
The Place-making Function of Ritual Movement at Rome: from the Salians to Our Lady of Mount Carmel

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Introduction¹

- ¹ It is common knowledge that religion permeated the life of the Romans: banquets, rituals, festivals, sacrifices, and prayers were performed every day, both privately and publicly, from the humblest house to the most magnificent temple. One of the most important and enthralling among such diverse ritual practices was undoubtedly ritual movement, i.e. the movement of individuals or groups on a more or less fixed route for religious causes or purposes. Religious images usually played a primary role there. This is closely linked to the general idea that movement had a deep meaning in Roman society and culture: “To move was a performance of identity. In a single glance, the speed, bearing, gestures, escorts, route, and time of day revealed a Roman’s position in society—or his aspirations”.² In what follows I shall argue that this kind of ritual movement could have a key place-making role, which was able to actually transform ‘space’ into a (religious) ‘place’ in different respects and meanings: socially, culturally, and physically.
- ² First of all, ‘space’ and ‘place’ should be distinguished and considered as two fundamentally different orders of reality:³ the first is all-encompassing and allows things to be located within it, whereas the second, being more than simply the reciprocal influence between people and the world, is “their constitutive co-

ingredience”, such that each is essential to the being of the other.⁴ ‘Place’ is ‘cultural’⁵, a basic unit of lived experience and a nexus of human praxis;⁶ it is “produced by human engagements and associations with the world”.⁷ Continued interaction with the material world is thus an essential component in the act of place-making: space acquires meaning only through intimate connections established between the people and the places they inhabit (cf. the concept of *Wohnen*, ‘dwelling’).⁸

- 3 Having made clear how we should consider the concepts of ‘space’ and ‘place’, and how we should distinguish between them on a general level, let us dwell more closely upon ancient Rome. What was the general ‘stage’ of the place-making process that could actually create a (religious) place at Rome? First of all, this space should be considered as different from both the natural and the built environment. We could define it as ‘lived ritual space’: *lived* because it is made significant by religious agents⁹ and by the performance itself; *ritual* because it is linked to ritual performances, religious activities to be distinguished from other every day and civic ones, contributing to the characterization of a place in other ways.¹⁰
- 4 Moreover, we can draw on the concept of ‘sacred landscape’, put forward by Hubert Cancik, to define the cultural and the physical result of continuous religious activity and performance, that is all single places where rites were performed as well as monuments and temples celebrating and/or recalling such rites. Rome’s ‘sacred landscape’ is thus to be considered a system of connected signs, whose knowledge represented the collective (religious) memory of the Roman community.¹¹
- 5 Jörg Rüpke recently argued that “large urban societies need practices that craft place by relating people and space, disrupting continuous space, selectively appropriating and that such services could be provided by religion”.¹² Rituals and religious performance thus played a decisive role in shaping the urban space as a whole: “performance should be considered a vital element within the urban built environment and integral to the creation of city as a place”.¹³ In conclusion we can say that ritual movement, activity and performance: *contribute* to the characterization and the transformation of space into a place; *shape* and *become part* of the sacred (and cultural) landscape; *become embedded* in the physical landscape.

Salian Rituals

- 6 The main case-study I am going to consider as regards the place-making function of ritual movement at Rome is the ritual performed by the Salian priesthood in several festivals.¹⁴ As we shall see, its celebration through the centuries had a relevant impact on Rome’s sacred landscape. Moreover, it also played a role in shaping and reinforcing a sense of identity and belonging in the Roman people, both during the performance, by arousing different emotions in the audience, and after, by fostering memory processes (oral, written, monumental), by finally becoming embedded in Rome’s sacred landscape, thus creating ‘new’ religious places.
- 7 Among the most ancient and important Roman priesthods,¹⁵ the Salians were divided into two colleges (*sodalitates*) of twelve priests each, the *Palatini* and the *Collini* (or *Agonales* or *Agonenses*). They had two main religious tasks. The first was to perform dances: their name came as a matter of fact from *salire*, ‘to jump’; other words used to describe the dances are: *saltus* (*saltatus*, *saltare*, etc.),¹⁶ *tripudium*,¹⁷ *exsultatio*, as well as (*red*)*amptuare*.¹⁸ The other task was to sing the *Carmen Saliare*.¹⁹ Salian celebrations

were part of a ritual that lasted several days in March,²⁰ the Salians performing their dances at different festivals such as the *Equirria* (14 March) and the *Quinquatrus* (19 March), and others. They wore a very archaic armour²¹ and carried the *ancilia*, that is bilobate (or ‘eight-shaped’) shields, a panoply never actually carried by any Roman warrior at any time in history: that made them among the most recognizable priests of Roman religion.²²

- 8 As already stated, Salian rituals played a relevant role in shaping the identity of the Romans. First, the priesthood was from the beginning, and always remained, a patrician one. This means that Rome’s most distinguished and ancient families had to negotiate for, and find an agreement on, the co-optation of their young scions.²³ The priesthood was in fact a very prestigious first step in the *cursus*, as usually the co-optation took place at a very young age, with both parents alive.²⁴ Some even argued that originally Salian rituals were a form of initiation for all young Romans,²⁵ whereas others assume that, after the *Licinia Sextiae* laws, the exclusive patrician institution was ‘rationalized’ into a priesthood.²⁶ Many illustrious Romans had been Salians, such as Scipio Africanus²⁷ and Marcus Aurelius.²⁸ Michael Crawford has argued that Julius Caesar became a Salian before his father’s death in 85 BCE.²⁹
- 9 But how could Salian rituals affect the identity of the Roman people as a whole? To answer this question, we must go back to the *ancilia*, the bilobate shields carried by the dancing priests.³⁰ Even if these shields did not bear any carving or relief, they can be considered as one of Rome’s religious images *par excellence*. They were part of the so-called *pignora imperii*, a group of religious objects whose safekeeping was directly connected to Rome’s safety and power.³¹ What made the *ancilia* so important is that among these objects they were the only ones not to have foreign origin, like the Palladium and Magna Mater’s black stone. According to the tradition, the original holy shield (the others were copies made by the legendary blacksmith Mamurius Veturius to prevent theft) was given by Jupiter himself to Numa Pompilius,³² who established the *Salii Palatini* on purpose to guard these shields.³³ Salian rites were the only occasion in which the Roman people – as the dances were performed for several days and in public places³⁴ – could actually see the shields with their own eyes and be reassured about Rome’s safety; therefore, they would celebrate it together and together feel part of its prosperity and power.³⁵
- 10 On another level, as Salian rites took place in March, we cannot help but noticing how significant this month was for the Romans, as it was the first month of the archaic calendar and it marked the opening of warfare activities.³⁶ It is not by chance that it derived its name from one of the most relevant gods worshipped by the Romans, *Mars*. Salian celebrations therefore celebrated, protected, and opened the passage from a year to another and from peace to war: this would affect and strengthen on a yearly basis the identity of every Roman, male and female, from the humblest to the most powerful one, and boosted their sense of community.³⁷
- 11 The emotional factor must have played also a crucial part at every Salian celebration.³⁸ Emotions were raised not only by the sight of the *ancilia*, as we as seen, but also by the extraordinary features of the performance: it was not every day’s sight to watch fully armed young Romans sing, dance, and noisily clash their weapons.³⁹ This was in fact the most important and almost only example of ritual dance in Roman religion;⁴⁰ moreover, during the dances the Salians sang the most ancient hymns in Latin literature, written in such an archaic language⁴¹ that at a later stage the Salians themselves were not able

to fully understand them anymore.⁴² Their unusual sound would complement the impressive dancing movements and sounds to affect and deeply impress the audience. Emotions could be aroused by other remarkable effects and the other of such rites as well: Seneca states that the Salians danced and jumped so heavily that he compared them to the *fullones*.⁴³ At one stage of Salian rituals this could deeply impress the audience: I am referring to Rome's first bridge, the Sublicius, made entirely of wood. Catullus was so impressed by the sight of full-armoured Romans heavily dancing and jumping on that bridge that he hoped that his city of birth, Verona, would get a new bridge so strong that it could withstand Salian dances!⁴⁴

- 12 This rather amusing quotation is also useful to prove how such rituals could affect memory. The city was in fact a privileged place of memory. Jan Assmann has thoroughly studied the connection between physical place and memory, resulting in a so called 'mnemotope' (*Gedächtnisort*).⁴⁵ Cultural memory 'semiotizes' certain places, usually marking them with monuments.⁴⁶ This remark is in debt to the concept of *lieu de mémoire*, theorized by Pierre Nora: such 'places of memory' do not necessarily represent a topographical place (as e.g. the *Lupercal* in Rome) but can be linked to other aspects of memory, such as a feast or a symbol.⁴⁷ Processions can be considered therefore as veritable 'places of memory'.⁴⁸
- 13 The celebration of Salian rites throughout the centuries not only became part of the memory of every Roman who was able to take part to them (as Salian himself, as relative or friend, as audience, etc.), but it would be also deeply linked and associated with the place where the rite was performed.⁴⁹ Whereas the processional route was fixed, the spontaneous and diverse responses to the performance must have varied with each subsequent iteration; the experience and the memory of the ritual would have differed for each person based on his/her level of participation, civic position, social status, age, and any number of other relevant factors.⁵⁰ As a consequence, through frequent enactment of the performance and the participants' continuous engagement with the environment, the ritual, and consequently Salian places, would become part of Rome's sacred landscape, both as 'places of memory' (i.e. 'immaterial'), and topographical ones (i.e. 'physical').
- 14 But which places became unquestionably 'Salian'? Although, as already noted, we do not know the exact route and number of stations of the procession, we know that the Salians performed their rites in some of Rome's most important, symbolic and time-honoured sites, such as the *Comitium*, the *Regia*, the Capitoline Hill, and the Sublicius Bridge. Dionysius of Halicarnassus states that they danced "through the city [...] and in many other private and public places".⁵¹
- 15 The *Regia* can be considered a veritable 'Salian' place as it was deeply marked by the strong link with Salian rituals. This was the building where the *ancilia* were usually kept (in the part called *sacrarium Martis*): in the rebuilding by Cn. Domitius Calvinus in 36 BCE, after a fire, the sacred shields were carved in a relief inside⁵² as to constantly remind one of the main reasons for the *Regia* to be.
- 16 Anyhow, there were some buildings especially connected to the Salians: the *mansiones*.⁵³ We read in our sources that there was one at every stage of Salian rituals: at the end of each day the priests used the *mansiones* to lay down their armour, weapons and holy shields; we may also assume that they played some part in the lavish meal they enjoyed.⁵⁴ As we do not find any connection to other rituals elsewhere, we must assume that the *mansiones* were used for Salian rituals only. Nevertheless, they stood for the

rest of the year as an everlasting Salian place, ‘mnemotope’ and trademark, so that the performance of the priests of Mars would constantly mark Rome.

- 17 Of course, changes could (and did) occur. Augustus could not have built the Temple of *Mars Ultor* in his eponymous Forum without associating it to the Salians, the priests associated with the god. As a matter of fact, the temple became one of the stages of their rituals, as we know from an episode regarding Claudius in Suetonius:

once when he was holding court in the forum of Augustus and had caught the savour of a meal which was preparing for the *Salii* in the temple of Mars hard by, he left the tribunal, went up where the priests were, and took his place at their table.

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- 18 Such lavish meals could also contribute to fostering a strong sense of identity among the members of the élite, as they were a glorious occasion to discuss and to build or tighten social relations and agreements.
- 19 The *mansiones* remained an important part of Rome’s religious identity for centuries. There is a noteworthy source in this regard, an inscription found at the Temple of *Mars Ultor*.⁵⁶ The inscription is as follows:

The *mansiones* of the Palatine Salians, built by the ancestors for the safekeeping of admirable weapons, neglected for a way too long time, have been repaired at their own expenses by the pontiffs of Vesta, *virii clarissimi*, under the *promagisterium* of Plotius Acilius Lucillius and Vitrasius Praetextatus *virii clarissimi*.

- 20 I have suggested elsewhere that this restoration could have been made on the occasion of Constantius II official arrival to Rome in 357 CE.⁵⁷ It was the first visit of an emperor to Rome after a long time, thirty-one years after his father Constantine’s *adventus* in 326. The emperor paid honour to the Roman senators and appointed many *nobiles* to the traditional priesthoods;⁵⁸ he also retained the title of *pontifex maximus*.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, at the same time he limited the pagan cult: for the first time the Altar of Victory was removed from the Curia.⁶⁰
- 21 Most likely, there were no Salian priests anymore: the last attested *Salius Palatinus* is C. Vettius Cossinius Rufinus, who left the priesthood in 306, before becoming proconsul of Achaia, then *praefectus urbis* in 315/316.⁶¹ As a matter of fact, the inscription mentioned above states that the *mansiones* had long been neglected. Nevertheless, the places that the pontiffs cared to restore at their expenses were Rome’s most relevant religious structures; among them ‘places’ that through ceaseless and centuries-long performance, that is by involving identity, emotions and memory processes had inextricably become and were still conceived as the Salian places *par excellence*: the *mansiones*.
- 22 Therefore, from lived ritual space (as defined in the first paragraph), ‘Salian’ places were created to become part of Rome’s sacred landscape and to be remembered and ‘present’ for a very long time.⁶² This is a striking example of how the attachment to place at Rome was closely tied to collective memory, a stream of tradition reified in rituals, images, places, monuments, and texts. This was so deep that once a new religious place was created, its meaning, associations and resonance would last for long time, even after the disappearance of the ritual. It was not too important if the Salians

were no longer active at that moment; the religious image of Rome the emperor had to receive was meant to be the most 'traditional', i.e. 'Roman', as possible: in this regard, there were not many religious places as linked to Rome's identity and to the memory of its glorious past as Salian ones.

- 23 Salian rituals are an effective example of how repeated (ritual) action can shape the perception of the place as well as the place itself: human actions and engagements make place; at the same time place shapes human identity.⁶³ Moreover, "through physical engagement with place, new meanings and memories are created, while previously held associations are maintained through sustained interaction".⁶⁴ The setting of the performance, what I have defined as lived ritual space and sacred landscape, provides the context within which the ritual becomes meaningful⁶⁵ and that can finally 'create' a new religious place.

Our Lady of Mount Carmel

- 24 I would like to briefly consider another example of ritual movement in order to try to capture more effectively the process considered in what precedes, this time 'in the making'. The procession dedicated to Our Lady of Mount Carmel takes place every year in Rome, in the *rione* (quarter, district) Trastevere⁶⁶. It is the most notable part of a festival starting on 16 July, day of the liturgical feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, and lasting several days.⁶⁷ It has been celebrated since the first half of the 16th century, after in 1535 some Corsican fishermen⁶⁸ found a wooden statue of the Virgin at the mouth of the Tiber after a storm: this is also why this Madonna bears the epithet of 'Fiumarola' (the 'River's' Madonna).⁶⁹ More precisely, the festival and the procession date back to 1543, the year of the institution of the Confraternity 'del SS.mo Sacramento e Maria SS.ma del Carmine', from 1605 an Archconfraternity.
- 25 This festival has always been very important for the Roman people in general and for the people of Trastevere in particular. The Madonna carried in the procession is considered as the protector of the quarter and its people: she is also called 'Signora de Noantri', 'Our own Lady', literally 'Lady of us others', - 'others' meaning the natives, the 'Trasteverini', in opposition to all others coming from outside, with primal and special reference to those on the other side of the Tiber.⁷⁰ The river has been a significant and recognizable border since the most ancient times: the name of the quarter itself derives from *trans Tiberim*, that is 'beyond the Tiber'.⁷¹
- 26 This 'otherness' of Trastevere, "area di margine per definizione (al di là di un muro d'acqua)"⁷² was part of Rome's history from the very beginning, the right side of the river being considered for centuries the 'Etruscan' bank.⁷³ The quarter was included in the administrative reform of Rome by Augustus as the last of the fourteen *regiones* (from which *rione*), the *Regio XIV Transtiberim*, the only one on the right bank of the river. In Antiquity Trastevere hosted lower-class people, mainly tradesmen, craftsmen, and foreigners, such as Jews and Christians:⁷⁴ a "ghetto, casbah e dock, quartiere di "extra-comunitari" *ante litteram*".⁷⁵ This 'difference' from the rest of the city, this 'segregation' from its center, became deeply rooted in Trastevere's 'identity':

dal tardo medioevo fino almeno alla Seconda Guerra Mondiale, il Trastevere è terra di esclusi ed emarginati: vedove, orfani, delinquenti, bulli, anarchici eversivi. Ma è anche sede di quei romani che, proprio in virtù di questa segregazione imposta dal

fiume, si sentono più puri e incontaminati: i *romani de Roma* immortalati per sempre da Bartolomeo Pinelli, focoso trasteverino lui stesso e cantore della plebe romana della Restaurazione. Un'identità locale così netta e definita, fatta di bulli, onore, generosità, devozione formalistica e scettica, fatalismo, da durare ancora oggi, seppur in forme immalinconite e spesso macchiettistiche, come testimonia tanta cinematografia novecentesca e la stessa, antichissima, festa estiva "de Noantri", che nello stesso nome reca l'orgoglio di un'identità definita sulla base di una segregazione territoriale irrimediabilmente stabilita dalla presenza del Tevere.⁷⁶

- 27 As for the place-making function of ritual movement, it should be noticed that the images carried through a place on the occasion of a festival "hanno la funzione di sacralizzare e tutelare gli spazi e i tempi della vita sociale ricostituendoli in *cosmos*".⁷⁷ During the festival the image is transfigured and animated; it actually becomes the figure it represents, such as the Virgin or a saint. Thus, every place where the statue is carried, passes by, or is kept is marked by the ritual and becomes linked with it to different degrees. As for the case study considered here, in the first half of the 16th century Cardinal Scipione Borghese built a chapel (later destroyed) on purpose to keep the wooden statue. The statue used nowadays, a 19th century wooden 'simulacro da vestire',⁷⁸ is kept in the church of St. Agatha. Another relevant Madonna Fiumarola's 'place' is the church of St. Chrysogonus, where the statue is hosted for some days during the festival and where there is a chapel dedicated to our Lady of Mount Carmel; it was built in 1543, the same year of the establishment of the Confraternity. Nevertheless, the entire quarter: the main streets (Viale Trastevere, Via della Lungaretta, etc.), the aforementioned churches (and others such as St. Mary, Trastevere's main church), and the Tiber itself are touched by this ritual movement.
- 28 Intense emotions were and are still raised by the procession, which takes place in the course of different days and stages, both on the Tiber and in the streets of Trastevere. A specific stage, when the statue is carried on a boat, is something unique for a European capital, and it is likely to stay in the memory of all participants, from natives to tourists passing by. As for the latter, it must be noted that in recent years the face of the quarter has undergone a process of change, under the combined pressure of mass tourism and ongoing gentrification:⁷⁹ this has led to increased housing costs and a general impoverishment of the local cultural and social heritage. This is of course also affecting the procession of Our Lady of Mount Carmel: after continued performance has made it into something deeply linked to Trastevere and 'lived' primarily by natives, the ritual is slowly changing, apparently turning into a more 'folkloric' and touristic tradition. An increasing number of people 'from the outside' take part in it; the quarter is usually so crowded that many end up attending by pure chance.
- 29 Nevertheless, if on the one hand processes such as (mass) tourism can 'denature' the cultural (and religious) life of a community, on the other hand they may paradoxically help strengthening its cultural boundaries.⁸⁰ As Alessandro Simonicca notes about the context of Bali, the boundaries that tourism tends to cross "sono via via ridefiniti da nuove barriere delimitanti una sfera 'sacrale' non commercializzabile"; he further adds that "il turismo tende a ricompattare le vecchie identità".⁸¹
- 30 The key distinction becomes that between *insiders*, i.e. natives, 'producers' and at the same time beneficiaries of the event, and *outsiders*, beneficiaries only: ultimately, between 'we' and 'they'.⁸² In this regard, it should be noted that, along with a growing number of *outsiders*, there are still several *insiders*. First, the aforementioned

Archconfraternity is the same body that has been running the religious festival since 1543. Furthermore, several other public (the mayor and other institutional figures, as well as firemen, police, *carabinieri*) and private (rowing clubs) actors play a distinctive role in it, especially in the part of the procession staged on the Tiber. Finally, the ritual is certainly still 'lived' and 'experienced' by the few Trasteverini still living in the quarter and by the many who have moved elsewhere. Especially for the latter ones it is the opportunity to come back to their old *rione*, maybe meeting relatives and old friends, and connecting with their past. Both the individual and collective memory of the procession still play an important part in how the ritual is remembered, perceived, experienced, and narrated in comparison to the past.

- 31 Anyhow, *outsiders* cannot be considered as totally 'outside': actually, not only do they 'live' and 'experience' the procession in their turn and in different ways, but their attendance cannot help but influencing and reshaping the meaning and significance of the ritual itself.⁸³ This is especially true if we consider that, apart from those 'from the outside', i.e. tourists and affluent new residents, some others are at the same time *insiders* and *outsiders*. First, the majority of the Romans who were not born in Trastevere or do not have particular family connections with it: the procession and the Festa de Noantri are felt by them as a celebration of 'Romanness' as a whole (e.g. the singing of the typical Roman *stornelli* and songs, typical food, etc.), but at the same time as still especially linked with Trastevere (again: *de Noantri* = 'of us others'), thus not especially related with their quarter of birth, work or residence. Moreover, as often happens for rituals deeply connected with a place marked out by a strong identity and a long story of 'otherness', many resident foreigners take part in it, even if they are not Christians, because they feel the festival as significant per se and for the *rione* and as a vector of social inclusion.⁸⁴ Finally, some confraternities of migrants,⁸⁵ such as the *Hermandad del Señor de Los Milagros* of the Peruvian community of Rome,⁸⁶ also take part in the procession and pay tribute to the Madonna of Mount Carmel, at the same time as 'the' Madonna, a familiar figure already present in their churches and prayers, but also 'a' Madonna, the local one, the protector of the particular place that hosts them.

Conclusion

- 32 From Salian rituals to the procession of the Madonna Fiumarola, from ancient to contemporary Rome, we have observed how, through frequent enactment, ritual movement can actually shape what we have defined the 'lived ritual space'. This happens by means of a place-making process that ultimately creates one or more religious places to be linked with those rituals for a long time and to become part of the wider 'sacred landscape'. This is the result of both 'punctual' (i.e. experience and emotions aroused *during* the ritual) and 'long-term' (memory *after* the ritual through oral accounts, written texts, monuments, etc.) processes. Both take part in building, defining, and unceasingly (re)shaping the identity of all people involved, performers and audience, those who report the event and those who listen or read about it.
- 33 The first case study, the ritual movement performed by the Salians, is a striking example of this process, which can be considered in a *longue durée* framework. As one of the most ancient Roman rituals with precise and unique features (the *ancilia*, the *Carmen Saliare*, the dances performed by young patricians, etc.), it was able to (re)shape (the *Regia*) and create (the *mansiones*) 'places' deeply linked to the ritual performance.

Even in the case of the building of a new architectural complex of outmost importance and with multifaceted meanings as the Forum of Augustus, Salian rituals, already part of Rome's 'sacred landscape', could not be left out: a new place with a strong link to Mars, to religious and political rituals and events, and a veritable 'memory theater' for the Roman élite,⁸⁷ had to be 'Salian' as well.

- 34 Such a long process, the re-enacting of the ritual through the centuries, the creation of peculiar Salian 'places', as well as the cultural (emotion, identity, memory) responses to it were bound to leave a deep trace in Romans' minds and consciousness for a long time, even after the disappearance of the 'lived' performance and its actors. This is exactly what can be observed on the occasion of the aforementioned visit of Constantius II to Rome in 357 CE. The emperor had never come to Rome before, and certainly did not know the city well; moreover, though formally still *pontifex maximus*, he was a devout Christian.⁸⁸ He was thus definitely and in different regards what we have considered as an *outsider*. On the other hand the *insiders*, the Roman natives, those who still celebrated some of the ancient rituals (e.g. the Vestals were still active at that time as well as the pontiffs), and still remembered and felt as a significant part of Rome's 'sacred landscape' some of the rituals that were no longer celebrated, such as Salian ones, cared to restore and offer to the emperor the most 'traditional' and 'Roman' image of Rome they possibly could. This is why they chose to restore the Salian 'places' *par excellence*: the *mansiones* "neglected for a way too long time". It was a matter of a past still felt as 'present', because of the role it still played in Roman collective identity, and during the emperor's visit in particular; a past that could actually still influence the present and its meaning. As Rita Lizzi Testa has recently stated, "to preserve the traditional *facies* of the city meant to show respect for one's own past. The magnificence of the monuments indicated the greatness of one's present".⁸⁹
- 35 As for the second case study, the ritual movement performed every year in Trastevere for the Madonna 'de Noantri', it can be observed in a long-term framework, as the Salian one; nevertheless, it is also still 'in the making'. Some of its features are the same as in the past centuries, and the ritual is certainly celebrated in the traditional way (Archconfraternity and *insiders*). Nevertheless, due the processes and the influences just considered, it is also changing and gaining new meanings. Some changes can be observed (participation of *outsiders*, foreign residents, confraternities of migrants), others can be both observed and guessed (ongoing secularization of society), and others only guessed, as the long-term effects of the Covid-19 pandemic, which is going to change yet again, at least for the next few years, the social structure of Trastevere, as many apartments, rooms, and B&Bs have lately been rented out to people that are permanently settled and working in Rome instead of hosting tourists.
- 36 At any rate we can assume that, like the *mansiones*, the veritable Salian 'places', the Madonna Fiumarola's 'places', created, lived, experienced, and remembered through the centuries, will be restored, visited, celebrated, and remembered for a long time. Even if the procession itself were no longer to be celebrated, it would not disappear from Rome's 'sacred landscape'. Quite the contrary: it would endure as a veritable 'place (of memory)'⁹⁰ of Rome and Trastevere, and as a 'present' part of the identity of both for many years to come.

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NOTES

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2. FAVRO 2014, 85.

3. CASEY 2001, 404. For a complete and up-to-date survey of the history of Western concepts of space, cf. RAU 2019.

4. CASEY 2001, 406.

5. Cf. CASEY 1996, 33-34: “The very word *culture* meant “place tilled” in Middle English, and the same word goes back to Latin *colere*, “to inhabit, care for, till, worship.” To be cultural, to have a culture, is to inhabit a place sufficiently intensely to cultivate it – to be responsible for it, to respond to it, to attend to it caringly. Where else but in particular places can culture take root?”.

6. CASEY 2008, 44-45.

7. FELDMAN WEISS 2012, 52.

8. HEIDEGGER 1977; cf. BASSO 1996, 54. This can be also related to Henri Lefebvre’s thoughts on social space: “Social space will be revealed in its particularity to the extent that it ceases to be indistinguishable from mental space (as defined by the philosophers and mathematicians) on the one hand, and physical space (as defined by practico-sensory activity and the perception of ‘nature’) on the other. [...] Such a social space is constituted neither by a collection of things or an aggregate of (sensory) data, nor by a void packed like a parcel with various contents, and that it is irreducible to a ‘form’ imposed upon phenomena, upon things, upon physical materiality” (LEFEBVRE 1991, 27). This social space, in which a society can achieve a form by means of self-presentation and self-representation, is not a work of a moment: “this act of creation, is, in fact, a process” (*ibid.*, 34); the space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols is defined by Lefebvre as a *representational space* (*ibid.*, 39). The process of ‘producing’ space is part of human history: “If space is produced, if there is a productive process, then we are dealing with history” (*ibid.*, 46).

9. On the concept of religious agency cf. RÜPKE 2018b.

10. Cf. RÜPKE 2018b: “Religious activity is present when and where, in a particular situation, at least one human individual includes such actors [*scil.* actors who are in some respect superior: gods, demons, the dead] in his or her communication with other humans, whether by merely referring to those actors or by directly addressing them”. On the relation between the concepts of ritual, cult, and religion, cf. RENFREW 2007.

11. CANCIK 1985-1986. On the concept of landscape, and whether and to what extent it can be applied to Antiquity, see MALASPINA 2011.

12. RÜPKE 2017, 110. It is worth mentioning in this connection also the so-called ‘spatial turn’, that is the paradigm shift focusing on the study of space and movement and their importance in the study of the Roman city and society: see e.g. MACDONALD 1986; FAVRO 1996; LARMOUR, SPENCER 2007; LAURENCE, NEWSOME 2011; ÖSTENBERG, MALMBERG, BJØRNEBYE 2015.

13. FELDMAN WEISS 2012, 51.

14. On the Salian priesthood see more recently (with previous bibliography): RÜPKE 1998; HABINEK 2005, esp. ch. 1; GLINISTER 2011; GRANINO CECERE 2014; SARULLO 2014; FERRI 2015; ALONSO FERNÁNDEZ 2016; FERRI 2016; SARULLO 2018; PATZELT forthcoming; PRESCENDI forthcoming; FERRI forthcoming. On the comparative category of ‘festival’, cf. TESTA 2014.
15. Pol. 21.13.11: “[The Salians] are, as I said in my book on the Roman constitution, one of the three colleges whose duty it is to perform the principal sacrifices”.
16. Verr. Flacc. ap. Fest. p. 326: *Salios a saliendo et saltando dictos esse quamvis dubitari non debeat*; cf. Ov. Fast. 3.387; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.70.1; Plut. Num. 13.1-6.
17. ALONSO FERNÁNDEZ 2016b, 316: *tripudium* is “normally used in religious or military contexts, and refers, above all, to communal performances of manliness that showcase physical strength. This is why this word is ascribed almost primarily to the performance of the Salian *sodalitas*”.
18. Cf. in general ALONSO FERNÁNDEZ 2011; SARULLO 2014; ALONSO FERNÁNDEZ 2016a; PRESCENDI forthcoming.
19. On the *Carmen Saliare*, cf. GUITTARD 2007, 61-97; HABINEK 2005. The best and most comprehensive work on the topic is SARULLO 2014, who convincingly argues (14-16) that the singular form *Carmen Saliare* should be preferred to the plural *Carmina Saliaria*.
20. Cf. RÜPKE 2019, 25-26.
21. On the Salian armour and weapons, see SCHÄFER 1980 and MAIURI 2009, with previous bibliography.
22. On the visibility of religious specialists in Ancient Rome, see RÜPKE 2018a: in the case of easily recognizable and visible priests, the German scholar argues (94) that such “visibility of priestly distinction was inversely proportional to the probability of simultaneously holding high magisterial posts. This applied not only to flamens, but also to the *salii*, who, normally at least, left the priesthood upon reaching high magisterial rank”.
23. RÜPKE 1998.
24. Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.71.4.
25. TORELLI 1990.
26. RÜPKE 1998, 205.
27. Pol. 21.13.7-14; Livy 37.33.7; RÜPKE 2008, 642.
28. SHA Aur. 4.2-4; RÜPKE 2008, 555-556.
29. Michael Crawford’s assumption is based on numismatic evidence only. In the second issue of Caesar’s coinage, made of five coins, there is a *quinar* bearing a female head wearing a veil on the obverse, and a trophy with round shield and sword together with a wreath and an *ancile* on the reverse. The issue can be dated to 48/47 BCE. Cf. CRAWFORD 1971, 467, 735, pl. LIII. The hypothesis is shared by Jörg Rüpke (see e.g. RÜPKE 2008, 734; RÜPKE 2018b, 123), and has been recently further discussed by DiLUZIO 2018.
30. On the *ancilia* see COLONNA 1991; HARTMANN 2010, 548-553.
31. On the *pignora imperii* see FERRI 2010, 203-206.
32. See esp. Plut. Num. 13.1-6; Ov. Fast. 3.327-392.
33. While Tullus Hostilius established the *Collini/Agonales/Agonenses*: see Livy 1.20.4; 1.27.7; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 2.70.1; 3.32.4; see also Serv. Aen. 7.188; 8.285.
34. With some caution we could apply to Salian rituals the same observation that Rüpke (RÜPKE 2012, 309) has made on the *pompa circensis*, i.e. that this ritual not only could convey the idea of one city, but actually tried to achieve ‘mon-opsy’, that is the attraction of the whole city’s interest. Andreas Bendlin is more sceptical about the possibility that the urban space of Rome constituted a public forum of ‘Romanness’ or determined a Roman religious identity (by the late republic at least): see BENDLIN 2000, 129.

35. Cf. HABINEK 2005, 27 (on the Salian song): “It is a song of the unfolding of Roman history from its origin on the sense that its very performance continually reminds Roman observers of the foundation of the city and its culture”.
36. See e.g. SABBATUCCI 1988, 87-97; but cf. RÜPKE 2019, 26.
37. Cf. HABINEK 2005, 28: “Its double chorus, the kinetic “call and response” of the *praesul* and *vulgus*, and the hymn’s (eventual) performance by a delegation of initiates embody the dynamic forces of the periodic renewal of the Roman cosmos”.
38. On the ‘history of emotions’, see FEBVRE 1941; MACMULLEN 2003; KASTER 2005; ROSENWEIN 2006; MATT 2011; PLAMPER 2012; CHANIOTIS 2012; CHANIOTIS, DUCREY 2013. This perspective can prove useful the understanding how emotions were consciously raised in order to create an ‘emotional community’ focused on the performance, as well as to explore how (much) the emotions aroused contribute to ‘impress’ the ritual performance into the minds and memory of those involved.
39. As RÜPKE (2018a, 94) argues, the more ‘uncommon’ was the ritual the more was likely that ritual actors did not belong to the senatorial class: “Where rituals were of an unusual nature, the most striking instance being the circuit of the city performed by the *luperci*, ritual actors tended not to belong to the senatorial class, or there was an age-related bar, as in the case of the normally youthful *salii*”.
40. The Arval Brethren also performed a dance based on a ternary rhythm (*tripudium*); nevertheless, they did it so not publicly, but inside their temple: see SCHEID 1998, Elagabal 100a, line 32 (218 AD); cf. PRESCENDI forthcoming. On Salian and other dances at Rome cf. most recently ALONSO FERNÁNDEZ 2016a; SARULLO 2018; ALONSO FERNÁNDEZ 2020; on dance in Antiquity SCHLAPBACH 2018.
41. Quint. *Inst.* 1.6.40.
42. Varro *Ling.* 7.1.2-3; cf. Cic. *Orat.* 3.51; Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.86; Symm. *Ep.* 3.44; Sid. *Apoll. Epist.* 8-16.
43. *Epist.* 15.4
44. Catull. 17.5. On *Colonia-Verona*, cf. CENERINI 1989.
45. ASSMANN 1992, 60.
46. ASSMANN 1992, 60: “Sogar und gerade ganz Landschaften können als Medium des kulturellen Gedächtnisses dienen. Sie werden dann weniger durch Zeichen („Denkmäler“) akzentuiert, als vielmehr als Ganze in den Rang eines Zeichens erhoben, d. h. *semiotisiert*”; cf. CHIAI 2017, 20-27. On the connection between space, (collective) memory and religion in ancient Rome, cf. MIANO 2009; MIANO 2011; LA ROCCA 2012; BENDLIN 2013; GALINSKY 2014; SMITH 2015; GARCÍA MORCILLO, RICHARDSON, SANTANGELO 2016; CIFANI 2017; MAYORGAS 2019.
47. NORA 1984-1993. Another crucial starting point for Assmann’s work is the concept of ‘collective memory’ (*mémoire collective*) developed by the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (see HALBWACHS 1950), as well as the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss and Jan Vansina.
48. LA ROCCA 2012, 46.
49. Jonathan Smith argues that ritual action serves as a nexus for the intersection of people and place, in that both place and ritual are modes of ‘paying attention’, and ‘marking interest’. Place directs people’s attention towards the ritual, whereas ritual focuses attention on place because it cannot exist in a vacuum: place and ritual share therefore an intimate and interrelated connection and reciprocally direct attention to each other (SMITH 1987, 103).
50. FELDMAN WEISS 2012, 56. Cf. FAVRO 2014, 93 (referring to triumphal parades): “Dynamic triumphal parades moving through Rome offered rich and memorable sensorial readings. [...] In this panoply of sensory stimuli, no two individuals had the same experiences”.
51. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.70.2.
52. COLONNA 1991, 91-94.

53. CHIOFFI 1996. Festus probably refers to them in a corrupt passage (439 L): *Salios, quibus per omnis dies, ubicumque manent, quia amplae ponuntur cenae, siquae aliae magnae t̄dum†, saliares appellantur.*
54. Cic. Att. 5.9.1: *epulati essemus saliare in modum*; cf. Ap. Met. 4.22.7; 7.10.21; Porph. Hor. carm. 1.37.2.4; Tert. Apol. 39.15.
55. Suet. Claud. 33.
56. CIL 6.2158: *Mansiones saliorum Palatino / rum, a veteribus ob armorum magnalium / custodiam constitutas, longa nimi[s] / aetate neglectas, pecunia sua / reparaverunt pontifices Vestae / vv(iri) cc(larissimi), promagisterio Plotii Acilii / Lucilli, Vitrasii Praetextati vv(ironum) cc(larissimorum).* (Translation mine)
57. FERRI 2015. Cf. CAVALLERO 2016, 125 for a proposal about its original position.
58. Amm. Marc. 16.10.1-21; cf. Symm. Relat. 3.7; CONTI 2007, 365-367.
59. CIL 3.3705 = ILS 732; see also STEPPER 2003, 197-201.
60. Symm. Relat. 3.4; Ambr. Epist. 18.32; on the 'Altar of Victory controversy', cf. LIZZI TESTA 2015.
61. RÜPKE 2008, 949; see also PLRE I, Rufinus 15; CIL 10.5061 = ILS 1271; CIL 6.32040 and p. 4806; GRANINO CECERE 2014, 110.
62. EDWARDS (1996, 30) has pointed out that in the Republic the urban landscape was Rome's chief historical text, topography being a substitute for literary narrative. Cf. WALTER 2004, 155-179; MAYORGAS 2010, 99-100.
63. FELDMAN WEISS 2012, 53.
64. FELDMAN WEISS 2012, 59, referring to ALCOCK 2002.
65. FELDMAN WEISS 2012, 59.
66. For a general and long-term history of Trastevere, cf. ERMINI PANI, TRAVAGLINI 2010.
67. PESCE 2014; PESCE 2017.
68. On the Corsican community in 15-16th century Rome, cf. ESPOSITO 2010, 324-328.
69. Several foundation myths of Marian sanctuaries are connected to water (and storms): cf. FARANDA 2009, 28; RUSSO 2020, 153-158.
70. Cf. RUSSO 2020 for another very good example of a 'periphery' (in different meanings: urban, symbolic, social, anthropological, etc.) cult related to Mary, i.e. the cult of the Madonna of Trapani at La Goulette, Tunisia.
71. Livy 3.13.10; 8.14.5; 26.34.7; Gell. NA 20.1.46-47. The first mention is in the Twelve Tables already (Tab. 3.7).
72. AZZENA 2010, 3.
73. *Litus Etruscum* (Hor. Carm. 1.2.13); *Lydia ripa* (Stat. Silv. 4.4.3); *ripa Veientana* (CIL 6.31547; 31548b; 31555); cf. LIVERANI 1999; MAISCHBERGER 1999; AZZENA 2010; DE CRISTOFARO 2019.
74. Three out of the twenty-five Christian *tituli* of 4th century Rome were situated in Trastevere: *Iulii et Callisti, Chrysogoni, Caeciliae.*
75. AZZENA 2010, 3.
76. DE CRISTOFARO 2019, 85. The Festa de Noantri also appears as one of the most important celebrations of Rome's identity in the film *Roma* by Federico Fellini (1972): cf. THEODORAKOPOULOS 2007.
77. BUTTITTA 2012, 698.
78. 'To-be-dressed simulacrum', a kind of statues of Madonnas and saints built (also) with the purpose to be dressed in clothes: cf. SILVESTRINI 2010; ARDUINI 2016. The most famous example is probably Arnolfo di Cambio's bronze statue of St. Peter in his Roman basilica, which is dressed in papal clothes every year on June 29th (St. Peter and St. Paul's feast). Interestingly enough, the statue is still crowned with the tiara, whereas the papal crown has not been worn by the Popes since Paul VI.
79. PESCE 2014, 308-311. Cf. in general SLATER 2011; SIMONICCA 2016.

80. SIMONICCA 2016, 512-514.

81. SIMONICCA 2016, 513.

82. SIMONICCA 2016, 513.

83. For another example of reshaping of a cult and some of its symbolic elements 'in the making' (resemantizations, persistences, and connections with a distant past), namely that of the Archangel Michael at the cave-sanctuary of Mount Tancia, in the province of Rieti, cf. RUSSO 2019.

84. Cf. for another example RUSSO 2020, esp. part III.

85. In 2019, on the occasion of the last celebration before the Covid-19 pandemic, the boat carrying the statue of the Virgin was followed by a boat of migrants and refugees from different countries (Syria, Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, and others). That due to the Comunità di Sant'Egidio, a major and very active international Catholic association devoted to the assistance of people and communities in need, whose headquarters are located in Trastevere.

86. PESCE 2017, 11.

87. Cf. WOOLF 2015, 222.

88. FERRI 2015, 127-128.

89. LIZZI TESTA 2015, 416.

90. In contemporary terminology such kind of immaterial 'places', practices and knowledge have been defined as the intangible cultural heritage of a country. UNESCO established a list with the aim of ensuring better protection of important intangible cultural heritages worldwide and the awareness of their significance. Among the Italian ones, there are the 'Celebrations of big shoulder-borne processional structures' (listed in 2013), i.e. Catholic processions that take place in Nola, Palmi, Sassari, and Viterbo. As stated on the UNESCO website: "The festive communities rely on the informal transmission of these techniques and knowledge to recreate the structures every year, a process that aids cultural continuity and reinforces a strong sense of identity" (<https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/celebrations-of-big-shoulder-borne-processional-structures-00721>, last accessed 28.04.21).

ABSTRACTS

Ritual movement, *i.e.* the movement of individuals or groups on a more or less fixed route for religious reasons or purposes (e.g. processions), always played a major role in Roman religious life. Such kind of rituals could have a place-making function: through their continued and repeated performance they contributed to the cultural, social, and physical creation of religious places, ultimately becoming embedded in Rome's sacred landscape. The case studies of ritual movement considered in this paper will be an ancient one, the ritual celebrated by the Salians, and the procession of Our Lady of Mount Carmel.

Il movimento rituale, inteso come movimento di individui e gruppi su itinerari più o meno stabiliti per ragioni o scopi religiosi (ad esempio le processioni), ha sempre rivestito un ruolo centrale nella vita religiosa dei Romani. I rituali di questo tipo potevano avere una funzione topopoietica: mediante la loro esecuzione continua e ripetuta essi contribuivano alla creazione culturale, sociale e fisica di luoghi religiosi per radicarsi ed essere incorporati infine nel paesaggio sacro di Roma. I casi di studio di movimento rituale qui considerati saranno uno antico, il rituale celebrato dai Salii, ed uno contemporaneo, la processione della Madonna del Carmine.

INDEX

Keywords: sacred landscape, place-making function, ritual movement, Salians, Our Lady of Mount Carmel

Parole chiave: paesaggio sacro, funzione topopoietica, movimento rituale, Sali, Madonna del Carmine

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