

Livia's Dedication in the Temple of *Diuus 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 coniunx Augusta, aureae paterae impositam, ex qua guttae 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 :

<i>Augustus</i>	E. SIMON, <i>Augustus. Kunst und Leben um die Zeitenwende</i> (Munich, 1986).
<i>InscrItal</i>	A. DEGRASSI, <i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i> , XIII.2. <i>Fasti et Elogia</i> (Rome, 1963).
<i>TDAR</i>	S. PLATNER and T. ASHBY, <i>A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome</i> (Oxford, 1929).
<i>Typology</i>	M. TORELLI, <i>Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs</i> (Ann Arbor, 1982).
<i>Veneratio</i>	H. HANLEIN-SCHÄFER, <i>Veneratio Augusti. Eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten römischen Kaisers</i> (Rome, 1985).

(1) C. MAYHOFF (ed.), *C. Plinii Secundi Naturalis Historiae, II. lib. xi-xv* (Stuttgart, 1967) ; see also F. BRON, *De quelques noms d'aromates chez Pline l'Ancien*, in *MH*, 43 (1986), 131-134.

(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*).

(4) G. KOEPEL, *Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit, I. Stadtrömische Denkmäler unbekannter Bauzugehörigkeit aus augusteischer und julisch-claudischer Zeit*, in *Bonn.Jbb.*, 183 (1983), 98-101, n° 12 ; *Augustus*, 50 pl. 52. Cf. reviews of *Typology*, by J.

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⁽⁶⁾. Since ancient sources may mention as many as three temples dedicated to Augustus on the Palatine⁽⁷⁾, but no remains of any of these structures have been uncovered

POLLINI (in *AJA*, 87 [1983], 573), R. R. SMITH (in *JRS*, 73 [1983], 227); T. HÖLSCHER (in *Gnomon*, 56 [1984], 740-744).

(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) KOEPEL (*supra*, n. 4), 101-103, n° 13; *Augustus*, 26 pl. 18.

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

- a. *sacrarium diui Augusti ad Capita Bubula* (where Augustus was born): SUET., *Aug.*, 5.1: *natus est Augustus ... regione Palati ad Capita Bubula, tibi nunc sacrarium habet aliquanto post quam excessit constitutum*. Suetonius specifically states that this shrine is part of a house: *decretum 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, 2330a-b = *ILS*, 4993a. These inscriptions, however, do not specify a location *ad Capita Bubula*.
- b. *sacrarium diui Augusti*: mentioned in *CIL*, VI, 2329 = *ILS*, 4992 and *CIL*, VI, 2330 a-b = *ILS*, 4993-4993a. 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 ueteres quosdam ad se Augusti codicillos de acerbitate et intolerantia morum eius [Tiberius] e sacratio prouult atque recitauit*. 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 is a domestic argument 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 Sibylline 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 Diuorum*: SUET., *Galba*, 1: *tacta de caelo Caesarum capita omnibus simul status deciderunt, Augusti etiam sceprum e 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. *templum diui Augusti et diuae Augustae*, mentioned in *CIL*, VI.2.893 n° 4222 = *ILS*, 4995 (obviously dating no earlier than 42, when Claudius deified 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⁽⁸⁾.

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⁽⁹⁾. Typical dedications include objects considered noteworthy either because they were works by famous artists⁽¹⁰⁾, 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. STAMBAUGH, *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 a 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 Obsidian Elephants in the Temple of Concord, in *AJA*, 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. RIDGWAY, *Roman Copies of Greek Sculpture. The Problem of the Originals* (Ann Arbor, 1984), 109-111. Ridgway argues, however, that the works were taken 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 Miracula" 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 Capitoline, *NH*, 37.10.27. Pompey dedicated myrrhine bowls in the same location, *NH*, 37.7.18. On the obsidian 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 Polycrates and mounted in Roman times on a gold cornucopia and dedicated by an unnamed empress (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⁾. *Turibula* 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); rev. M. SMITH (in *AJA*, 77 [1973], 462).

(15) See discussion by S. WEINSTOCK, *Divus Iulius* (Oxford, 1971), 346-355; cf. E. BICKERMANN, *Die römische Kaiserapotheose* (1929), in A. WLOSOK (ed.), *Römische Kaiserult* (Darmstadt, 1978); W. KIERDORF, *Funus' and 'consecratio': Zu Terminologie und Ablauf der römischen Kaiserapotheose*, in *Chiron*, 16 (1986), 43-69; J.-C. RICHARD, *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. On the structure itself, see E. NASH, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, vol. II (Tübingen, 1962), 38-43; "Mausoleum Augusti"; E. BOSCHUNG, *Tumulus Iuliorum-Mausoleum Augusti: Ein Beitrag zu seinem Sinnbezügen*, in *Hefte des archäologischen Seminars der Universität Bern*, 6 (1980), 38-41. E. Buchner has discussed the development of the area as a whole: *Solarium Augusti und die Ara Pacis*, in *RömMitt.*, 83 (1976), 319-365; *Horologium Solarium Augusti, Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen 1979/80*, in *RömMitt.*, 87 (1980), 355-373; published together with additions as *Die Sonnenuhr des Augustus. Nachdruck aus RM 1976 und 1980 und Nachtrag über die Ausgrabung 1980/1981* (Mainz am Rhein, 1982). For the continuing development of the area, see M. BOATWRIGHT, *The "Ara Diis-Ustrinum" of Hadrian in the Western Campus Martius and Other Problematic Roman "Ustrina"*, in *AJA*, 89 (1985), 485-497; H. KAMPFANN, *The Ustrinum in the Palazzo del Parlamento in Rome*, in *OpAth.*, 15 (1985), 67-78.

(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 *turibula* with a funerary connotation, see esp. the reliefs from an early imperial grave monument near Rome: W. VON SYDOW, *Eine Grabtunde an der Via*

the Tiberian Caffarelli 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 Poppaea⁽²¹⁾. It is also worth noting that *turibula* 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 Pietatis*, depicts a flaming *turibulum* 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

Appia Antica, in *Jdl*, 92 (1977), 241-321; H.-U. CAIN, *Römische Marmorkandelaber* (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), pl. 1.4.

(19) A *turibulum* decorates one end of the Tiberian Caffarelli sarcophagus in Berlin: G. RODENWALDT, *Der Sarcophag Caffarelli*, 83 Berlin Winckelmannsprogramm, (1925); H. BRANDENBURG, *Der Beginn der Stadtrömischen Sarcophag-Produktion der Kaiserzeit*, in *Jdl*, 93 (1978), 277-321, esp. 280, 305-307, 304 fig. 34 (long side), 305 fig. 35 (*turibulum* on end); G. KOCH and E. SICHERMANN, *Römische Sarcophage. Handbuch der Archäologie* (Munich, 1982), 38-39, pl. 3; CAIN (*supra*, n. 18), pl. 2.5; *Augustus*, pl. 225 (long side). The decorative *patera* 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 Pietatis* (*infra*, n. 23). For illustrations, see e.g., J. TOYNBEE, *The Art of the Romans* (Praeger, 1965), pl. 38 (*Ara Pacis*); A. FROVA, *L'arte di Roma e del mondo romano* (Turin, 1961), 182 fig. 134 (*Ara Pacis*), 184 fig. 137 (Caffarelli sarcophagus); *Typology*, pl. III 28 (*Ara Pietatis*).

(20) Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano, Inv. 9998; E. SIMON, in *Helbig*⁴, II, n° 1075; D. STRONG, *Roman 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 deified ruler, and on the frieze of the temple of the deified Antoninus and Faustina in the *forum romanum*, flaming *turibula* stand between pairs of antithetic griffins: E. NASH (*supra*, n. 16), vol. I (1961), 26-27 and fig. 17. The device of the flaming *turibula* recurs on reliefs decorating the walls of the porch of the Pantheon of Hadrian.

(23) Capitoline Museum Inv. 2390. For illustrations, see: O. BRENDL, *Archäologische Funde in Italien*, in *ArchAnz* (1934), 453; A. COLINI, *I frammenti di architettura e di rilievo rinvenuti presso la chiesa di S. Maria in Via Lata*, in *RenDPontAcc.*, 11 (1935), 53-56, n° 15, 54 fig. 15; D. MUSTILLI, *Il Museo Mussolini* (Rome, 1939), 109, n° 16, pl. LXVII.267; R. BLOCH, *L' "Ara Pietatis Augustae"*, in *MéRome*, 56 (1939), 116-118, 116 fig. 14; reprinted in M. CAGIANO DI AZEVEDO, *Le antichità di Villa Medici* (Rome, 1951), 18-19, pl. B 2; I. RYBERG, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art*, in *MAAR*, 22 (1955), 67 and n. 16, 73, pl. XVIII fig. 34 a; D. STRONG, *Roman Imperial Sculpture* (New York, 1961), 27, 92, n° 47, pl. 47; E. SIMON, in *Helbig*⁴, II, 526-528, n° 1751; *Typology*, 71 Catalog G, 72, pl. III.28. Cf. the *patera* on which the cinnamon root was placed.

(24) Plut., *Sulla*, 38.2: λέγεται δὲ τοσοῦτο πλήθος ἀρωμάτων ἐπιτελεῖν τὰς γυναικὰς αὐτῶν ὥστε ἄνευ τῶν ἐν φορημασί δέκα καὶ διακοσίων διακομιζομένων πλάσθῃναι μὲν εἰδῶλον ἐντέλεθες αὐτοῦ Σύλλα, πλάσθῃναι δὲ καὶ ῥαβδούχῳ ἕκ τε ἡβανωτοῦ πούτελοϋς καὶ κινναμόμου.

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⁽³⁰⁾. 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

(25) POLYBIUS, VI.53.1-10; F. WALBANK, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, I (Oxford, 1957), 737-739; R. WINKLES, *Clipeata Imago. Studien zu einer römischen Bildnisform* (Bonn, 1969); G. LAHUSEN, *Statuae et Imagines, in Praesant Interna. Festschrift für V. Hausmann* (Tübingen, 1982), 101-109. Cf. OVID, *Fasti*, I.591-592: *Perlege dispositas generosa per atria ceras: / contigerunt nulli nomina tanta uiro*. A fresco fragment from the atrium of a villa at Oplontis depicts such images: A. DE FRANCISCI, *The Pompeian Wall Paintings in the Roman Villa of Oplontis* (Recklinghausen, 1975), 7 fig. 1 (plan), col. pl. 11. On the villa and its decoration, see now J. CLARKE, *The Early Third Style at the Villa of Oplontis, in RömMitt*, 94 (1987), 267-294. At the funeral of Drusus, son of Tiberius, in A.D. 23, the Julian, Claudian, and other *imagines* were displayed: TAC., *Ann.*, IV.9 (*funus imaginum pompa maxime inlustre fuit, cum origo Iuliae genitis Aeneas omnesque Albanorum reges et conditor urbis Romulus, post Sabina nobilitas, Attus Clausus ceteraque Claudiorum, effigies longo ordine spectarentur*). Cf. the funeral of Augustus, *infra*, n. 26.

(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 *imago clipeata*.

(27) TOYNBEE (*supra*, n. 19), pl. 55; STRONG (*supra*, n. 20), cf. pls. 76, 77 (*Helbig*⁴, II, n° 1074, Inv. 9999).

(28) For a chronology 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. NIEMEYER, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung der römischen Kaiser* (Berlin, 1968), and the review by H. BLANCK (in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 223 [1971], 86-103).

(29) T. PEKÁRY, *Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Stadt, Kult und Gesellschaft. Das römische Herrscherbild*, III, 5 (Berlin, 1985).

(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.

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*⁽³¹⁾, the architectural embellishment of which included the statues and *elogiae* of actual ancestors of Augustus, as well as of other noble Romans⁽³²⁾. 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⁽³³⁾. The temple of Mars Ultor served an especially important role in the imperial cult between 14 and 37⁽³⁴⁾, when the structure known officially as the *templum nouum diui Augusti* near the *forum Romanum* was completed and dedicated to the needs of Augustus and of other deceased members of the imperial family⁽³⁵⁾.

While Livia's dedication of cinnamon on the Palatine evidently was not in the form of an actual statue, or an image to be carried on a bier⁽³⁶⁾, it nevertheless

(31) DIO, 56.46.4-5: *ἐν φῶ δ' ὄν τὸ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἠρώων ἐγγύετο, εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ χρυσῆν ἐπὶ κλίβῳ ἐς τὸν τοῦ Ἄρεως ναὸν ἔθεσαν, καὶ ἐκείνῃ πᾶντα ὄσα τὸ ἀνάλαρτι αὐτοῦ μετὰ τοῦτο χρῆσασθαι ἐμελλόν ἐνόμισαν*. See also PEKÁRY (*supra*, n. 29), 32 and n. 40; 129 and n. 131.

(32) S. RINALDI TUFI, *Frammenti delle statue dei summi viri nel foro di Augusto, in DialArch*, 3, 1 (1981), 69-84; G. LAHUSEN, *Untersuchungen zur Ehrenstatue in Rom. Literarische und epigraphische Zeugnisse* (Rome, 1983), 23-26; cf. ANDERSON (*infra*, n. 33), 80-88.

(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 Augustum* (Tübingen, 1968), pls. 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., Appianus Claudius Pulcher had dedicated images of his ancestors on shields (*imagines clipeatae*) in the temple of Bellona: WEINSTOCK (*supra*, n. 15), 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 b n° 34, 35, 38 (J. LECLANT and G. CLERC). They identify the images from the *forum Augustum* as belonging to a Hadrianic restoration, but do not say why. Anderson argues that Hadrianic work in the forum was minimal (99 and notes 96-97).

(34) Anderson (*supra*, n. 33) does not elaborate on this aspect of the forum and its use. But Dio, 56.46.4 (*supra*, n. 31) is unequivocal on this point. See A. NOCK, *Σύναξος θεός, 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 nouum*, see E. NASH (*supra*, n. 16), vol. I, 164: "Augustus, *Divus, Templum*", 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*, 73-74; pl. III, 10 (*sesterius* of Caltigula); F. COARELLI, *Guida archeologica di Roma* (Rome, 1980³), 50; *Veneratio*, 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 (*ταῦτά τε αὐτῷ ἐπιφοίτην, καὶ ὄπιος μήτ' εἰκόνην αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐκφορῇ πινος πομπῆν*).

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⁽³⁷⁾. 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⁽³⁸⁾. In addition, Livia's dedication was illustrative of her new function as priestess (*flaminica Augustalis*) after his death⁽³⁹⁾. 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⁽⁴⁰⁾, 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.

(38) SUET., *Aug.*, 100.2: *a Bouillis equester ordo suscepti [corpus] urbique inulit atque in uestibulo collocavit*; cf. *Aug.*, 100.4 and *Claud.*, 6.1: *Equester ordo ... patronum eius [Claudius] perferendae pro se legationis elegit, semel cum deportandum Romam corpus Augusti ueneris suis ab consulibus exposceret*. Cf. also Dio, 56.31.2.

(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. GREYER, *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 Sebasteion at Aphrodisias with its complex program of sculptural decoration, in which Livia has a role: see R. R. SMITH, *The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion 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 granted a licitor and was made the first *flaminica Augustalis*: Tac., *Ann.*, 1.8; but cf. 1.14; 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.75; 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 *InscrItal.*, 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 *supplicatio* at the time the *ludi Palatini* were instituted: *Fer. Cum.*, *InscrItal.*, 279; cf. *Fast. Praen.*, *InscrItal.*, 400; *Res Gestae*, 34; OVID, *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.*, *InscrItal.*, 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, *Kaisertage der Prinzipatszeit*, in *ANRW*, II, 16, 2 (1978), 1147-1155; "Die Julisch-Claudische Dynastie".

(41) Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum Inv. LV a 95; F. EICHLER and E. KRIS, *Die Kameen im Kunsthistorisches Museum* (Vienna, 1927), 57, n° 9, pl. 5; WEINSTOCK (*supra*, n. 15), 384 and n. 4, pl. 29.2; H. VON HESSBURG, *Archäologische Denkmäler zum römischen Kaiser Kult*, in *ANRW*, II, 16, 2 (1978), 939, n° 15, 938 pl. 15; E. ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL, *Der*

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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Divus-Augustus-Kameo in Köln, in *Kölnner Jahrbuch*, 17 (1980), 42-44, pl. 12 figs. 73, 74; R. WINKES, *Der Kameo Mariborough*, in *ArchAnz* (1982), 131-138, esp. 135-136 and notes 31, 32; 133 fig. 2; R. SANDE, *Römische Frauenporträts mit Mauerkrone*, in *Acta ad Archaeologiam 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*, II, n° 1284; P. ZANKER, in K. FITTSCHEN and P. ZANKER, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitulinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom*, III, *Kaiserinnen- und Prinzessinnenbildnisse. Frauen Porträts* (Mainz am Rhein, 1983), 3-5, n° 3, pls. 2, 3; W. ECK et al., *Kaisersaal. Porträts aus den Kapitolschen 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. OEHLER, *Foto + Skulptur. Römischen Antiken 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.