I would like to examine here the notions of integration and identity through the prism of religion, more specifically the cults of one Latin city, Tibur. I will try to show, through three examples, that these cults played an essential role in the integration of Tibur into the Roman state, as well as in the resistance to it. I will begin with a brief overview of the relations between Rome and Tibur until the end of the second century BC, before examining the renovations which took place in the city at that time. I will then take a closer look at the three deities we will encounter while studying these renovations.

2. Tibur's Position in Latium

Tibur has a rather singular position in Latium. It is located on the lower slopes of the Apennines, at a crossroads of the Latin and Sabellic cultures. It is the gateway to Latium, and a necessary stop for transhumant flocks. Those features partly explain the importance of the city, as well as the particular cultural traits which can be found there, for example the seventh-century circle burials, which seem odd in a Latin city. Ever since Antiquity, doubts have been cast on the Latinity of Tibur, often thought of as a Sabine rather than a Latin city.¹ The cults of Tibur reflect this original situation of a Latin city deeply rooted in Sabellic culture.

Tibur’s conquest by Rome proves to be just as atypical. According to Beloch’s estimations, Tibur was the largest city in Latium after Rome in the sixth century. Therefore, it must have played a major role in Latium, although we do not know much about this. We know, thanks to Cato, that

---

¹ For example Cat. 44.1–5. Tibur was not in the same region as the rest of Latium in the Augustan classification.
the city was part of the Nemi coalition. The fourth century is when the city starts appearing regularly in Livy’s account. Even then, it does not seem to play a part in any conflict against Rome until 361, when the Tiburtes, for unknown reasons, forbid entry to the city to the Roman consuls coming back from a campaign. Tibur then takes numerous actions against Rome, even allying itself with Gauls, thus scandalizing Livy. It is finally vanquished in 338, at the end of the Latin war, in which Tibur proved itself a worthy, if unsuccessful, adversary of Rome. Tibur’s fate then differs from that of the other cities that fought Rome in this war. It remained a Latin city, with all the rights associated to that status; along with Praeneste, it lived on as an allied state, submitted to the different requirements of that position, but still theoretically independent. Livy writes that the reason for this is the scandalous alliance Tibur and Praeneste struck with the Gauls, ‘a barbarian people’. However, this explanation implies that Roman citizenship was a favour granted to conquered cities. A possible explanation of those exceptions would be that Tibur and Praeneste were too big, too far away, and maybe, as Salmon thought, too attached to their own identities, to be digested, so to speak, by the Roman state at that time.

At the end of the second century BC, Tibur was still an allied state. The Tiburtes seem to have enriched themselves considerably through trading on Delos and in the East. In the course of the second century, Tibur started to become a favoured summer resort for the Roman elites, who could escape the heat of the City without being too far away from it. This situation implies numerous contacts between Roman and Tiburtine elites. Around this time, we know of two Tiburtes who gained citizenship through a trial against Roman citizens. Doing so allowed them to acquire a certain level of recognition in Rome; their descendants, if we are to believe Cicero, were highly respected citizens. However, the relationship between Rome and Tibur was not entirely without trouble. Thanks to a senatus consultum, dating back to 159, we learn of a mysterious affair involving Tibur. We can only speculate as to the nature of this affair, but the Tiburtes had apparently been accused of something they denied

---

2 Cato Orig. 2.28 C = fr. 58 P.
4 Cic. Balb. 53: Quo modo igitur L. Cossinius Tiburs, pater huius equitis Romani, optimi atque ornatissimi uiri, damnato T. Caelio, quo modo ex eadem ciuitate T. Coponius, ciuis item summa uirtute et dignitate (nepotes T. et C. Coponius nostis), damnato C. Masone ciuis Romanus est factus?
5 CIL I.201.