Livia’s Dedication in the Temple of Divus Augustus on the Palatine (*)

In his discussion of the various uses of cinnamon, Pliny mentions an unusual dedication of a cinnamon root which Livia Augusta made to honor her deified husband, Augustus, in his temple on the Palatine (NH, 12.42.94) (1):

radicem eius magni ponderis uidimus in Palatii templo, quod fecerat diuo Augusto contunx Augusta, aureae pateraie impositam, ex qua gutae editae annis omnibus in grana durabantur, donec id delubrum incendio consumptum est.

M. Torelli has recently attracted attention to the dedication by suggesting that the temple which contained it was the one shown on a Julio-Claudian relief representing an octostyle temple immured in the garden façade of the Villa Medici in Rome (2). E. Simon has now raised the intriguing idea that the Palatine temple of Augustus is instead represented on another relief in the Capitoline Museum attributed to the same monument, which shows the façade of an Ionic tetrastyle temple (3). While the octostyle temple façade probably represented the temple of Mars Ultor in the forum Augusti (4), and the identification of the Ionic temple remains controversial (5), at

(*) I am grateful to B. S. Ridgway who read and commented on an early draft of this article.

The following abbreviations have been used:

Typology  M. TORELLI, Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs (Ann Arbor, 1982).


(2) Typology, 73; 77-78. For radicem in Pliny’s text, Torelli cites radices which is not found in most versions of the text; MAYHOFF (supra, n. 1), loc. cit.

(3) Capitoline Museum (Inv. 1386) : Augustus, 19, 20 pl. 7 and caption. On the relief, see n. 5 (infra).

least one other relief from the same monument suggests a setting on the Palatine, but shows the temple of Magna Mater rather than one dedicated to Augustus (4). Since ancient sources may mention as many as three temples dedicated to Augustus on the Palatine (5), but no remains of any of these structures have been uncovered.

(5) Not only the identification of the temple, but also the subject of its pedimental composition continue to be debated: see now P. REHAK, *The Ionic Temple Relief in the Capitoline: the Temple of Victory on the Palatine?,* forthcoming in *Journal of Roman Archaeology,* 3 (1990).

(6) KOEPPEL (supra, n. 4), 101-103, nº 13; Augustus, 26 pl. 18.

(7) Literary or epigraphic sources suggest the existence of the following cult buildings on the Palatine:

a. *sacrarium diuit Augusti ad Capitam Babula* (where Augustus was born): *Suet., Aug., 5.1: natus est Augustus ... regione Palatii ad Capitoliam Babula, ubi nunc sacrarium habet aliquanto post quam excessit constituit.* Suetonius specifically states that this shrine is part of a house: *decrevit est ut ea pars consecraretur.* Thus, it is unlikely to have a sculptured pediment of the type represented on the Julio-Claudian reliefs mentioned above (supra, n. 4 and 6). See *Veneratio,* 114 a. 1-4, for a summary of the evidence. In support of this building, Hänlein-Schäfer adduces *CIL VI, 2329 = ILS, 4992 and *CIL VI, 2330 a-b = ILS, 4993a.* These inscriptions, however, do not specify a location ad Capitoliam Babula.

b. *sacrarium diuit Augusti:* mentioned in *CIL VI, 2329 = ILS, 4992 and *CIL VI, 2330 a-b = ILS, 4993a.* Perhaps the same as a), as Torelli and Hänlein-Schäfer argue (*Typology,* 73 and n. 41; *Veneratio,* 114 a. 3-4).

c. *sacrarium* (location unspecified): *Suet., Tib., 51: At illa [Livia] commota veteres quodam ad se Augusti cocilicos de acerbitate et intolerantia morum eius [Tiberius] e sacrario prolati atque rectavit.* Cf. *Dio, 57,12.5.* Torelli (*Typology,* 73, n. 38) and Hänlein-Schäfer (*Veneratio,* 114 a. 2) argue that this is the same structure as a), but since the context of the remark seems decisive between Livia and Tiberius at which she revealed to him critical letters written by Augustus, the *sacrarium* in which the letters were stored is likely to have been a shrine within the palace. Nor need we imagine a large structure: a *sacrarium* can be defined as "a place where sacred things are kept." Augustus, for example, stored the Silbye books in the base of the statue of Apollo Palatinus, whose temple had been constructed on part of Augustus' property that had been struck by lightning: *Suet., Aug., 29.1 and 3; 31.

d. *aedes Caesarum or aedes Divorum:* *Suet., Galba, 1: taca de caelo Caesarum capita omnibus simul statuibus deciderunt. Augusti etiam aepulum et manibus excussum est (in the fire of 68). Torelli (*Typology,* 73 and n. 40) again argues that this temple is the same as a). An *aedes,* with an array of statues, however, suggests a much more prominent structure than a) could have been, since that was a shrine within an existing house. Hänlein-Schäfer correctly treats d) as a separate structure (*Veneratio,* 117-118 e).

e. *templeum diuit Augusti et divae Augustae:* mentioned in *CIL VI,2,893 nº 4222 = ILS, 4995* (obviously dating no earlier than 42, when Claudius defiled Livia, unless a cult originally of Augustus was expanded at that time to include Livia). Hänlein-Schäfer considers this to be the building which housed Livia's dedication. There seems to be no way of determining whether this building is the same as one of the structures mentioned above; it could, however, be the same as a) or d).

Yet, the exact form and decoration of this and other temples of Augustus in Rome remain the subject of debate (4).

But such an odd dedication by Livia certainly merits the attention which Torelli has called to it. The use of Roman temples as repositories for rare and unusual objects is particularly well attested during the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods, and often the objects dedicated possessed a programmatic significance (4). Typical dedications include objects considered noteworthy either because they were works by famous artists (8), or because they were made of precious materials (11). Livia's dedication seems not to fit either category, and Pliny in fact considers the part of the cinnamon plant near the root to be of the least intrinsic value (12). Instead, what obviously intrigues Pliny about the cinnamon root dedicated by Livia is its large size, and that it regularly dripped its aromatic essence until it was destroyed in the fire.

(8) For the most recent summary of the evidence, see *Veneratio,* 113-128: "Die Kultstätten des Augustus." (9) J. STAMBACH, *The Functions of Roman Temples,* in ANRW, II, 16, 1 (1978), 554-608. Examples of dedications include Augustus' donation of a painting by Apelles of Aphrodite Anadyomene in the shrine of Julius Caesar (NH, 35.10.27: 35.36.91); through Caesar, Augustus claimed descent from Venus, and Apelles was the court painter of Alexander the Great (NH, 35.86), after whom the Roman emperor modeled himself. Augustus also dedicated two other allegorical paintings by Apelles showing Alexander the Great in the *forum Augusti* which enclosed the temple of Mars Ultor: the portrait of Alexander in these paintings was later replaced by Claudius with one of Augustus (NH, 35.93-94). The temple of Concord in the *forum romanum* housed a huge collection of works with programmatic significance. See, e.g., L. RICHARDSON, *Concordia and Concordia Augusta: Rome and Pompeii,* in PP, 33 (1978), 260-272; B. KELLUM, "Pro Miraculo": *Augustus' Dedication of Four Obelisk Elephants in the Temple of Concord,* in *JA,* 91 (1987), 280-281; and her remarks: What We See and What We Don't See. Narrative Structure and the Ara Pacis Augustae, a paper delivered at the 76th Annual Meeting, College Art Association of America, February 11-13, 1988, Houston, see now Program Abstracts, 35-36.

(10) Pliny remains the best single source. For a list of famous works in Rome and discussion, see B. S. RIGDOW, *Roman Copies of Greek Sculpture. The Problem of the Originals* (Ann Arbor, 1984), 109-111. Rigdow argues, however, that the works were taken in part because of their meaning rather than because of their famous authorship. See also J. ISAGER, *Plinio il Vecchio e le meraviglie di Roma "Mirabilis in terris" e "Roma Miraculosa" nel XXXVI libro della "Naturalis Historia,"* in *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici,* 15 (1986), 37-50.

(11) E.g., the huge lump of rock crystal dedicated by Livia on the Capitolium, NH, 37,10.27. Pompey dedicated myrrhin bowls in the same location, NH, 37,7.18. On the obisidian elephants in the temple of Concord, see supra, n. 9. Comparable works might have been achieved more cheaply in glass: one surviving black glass horse's leg is nearly life-sized: D. HARDEN et al., *Glass of the Caesars* (Milan, 1987), 28 n. 6. A cuirass made of British pearls was dedicated in the temple of Venus Genetrix: NH, 9.57.116. The gem supposedly owned by the tyrant Polykrates and mounted in Roman times on a gold cornucopia and dedicated by an unnamed emperor (Livia?) in the temple of Concord was not only a precious object in its own right, but also one to which a fantastic story was attached, NH, 37.2.3-4.

(12) NH, 12.42.91-92. Pliny also notes that garlands of cinnamon were dedicated on the Capitoline and in the Temple of Peace by Vespasian: NH, 12.42.94.
which consumed the temple, probably in A.D. 80 (13). This does not explain, however, the unusual nature of Livia’s dedication, and perhaps a suggestion may be offered on this count.

According to Pliny, cinnamon is a plant associated with the mythical Arabian phoenix, a bird thought to have obtained immortality after it immolated itself (14). The immortality of the phoenix following a consuming fire could perhaps allude to the process of the imperial funeral, an event which became formalized under the early emperors as the first step towards deification (15). Furthermore, Augustus’ reorganization and development of the Campus Martius relatively early in his principate provided for the rites associated with imperial funerals (the mausoleum Augusti was complete by 28 B.C.) (16).

In addition, the use of incense and aromatics had a major role in the funerary ritual (17). Turbulae are depicted on a number of funerary monuments (18), including

(13) W. MacDonald, The Architecture of the Roman Empire, [Yale, 1982], 13, n. 36 lists the ancient sources.

(14) NH 12.42.85; see also R. Van den Broek, The Myth of the Phoenix according to Classical and Early Christian Traditions (Leiden, 1972) 26; R. Smirn [in AJA, 77 [1973], 462.

(15) See discussion by S. Weenckx, Deius Iulius (Oxford, 1971), 346-355; cf. E. Bickermann, Die römische Kaiserapotheose (1923), in H. W. B. Krieger, Funkel und Vorvertrag. Zu Terminologie und Ablauf der römischen Kaiserapotheose, in Chiron, 14 (1968), 43-69; J.-C. Redeker, Recherches sur certains aspects du culte impérial: les funérailles des empereurs romains aux deux premiers siècles de notre ère, in ANRW, II, 16, 2 (1978), 1121-1134. As Augustus was cremated, an eagle was released from his pyre as a symbol of apotheosis (Dio, 56.42.3); a spectator claimed to have seen Augustus’ spirit rise to the heavens in the account of Suetonius which does not, however, mention the eagle (Suet., Aug. 100.4).

(16) The political importance of the mausoleum of Augustus is emphasized by the fact that the Res Gestae were to be mounted in front of it on two bronze columns: Suet., Aug. 101.4.

(17) NH 12.41.82-84. When the corpse of Augustus was returned to Rome from Nola, where he died, Tiberius and Drusus met the Senate, wearing dark clothes and offering incense: Dio, 56.31.3.

(18) For representations of turbula with a funerary connotation, see esp. the reliefs from an early imperial grave monument near Rome: W. von Sylow, Eine Grabtunde am Via

the Tiberian Caffarello sarcophagus in Berlin (19), and a well known relief from the Flavian tomb of the Haterii now in the Vatican (20). Nero in particular was criticized for burning a vast amount of incense at the funeral of Poppea (21). It is also worth noting that turbulae are often connected with the imperial cult, which was generally instituted following the funeral of the individual (22). A Julio-Claudian relief in the Capitoline, generally attributed to the Ara Petaia, depicts a flaming turbula to which garlands are tied; hanging over one preserved garland is a patera (23).

More important for our purposes, Plutarch specifically mentions funerary images of Sulla and a lictor made of frankincense and cinnamon donated by the matrons of Rome, which were carried in the funeral procession of the dictator (24). According to Polybius, the funerary imagines were normally ancestral masks in wax which were


(19) A turbula decorates one end of the Tiberian Caffarello sarcophagus in Berlin: G. Rodenwaldt, Der Sarkophag Caffarello. 83 Berlin Winckelmannprogramm, (1925); H. Brandenburg, Der Beginn der Studtrömischen Sarcophag-Produktion der Kaiserzeit, in Jdl, 93 (1978), 277-327, esp. 280, 305-307, 304 fig. 34 (long side), 305 fig. 35 (turbula on end); G. Koch and E. Sichermann, Römische Sarkophage. Handbuch der Archäologie (Munich, 1982), 38-39; pl. 3; Cain (supra, n. 18), pl. 2.5; Attema, p. 225 (long side). The decorative pattern on the sarcophagus implies a connection with official state monuments, since it resembles one of the two types appearing on the Ara Pacis, as well as one on a block traditionally assigned to the Ara Petaia (infra, n. 23). For illustrations, see e.g., J. Tynnyrhe, The Art of the Romans (Præger, 1965), pl. 38 (Ara Pacis): A. Fronza, L’arte di Roma e del mondo romano (Turin, 1961), 182 fig. 134 (Ara Pacis), 184 fig. 137 (Caffarello sarcophagus):

(20) Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano, Inv. 9998; E. Simon, in Helbig, II, n° 1075; D. Strong, Roman Imperial Art (Harmondsworth, 1976), 80 pl. 76; Cain (supra, n. 18), pl. 2.3.

(21) NH 12.41.83.

(22) Incense is also offered to the defied ruler, and on the frieze of the temple of the defied Antoninus and Faustina in the forum romanum, flaming turbula stand between pairs of anthropomorphic griffins: E. Nash (supra, n. 16), vol. I (1961), 26-27 fig. 17. The device of the flaming turbula recurs on reliefs decorating the walls of the porch of the Pantheon of Hadrian.

(23) Capitoline Museum Inv. 2390. For illustrations, see e.g., O. Brendel, Archäologische Funde in Italien, in Archäologie (1934), 453; A. Colini, I frammenti di architettura e di rilievi rinvenuti presso la chiesa di S. Maria in Via Lata, in RendPontec. 11 (1935), 53-56; n° 15, 54 fig. 15; D. Mustilli, Il Museo Mussolinii (Rome, 1939), 109 n° 16, LXVII 267; R. Bloch, L’Ara Petaia Augustae, in Melome, 53 (1939). 116-118, 116 fig. 14; reprinted in M. Cagiano di Azevedo, Le antichità di Villa Medici (Rome, 1951), 18-19, pl. 2 B: I. Byberg, Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art, in MAAR, 22 (1955), 67 and n. 16, 73, pl. XVII 34 a; D. Strong, Roman Imperial Sculpture (New York, 1961), 27, 92 n. 47, pl. 47; E. Simon, in Helbig, II, n° 526, 528-529; n° 1751; Typologia, 71 Catalog G, 72, pl. 113, 28. Cf. the paterae on which the cinnamon roost was placed.

(24) Plut., Sulla, 38.2: ἄρεστη δὲ τούτῳ πλοῦτος ὑπόγεως ἐπανεκεφαλωμένης τινώς γυναικὸς αὐτῷ ὡσεὶν ἔννοιαν ἐν φωτισμένην ἡμέραν καὶ διακοσίων διακοσίων διακοσίων μεν εὐδοκεῖν εὐγένειας αὐτῶι ἔνδοξα, πλατήρια δὲ καὶ μακροχείαν ἐν τα λειοφυτων πολυτελείας καὶ κυνηγοῦμεν.
worn by living members of the family of the deceased, and Ovid describes how these masks were displayed in the atrium of the house (25). Rather different were the actual wax figures of the deceased, which by the early imperial period were sometimes carried on the bier at the funeral (26). The relief from the tomb of the Haterii, mentioned above, shows several imagines next to a funerary bier which probably supports an image of the deceased rather than the corpse, since the figure reclines on one elbow, unlike the recumbent body of the dead individual on another relief from the same monument (27).

Such a wax image was one of three used in the funeral of Augustus, an event which was the first step in the process of his deification as reported by Dio (28). The funerary representation of the Roman emperor in art is a complicated issue, addressed most recently by T. Pekáry (29). But Dio clearly records that a gold image of Augustus was carried from the Senate House in the funerary procession (29). A second image (of unknown material) was placed in a triumphal chariot. The third image was a wax effigy of the deceased emperor which was placed on top of the gold and ivory bier, draped with purple, which actually contained the body. This wax image, along with the ancestral imagines, was borne in procession from the Palatine to the Campus Martius for the cremation ceremony.

Among other funerary honors, Augustus was given a gold image on a couch as part of the temporary cult in the temple of Mars Ultor within the forum Augusti (30), the architectural embellishment of which included the statues and eulogies of actual ancestors of Augustus, as well as of other noble Romans (31). In addition, the decorative program of the forum alludes directly to deification, since heads of Zeus-Amon attached to shields (imagines clipeatae) decorated the walls of the colonnades (31). The temple of Mars Ultor served an especially important role in the imperial cult between 14 and 37 (32), when the structure known officially as the templum novum duci Augusti near the forum Romanum was completed and dedicated to the needs of Augustus and of other deceased members of the imperial family (33).

While Livia’s dedication of cinnabar on the Palatine evidently was not in the form of an actual statue, or an image to be carried on a bier (34), it nevertheless


(26) For accounts of the funeral of Augustus, see Dio, 56.34.1-4; 42.1-4; WEINSTOCK (supra, n. 15), 352, 359. Cf. 346-355 on the funeral of Julius Caesar. At the funeral of Augustus, Dio mentions both a wax image on the bier and imagines of his ancestors, deceased relatives (with the exception of Caesar, who had been deified) and of prominent Romans, beginning with Romulus. See PEKÁRY (infra, n. 29), 100, n. 41, who seems correct in saying that the funerary image of Augustus was not an imag clipeata.

(27) TOONESEY (supra, n. 19), pl. 55; STRONG (supra, n. 20), cf. pls. 76, 77 (Helbg., II, n° 1074, Inv. 9999).

(28) For a study of the events surrounding the death, funeral, and deification of Augustus, see B. LEVICK, Tiberius the Politician (London, 1976), 68-72; Dio, 56.34.1-2. On the problems associated with ancient descriptions of official images, see G. NIEEMER, Studien zur staatlichen Darstellung der römischen Kaiser (Berlin, 1968), and the review by H. BLANK (in Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, 223 [1971], 86-103).


(30) The Curia Julia was the site of the ara Victoriae and a statue of Victory: TDAR, 569-570 (Victoria, ara). Later, the deified Drusilla was given a gold statue there: Dio, 59.11.2.

(31) Dio, 56.46.4-5: ἐν δὲ δόθην τῷ ἐν τῇ ἱεραίας ἡμῶν ἑγγένητο, εἰκόνα αἰτίων χρυσοῦ ἑκάτον καὶ τόσον ἐκείνη πάντα ὑπὸ τό δόξας αἰτίων μετὰ τοῦτο χρυσᾶ εἴδει εἶναι ἐπίμονν. See also PEKÁRY (infra, n. 29), 32 and n. 40; 129 and n. 131.


(33) NASH (supra, n. 16), vol. I, 402-410, esp. 405, fig. 496: shield with the head of Zeus-Amon, the putative father of Alexander the Great; P. ZANKER, Forum Augusti (Tübingen, 1968), pl. 25, 27, 28; J. ANDERSON, The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora (Brussels, 1984), 65-100; "Forum Augustum"; Augustus, 49 fig. 51. Already in the first century B.C., Appius Claudius Pulcher had dedicated images of his ancestors on shields (imagines clipeatae) in the temple of Bellona: WEINSTOCK (supra, n. 13), 187 and n. 3 (ancient sources). For examples of the clipeus with the head of Zeus-Amon, see LIMC, I, 1 (1981), 672-673, s.v. Ammon, E n° 34, 35, 38 (J. LECLANT and C. CLEIR), They identify the images from the forum Augustum as belonging to a Hadraniac restoration, but do not say why. Anderson argues that Hadraniac work in the forum was minimal (99 and notes 96-97).

(34) ANDERSON (infra, n. 33) does not elaborate on this aspect of the forum and its use. Dio, 56.46.4 (supra, n. 31) is unequivocal on this point. See A. NOCK, Σαλώνας θεοῦ, in HSCP, 41 (1930), 1-62. Not only did the temple of Mars Ultor house the cult of Augustus himself, but also the equipment connected with the worship of Germanicus was stored there after his death: S. WEINSTOCK, The Image and the Chair of Germanicus, in JRS, 47 (1957), 144-154.

(35) On the templum novum, see E. NASH (supra, n. 16), vol. I, 164: "Augustus, Divus, Tempulum," superseding the same entry in TDAR, 22-25. Torelli and Coarelli have suggested that the temple actually lies to the south of the excavated limits of the forum Romanum: Typology, 19-24; pl. III, 10 (sacerdotes of Calligula); F. COARELLI, Guida archeologica di Roma (Rome, 1980), 50; Venerata, 115-117, c. n° 17-37.

(36) According to Dio, after the funeral of Augustus, his image was not to be carried at subsequent funerals of members of the Julian gens: 56.46.4 (ταύτα τε αὐτῷ ἐπηρροῦσιν, καὶ δὸς μὲν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐκείριον τὸν ποιούσι).
would have reminded the viewer of the pious attitude of the empress toward her deceased husband. For, at his funeral, Livia had remained for five days beside the pyre in the Campus Martius with a group of prominent equites, after which the bones of the emperor were deposited in his mausoleum nearby (35). This group of equites may have included the same individuals who originally carried Augustus' bier from Bovillae (ancestral home of the Julian gens) to Rome (36). In addition, Livia's dedication was illustrative of her new function as priestess (flaminica Augustalis) after his death (37). As widow and priestess of Augustus, Livia occupied a particularly prominent role with respect to cult activities on the Palatine: not only did she help inaugurate the ludi Palatini celebrated in honor of Augustus near the temple of Magna Mater beginning in 15 (38), but on a cameo in Vienna she actually appears as Magna Mater wearing a mural crown and holding a radiate bust of Augustus (41).

(37) Dio, 56.42.4.
(39) It is evident that Livia played a position of primary importance in regard to the developing imperial cult. The evidence was collected by G. GRETHE, Livia and the Roman Imperial Cult, in AJP, 67 (1946), 222-252. The status of Livia will have to be reassessed in light of more recent evidence, such as the preliminary publication of the Sebastaten at Aphrodisias with its complex program of sculptural decoration, in which Livia has a role: see R. R. SMITH, The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebastaten at Aphrodisias, in JRS, 77 (1987), 88-138. At Rome in A.D. 14 Livia was granted, inter alia, the name Julia Augusta and was adopted into the Julian gens, she was given a lictor and was made the first flaminica Augustalis: Tac., Ann., 1.8; but cf. L.14; Dio, 56.46.1-2.
(40) The ludi Palatini were instituted by Livia and Tiberius on Jan. 16 in A.D. 15. Dio (56.46.5) seems to be describing the ludi Palatini when refers to a private three-day festival at the palace, which he ascribes to Livia alone. The ludi Palatini began with a sacrifice to Augustus, and included various theatrical displays, at one of which Caligula was murdered in A.D. 41 (Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XIX.95; Suet., Gaius, 56.2; 58.1-3). There is some confusion over the exact duration of the festival: originally three days (Dio, 56.46.5; 59.16.10; Tac., Ann., 1.73), but perhaps five with three more added by Caligula, as Zonaras suggested in regard to Dio 59.29.5. For a discussion of the relevant ancient sources, see Inserital, 400: "Commentarii Diurni". The choice of Jan. 16 is significant since Octavian adopted the title Augustus on that date in 27 B.C. and the day was already being celebrated with a supplatinum at the time the ludi Palatini were instituted: Fer. Cum., Inserital, 279; cf. Fast. Proen., Inserital, 400; Res Gestae, 34; Ovdi, Fasti, I,587-592; 609-616; Vell. Pat., II.91.1; Suet., Aug., 7.2; Dio, 53.16.7. The succeeding day, Jan. 17, marked the wedding anniversary of Augustus and Livia in 38 B.C.: Fast. Ver., Inserital, 161. In A.D. 42, Claudius chose this date for the dedication of his grandmother, Livia: Dio, 60.5.2; CIL VI.2032, lines 15-18. See also P. HERZ, Kaiserfeeste der Prinzipatszeit, in ANRW, II, 16, 2 (1978), 1147-1155: "Die Julisch-Claudische Dynastie".

The dedication of a cinnamon root at the Palatine temple of Augustus thus fulfilled a dual function, underlining Livia's new role and recalling the new status of Augustus as divus among the gods of Rome.

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Divo Augusto-Kameo in Köln, in Kölner Jahrbuch, 17 (1980), 42-44, pl. 12 figs. 73, 74; R. WINES, Der Kameo Marlborough, in ArchAgr, 31-32, esp. 135-136 and notes 31, 32; 133 fig. 2; R. SAND, Römische Frauenportraits mit Mauerkrone, in Acta ad Archæologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia, 5 (1985), 151-154, 153 fig. 1; Augustus, 162 and fig. 211. A bust of Livia in the Capitoline Museum shows her wearing a mural crown and bearing the attributes of Ceres/Magna Mater: H. VON HEINTZE, in Helbig I, n° 1284; P. ZANKER, in K. FITTSCHEN and P. ZANKER, Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Kapitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom, III. Kaiserinnen- und Prinzessinnenbildnisse. Frauen Porträts (Mainz am Rhein, 1983), 3-5, pl. 2; 3; W. ECK et al., Kaiserbrief. Porträts aus den Kaisertischen Museen in Rom (Rome, 1986), 56-57 and col. pl. Livia is also shown with the attributes of Ceres in a freestanding statue now in Holkham Hall, Great Britain; H. DICKER, Foto + Skulptur. Römischen Aniken in englischen Schlössern (Köln, 1980), 70 Catalog n° 59, pl. 29. In all cases, the vegetation consists of poppy flowers or buds, and ears of grain. The same vegetation appears in the background next to the figure generally identified as Tellus on the Ara Pacis, which also has the features of Livia: cf. Augustus, 39 pl. 39 and 74 fig. 90 a. In this context, see also I. COLOMBO, Funzioni politiche ed implicazioni culturali nell'ideologia religiosa di Ceres nell'impero romano, in ANRW, II, 17, 1 (1981), 402-428. Ovid alludes to Livia's rededication of the temple of Magna Mater, which stood near the palace of Augustus and Livia and was the site of the ludi Palatini in memory of Augustus: Fasti, 5.147-158. Cf. 4.247-348 on the institution of the cult of Magna Mater in Rome.