oratory genre, which required literary devices and ornaments. Whether it was a statement taken over by the Arpinat himself, or a caricatural assumption as part of a dialogic form,<sup>18</sup> it seems that the historians from the end of the Republic and the Principate were in line with this precept. While a former research stream used to regard Livy as a mere compiler and his work as a patch-work of other historians that came before him, and therefore as an amalgam of contradictory positions, researching his text rather for his sources than for its own originality, current research in Roman historiography makes the assumption that Livy supplied a significant work of selection, rewriting and compositio.<sup>19</sup> Livy indeed complied with the Ciceronian guidelines, and used various ways of rewriting the material he found in its sources.

For instance, we need to keep the Greek historiographical genre of tragic history in mind when we read the episode of Q. Fulvius Flaccus removing the tiles of *Iuno Lacinia*'s temple, as well as its purpose to provide the Roman people with *exempla*. Indeed, the episode seems to be built according to the tenets of tragic history, this lost literary tradition, mostly known through the Polybian pages. Developed according to a Peripatetic view of history, it required narrative unity and internal balance.<sup>20</sup> Here, sacrilege and punishment are the components of the tragic story: the father, undergoing the wrath of a goddess, Juno, finally faced the death of his two children:

*Eo anno sacerdotes publici mortui L. Aemilius Papus decemuir sacrorum et Q. Fulvius Flaccus pontifex, qui priore anno fuerat censor. hic foeda morte perit. ex duobus filiis eius, qui tum in Illyrico militabant, nuntiatum alterum <mortuum, alterum> graui et periculoso morbo aegrum esse. obruit animum simul luctus metusque: mane ingressi cubiculum serui laqueo dependentem inuenere. erat opinio post censuram minus competentem fuisse sui; erat opinio post censuram minus competentem fuisse sui; uolgo Iunonis Lacinae iram ob spoliatum templum alienasse mentem ferebant. (Livy XLII 28. 10–12)*

<sup>17</sup> Cic. *de leg.* I 2. 5: *Potes autem tu profecto satis facere in ea, quippe cum sit opus, ut tibi quidem uideri solet, unum hoc oratorium maxime* – “But you can certainly fill this gap satisfactorily, since, as you at least have always believed, this branch of literature is closer than any other to oratory” (transl. by C.W. Keyes); Cic. *de or.* II 15. 62: *uidetisne quantum munus sit oratoris historia?* – “Do you see how great responsibility the orator has in historical writing?” (transl. by E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham). For a further discussion on the meaning and the context of enunciation of these statements, see BRUNT 2011; WOODMAN 2011.

<sup>18</sup> FELDHER 2003.

<sup>19</sup> MILES 1995; JAEGER 1997; FELDHER, 1998; LEVENE 2010.

<sup>20</sup> See ULLMANN 1942; WALBANK 1955; WALBANK 1955; WEIL 1960.

He died a disgraceful death. Of his two sons, who were at the time serving the army in Illyricum, it was reported that one had been killed and one was stricken with a severe and dangerous disease. Grief and fear together overwhelmed the father's mind; slaves who entered his bedroom in the morning found him hanging in a noose. It was thought that after his censorship he was not wholly himself; a common rumour had it that the wrath of Lacinian Juno over the robbing of her temple had unbalanced his mind. (Transl. by E. T. Sage)

Eventually, the last scene, when the slaves found their master hanged, exemplifies well the enargeia that Douris<sup>21</sup> or Phylarque characterized as a major device of tragic history. The whole story was thus able to convey a moral connotation, all the more when the audience could link the episode to another figure of Roman history who had also lost his two sons, Paulus Aemilius.<sup>22</sup> While the latter served the *Res Publica*,<sup>23</sup> Fulvius Flaccus only served ... himself, and deserved his punishment. To put the light on Fulvius Flaccus's crime, and to shape an exempla, Livy played with the spatial opposition between Rome's centrality and its periphery, but never talked about the specific features of *Juno Lacinia*.

## 2.2. Writing history in Rome: through a response towards the Hellenistic anti-Roman polemical, a way to underline Rome's vocation to rule the world

We shall not forget either that the mention of Juno as a defender of the Roman hegemony played a particular part in ancient historiography, especially when a Greek polemical tradition<sup>24</sup> accused the Roman people of *impietas* and usurping power.

The allusion to the prior glory of the temple of *Juno Lacinia*, close to Croton, in XXIV 3, drafted as an antiquarian sheet, is a way to underline the decline of the former rivals of Rome, the cities of Magna Graecia and their former wealth.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> See *FgrHist* 76 F 1 = Phot. *Bibl.* 176, p.212a, 41 sqq; KEBRIC 1977; CONSOLO LANGHER 1986; TORACCA 1988; LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1997.

<sup>22</sup> Livy XLV. 40. 7: *Sed non Perseus tantum per illos dies documentum humanorum casuum fuit, in catenis ante currum uictoris ducis per urbem hostium ductus, sed etiam uictor Paulus, auro purpuraeque fulgens. nam duobus e filiis, quos duobus datis in adoptionem solos nominis, sacrorum familiaeque heredes retinuerat domi, minor, <duodecim> ferme annos natus, quinque diebus ante triumphum, maior, quattuordecim annorum, triduo post triumphum decessit* – “But Perseus was not the only testimony at this time to the state of human fortunes, as he was led in chains before the chariot of his conqueror through the city of his enemies; the conqueror Paulus, in the splendour of his gold and purple, was no less a witness. For of the two sons whom he kept at home as the only heirs of his name, his family rites, and his household, after he had given two other sons to be adopted, the younger boy, aged about twelve, died five days before the triumph, and the elder, fourteen years old, died three days after the festivity.” (Transl. by A. C. Schlesinger)

<sup>23</sup> Livy XLV. 41. 8: *Illud optavi cum ex summo retro uolui fortuna consuesset, mutationem eius domus mea potius quam res publica sentiret* – “my hope was that, since fortune is wont to plunge down point, the brunt of this change should fall not upon the state, but upon my household”. (Transl. by A. C. Schlesinger)

<sup>24</sup> See FERRARY 1988; BRIQUEL 1997.

<sup>25</sup> As SIMON 2011.

*Urbs Croto murum in circuitu patentem duodecim milia passuum habuit ante Pyrrhi in Italiam aduentum; post uastitatem eo bello factam uix pars dimidia habitabatur; flumen, quod medio oppido fluxerat, extra frequentia tectis loca praeterfluebat, <erat> et arx procul eis quae habitabantur. sex milia aberat in<de> [urbe nobili] templum, ipsa urbe [erat] nobilius, Lacinae Iunonis, sanctum omnibus circa populis; lucus ibi frequenti silua et proceris abietis arboribus saeptus laeta in medio pascua habuit, ubi omnis generis sacrum deae pecus pascebatur sine ullo pastore, separatimque greges sui cuiusque generis nocte remeabant ad stabula, nunquam insidiis ferarum, non fraude uiolati hominum. magni igitur fructus ex eo pecore capti columnaque inde aurea solida facta et sacrata est; inclitumque templum diuitiis etiam, non tantum sanctitate fuit. ac miracula aliqua adfinguntur ut plerumque tam insignibus locis: fama est aram esse in uestibulo templi cuius cinerem nullo unquam moueri uento. sed arx Crotonis, una parte imminens mari, altera uergente in agrum, situ tantum naturali quondam munita, postea et muro cincta est qua per auersas rupes ab Dionysio Siciliae tyranno per dolum fuerat capta.*

The city of Croton had a wall with a circuit of twelve miles before the coming of Pyrrhus to Italy. Since the desolation caused by that war scarcely half of the city was inhabited. The river which had flowed through the middle of the city now flowed past, outside the quarters which had numerous houses, and the citadel was far from the inhabited portions. Six miles from the famous city was a temple more famous than the city itself, that of Lacinian Juno, revered by all the surrounding peoples. There a sacred grove, which was enclosed by dense woods and tall fir-trees, had in its centre luxuriant pastures, where cattle of all kinds, being sacred to the goddess, used to pasture without any shepherd. And the temple was famous for its wealth also, not merely for its sanctity. They give it some pretended marvels also, as generally in places so noted. It is reported that in the space in front of the temple there is an altar whose ashes are never stirred by any wind. But the citadel of Croton, on one side overhanging the sea, while the other slopes down toward the country, was once protected merely by its natural situation, but later encircled with a wall also, where, along the cliffs on the farther side, it had been taken by ruse of Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily. (Transl. by F. Gardner Moore)

Besides, welcoming foreign goddesses, all the more if she came from enemies, as a distinctive feature of the Roman conquest, was a proof of devotion of the whole Roman society. In the episode of the *evocatio* of *Juno Aventina*, as D. S. Levene underlined it,<sup>26</sup> “Livy is able to give coherent religious overtones to a story in which religion is ostensibly playing little part.” Moreover, his narrative successfully transcribed this

<sup>26</sup> LEVENE 1993, 203.

unity and *concordia* of the civic body, which, from young people to matrons, ensured Rome's link to gods. The absence of the motif of the youth in other historical narratives, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus who alludes to knights<sup>27</sup> or Plutarch who pictures Camillus addressing the Goddess,<sup>28</sup> clearly highlights Livy's narrative choices.

On the contrary, Livy shaped his temple of *Juno Lacinia* narrative so that it would underline how Hannibal embodied impiety and division. Indeed, he clearly did not provide us with the whole material he had access to. As Mary Jaeger evidenced it in her article "Livy, Hannibal Monuments, and the temple of Juno at Croton",<sup>29</sup> an excerpt of Cicero in *De divinatione*, I 24. 48, quoting the annalist Coelius gave us more information about Hannibal and Juno's shrine. Coelius narrated that Hannibal saw Juno in a dream, and was so impressed by the goddess that he offered her a golden column:

*Hannibalem, Coelius scribit, cum columnam auream, quae esset in fano Iunonis Lacinae, auferre vellet dubitaretque, utrum ea solida esset an extrinsecus inaurata, perterebravisse; cumque solidam inuenisset statuisse tollere; ei secundum quietem visam esse Iunonem praedicere, ne id faceret, minarique, si fecisset, se curaturam, ut eum quoque oculum, quo bene videret, amitteret. Idque ab homine acuto non esse neglectum; itaque ex eo auro quod exterebratum esset buculam curasse faciendam et eam in summa columna collavisse.*

Coelius writes that Hannibal wished to carry off a golden column from Juno's temple at Lacinium, but since he was in doubt whether it was solid or plated, he bored into it. Finding it solid he decided to take it away. But at night Juno came to him in a vision and warned him not to do so, threatening that if he did she would cause the loss of his good eye. That clever man did not neglect the warning. Moreover out of the gold filings he ordered an image of a calf to be made and placed on top of the column. (Transl. by W. A. Falconer)

Livy mentioned the column in his narrative, but he did not explain where it came from and did not recount Hannibal's vision and gift. Instead, he emphasized Hannibal's hubris, alluding, to a dedication Hannibal put in the shrine to recall his achievements:

<sup>27</sup> Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* XIII 3: ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀπέστειλε τῶν ἱππέων τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου ἀρουμένους ἐκ τῶν βάθρων τὸ ἔδος – "Upon the capture of the city, accordingly, he sent the most distinguished of the knights to remove the statue from its pedestal." (Transl. by E. Cary).

<sup>28</sup> Plut. *Cam.* VI 1–2: καὶ συνελθόντων ἐπὶ τοῦτο τῶν τεχνιτῶν, ὁ μὲν ἔθνε καὶ προσηύχετο τῇ θεῇ δέχεσθαι τὴν προθυμίαν αὐτῶν καὶ εὐμενῇ γίνεσθαι σύνοικον τοῖς λαχοῦσι τὴν Ῥώμην θεοῖς, τὸ δ' ἁγαλμὰ φασιν ὑποφθεγξάμενον εἰπεῖν ὅτι καὶ βούλεται καὶ συγκαταίνεῖ. – "After he had utterly sacked the city, he determined to transfer the image of Juno to Rome, in accordance with his vows. The women were assembled for the purpose, and Camillus was sacrificing and praying the goddess to accept of their zeal and to be a kindly co-dweller with the gods of Rome, when the image spoke in low tones and said she was ready and willing." (Transl. by B. Perrin)

<sup>29</sup> JAEGER 2006.

*Prope Iunonis Laciniae templum aestatem Hannibal egit; ibique aram condidit dedicauitque cum ingenti rerum ab se gestarum titulo Punicis Graecis que litteris insculpto.* (Livy XXVIII 46. 16)

Hannibal spent the summer near the temple of Juno Lacinia, and there he erected an altar and dedicated it together with a great record of his achievements in Punic and Greek inscriptions. (Transl. by F. Gardner Moore)

Furthermore, he portrayed the Carthaginian leader both as a slaughterer of his former Italian allies, and as a sacrilege, since he had them killed right in Juno's shrine, because they refused to follow him back to Carthage:

*Itaque inutili militum turba praesidii specie in oppida Bruttii agri, quae pauca metu magis quam fide continebantur, dimissa, quod roboris in exercitu erat in Africam transuexit, multis Italici generis, quia in Africam secuturos abnuentes concesserant in Iunonis Laciniae delubrum inuiolatum ad eam diem, in templo ipso foede interfectis.* (Livy XXX 20. 5)

Already foreboding this very thing he had previously put his ships in readiness. Accordingly, after distributing the masse of useless troops, nominally as garrisons, among the few Bruttian towns that were held rather by fear than by loyalty, he transported the flower of his army in Africa. Many men of Italic race refusing to follow him to Africa had retired to the shrine of Juno Lacinia, never desaced until that day, and had been cruallly slain actually within the temple enclosure. (Transl. by F. Gardner Moore)

Far from preserving concord, Hannibal sentenced the Italian youth to death, and embodied barbarity.

### 2.3. A way to think about power and conquest

Yet, when Livy refers to another Juno, Juno Acraea, from Sicyone near Corinth, he does not seek counterexamples or evidence of the *impietas* of Rome's enemies. On the contrary, it is the way to think about strategical and ideological issues, as for example Italian unity, which played an essential part during the Second Punic War, but also during all the Roman history, with the Social War and then the Civil Wars. It is thus noteworthy that the mention of *Juno Acraea* is linked to the presence of Italians in Corinth, who fled from Hannibal's army and by fear of punishment from Rome joined the Macedonian troops. There, they fought against Flamininus, and prevented him from winning:

*Transfugarum Italicorum magna multitudo erat pars ex Hannibalis exercitu metu poenae a Romanis Philippum secuta, pars nauales socii relictis nuper classibus ad spem honorationis militiae transgressi: hos desperata salus, si Romani uicissent, ad rabiem magis quam audaciam accendebat.*

*Promuntorium est aduersus Sicyonem Iunonis quam uocant Acraeam, in altum excurrens; traiectus inde Corinthum septem fere milium passuum. Eo Philocles regius et ipse praefectus mille et quingentos milites per Beotiam duxit.* (Livy XXXII 23. 9–10)

There was a great host of Italian deserters, some from Hannibal's army who had followed Philip from fear of punishment by the Romans, some naval allies who had recently deserted the fleet and come over in the hope of a more highly-rewarded service; their hopelessness regarding immunity, if the Romans conquered, inspired them to courage or rather to frenzy. On the side toward Sicyon is a promontory, sacred to Juno whom they called *Acraea*, and rising high into the air; thence the distance to Corinth is about seven miles. Thither Philocles, also a prefect of the king, brought fifteen hundred soldiers through Beotia. (Transl. by E. T. Sage)

We believe that the mention of Juno here is meaningful. Livy's addition "whom they called *Acraea*" underlines both the particularity of the goddess and her universality – which means her Romaness for a Roman from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, through the epithet. Juno clearly belongs to the Roman world and thus becomes a protective divinity for Roman troops all around the world. Although the episode is located in a foreign country, it seems that it already belongs to the Roman space. Consequently, it can appear as a way to question the power mechanisms, especially when they deal with people from different areas or with different motivations:

*Oppugnabant, primo segnius, sperantes seditionem intus fore inter oppidanos ac regium praesidium. Postquam uno animo omnes et Macedones tamquam communem patriam tuebantur et Corinthii ducem praesidii Androsthene haud secus quam ciuem et suffragio creatum suo imperio in se uti patiebantur, omnis inde spes oppugnantibus in ui et armis et operibus erat.* (Livy XXXII 23. 5)

They conducted the siege at first without energy, since they hoped for dissension between the citizens and the royal garrison. When they proved completely harmonious, the Macedonians conducting the defence as if it were their common fatherland, the Corinthians permitting Androsthene, the commander of the garrison, to exercise his authority over them as he were a citizen and their elected general, thenceforth all the hope of the besiegers rested in their own strength, their weapons and their siegeworks. (Transl. by E. T. Sage)

Therefore, the Livian narrative used the mentions of Juno as narrative tools to convey *exempla* or to stress Rome's superiority and to underline its enemies' failure. Nevertheless, at the same time as it outlined Rome's vocation to centralize and rule the universe, the narrative also sought answers and models in the borders of the Roman world, for instance through the foreign *Iunones*.



### 3. THE LIVIAN CONCEPTION OF HISTORY AS AN ITINERARY BETWEEN SPACE AND MEMORY

#### 3.1. Center, peripheries and echos: constructing a Roman unity between space and memory

Since the *Ab urbe condita* is structured on the annalistic schedule, the narrative is fragmented between different areas and various stories and consequently can seem quite disjointed, without any guiding principle. Yet, space seems to be, in the *Ab urbe condita*, a narrative modality which organises intertextual resonances with other texts, and most of all intertextual resonances in each book, between each book. As a result, memory plays an important part as, through the numerous episodes, the Livian text puts markers for the reader in order to reenact his memory of events or issues. From this viewpoint, as far as Juno's cult is concerned, we must note that the mentions of Juno create a tension between the outside and the inside, between the Italian borders and Rome. The study of the episode of Juno Lacinia's temple therefore highlights that the 2<sup>nd</sup> Punic war is a shift in the work structure, as the victory on the Carthaginian people definitively opened the space to the Roman hegemony. In light of this, we can only deplore the loss of the other books, as there may have been echoes of the mentions of the temple of *Juno Lacinia* and its strategical place, when the narrative told Pompeius's fight towards the pirates, and afterwards, Sextus Pompeius' rebellion against Rome. After the Roman victory began the hegemony on the Mediterranean world, and therefore the space then became virtually Roman: the episode mentioning *Juno Acraea* stands for this new setting. So did, certainly, later mentions of *Juno Lacinia*.

*Juno Regina* from the Capitole provides us with another conclusion. So far the Roman power expanded itself, so far the Roman pantheon enlarged itself, and ruled a wider space. Yet, thanks to the strong work of composition, through a net of echoes and reminders, Rome remains at the center of the *Ab urbe condita*. *Juno Regina* stands for this centrality, as she is a way to reactivate earlier episodes of the historical narratives. Her mention in Scipio Africanus's speech, in XXXVIII 51. 8 thus creates a link with other major episodes of Roman history, to underline the symbolic part attached to the Capitoline hill:

*Hoc, inquit, die, tribuni plebis uosque, Quirites, cum Hannibale et Carthaginiensibus, signis collatis in Africa bene ac feliciter pugnavi. Itaque, cum hodie litibus et iurgiis supersederi aequum sit, ego hinc extemplo in Capitolium ad Iouem optimum maximum Iunonemque et Mineruam, ceterosque deos qui Capitolio atque arci praesident, salutandos ibo, iisque gratias agam quod mihi et hoc ipso die et saepe alias egregie gerendae rei publicae mentem facultatemque dederunt.*

On this day, tribunes of the people, and you, citizens, I fought well and successfully in pitched battle with Hannibal and the Carthaginians in Africa.



Therefore, since it is meet on this day to refrain from trials and quarrels, I shall proceed at once from here to the Capitoline to offer homage to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Juno and Minerva and the other gods who preside over the Capitoline and the citadel, and I shall give thanks to them because both on this same day and on many other occasions they have given me the purpose and the capacity to render conspicuous service to the state. Let all of you too, citizens, for whom it is convenient, come with me and pray to the gods that you may have many leaders like me. (Transl. by E. T. Sage)

Indeed, the mention of the Capitoline triad, and consequently Juno Regina, reminds the reader that, so far, the Roman conquest can continue, Rome and its center will always be the place where everything ends up, as in the very beginnings of Rome, when Publius Valerius Publicola prevented the Capitole from being taken by a slave revolt in III 17. 3:

*Iuppiter optimus maximus, Iuno regina et Minerva, alii dii deaeque obsidentur; castra servorum publicos vestros penates tenent; haec vobis forma sanae civitatis videtur?*

Jupiter Optimus, Queen Juno, and Minerva, and the other gods and goddesses, are beleaguered; a camp of slaves is in possession of the tutelary deities of your country; does this seem to you a healthy polity? (Transl. by B. O. Foster)

or when the former savior of Rome, Manlius Capitolinus, had become a threat for the Republic in VI 16. 2, where it appears that the Capitoline Triad did not belong to its defenders, and will stand still, through ages:

*Arreptus a viatore 'Iuppiter' inquit 'optime maxime Iunoque regina ac Minerva ceterique di deaeque, qui Capitolium arcemque incolitis, sicine vestrum militem ac praesidem sinitis vexari ab inimicis?'*

On being arrested by the attendant, Manlius cried out, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and Queen Juno and Minerva, and all ye other gods and goddesses that dwell in the Capitol and in the Citadel, is it thus ye suffer your soldier and protector to be tormented by his adversaries? (Transl. by B. O. Foster)

Paradoxically, the annalistic elements, such as the list of prodigies, vows and dedications for temples, give a structure to the narrative, to strengthen Rome's centrality. In periods of great crisis, when Rome's domination of its conquered territories were at stake, the list of prodigies allows the narrative to shift the focus to Rome and its united society, from *iuvenes* to *matronae*.

Even an Italian Juno, Juno of Padova, similarly functioned as a replica of Rome. The *excursus* on the Lacedonian Cleonymus' failure in Book X prefigured the coming of an other Greek war leader, Pyrrhus, and the way Romans would fight him back. As a result, Juno's references there fully work as narrative elements of structure and supply historical exempla, as much as historical information.

### 3.2. The Augustan programme

Even if Livy's behaviour towards the princeps is still discussed,<sup>30</sup> we should also keep in mind that the *Ab urbe condita*'s preface strongly links the historian's purpose and actuality, as he claimed he wanted to provide his audience with lessons and exempla from the past.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, we shall also read Livy in the ideological context of his time. While the Roman people required stability and restitution of traditional values after the chaos of the civil wars, August, while he set the Principate up, presented himself as the restorator of old rituals and temples. He is said to have given back *iura et leges* to the Roman people, and restored what his predecessors neglected; we are indeed told by our sources that Augustus made a series of religious reforms, from 36 to 27 BC, and in 12 BC. Especially, in the *Res Gestae*,<sup>32</sup> he claims he restored the temple of Juno. If this restauration itself certainly invented the past, in an attempt to recreate ancient traditions which were no longer understood, the huge presence of religious material in Livy's work must have been motivated by such a political and social context, and can be linked to the Augustan program. In this respect, Livy was challenged to give the best outlook of the religious tradition, or at least to a reconstructed one – such as the Augustan program itself,<sup>33</sup> thanks to his work on his annalistic sources and on antiquarian compilations.

### 3.3. The work of the historian : composing a narrative and still telling the truth

As a result, Livy made important choices in his narrative, that reflect how Rome represented itself in the Mediterranean era, how Roman people thought over the conquest process, and provide exempla or thoughts that are deeply rooted in the ideas and con-

<sup>30</sup> See SYME 1959; SYME 1967; WALSH 1961; PETERSEN 1961; BURCK 1991; BADIAN 1993; MINEO 2010.

<sup>31</sup> Liv. I pr. 9: *Ad illa mihi pro se quisque acriter intendat animum, quae vita, qui mores fuerint, per quos viros quibusque artibus domi militiaeque et partum et auctum imperium sit; labente deinde paulatim disciplina velut desidentis primo mores sequatur animo, deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint, tum ire coeperint praecipites, donec ad haec tempora quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus perventum est.* – “Here are the questions to which I would have every reader give his close attention – what life and morals were like; through what men and by what policies, in peace and in war, empire was established and enlarged; then let him note how, with the gradual relaxation of discipline, morals first gave way, as it were, then sank lower and lower, and finally began the downward plunge which has brought us to the present time, when we can endure neither our vices nor their cure.” (Transl. by B. O. Foster). See also CHAPLIN 2000.

<sup>32</sup> *Res Gestae* 19.

<sup>33</sup> See SCHEID 2009.

troversies of his time on the issues of the Roman power. Actually, this does not mean that, in the perspective of ancient historiography, Livy invented or lied. Just like historian from ancient Rome, he used his forefathers' work and added his own standpoint, to supply a vision of Roman history, but also of the Roman identity and destiny. As John Marincola underlined it, the relation to truth in ancient historiography was quite ambiguous,<sup>34</sup> as the historian's authority had to deal with working within a tradition, and showing oneself improving the conclusions of his predecessors. In both cases, we cannot believe the material is objective; yet, we can assume it supplies us with fragments of reality.

The *Ab urbe condita* therefore appears as the result of an intricate and rather ingenious narrative composition. Thanks to an accurate work of selection and structure on his historical material, Livy provided his readers with a new image of Rome and its identity, where Juno, as a goddess of the center of Rome, stands as a pillar of Roman stability and unity. This does not mean that we should not trust the religious information that Livy provided us with. As a historian fully aware of the imperative of the *mos maiorum*, and despite finding himself in a competition with other historians, Livy doubtlessly had to supply us with data he thought was true, even if he afforded some omissions. Yet, we know they were largely reworked, if not invented, from ancient traditions, in the beginnings of the Principate,<sup>35</sup> in the light of contemporary representations and ideas. Furthermore, the *Ab urbe condita* tells us about the Roman representations of Juno: through the complex set of echoes and reminders of the Livian narrative, the audience was reminded that Juno was not only a part of the Roman daily life. Mostly, she embodied the Roman conquest and questioned the part Roman individuals, both men and women, should play in it.

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<sup>34</sup> See MARINCOLA 1997.

<sup>35</sup> See SCHEID 2014.

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